Reduplication in Languages of South Sulawesi

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This study is a survey of noun reduplication in languages of South Sulawesi. Reduplication in 12 languages belonging to five language groups is observed. Morphologically, most of the languages follow a rule that the first two syllables are reduplicated and occur as the preceding part of the derived word although some exceptions and a different rule are observed in other languages.

Semantically, the function of diminution is observed in noun reduplication in most of the Sulawesi languages (two exceptions are Ledo Kaili and Wotu, in which reduplicated nouns only indicate plurality and variety). This function is not observed in Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia).

1. Data and scope of study

This paper discusses nominal reduplication in languages in and around South Sulawesi in Indonesia. Reduplicated nouns in 12 languages belonging to five language groups are studied. Table 1 shows the languages and their classification, and Map 1 indicates the areas in which they are spoken.

TABLE 1 Languages and Classification dealt in this study

Language Groups	Languages	Chapter numbers
South Sulawesi	Buginese	3.1
	Makassarese	3.2
	Mandar	3.3
	Massenrempulu	3.4
Kaili-Pamona	Ledo Kaili	4.1
	Pamona	4.2
Bungku-Tolaki	Tolaki	5.1
	Mori	5.2
Wotu-Wolio	Wotu	6.1
	Wolio	6.2
Muna-Buton	Muna	7.1
	South Tukang Besi	7.2

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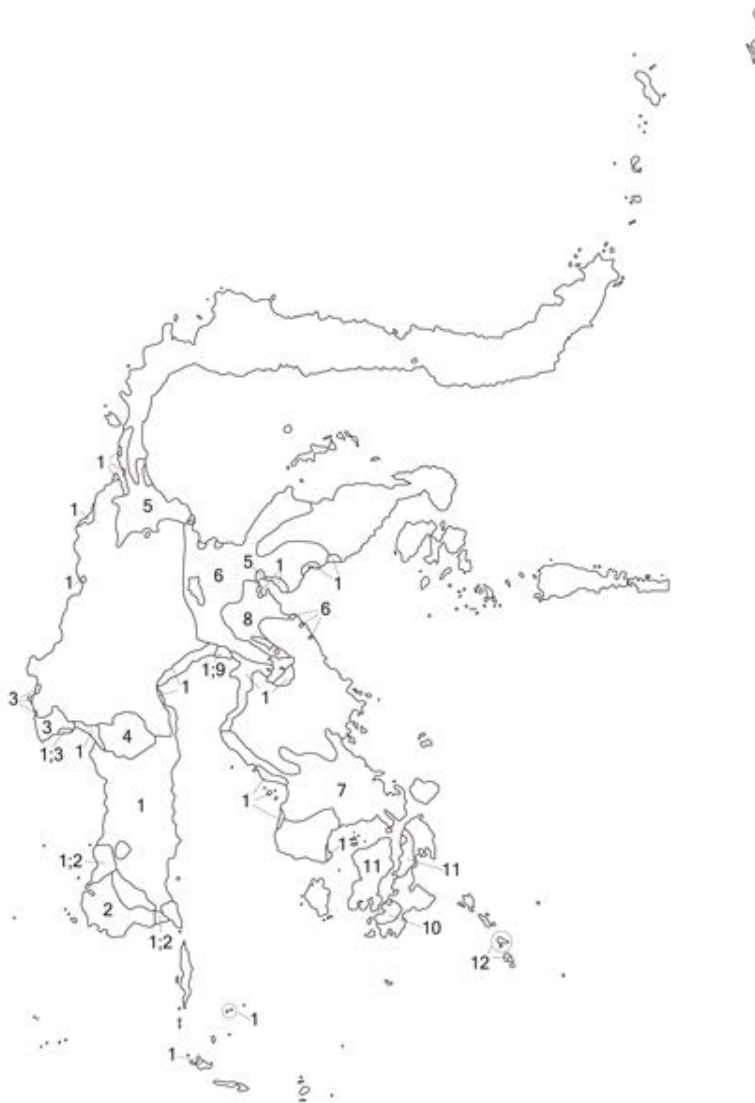
1	Bugis	7	Tolaki
2	Makassar	8	Mori
3	Mandar	9	Wotu
4	Massenrempulu	10	Wolio
5	Ledo Kaili	11	Muna
6	Pamona	12	South Tukang Besi

Map1 Areas in which Languages dealt in this study are spoken (Based on Lewis (2009))

Most of the data in this paper were cited from previous studies, and data from the author's field research are also included[1]. Most of the previous studies are publications from the Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa (Institute for Development and Advancement of Languages) and its regional branch offices in South Sulawesi. Each branch publishes a periodical or periodicals. Following is the list of periodicals grouped by region:

Balai Bahasa Ujung Pandang (Makassar, Province of South Sulawesi)
Sawerigading (from 1993)
Bunga Rampai (from 1996)

Balai Bahasa Provinsi Sulawesi Tengah (Palu, Province of Central Sulawesi)
Multilingual (from 2000)

Kantor Bahasa Provinsi Sulawesi Tenggara (Kendari, Province of South East Sulawesi)
Kandai (from 2005)
Bunga Rampai (from 2007)

In addition to the above publications, there are some informal research reports (Laporan Penelit/ Laporan Hasil Penelitian) that are stored in regional branches in the form of manuscripts; some data are cited from them.

Most of the sources used in this study are written in Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia), and the description of each reduplicated noun in each language is often provided by the corresponding reduplicated form in Indonesian. For example, a previous study by Mursalin et al. (1984) on Makassarese (3.2) provides the example of the Indonesian word *kuda-kuda*, a reduplicated form of *kuda* "horse," for the description of the Makassarese reduplicated word *jaraŋ-jaraŋ*, the reduplicated form of *jaraŋ* "horse." Because of this, we must clarify the function of noun reduplication in Indonesian in order to comprehend the meaning of the word in each of the languages discussed in this study.

Moeliono (1998: 166) suggests that the basic functions of noun reduplication are to indicate non-singularity *ketaktunggalan* and similarity *kemiripan*; the simple reduplication of the base indicates non-singularity and the simple reduplication with the suffix *-an* indicates similarity. Languages in South Sulawesi dealt in this study do not have the counter part of the suffix *-an*, and the same simple reduplicated form may

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indicate either non-singularity or similarity. Therefore, we will interpret a simple Indonesian reduplicated noun as indicating non-plurality and variety when it is used as the description of each example in the languages discussed in this study. For example,

> *mori* "student" > *mori-mori* " non-singular/ various students"
>
> (Wolio, Hamro (2008: 117))
>
> (The original description in Indonesian is *murid-murid*, a reduplicated noun derived from *murid* "student.")

We will interpret a form that consists of simple reduplication and the attachment of the suffix *–an* in Indonesian description as similarity. For example,

> *tedoŋk* "buffalo" > *tedoŋk-tedoŋk* "animal like a buffalo"
>
> (Massenrempulu, cited from Hakim (2011))
>
> (The original description in Indonesian is *kerbau-kerbau-an*, derived from *kerbau* "buffalo" and the suffix *–an*.)

As will be shown in section 3, the function of diminution is observed in noun reduplication in most of the Sulawesi languages, though there are some exceptions. This function is not observed in Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia).

2. Morphology

Most of the languages discussed in this paper follow the morphological rule that the first two syllables of the base are reduplicated. When the base is two-syllabic, which is most often observed shape in languages in South Sulawesi, full reduplication is observed (e.g., *bola* "house" > *bola-bola* "small house" (Buginese, 3.1)). When the base consists of more than three syllables, the first two syllables are reduplicated normally as the initial part of the word (e.g., *lamari* "cupboard" > *lama-lamari* "small cupboard, closet" (Buginese, 3.1)). Some languages exhibit deviations from this rule, which will be addressed in the sections that discuss these individual languages.

3. South Sulawesi Language Group

Languages in this group may be classified into the Northern Language Subgroup and the Seko Language Subgroup. Two languages, Buginese and Makassarese, do not belong to either of these subgroups.

3.1. Buginese

Buginese is the most common language in the South Sulawesi Language Group. Its speakers inhabit the south-central area of the Province of South Sulawesi from Makassar Strait to Bone Inlet. Moreover, its speakers have migrated to areas in Sulawesi and the province of Sabah in Malaysia.

The Buginese language data presented here are cited from Kaseng (1983) and Said (1977). In this language, reduplication follows the rule mentioned in Section 2, i.e., the first two syllables of the base are reduplicated.

> Two-syllabic bases:
> *paa* "chisel" > *paa-paa* "small chisel"
> *biŋkuŋ* "hoe" > *biŋkuŋ-biŋkuŋ* "small hoe"
> *bola* "house" > *bola-bola* "small house"[2] [Kaseng, S. et al. (1983)]

> Bases with more than three syllables:
> *lamari*[3] "cupboard, closet" > *lama-lamari* "small cupboard, closet"
> *kalubampa* "butterfly" > *kalu-kalubampa* "small butterfly or insects related to butterfly" (B.I. *menerpai kupu-kupu atau kupu-kupu kecil*)
>
> [Kaseng, S., et al. (1983)]

A reduplicated form with the prefix *paG-* "people" is also observed. For example,

> *tasi* "sea" > *pattasi-tasi* "fisherman fishing in a relatively small sea area"
>
> [Kaseng, S., et al. (1983)]

From the example above, we could say that a reduplicated noun in Buginese indicates diminution.

Said's dictionary (1977: 17) includes the compound noun with a reduplicated form *acu-acu tana* as an entry. The word *acu* is baby talk of "dog" ("doggie") and *tana* means "ground" or "soil." Said's description of this word is "a kind of bug digging a hole in the ground;" however, to the best of our knowledge, the word now means "ant lion larva." As Said describes it, the literal meaning would be "a small creature in the soil," and we could use this word as an example of diminution by reduplication.

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[2] Plurality and variety are indicated by the adjective *mega* "many" and *merupa-rupa* or *madupa-dupa* "various".
[3] This noun originated from the Portuguese noun *armario*.

3.2. Makassarese[4]

Makassarese is the second most common language in the South Sulawesi Language Group. Its speakers inhabit the southern tip of Sulawesi Island.

Examples in this section are cited from Mursalin et al. (1984).

> Two-syllabic bases:
> *jaraŋ* "horse" > *jaraŋ-jaraŋ* "non-singular/ various horses"
> *ballak* "house" > *ballak-ballak* "non-singular/ various houses, small house"
> *kadera*[5] "chair" > *kade-kadera* "non-singular/ various chairs, small chair"
> *burakne* "man" > *burak-burakne* "rather small man"

From the examples above, we could say that a reduplicated noun in Makassarese indicates either plurality or diminution.

There is a compound noun *olok-olok jeknek* "a mosquito larva" in Makassarese; *olok* means "grub" and *jeknek* means "water." This is an example of diminution because the literal meaning of this compound would be "small grub in the water."[6]

3.3. Mandar

Mandar and Massenrempulu, which are discussed in this and the next section, respectively, belong to the Northern Language Subgroup in the South Sulawesi Language Group[7]. The Mandar language data are cited from Muthalib et al. (1984).

The basic rule of reduplication is the same as that followed in Buginese and Makassarese:

> *kowiq* "woodman's hatchet" > *kowi-kowiq* "knife"
> *lopi* "a ship" > *lopi-lopi* "a toy of a small ship" (B.I. *mainan berbentuk perahu kecil*)
> *karajing* "basket" > *kara-karajing* "small basket"

However, one exception is observed. In the two-syllabic base, dropping of the final sound occurs in the initial part of reduplication.

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[4] Anthony Jukes (p.c.) suggests some differences between his data and the data of Mursalin et al. (1984), cited here, most notably that reduplicated nouns are more likely to indicate diminution/similarity than plurality, e.g. *jara ŋ-jara ŋ* is "toy horse" rather than "non-singular/ various horses". The differences observed in Mursalin et al.'s data and Jukes's data may be clarified in our further research.

[5] This noun originated from the Portuguese noun *kadeira* "a chair with a backrest."

[6] Anthony Jukes (p.c.) suggests that *olok-olok jeknek* is a general term for water insects, and that reduplicated nouns in Makassarese sometimes indicate generality, giving *olok-olok* "animal (especially insect)" from *olok* "grub" as an example.

[7] The number of languages in the Northern Language Subgroup is approximately 60% of the South Sulawesi Language Group. The exact number varies from 11 to 17 depending on the criteria used to distinguish a dialect and an independent language. The average number of speakers is between 80,000 and 130,000.

tarriŋ　"bamboo" > *tarri-tarriŋ*　"small bamboo"

Semantically, the reduplicated noun indicates diminution in Mandar.

3.4. Massenrempulu

Massenrempulu is the fourth most common language in the South Sulawesi Language Group. Its speakers inhabit the inland north of the Buginese speaking area.[8]

Data in this section were collected from Hakim (2011), who compares the grammar of three dialects (Endekan, Duri, and Maiwa), as well as Hanafie (1983) and Sikki (1995), who both focus on the Endekan dialect. In addition, data obtained from the author's research on the aforementioned three dialects are also included.

The basic morphological rule of reduplication is similar to that explained in Section 2; however, Massenrempulu is different in that the reduplicated syllables occur as a succeeding part, not a preceding part of the derived word, e.g., *kappala-pala* "non-singular/ various ships," which is derived from *kappala* "ship." In addition, several cases of full reduplication of bases with more than three syllables is observed (e.g., *makaleq* "morning" > *makaleq-makaleq* "every morning").

Hakim (2011) groups reduplicated nouns into the following six types:

(i) variety
waka "root" > *waka-waka* "various roots" (Endekan and Duri dialects)
ura "root" > *ura-ura* "various roots" (Maiwa dialect)

(ii) plurality, collective
pea "child" > *pea-pea* "many children" (Endekan dialect)
daun "leaf" > *daun-daun* "many leaves"(Duri dialect)
takke "stem" > *takke-takke* "collected stems" (Maiwa dialect)

(iii) every
karuen "evening" > *karuen-karuen* "every evening" (Endekan dialect)
makaleq "morning" > *makaleq-makaleq* "every morning" (Duri dialect)
asso "day" > *asso-asso* "everyday" (Maiwa dialect)

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[8] Lewis (2009) divided this language into three independent languages: Enrekang, Maiwa, and Malimpung. Grimes (1987: 51) recognized Pattinjo as an independent language. Yamaguchi (2005: 57) claimed that Malimpung is a sub-dialect of the Maiwa sub-dialect, which is strongly influenced by Buginese and that Pattinjo is a subgroup of the Endekan dialect.

(iv) similarity

tedoŋk "buffalo" > *tedoŋk-tedoŋk* "animal like a buffalo"(Endekan dialect)[9]

piriq "dish" > *piriq-piriq* "something like a dish" (Duri dialect)

datoq "the head of a family" > *datoq-datoq* "doll" (Maiwa dialect)

(v) small amount/size (with a prefix *saN-/saG-* "one")

leʔpan "a grasp" > *sanleʔpan-leʔpan* "just a little of" (Endekan dialect)

kaqpan " grasp" > *sangkaqpan-kaqpan* "just a handful of" (Duri dialect)

tundung "bunch" > *sattundung-tundung* "just a bunch of" (Maiwa dialect)

(vi) politeness/vagueness

kande "food" > *kande-kande* "just enough amount of food, just a little food"
  (Endekan dialect)

balanca "shopping" > *balanca-laca*[10] "some shopping" (Duri dialect)

gaqde "shop" > *gaqde-gaqde* "small store" (Maiwa dialect)

The function of diminution is observed in this language to a smaller extent than that in other languages of the South Sulawesi Language Group although it is observed in examples of types (v) and (vi).

Sikki (1995: 14-15) discusses reduplication in the Endekan dialect of Massenrempulu.

kamara[11] "room" > *kamara-mara* "small room"

lamari "cupboard" > *lamari-mari* "small cupboard"

oni "sound" > *oni-oni* "non-singular/ various sound"

buku "bone" > *buku-buku* "non-singular/ various bone"

sapeda[12] "bicycle" > *sapeda-peda* "non-singular/ various bicycle"

kappala "ship" > *kappala-pala* "non-singular/ various ship"

Most of the examples show variety although some of the examples, which are all adopted from other studies, exhibit diminution.

Data obtained from Hanafie (1983: 36) include two examples of diminution as well as plurality.

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[9] According to the research team of Balai Bahasa Ujung Pandang, led by Hakim, the sound of *ŋk* in the Endekan dialect is the velar nasal that is directly followed by a glottal stop (Yamaguchi, 2005: 49), while Grimes (1987: 96) denotes the same as the back velar nasal.

[10] In this form, the last consonant l is dropped in the preceding part of the reduplication.

[11] This noun originated from the Dutch noun *kamer* "room."

[12] This noun originated from the Dutch noun *velocipèda* "bicycle."

Diminution:
bola "house" > *bola-bola* "small house"

Plurality:
pea "child" > *pea-pea* "non-singular/ various children"
bulu "feather" > *bulu-bulu* "non-singular/ various various feather"
bija "descendant" > *bija-bija* "son/ daughter and grandchild"[13]

Diminution and Plurality:
batu "stone" > *batu-batu* "gravel"

The author's data show that the three dialects share the following examples of diminution:

buttu "mountain" > *buttu-buttu* "hill" (Endekan dialect)
buntu "mountain" > *buntu-buntu* "hill" (Duri dialect)
botto "mountain" > *botto-botto* "hill" (Maiwa dialect)
kabo "forest" > *kabo-kabo* "small forest" (Endekan dialect)
alah "forest" > *alah-alah* "small forest" (Duri dialect)
kabo "forest" > *kabo-kabo* "small forest" (Maiwa dialect)

4. Kaili-Pamona Language Group

The speakers of the languages in this group inhabit the southern and southeastern part of the Province of Central Sulawesi. The languages in this group may be classified into two subgroups: Kaili and Pamona subgroups. Most of the languages in this group are understudied. In this section, we focus on two languages Ledo Kaili and Pamona, which are generally more researched.

4.1. Ledo Kaili

The Kaili language, which was once considered one language, is now recognized as three different languages: Da'a Kaili, Ledo Kaili, and Unde Kaili (Lewis, 2009). Among these three languages, Ledo Kaili has the most speakers and is relatively more researched. Data from Sofyan et al. (1984: 8-10) are cited in this section.

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[13] The translation of Bahasa Indonesia in Hanafie (1983) for *bija* is "turunan" and *bija-bija* is "anak cucu."

banua "house" > *banua-banua* "non-singular/ various houses"
kandea[14] "food" > *kandea-kandea* "non-singular/ various food"

In this language, reduplicated nouns indicate plurality, not diminution, unlike most of the other languages discussed in this paper.

4.2. Pamona

Data from Hente et al. (1991) and Karsana (2005) are used in this section.

In Pamona, the morphological rule of reduplication differs from that in other languages discussed in this paper. Here, full reduplication is observed for a two-syllabic base, and reduplication of only the initial syllable occurs for a base consisting of more than three syllables. Following examples are given in Hente et al. (1991: 10, 18).

Two-syllabic bases:
kaju "wood" > *kaju-kaju* "small wood"
bau "fish" > *bau-bau* "non-singular/ various fish"

Bases with three or more syllables:
duana "ship" > *duduana* "non-singular/ various ship"
taripa "mango" > *tataripa* "non-singular/ various mango"

Karsana (2005) provides the following examples:

banua "house" > *banua-banua* "non-singular/ various houses, model of house"
jara "horse" > *jara-jara* "wooden horse, rocking horse"
loka "banana" > *loka-loka* "non-singular/ various bananas"
fuku "bone" > *fuku-fuku* "non-singular/ various bones"
eo "day" > *eo-eo* "everyday"

The reduplicated nouns in Pamona indicate either plurality or diminution. Hente et al. (1991: 53-54) and Karsana (2005: 36-38) suggest only the functions of plurality and similarity, not diminution. However, the examples used by them to show similarity may be considered as examples of diminution (e.g., *jara-jara* "a wooden horse, a rocking horse" and *banua-banua* "a model of house").

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[14] This is a deverbal noun derived from *kande* "eat."

5. Bungku-Tolaki Language Group

The speakers of the languages in this group inhabit the Province of South East Sulawesi. Most live in the area from the border of South Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi to the peninsula of South East Sulawesi.

5.1. Tolaki

Tolaki speakers inhabit a large area from the Bone Strait in the west to the Banda Sea in the east.

Examples from Sailan (1995: 48-50) and Usmar (1997: 21-22) are used.

> *buŋge* "big basket roughly woven" > *buŋge-buŋge* "small basket"
> *hulo* "lamp *hulo-hulo*" > "small non-singular/ various lamps"
> *lamari* "cupboard" > *lama-lamari* "non-singular/ various cupboard"
> *kolidi* "basket woven by bamboo or rattan with round opening and square inside" > *koli-kolidi* "small basket"
> *laika* "house" > *lai-laika* "something like house, small house"

We could say that reduplicated nouns in Tolaki indicate diminution although *hulo-hulo* "small non-singular/ various lamps" is an exception. Here, the reduplicated noun indicates both plurality and diminution.

5.2. Mori

Esser (1927, 1933) recognized Mori as one language, while recent studies by Barr (1979: 25-27) and SIL (2011) divide it into two languages: Mori Atas and Mori Bawah. Rahim (1993/1994) and Barasanuji et al. (2000), from which the data in this section are cited, seem to focus on Mori Atas although they do not explicitly distinguish the two languages.

Most of the reduplicated nouns indicate diminution:

> *raha* "house" > *raha-raha* "small house, hut (B.I. *pondok*)
> *ule* "snake" > *ule-ule* "small snake, grub (B.I. *ulat*)"
> *manu* "chicken" > *manu-manu* "bird"[15]
> *wuu* "grass" > *wuu-wuu* "small amount of grass"
> *korono* "river" > *koro-korono* "small river"

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[15] This type of pair (base expressing "chicken" and its reduplicated form expressing "bird") is often observed in languages in and around South Sulawesi. This example may originally be of diminution because the reduplicated noun usually means "a bird that is smaller than a chicken." We could see a similar semantic change in *ule-ule* "small snake, grub." One of the meanings (small snake) arises because of diminution, while the other meaning (grub) because of further semantic change, specifying a species.

osole "corn" > *oso-osole* "small amount of corn"
su'uli "egg" > *su'u-su'uli* "small numbers of eggs"

However, some reduplicated nouns indicate similarity and plurality:

mea "person" > *mea-mea* "doll, something like a person" (B.I. orang-orang-an)
lee "tall, coarse grass" (B.I. *alang-alang*) > *lee-lee* "many tall grasses"
pae "rice plant" > *pae-pae* "many rice plants"

6. Wotu-Wolio Language Group

The speakers of the languages in this language group inhabit three separate areas: the district of eastern Luwu (Wotu), Buton Island (Wolio), and some islands located in South Sulawesi (Kalao and Laiyolo). Examples of Wotu and Wolio, which are relatively well researched, are cited in this section.

6.1. Wotu

Its speakers inhabit Wotu City in the inner area of Teluk Bone. The present number of speakers is 5000–6000 although the language was once spoken by more speakers in a larger area (Salombe (1987: 1-2), Lewis (2006)). Salombe (1987: 55-56) provides the following examples:

banua "house" > *banua-banua* "many various houses"
batu "stone" > *batu-batu* "many various stones"
bou "buffalo" > *bou-bou* "many buffaloes"
ito "person" > *ito-ito* "many people"

Some reduplicated nouns indicate plurality and variety, while some indicate only plurality. Examples of diminution are not observed in this language.

6.2. Wolio

Its speakers inhabit Baubau City on Buton Island. The language was once largely spoken and was a public language in the Buton Kingdom. It is the most researched language among the languages in the Wotu-Wolio Language Group[16]. Examples from Hamro (2008) and Muthalib et al. (1993) are used here.

Hamro (2008: 117) gives the following examples, all of which indicate plurality:

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[16] See Yamaguchi (2010) for details of the previous studies.

buku "bone" > *buku-buku* "non-singular/ various bones"

mori[17] "student" > *mori-mori* "non-singular/ various student"

ana "child" > *ana-ana* "non-singular/ various children"

Muthalib et al. (1993: 62-63) gives the following examples in which diminution, plurality, and similarity are observed. Some examples indicate both plurality and diminution (e.g., *batu-batu* "many stones, gravel").

baŋko "bench" > *baŋko-baŋko* "non-singular/ various small bench"

batu "stone" > *batu-batu* "many stones, gravels"

banua "house" > *banua-banua* "many houses"

gunu "mountain" > *gunu-gunu* "many mountains"

kau "wood" > *kau-kau* "many woods"

ajara "horse" > *aja-ajara* "something like horse"

cangkulu "hoe" > *cangku-cangkulu* "something like hoe"

kauwa "coconut husk" > *kau-kauwa* "something like coconut husk"

Anceaux (1988: 33) provides the following examples:

ana "offspring" > *ana-ana* "youngster"

sara "council" > *sara-sara* "ceremonies"

malo "night" > *malo-malo* "morning"

kalimpopo "star" > *kali-kalimpopo* "fire-fly"

The first three examples appear to have undergone idiosyncratic semantic changes. The last example, *kali-kalimpopo* "fire-fly," may be considered an example of similarity.

From the data in this section, reduplicated nouns in Wolio indicate plurality, similarity, and diminution.

7. Muna-Buton Language Group

Languages in this group are spoken on Muna Island, in the greater part of Muna Island, and in and around Bonerate Island.

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[17] This word originated from the Arabic word *murīd* "student."

7.1. Muna

Its speakers live in and around Pulau Muna as well as on the west coast of Buton Island.

In this language, the morphological rule is different from that in other languages. Some bases with more than three syllables exhibit full reduplication (e.g., *kalipopo-kalipopo* "many stars" < *kalipopo* "star"). Sande (1986) gives the following examples:

> Full reduplication:
> *kontu* "stone" > *kontu-kontu* "many stones, non-singular/ various small stones"
> *lambu* "house" > *lambu-lambu* "non-singular/ various houses, non-singular/ various small houses"
> *boru* "umbrella" > *boru-boru* "many umbrella"
> *kalipopo* "star" > *kalipopo-kalipopo* "many stars"
> *karambau* "buffalo" > *karambau-karambau* "many buffaloes"
>
> Partial reduplication:
> *adhara* "horse" > *adha-adhara* "many horses"[18]
> *karambau* "buffalo" > *kara-karambau* "many buffaloes"[19]
> *kambea* "flower" > *kambe-kambea* "many flowers"

The first two examples indicate a combination of plurality and diminution, while the other examples indicate plurality.

7.2. South Tukang Besi

Its speakers inhabit the southern part of the islands of Tukang Besi, which are located to the west of Buton Island. Data from Usmar (1991) and Kurniawaty (2008), who both discuss the Binongko dialect, were used.

Usmar (1991: 45-48) gives the following examples:

> *kabali* "woodman's hatchet" > *kaba-kabali* "very small hatchet" (B.I. *parang kecil-kecil*)
> *kobo* "orchard" > *kobo–kobo* "small orchard"
> *baŋka* "ship" > *baŋka-baŋka* "something like ship [20], toy ship (B.I. *perahu-perahu-an*)"
> *banta* "pillow" > *banta-banta* "small pillow, something like a pillow"

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[18] *dh* indicates "voiced lamio-dental plosive." [Berg (1989: 18)]
[19] The full reduplicated form *karambau-karambau* and the partial reduplicated form *kara-karambau* are observed in the base *karambau* "buffalo."
[20] The expression "something like" is the translation of *menyerpai* in Indonesian.

sapo "house" > *sapo-sapo* "something like a house, toy house"
buani "a cast net" > *bua-buani* "something like a cast net"

As shown in the examples above, reduplicated nouns in South Tukang Besi indicate diminution and similarity. Moreover, Kurniawaty (2008: 110-111) gives examples of plurality as well as an example of diminution.

kaluku "coconut" > *kalu-kaluku* "small coconut"
bara "goods, object" > *bara-bara* "non-singular/ various goods, non-singular/ various object"
ro'o "leaf" > *ro'o-ro'o* "non-singular/ various leaves"
kokisi "cake" > *koki-kokisi* "non-singular/ various cakes"

8. Summary

We have observed noun reduplication in 12 languages that belong to five language groups of South Sulawesi. Most of the languages follow the same morphological rule: the first two syllables of a base are reduplicated and occur as the preceding part of the derived word although some exceptions and a different rule are observed in some languages.

Semantically, the function of diminution is observed in noun reduplication in most of the Sulawesi languages (two exceptions are Ledo Kaili and Wotu, in which reduplicated nouns only indicate plurality and variety). This function is not observed in Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia).

The degree to which diminution occurs differs among languages. Most of the languages exhibit similarity, plurality, variety functions, and diminution. However, in Buginese and Mandar, the reduplicated nouns only indicate diminution.

Further studies will clarify how widely this characteristic function ranges beyond South Sulawesi.

Abbreviations

G	consonant gemination
N	prenasalization
B.I.	Bahasa Indonesia, Indonesian

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