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REDUPLICATION AND IMPERFECTIVITY IN JEJARA (PARA NAGA)

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Abstract

Jejara is a language spoken in the Naga Hills in Northwest Myanmar by the Jejara people, also known as Para Naga. The peoples identified as Naga represent linguistically at least two distinct Tibeto-Burman branches, Mizo-Kuki-Chin and Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw (Burling 2003:174). It is not unique to find that Jejara indicates imperfectivity by a postverbal particle. Its form is *lu*. This particle indicates the ongoing nature of the state or activity encoded by a main verb. What is interesting is to find verbal reduplication as another form used to encode aspectual elements such as imperfectivity. In Jejara, verbal reduplication indicates aspectual information in two particular syntactic environments: preceding the main verb or following it. Two different semantic results, durative and resultative, are indicated by the reduplication, depending on its position: a durative aspect of the reduplicated verb and an ongoing change of state entered into as a result of the completion of the action encoded by the main verb. The thread of commonality which unites the two positions is that both encode aspectual information.

Keywords: reduplication, aspect, imperfectivity

ISO 639-3 codes: pzn

1 Introduction: People and language

The speakers of the Jejara language live in the Naga Hills of Northwest Myanmar. This paper uses the term “Jejara” to refer to the people and their language, although where they have been referred to in other literature, “Para Naga” is a name by which they are frequently identified. The people themselves have chosen to identify with the name Jejara. The term Jejara has the added benefit of excluding the word “Naga.” This is advantageous in that it avoids perpetuating the misunderstanding that peoples who are identified as “Naga” from a cultural standpoint can then be assumed to speak a language which is part of a linguistic subgrouping of “Naga languages.” In fact, many languages and varieties in the region are still significantly unstudied leaving many gaps in an understanding of the linguistic situation. It already seems clear, though, that peoples identified as Naga speak languages from, at the very least, two distinct Tibeto-Burman subgroups, Mizo-Kuki-Chin and Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw (Burling 2003:174), which do not comprise a larger supergroup. Although Jejara has been identified as belonging to a group named “Naga of Somra region,” alongside Makuri and Tangkhul (Tin Yi 2004:67), no linguistic features are referenced in the classification, and it seems to be based on geographical criteria. The assumption that Jejara is Tibeto-Burman, however, has not been challenged. It exhibits typical Tibeto-Burman characteristics such as SOV word order and contrastive tone¹.

¹ Jejara is a language which makes use of contrastive tone. Yet in the orthography as Jejara speakers are currently using it, tone is not indicated. The orthographic form is the form which is used for the vernacular in Jejara examples in this paper. Without committing to a particular tonal analysis, the author attempts to indicate phonetic tone throughout the paper as much as is possible.

Approximately 1500 Jejara people live in Layshi Township, in Layshi city and surrounding villages. Layshi Township is found in Khamti District, Sagaing Division, Myanmar. The Jejara language was found to be clearly distinct from those spoken in neighboring villages of Makuri and Long Phuri people, with a range of 17-25% lexical similarity found when word lists from four Jejara villages were compared with those from two Makuri and one Long Phuri village (Naga 17). The language was further found to be “high in language vitality” (Naga 29).

2 Reduplication

In his ambitious attempt to provide a classification of “Naga languages” in Northeast India, incorporating further information which had become available in his time, Marrison (1967:1) took note of a feature held in common between the majority of the 31 “Naga languages”² and seven adjacent languages studied. He observes that reduplication for “some special effect” is found “in most of the Naga languages.” He continues, specifying, “Its commonest functions are distributive, intensive and repetitive. The examples indicate considerable variety and freedom in the use of this device, so that close parallels amongst the various languages are comparatively few” (1967:103). Indeed, many Sino-Tibetan languages demonstrate the use of reduplication to signal a particular grammatical feature. Some of these are presented below.

2.1 Reduplication indicating aspect

One of the unique functions of reduplication in Jejara is the focus of this paper; specifically that verbs in their reduplicated forms indicate aspect in specific syntactic contexts. In other Sino-Tibetan languages, too, verbal reduplication can indicate aspectual meanings. In both Dulong and the Yǒngkāng (Southern Wu) dialect of Chinese, reduplication of verbs indicates perfective aspect (LaPolla 2003:681; Yue 2003:92). In Dulong the reduplicated form can be seen in the types of lists used to describe procedural events. LaPolla explains that *V-tōn mǎnǎŋ* ‘having finished Ving’ or ‘after Ving’ might provide a link between series of activities in which one or more of the clauses contain reduplicated verb forms. In the example below *V-tōn mǎnǎŋ* indicates the completion of making the body of a crossbow and leads into drawing its shape, indicated by the reduplicated form *rǎmū-mū* (LaPolla 2003:682). This form leads into the next series of actions, indicating that the activities mentioned before have been completed, giving it a perfective sense.

- (1) *tānā* *ākplāŋ* *zū* *tōn* *mǎnǎŋ* *cēlai* *ōŋ* *tālī*
 crossbow body make finish afterwards one.side LOC bow
- wā* ***rǎmū-mū*** *dəkeī* *tē* *puk.*
 ADV **draw-REDUP** small.knife INST bore.small.hole+1sg
 ‘After finishing the body part of the crossbow, on one side, [I] draw the shape of a bow, [and then] use a small knife to bore a small hole.’
- pu?* *tōn* *mǎnǎŋ,* *nātsēnātsē* *tālī* *zāŋ.*
 bore.small.hole finish after slowly bow fit.into+1sg
 ‘After having bored a small hole, [I] fully fit the bow into the hole.’

In Dulong, reduplication of adjectives can indicate intensification or adverbialization while reduplication of nouns indicates distributive meanings (LaPolla 2003:675). In a number of other languages, reduplication of verbs is described as altering the grammatical category of the lexical item in question, a process of adverbialization. These include Pwo Karen (Kato 2003: 639) and Garo (Burling 2003:397). Kato exemplifies adverbialization with two Pwo Karen examples. *phlē:phlē:* can be glossed as ‘fast, swiftly’ while the non-reduplicated form *phlē:* is the verb ‘to be fast’. In the same way, *γl γl* can be seen as the adverb ‘well’ from the non-reduplicated form *γl* ‘to be good’ (2003:639).

² Quotation marks used around the term “Naga languages” show that the term follows Marrison’s usage. The author’s understanding is that more than one subgroup of Tibeto-Burman languages are represented by the languages spoken by the people who identify as Naga.

Other scholars describe reduplication in other languages slightly differently, although some elements of the resulting semantic sense exhibit commonality. In Jingpho, for example, the reduplication of verbs or auxiliaries is said to result in “the added meaning of ‘constantly, regularly’ or ‘slightly’” (Dai Qingxia 2003:406). This is demonstrated by comparison of the verb [*sa³³*] ‘to go’ which is monosyllabic and the reduplicated [*sa³³sa³³*] ‘to go on a regular basis’. Further, [*ʃe³³*] ‘to know’ contrasts with its reduplicated form [*ʃe³³ʃe³³*] ‘to know to a limited extent’ (Dai Qingxia 2003:406). In Kathmandu Newar, nonfinite verb stems (along with auxiliaries) are reduplicated. It is said that the “semantic characterization” resulting from this process is “elusive, but often takes on a manner or aspectual coloring” (Hargreaves 2003:378). Precise glosses are not given for the auxiliary morphemes or the reduplicated forms which can be seen occurring with those auxiliaries. However, Hargreaves does give verb forms with their glosses and the changed forms including auxiliary and reduplication in which aspectual coloring are observed: [*twɔ na wɔ n-a*] ‘drink go’ > [*twɔ na-tina wɔ n-a*] and [*bwɔ na hɔ ya*] ‘accompany bring’ > [*bwɔ na-bina hɔ ya*] (Hargreaves 2003:378).

The description of the process of reduplication in Northern Chinese dialects (for example, Xiang) takes us closer into similarity with the phenomenon to be described in Jejara. In a forms such as V[*tʂə*] V[*tʂə*] the progressive form of verbs is said to be reduplicated, indicating “the progression of some action in the midst of which another action or state is triggered” (Yue 2003:93-94).

In Caodeng Rgyalrong the form prefix + reduplicated verb stem (past) is said to modify “the situation predicated by the main verb.” This form can be seen occurring in the utterance about a person putting his/her clothes on while still wet (T.-S. Sun 2003:500).

- (2) *ó-ⁿge* *sɛ-nɛtʰicʰiʔ* *noofsɛʃsət* *tɛ-ⁿgeʔ-cə*
 3sg:POSS-clothes CVB-wet:REDUP:PAST in.that.way PFV-put.on:PAST-MED
 ‘She/he put on her/his clothes while they were still wet.’

These forms in Caodeng Rgyalrong are termed converbs or verbal adverbs.

Taking a further look at usages of the term converb, one can definitely see a similarity between functions ascribed to converbs and the functions of reduplication shown in this paper. Haspelmath identifies converbs as “verbal adverbs” and as having the syntactic function of adverbial modifiers. He states further that the converb “is a verb form that is part of the inflectional paradigm of verbs. Thus, a converb cannot easily be analyzed as a verb plus a complementizer or subordinator. Rather the verb in the converb form is inherently subordinate” (1995:4). The reader will see in examples with reduplicated verbs in Jejara that there is no marking for subordination, one point of commonality between the form of verbal reduplication for aspectual meaning and the form of converbs.

In both the use of converbs and the function of reduplication which is expanded on below, two verb events are brought together in adverbial way. The events described by two separate verbs are brought together in a way which is adverbial and looks like a phenomenon which is somewhere between the adverbial phrase and an expression of separate events.

The functions of the specific cases of verbal reduplication described in this paper are a perfect fit for Coupe’s description of some of the possible functions of converbs. He states that converbs are “dependent” and can be used to express meanings of “overlapping temporality, manner, durativity” (Coupe 2005:8) and observes converbs in Mongsen Ao spoken in Northeast India (2007:410). There is a difference, however, in form. While converbs are generally thought of as a verb form with affixes, Jejara uses reduplicated verb forms for the same function. The diachronic source of converbs seen in Mongsen Ao also represents a divergence between converbs and the reduplicated verb forms in this paper. Mongsen Ao converbs are seen as grammaticalizations coming from a nominalizers suffix and instrumental marker (2007:443). The value of considering converbs in relation to the forms described is the fact that significant areas of overlap in function – though only in function – can be observed.

3 Imperfectivity in Jejara

Before looking at the details of how aspect and specifically imperfectivity are indicated by Jejara reduplicated verbs, imperfectivity marked by a postverbal particle on the main verb is introduced. Jejara makes use of a particle which can be used following a verb to add a sense of imperfectivity to the action or

state encoded by that verb. The form of the particle is *lu*. Example (3)³ shows an instance of its use. The ongoing nature of the activity encoded by the main verb *tshui* ‘wash’ is expressed by use of the imperfective *lu* which follows it.

(3) **IPFV postverbal particle**

<i>jai</i> ¹¹	<i>ta</i> ³³	<i>cwe</i> ³³	<i>tshui</i> ⁴⁴	<i>lu</i> ⁴⁴	<i>la</i> ⁴⁴
3sg.DIST	3sg.POSS	clothing	wash	IPFV	CL.F
‘She is washing her clothes.’					

3.1 Imperfectivity in Tibeto-Burman languages

The use of postverbal particles to indicate imperfectivity is seen in other Tibeto-Burman languages, including Burmese. In his “Burmese/Myanmar dictionary of grammatical forms” Okell defines the particle [nɛ] as having the meanings “to be V-ing, V for the time being; to stay, remain V-ing” (Okell 2001:105). Seen in (4), the vernacular example given in the same source shows this imperfective particle within a clause.

(4)	<i>sa</i>	<i>tʰaĩ</i>	<i>pʰʌʔ</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>
	written.material	sit	read	IPFV	DECL
	‘[I’m] sitting and reading.’				

Leinong and Makuri, both languages spoken in the Naga region in Myanmar, also use postverbal particles to mark imperfective aspect on verbs. In Leinong there are two different postverbal particles significant to the encoding of imperfectivity. The choice of which one to use is based on the type of verb and the co-occurring verbal particles. Specifically, “[i]mperfective expression of states is given with the marking of *lui*³³ but events are given by *niu*²²” (Gwa 2010: 105). The latter can be seen following the main verb in (5).

(5)	<i>i</i> ³³ <i>nu</i> ⁴⁴	<i>ja</i> ³³	<i>sau</i> ^ʔ ⁴²	<i>niu</i> ²²
	Enu	SUBJ	eat	IPFV
	‘Enu is eating.’			

In Makuri, a single morpheme is identified as indicating imperfectivity. *shě/ shěle* are identified as forms of the morpheme which expresses the imperfective aspect and is found occurring along with other postverbal elements (Vong 2009:25, 83). An example taken from Vong 2009 (25) can be seen as (6).

(6)	<i>hühkě</i>	<i>hühtsühkhat</i>	<i>pache</i>	<i>shěle</i>
	here	little	rest	IPFV
	‘[We] are resting for a while here...’			

Jejara is similar to Leinong in being able to express the imperfectivity of both verbs which encode activities as well as states. It is similar to Makuri in using a single morpheme rather than needing to coordinate the right type of particle with the given verb type. In (7) a semantic state *lawsai* ‘happy’ is marked with the imperfective *lu*, to indicate that it is ongoing.

(7) **IPFV postverbal particle, state**

<i>ta</i> ⁴⁴ <i>rai</i> ¹¹	<i>law</i> ³³ <i>sai</i> ⁴⁴	<i>lu</i> ⁴⁴	<i>lai</i> ⁴⁴
3pl	happy	IPFV	CL.F
‘... They are happy. (‘are being happy’)			

³ A list of abbreviations and their glosses as used by the author in all Jejara examples can be found in Appendix 1.

The perfective aspect, as well, can be indicated by a single particle in Jejara. It is a clause final particle, *whi*. This can be seen in a statement about a person's departure expressed as a perfected activity *ga* 'go' below.

- (8) *jai*²² *ga*⁴² *whi*⁴²
 3sg.DIST go COMPL
 'He has gone (departed).'

On the other hand, in the case of the state of happiness which results due to a preceding event, the particle *whi* is no longer seen. The use of the basic clause final *lai* comes into play. This is seen in (9). The semantics of the utterance combined with its conditional sense seem to make the need to mark perfectivity redundant.

- (9) *khwai*⁴⁴ *tshaw*⁴⁴ *nkui*²² *yaw*²² *ta*²² *law*²² *sai*³³ *lai*³³
 present receive at.time.of 3sg happy CL.F
 'When [she] received a present she was happy.'

The basic representation of imperfectivity by a postverbal particle and perfectivity by a specific perfective-marking postverbal particle or more general clause final particle has been demonstrated. These can now be used as a point of comparison for the expression of aspect through the reduplication of verbs.

3.2 Imperfectivity in Jejara reduplicated forms

Reduplicated verb forms in Jejara occur within a single clause alongside a main verb with the resultant sense that the activity or state encoded by the reduplicated verb is ongoing from the event-internal perspective. Grammatically, this function can be expressed as representing imperfective aspect. The reduplicated forms can be seen occurring in one of two general syntactic positions. They will either occur preceding the main verb or following it. The exact semantic results of the reduplicated imperfective forms vary based on that relative position. The details of each are discussed in turn.

3.2.1 Reduplicated forms in a preverbal position

When a reduplicated verb form precedes the main verb of a clause, the activity encoded by the reduplicated form takes on an ongoing or imperfective aspect relative to the event encoded by the main verb. Since it is ongoing in the context of that which is predicated by the main verb, it can be seen as the circumstances under which the activity of the main verb takes place. To put it another way, it can be taken to represent manner. Example (10) shows a clause stripped down to just the reduplicated, imperfective, manner-indicating verb form along with the main verb. *we* 'hold.in.front' is an activity identified as imperfective by being reduplicated. It precedes the main verb *ra* 'come'. The event of "coming," then, occurs during the ongoing process, or in the manner, of something "being held in front."

- (10) **Preverbal redup:** IPFV indicates **manner** in which main V is executed
*we*⁴⁴ *we*⁴⁴ *ra*¹¹
hold.in.front.IPFV come
 'Holding [it] in front [of herself], [she] came. ('during the ongoing process of holding [it], [she] came')'⁴

In (11), a similar clause which includes the nonverbal elements of the clause is displayed. The agent is *nyaitzuisatzuirai+khai* 'one girl'. The patientive argument is *sawkhwa+maiku* 'dry stick'. The grip-holding of the stick is ongoing throughout the event, indicated by the reduplication of *tshe* 'grip'. The main event itself is seen to be complex, expressed in a multi-verb construction *ra+tairwaiqhi* 'come and break'. In this example the reduplicated "grip" is a durative event that describes what the agent was doing while she was

⁴ Language resource persons confirm that the utterance refers to a single complex event.

“coming”. The second event “break” sequentially follows the simultaneous manner “grip” and motion “come” events. This example, then, not only provides a contextual illustration of a preverbal reduplicated form indicating manner, but also indicates that the main verb before which the imperfective form occurs can be in the form of a multi-verb construction.

- (11) *nyai*⁴⁴ *tzui*³³ *sa*³³ *tzui*³³ *rai*³³ *khai*⁴⁴ *jai*¹¹ *saw*¹¹ *khwa*²²
girl one A stick

 *mai*³³ *ku*⁴⁴ *tshe*³³ *tshe*³³ *tai*⁴⁴ *rwai*³³ *qhi*³³ *bai*²²
dry grip.IPFV break
‘... A girl, came while gripping a dry stick, and broke [it].’

The utterance below shows the activity of singing going on for an extended period of time. It is as the singer continued on singing that she came to dance. According to the language resource person, it is perfectly possible that she had no intention of dancing but that the ongoing singing inspired her to begin to dance as well.

- (12) *khwe*²² *tsha*²²*tsha*³³ *tze*²² *lu*⁴⁴
 song **sing.IPFV** dance IPFV
 ‘Singing and singing, she came to dance.’

Although semantically tied closely to the main verb, verbs indicated as imperative by reduplication are not syntactically bound to a particular position in the verb complex. An instance of the reduplicated form occurring before the main verb, but with a noun phrase argument intervening, is given as (13). The event encoded in the clause is complex. The agent *nyaitzuisarai+khai* ‘one woman’ and a goal noun phrase argument *saipwe* ‘table’ pattern first. The noun phrase arguments are followed by a multi-verb construction which is connected to the following clause by a connective. At this point, the agent is not mentioned again explicitly, but her activity of *pwapwa* ‘sitting’ is expressed as that which endures throughout and provides the manner in which the events denoted by the following multi-verb construction takes place. It is in the manner and during the ongoing process of *pwapwa* ‘sitting’ that the actor *taisui+ra+pwa* ‘backs up and comes to sit’ behind herself (that is, behind where she had previously been).

- (13) *nyai*⁴⁴ *tzui*³³ *sa*³³ *rai*³³ *khai*⁴⁴ *sai*³³ *pwe*⁴⁴ *ra*¹¹ *mai*³³ *nqai*³³ *cai*¹¹
 woman one table come be.beside CONN
*pwa*¹¹ *pwa*¹¹ *ta*³³ *shi*³³ *pwai*³³ *lwa*³³ *tai*³³ *sui*⁴⁴ *ra*¹¹ *pwa*¹¹ *he*³³
sit.IPFV 3sg.POSS behind ALL **back.up** come sit CMPL
 ‘A woman came near the table and, sitting, backed up and sat (behind where she had been).’⁵

From (13) it is clear that material of significant length can be seen intervening between and imperfective reduplicated verb form and the matrix verb encoding the event which it modifies. Similarly, in (14) a significant stretch of utterance which is not verbal comes between the reduplicated verb form and the main verb. In the video clip (Staden 2001) which prompted the utterance a young woman is cooking. Two other participants, a young man who had been helping cut firewood and an older man come in from offstage sit down to watch her. The speaker struggles to identify the second man in the clip he is describing. Therefore, following the imperfective *pwapwa* is a question as he wonders how to refer to a character that walks onto the scene. This self-interruption is marked by brackets. The question is followed by a general identification of the participant as well as a locative argument. Only after all of this speech matter does the main multi-verb

⁵ Language resource persons confirm this is a very natural and easily understood utterance, despite the fact that it does not translate easily into English. To break it down into less complex propositions would result in this explanation of its meaning: She sat near the table. While she was sitting, she backed up and sat there.

construction occur. It is used to express the main event *ra+pwa* ‘come and sit’ during which the *pwapwa* ‘sitting’ of another participant occurs.

- (14) *ta*³³ *tzwa*³³ *wa*³³ *tsha*³³ *lu*³³ *ti*⁴⁴ *pwa*¹¹ *pwa*¹¹
 3sg food cook look.at sit.IPFV
- [ta*³³ *nqi*⁴⁴ *pa*¹¹ *le*⁴⁴ *swa*³³ *pa*³³ *rai*¹¹ *khai*⁴⁴ *jai*¹¹
 3du father CL.F older.person one A
- ra*¹¹ *ta*³³ *pwa*³³ *kaw*⁴⁴ *haw*¹¹ *ra*¹¹ *pwa*¹¹
 come 3sg chair LOC come sit
- ‘... he... sitting down watching her cook [– their father? –] an older man comes and sits at his chair...’

3.2.2 Special case: *tsha* ‘do’

One of the most commonly reduplicated verbs in the data collected by the researcher is *tsha* ‘do’. The general nature of the semantics of this verb makes it very natural for it to be frequently occurring in a wide variety of semantic contexts. This has also resulted in it being found in a wider range of syntactic contexts than other, semantically narrower, verbs. It is often seen occurring in positions other than immediately preceding a verb which it modifies. In some circumstances, it appears to exhibit qualities of a connective, being used to join one clause to the next. In this usage, it indicates that while the action of the preceding clause was *tshatsha* ‘being done’, the event of the following also occurred. (15) shows an instance.

In its context in a first-person narrative, the utterance begins with a long description of a series of tasks the speaker and his teacher undertook in order to earn travel fare for a journey they were planning. The final line concludes the lengthy sentence in which the activities done by the participants are listed one after another. Readers should pay careful attention to how ‘doing like that’ fits into the larger context, and sets the manner in which the travel costs were received.

- (15) *ja*²² *ku*³³ *tsha*⁴⁴ *zhaw*²² *lai*³³ *twa*³³ *pwa*³³ *kaw*⁴⁴ *rai*⁴⁴ *law*²² *tsha*²²
 church BEN chair PL also do
- ta*²² *hi*³³ *ya*³³ *haw*³³ *ka*⁴⁴ *law*⁴⁴ *lai*³³ *twa*³³ *bi*³³ *ro*³³ *hai*⁴⁴ *rai*⁵⁵ *tsha*²²
 then 1pl.INCL office BEN cupboard LIST PL do
- ta*²² *hi*³³ *zhe*⁴⁴ *raw*⁴⁴ *qi*⁴⁴ *lwa*²² *law*³³ *ka*²² *pwa*³³ *kaw*⁴⁴ *khai*⁴⁴ *qi*⁴⁴
 then Yaydaung village ALL also go.down chair another.time
- ka*²² *tsha*²² *tda*²²
 go.down do LIST.F
- ja*⁴⁴ *tsha*³³ *tsha*³³ *a*³³ *tzi*³³ *lwa*³³ *tzi*³³ *lai*³³ *ti*⁴⁴ *nkui*¹¹
 like.that do.IPFV 1du.INCL travel cost receive
- ‘[We] made chairs for church and cupboards for our office, then we went down to Yaydaung village and made chairs again. **By doing** like that, the two of us earned [the money for our] travel cost.’⁶

⁶ The author is aware that some languages, including Mongsen Ao who live (relatively) geographically close to the Jejara use converbs for particular tail-head linkage patterns or recapitulation (Coupe 2005:11). This utterance may be a sample of a tail-head linkage pattern. Yet the author has not observed such a grammatical phenomenon frequently or clearly enough at this point to confirm its presence in the language.

3.2.3 Reduplicated forms in a postverbal position

In addition to verbal reduplication in a variety of preverbal positions to describe the circumstances under which the main verb is executed, reduplicated verb forms are also found postverbally. Semantically, the forms are used to indicate a resultant state. The semantics encoded by the reduplicated forms are indicated as being true in a timeframe which extends beyond that of the execution of the main verb. Two aspectual expressions are seen in each utterance including a main verb and the postverbal reduplicated form. First, the main verb is completed in a way that can be seen as perfective. Then, as a result, an altered state is entered into. The ongoing nature of this new (resultant) state is indicated by the reduplication of the verb which encodes the semantic nature of that resultant state.

An example is given as (16) below. The clause is simplified from the form in which it was originally uttered to a reduced form, showing only the main verb *laigaw* ‘fall down’, followed by the reduplicated form. The event encoded by the main verb, namely, ‘fall down’ is carried out to completion and must therefore be interpreted as having a perfective aspect. The content encoded by the second, reduplicated verb, however, can be seen to indicate a resultant state. The event denoted by the main verb reaches a perfective-like conclusion. The content encoded by the reduplicated form (in this case, the fact that the falling down led to breaking) following it makes this clear. It does this by denoting an imperfective durative result that itself has no conclusion encoded. As seen in the example, the verb *dha* ‘break’ is reduplicated to indicate an ongoing state of brokenness that came about because of the now-completed activity described in the main verb, the falling down.

- (16) **Postverbal redup:** IPFV indicates **state** resulting due to execution of main V

*lai*³³*gaw*³³ *dha*¹¹*dha*¹²

fall.down **break.IPFV**

‘[It] fell down and is broken. (‘is now in an ongoing state of brokenness’)

The postverbal position can therefore be seen to result in different semantic outcomes than were shown with the preverbal. Rather than indicating manner-like meaning, the reduplicated forms in this position encode results. This is an ongoing state that is entered into due to the execution of the activity encoded in the main verb. These resultant states have logical beginnings but not endings.

The full clause from which (16) is taken is shown as (17) below. It is part of a complex verb construction. The actor *ta* ‘she’ slips and falls, the event that results in the flower pot *laigaw* ‘fall down’. This is what causes the resultant state of brokenness encoded by the reduplication of *dha*. Finally, another aspect-like combination of verbal matter adds emphasis to the sense of completion: *ga+whailo*, ‘to be finished going’ (or ‘occur to completion’). The ongoing state encoded by the reduplicated ‘break’ is entered into completely. While the event of entering into the state, *laigaw* ‘fall down’ itself is represented by a telic verb and understood to be perfective, the imperfectivity denoted by reduplication shows the durative nature of that new state. Syntactically, with all the complexity of verbal matter, and multiple noun phrase arguments, still nothing comes between the verb and its related reduplicated form. This is unlike reduplication seen occurring previous to the verb with which it is semantically connected.

- (17) *o*⁴⁴ *ta*⁴⁴ *saw*¹¹*pwe*¹¹*pwe*¹¹ *pa*⁴⁴ *lwe*⁴⁴ *ga*³³ *ti*³³ *haw*³³
oh 3sg flower pot carry go time LOC

*lai*³³*tzai*³³*ka*¹¹ *lai*³³*gaw*³³ *dha*¹¹*dha*¹¹ *ga*³³ *whai*³³*lo*³¹
slip.and.fall fall.down **break.IPFV** go finished

‘Oh! While she was carrying the vase, [it] fell and broke to pieces (‘is in an ongoing state of being broken’).’

In the Jejara data set, many reduplicated verb forms occurring postverbally were found in sentences describing some form of breakage or destruction. A very similar pattern is observed in Makuri, speakers of which live in the same region as the Jejara. The reader will notice the repetition of *chang* ‘break’, the result experienced by the bamboo of having been *shu* ‘hit’. In turn, the breaking can be understood as the manner

in which the boar ran away. The author articulates it this way: “When an action verb is reduplicated, it denotes the manner in which the main verb in a clause was done” (Vong 2009:83-84).

- (18) *mēlūt* *u* *o* *khēvok* *si* *ake* *zē*
boar that abs bamboo die alive and

shu-chang chang tsei net

hit-break **break** run.away PAST.RL

‘... the boar... ran away breaking down the dry and living bamboo’

Example (19) displays another Jejara usage where the verbal content is about cutting. Someone places carrots on top of the table, and then proceeds to cut them up into pieces with a knife. *laiki* ‘chop’ results in an ongoing state of being cut up, encoded by *phaiphai*. This, in turn, is semantically subordinate to the generic verb *tsha* ‘do’.

- (19) *khaw*³³*qhi*³³*pvai*⁴⁴*sa*³³*sa*¹¹ *rai*¹¹ *sai*³³*pwe*⁴⁴ *tzi*¹¹ *haw*¹¹ *ra*¹¹
carrot PL table top LOC come

<i>tshe</i> ³³ <i>tzu</i> ¹¹	<i>bai</i> ¹¹	<i>sai</i> ³²	<i>ntzui</i> ²²	<i>lai</i> ³²	<i>lai</i> ²² <i>ki</i> ⁴⁴	<i>phai</i>¹¹<i>phai</i>¹¹	<i>tsha</i> ¹¹	<i>lu</i> ³³
put.down	finish	CONN	knife	INS	chop	cut.IPFV	do	IPFV

'...[someone] came and placed carrots on the table and, with a knife, is doing chopping-into-pieces [to them]. ('chops [them] to being cut up')

Another Jejara clause shows the activity of pounding resulting in a lasting state of flatness.

- (20) *lai*³³*re*³³ *sha*²²*sha*²²
pound flat.IPFV

‘[He] pounded [it] flat. ([‘and it entered] an ongoing state of flatness)’

The reader will notice that aspect-indicating reduplicated verb forms following main verbs are frequently expressed the combination of violent verbs resulting in irreversible states. Yet some verbs of other semantic nature show similar results. The resulting state of happiness due to receiving a present can be expressed at least two ways in Jejara. First, the imperfective particle *lu* can indicate that the happiness is ongoing by following the verb *lawsai* ‘happy’.

- (21) *khwai*³³ *tshaw*³³ *nkui*²² *yaw*²² *ta*²² *law*²² *sai*³³ (*lu*³³)
 present receive at.time.of 3sg happy IPFV

'When [she] received a present she was (being) happy ('was [beginning at that moment] being happy')

Another option to express a happiness which lasts beyond the moment of receiving a present is to use a (partially-) reduplicated form *lawsaisai* to encode ‘be very happy’. The form, in addition to expressing the ongoing nature of the new state, also includes a sense of intensivity and is glossed ‘very happy’.

- (22) *khwai*³³ *tshaw*³³ *nkui*²² *yaw*²² *ta*²² *law*²² *sai*³³ *sai*³³
present receive at.time.of 3sg happy.IPFV

'When [she] received a present she was being very happy. ('was [beginning at that moment] being very happy')

In the case of washing clothes, successfully washing them to their clean or white state is most naturally expressed using postverbal reduplication, as in (23).

- (23) *ta33 shi44taw22 tshui44 daw44daw42*
 3sg shirt wash **white.IPFV**
 ‘She washed her shirt and it is white. (‘in an ongoing state of whiteness’)

3.2.4 Resultant state and brokenness

As seen in the previous section, many samples of verbal reduplication occurring following the main verb in Jejara relate to the state of brokenness. A phenomenon semantically similar to these particular Jejara postverbal reduplicated forms occurs in Tenyidie, a language whose speakers live mostly in Nagaland and Manipur of India (Kuolie 2006:4). The source lists complete and partial reduplication in verbs, identifying the forms as “compound-by reduplication” (Kuolie 2006:127). Interestingly, the first verbs in a much longer list encode types of breakage. Each shows change in semantic subtleties between non-reduplicated and reduplicated forms which are similar to those found with postverbal reduplicated forms in Jejara. It would be of interest whether there is any difference in the grammatical patterning between the reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms, and whether they correspond to Jejara syntactical patterns. The forms and their glosses can be seen in the table displayed as (24). The difference between the reduplicated form *bie-tshe-bie-tsha* ‘broken, spoiled, disintegrated’ and the non-reduplicated forms *bie-tsha* ‘broken horizontally’ and *bie-tsha* ‘broken vertically, split’ show that the reduplicated form is similar to the postverbal reduplicated form in Jejara. The reduplicated form shows itself to fit with a gloss that can be interpreted with an ongoing meaning. It seems to not be focusing as much on the event of breakage as the current state of being broken. The use of the words ‘spoiled’ and ‘disintegrated’ really draw out the emphasis on an ongoing state rather than a momentary event.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (24) | Tenydie Vernacular | Gloss |
| | <i>bie-tshe-bie-tsha</i> | ‘broken, spoiled, disintegrated’ |
| | <i>bie-tsha</i> | ‘broken horizontally’ |
| | <i>bie-tsha</i> | ‘broken vertically, split’ |

4 Conclusion

Jejara, along with other languages spoken in the region and those in the broader language family, makes use of the syntactic process of reduplication. In some of these languages, connection is seen between verbal reduplication and an expression of aspect or semantics indicating either manner or result. Yet the researcher found no documented evidence of any language exhibiting just what has been observed in Jejara. When verbal forms are reduplicated in the language, an aspectual change is indicated. The reduplicated form operates within a clause alongside a main verb. That which is encoded by the reduplicated form takes place in a timeframe encompassing or longer than and beyond the event encoded in the main verb. This describes reduplicated forms in general. More specifically, the forms can be observed in two syntactic positions. When occurring previous to the matrix verb, the semantic result is that the reduplicated imperfective meaning expresses the manner in which the main verb occurs. In a position following the main verb, the perfective nature of the main verb becomes clear while the reduplicated form following it indicates the ongoing nature of the state which results due to the execution of the main verb.

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Abbreviations

Item	Description
1	for pronouns, first person
2	for pronouns, second person
3	for pronouns, third person
A	most agent-like participant in a clause
ALL	allative
BEN	benefactive (verbal particle)
BEN	beneficiary (case particle)
CL.F	clause final
CMPL	completive
CONN	connective
DECL	declarative
DIST	distal
du	dual
INCL	inclusive
INST	instrument
IPFV	imperfective

LIST	marks words as belonging to a list
LIST.F	marks the end of a list
LOC	locative
PFV	perfective
pl	plural, for pronouns
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REDUP	reduplication
sg	singular, for pronouns