

‘Counter-exceptional’ Reduplication in Jakarta Indonesian

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Reduplication is a highly productive morphological process across Malay/Indonesian varieties. Many authors have described the diverse functions of reduplication, which include expressing variety, distributivity, reciprocity, intensification etc. (c.f. Simatupang, 1979; Sneddon, 1996; Rafferty, 2012, *inter alia*).

This paper focuses on a specific type of reduplication which is employed in what we term ‘counter-exceptional’ constructions. Counter-exceptional constructions express that an event did not occur contrary to expectation. This construction is illustrated by the following example from Jakarta Indonesian in (2). Notice that this construction contains negation and a reduplicated predicate base.

- (2) Taufik nggak pulang-pulang
Taufik NEG return-return
‘Taufik didn’t return home (contrary to expectation)’

If the predicate *pulang* ‘return’ is not reduplicated, the sentence is no longer interpreted as counter-exceptional (3).

- (3) Taufik nggak pulang
Taufik NEG return
‘Taufik didn’t return home’
(no necessary presupposition that Taufik would return)

Similarly, the counter-exceptional interpretation is lost if negation is omitted, as in (4) (c.f. (2)):

- (4) *Taufik pulang-pulang
Taufik return-return
(Cannot mean: ‘Taufik returned contrary to the expectation’)

Additional constraints on this construction have to do with the base of reduplication. Certain complex verbal predicates cannot be reduplicated to form counter-exceptionals. The complex predicates *kerja keras* ‘work hard’ and *sakit hati* cannot be reduplicated to derive a counter-exceptional construction.

- (5) a. Joni nggak [kerja-keras]
Joni NEG work-hard
‘Joni didn’t work hard.’

(also ungrammatical with the predicate *kerja-kerja keras* and *kerja keras-keras*)

- b. *Joni nggak [kerja-keras]-[kerja-keras]

Joni NEG work hard work-hard

(‘Joni didn’t work hard, contrary to expectation.’)

(also ungrammatical with the predicate *kerja-kerja keras* and *kerja keras-keras*)

- (6) a. Joni nggak [sakit-hati]

Joni NEG sick liver

‘Joni isn’t broken hearted.’

- b. *Joni nggak [sakit-hati]-[sakit-hati]

Joni NEG sick liver sick liver

(‘Joni isn’t broken hearted, contrary to expectation’)

(also ungrammatical with the predicate **sakit-sakit hati* and **sakit hati-hati*)

This paper describes the distribution of counter-expectational constructions. We explore what the restrictions on this construction reveal about the syntactic structure of Jakarta Indonesian.

References:

- Rafferty, E. (2002). Reduplication of Nouns and Adjectives in Indonesian. In *Papers from the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* (pp. 317-332).
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- Sneddon, J. N. (1996). *Indonesian: A comprehensive grammar*. Routledge.