Variation and change in Abui : the impact of Alor Malay on an indigenous language of Indonesia
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Chapter 7

Variation and change in reduplication

7.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the effect of contact on Abui reduplication by comparing the use of reduplication across four age groups: (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, and elders.[1] This chapter shows how contact with Malay has led to both matter and pattern borrowing of reduplication in Abui.

In language contact situations, contact-induced change can occur both with or without the replication of form. When morphological forms are replicated, this is referred to as 'matter' borrowing (Matras & Sakel, 2007a; Sakel, 2007; Gardani, Arkadiev, & Amiridze, 2014). For example, the Austronesian language, Biak, spoken in West Papua, has undergone a lot of matter borrowing from Malay Indonesian. This is evident in the borrowing of words from various word classes, such as the the verb *putar* 'turn', the auxiliaries *bisa* 'can' and *harus* 'must', and the nouns, *rusa* 'deer' and *pasar* 'market' (van den Heuvel, 2007).

When morphological techniques, or structural patterns without forms, are replicated, this is referred to as 'pattern' borrowing (Matras & Sakel, 2007a; Sakel, 2007; Gardani et al., 2014). For example, the Nadahup language, Hup, spoken in the Vaupés region in South America, has borrowed re-

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[1] This chapter is based on Klamer, Marian and Saad, George. Under review. Reduplication in Abui as transfer of matter and pattern. Submitted to *Morphology*.

lative clause and evidentiality strategies from the neighbouring Tukano language. Hup uses an object case marker on a verb to derive relative clauses on the model of Tukano, while it has also developed a fused tense-evidentiality marker also on the model of Tukano (Epps, 2007).

In many languages, clear-cut instances of pattern borrowing have been attested, whereby a pattern, absent in language A, is then transferred to language A through contact with language B. However, fewer studies have focused on the effects of contact on morphological patterns that are overlapping between languages. This means investigating a pattern that is already shared between language A and language B, but whose underlying functions, processes, and distribution are different. In situations like these, transfer of these underlying features can also take place (see Heine and Kuteva, 2005; Backus et al., 2011). As Matras and Sakel (2007b, p. 17) argue, pattern borrowing "is facilitated by a pivot common to both languages". The transfer of reduplication from Alor Malay to Abui is one such example.

In both Abui and Alor Malay, reduplication is found; however, reduplication in Alor Malay is much more widespread. Alor Malay reduplication is distributed across open word classes, serves a wide range of functions, and is highly productive. Reduplication also exists in Abui but it has a narrower scope and is less productive. For example, it applies to fewer word classes, and within the classes where it does apply, such as verbs, it does not apply systematically - it is sometimes dispreferred to other verbal strategies in marking similar functions. In addition, Alor Malay verbal reduplication encodes a wider range of notions such as casualness, typically not found in Abui. Finally, in terms of form, Alor Malay reduplication simply involves total reduplication, while Abui reduplication involves more nuanced rules.

This chapter compares the use of reduplication in Abui across the four age-groups to investigate the role of contact in changing the reduplication system. We argue that the reduplication patterns of Abui are being expanded under influence from Alor Malay. The reduplication system of young Abui speakers is converging with the system in Alor Malay due to the dominance of the latter, and the observed change applies first and foremost to the domain where there is structural overlap between the reduplication patterns in both languages, i.e. verbs.

In this chapter, several tendencies of emergent matter and pattern transfer are documented. In addition, some instances of nonce borrowings are discussed, also known as nonce replications (Backus et al., 2011). Nonce

replications here refer to constructions used by younger speakers which only appear between once and three times in the corpus. While they are idiosyncratic and might never be produced again, if they are indeed propagated, then they may reflect the incipient stages of pattern borrowing (Backus et al., 2011). In this study, it is argued that the nonce instances of reduplication reflect an increased productivity of the feature.

This chapter differs from Chapters 5 and 6 in three crucial ways. First, unlike these two chapters which focused on linguistic features which were less complex in Alor Malay than in Abui, this chapter focuses on a feature which is more complex in Alor Malay than in Abui. Because Alor Malay is generally simpler than Abui - as exemplified in Chapters 5 and 6, it is important to also investigate an area where Alor Malay is more complex to observe whether transfer and complexification are taking place in Abui, as opposed to just simplification as described in Chapters 5 and 6 (see also §1.7). By complexity, what is meant here is that Alor Malay reduplication applies to a larger set of verbs, word classes, and encodes more functions. Reduplication was indeed found to be an area that showed age-related variation, so it was included in the research for this thesis.

Second, the studies in Chapters 5 and 6 involved a quantitative, variationist approach where large amounts of data could be tested across four age-groups. This chapter offers a slightly different approach. It applies qualitative methods, where judgement data by older speakers is used in tandem with language use of older speakers to compare variation with younger speakers. Some tokens and frequency counts are presented; however, no statistical tests were performed. This is because there was unfortunately not enough data to conduct large-scale studies similar to the previous chapters - and as such there is no comprehension data either. In addition, only age is investigated here, unlike the other chapters which investigate both age and gender.

Third, because reduplication data was more sparse than data in the other chapters, this chapter uses a database drawn from both Surrey Stimuli and conversational data. In contrast, Chapters 5 and 6 analyze data from the Surrey Stimuli only.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 7.2 discusses reduplication from a typological and contact perspective, §7.3 and §7.4 describe the function and distribution of reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay, respectively. Section 7.5 discusses the methodology used in this chapter. Section 7.6 dis-

cusses four ways in which the use of reduplication among of younger speakers are being modelled on the kinds of reduplication found in Alor Malay: (i) they borrow reduplicated matter from Alor Malay (§7.6.1); (ii) they replace classic Abui parallel serial verb constructions by verb reduplications (§7.6.2); (iii) they apply the semantic notion of 'casualness' or 'aimlessness' that is found in Alor Malay reduplications on Abui reduplications (§7.6.3); and (iv) they expand Abui reduplication to new domains where older speakers do not use reduplication (§7.6.4). Section 7.7 presents a summary and a discussion of the findings.

7.2   Reduplication: A typological and contact perspective

Reduplication is a morphological word formation process in which some portion of a word is doubled. Total reduplication doubles the entire word, including all of its affixes; partial reduplication doubles some morphophonologically characterized subpart of the word, e.g. a syllable, a root, or a stem (Rubino, 2005, p. 11). An example of total reduplication is presented in (1a-b), where the stem *lari* 'run' is reduplicated.

(1)   Papuan Malay (Kluge, 2014, p. 158)
    a.   *lari*
        'run'
    b.   *lari~lari*
        'keep running'

An example of partial reduplication is illustrated in (2a-b). Here, part of the stem, namely the first syllable /he/ are reduplicated, while the second syllable /ra/ is not.

(2)   Blagar (Steinhauer, 2014)
    a.   *hera*
        'descend'
    b.   *he~hera*
        'descend further'

Cross-linguistically, reduplication can carry a number of meanings. In (1), reduplication marks continuation (Kluge, 2014, p. 178), while in (2),

it "indicates movement or position further in the same direction" (Steinhauer, 2014, p. 158). The meanings associated with reduplication across languages are typically drawn from a limited repertoire with an iconic grounding (Moravcsik, 1974; Gil & Hurch, 2005). On verbs, adjectives and adverbs, reduplication typically adds a semantic element related to the distribution of an argument, tense or aspect (expressing continued or repeated occurrence, completiveness, inchoativity); attenuation or intensity, transitivity (valence, object defocusing) or reciprocity (Rubino, 2013; Y. Li & Ponsford, 2018). On nouns, reduplication confers plurality, distribution, and collectivity.

In addition, within the same language, reduplication may also be polysemous, that is, have several meanings and interpretations (Y. Li & Ponsford, 2018). For example, the Austronesian language, Gayo, spoken in Sumatra, uses full reduplication to express two seemingly contradictory functions: either emphasis or attenuation (Eades, 2005). Furthermore, this is also commonly attested in many eastern Malay varieties across word classes. Papuan Malay is one well documented example. On verbs, for example, reduplication can mark up to seven functions: i) continuation, repetition, and habit, ii) plurality and diversity, iii) intensity, iv) immediacy, v) aimlessness, vi) attenuation, and vii) imitation. In addition, reduplicated phrases can undergo an interpretational shift, i.e. receive an adverbial or nominal reading (Kluge, 2014, p. 185).[2] Alor Malay, as described briefly in §7.4, shares many such properties with Papuan Malay.

The fact that reduplication may express contradictory notions, such as intensity and aimlessness, is actually quite common cross-linguistically (Mattes, 2007; Kiyomi, 2009; Moravcsik, 2013; Kluge, 2014). This is due to the nature of reduplication, which is to mark that a word is to be understood in an out-of-the-ordinary sense, either by being *more* or being *less* in relation to the baseline (Moravcsik, 2013). Here, as Kluge (2014, p. 184) points out, the linguistic context is crucial in determining which interpretation is selected.

Generally speaking, reduplication is a crosslinguistically common morphological strategy (Rubino, 2013) especially in Austronesian languages (Blust, 2013, p. 406) and in Timor-Alor-Pantar languages (Schapper, 2014a, 2017). It has also emerged in many creoles (Bakker & Parkvall, 2005). As

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[2]Kluge (2014) includes adjectives in her definition of verbs. For verbs proper, there are five as opposed to seven.

such, it is argued to be one of the universal combinatory principles governing improvised language behaviour (Muysken, 2013, p. 716). Muysken argues that the iconic properties of reduplication, especially to mark emphasis and iteration, is a commonly attested outcome of bilingual optimization strategies.

In addition to - or perhaps due to - its role as basic combinatory principle, reduplication has also been identified as being sensitive to language contact (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim, 2004; Evans, 2009). In the few examples in the literature so far, minority languages of Indonesia containing reduplication have converged their systems to match that of the dominant Indonesian *lingua franca*. This has been shown to go in two directions, both reducing the native system to match the Indonesian system, or expanding it to match the Indonesian system. For example, Tanjung Raden Malay initially had a larger set of reduplication patterns but due to contact with Standard Indonesian and Riau Indonesian, which themselves have less reduplication patterns than Tanjung Raden Malay, it reduced its reduplication system to match the fewer patterns found in the dominant language (Yanti & Raimy, 2010).[3]

In a similar vein, languages which initially had a relatively smaller reduplication system with respect to the dominant *lingua franca* have expanded their system. This has been observed in the Alor-Pantar archipelago with TAP languages in contact with the dominant *lingua franca*, Alor Malay. Kafoa, one of Abui's closest relatives, appears to have also borrowed a reduplication pattern from Alor Malay, namely nominal reduplication to mark plurality (Baird, 2017). This is illustrated in examples (3a-b).

(3)   Kafoa (Baird, 2017, p. 67)

    a. *kan*
      child
      'child'

    b. *kan~kan*
      RDP~child
      'children'

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[3]In this example, Tanjung Raden Malay is considered the indigenous minority language while Standard Indonesian and Riau Indonesian are considered the dominant majority languages of wider communications. In the next examples, local Malay is considered the dominant majority *lingua franca*.

In addition, the notion of aimlessness and casualness (discussed for the closely related Papuan Malay in Kluge, 2014 and for Alor Malay in §7.4) also appears to be calqued from Alor Malay to another Alor-Pantar language, Reta (Willemsen, to appear; p.c.) as shown in examples (4a-b). This pattern resembles Malay *duduk~duduk* 'sitting around' (see also examples (24) and (26)).

(4)   Reta (Willemsen, to appear, p. 12)

   a.   *miha*
        sit
        'sit'

   b.   *miha~miha*
        RDP~sit
        'sitting, sitting around'

Interestingly, as we shall see in §§7.6.3-7.6.4, similar processes are also taking place in Abui.

7.3   Reduplication and verb serialization in Abui

Abui reduplicates verbs, numerals, and question words, but not nouns. Verbal reduplication is one strategy used in Abui to mark intensity, continuity and repetition of an event as discussed in §7.3.1. While reduplication is currently the more productive strategy, for specific events, older speakers, prefer to use a strategy known as parallel verb serialization, discussed in §7.3.2.

7.3.1   Abui reduplication

Verbs are the most commonly reduplicated word class.[4] Many different types of verbs can be reduplicated, such as intransitive, transitive, stative, and derived verbs. The most common type of function of verbal reduplication is to mark intensity, continuation, or repetition of an event or state

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[4]Abui nouns are not generally or productively reduplicated, although there are some lexicalized reduplications of nouns such as *luka~luka* 'monkey' which have a base that is not used independently (**luka* is not an Abui word). Such lexicalized nominal reduplications also exist in Alor Malay, also for animal species: *cumi-cumi* 'squid' and *kupu-kupu* 'butterfly'.

denoted by the verb (described as 'increased degree, extension, or impact' (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 274)). A less common, yet widespread function includes gradual change, which is available on stative verbs (Kratochvíl & Delpada, in prep.). In terms of form, verbal reduplication typically involves stem reduplication; aspectual suffixes and pronominal prefixes are not reduplicated (with one exception, discussed below).[5]

An illustration of a reduplication of a simple intransitive verb is illustrated in (5). The stem, *laak* 'walk', is reduplicated, while the aspectual suffix *-i* is not part of the reduplication. Reduplication here marks increased intensity.[6]

(5) *Ama   nuku do   **laak~laak-i**   ba   we.*
     person one   PROX   RDP~walk-PFV   LNK   go
     'A man was scurrying along.'   [SS.48M.70]

The reduplication of stative verbs is illustrated in (6a-c). These examples show the stative verb *falaaka* 'be bright' in (6a), which is inflected for aspect in (6b) and reduplicated in (6c) to express increased degree.

(6) a. *Na   lampu falaak-a   he-wahai.*
        1SG.AGT lamp   be.bright-STAT   3.LOC-look.at
        'I look at a bright lamp.'   [FN.26M]

     b. *Bumi   wan   falaak-da.*
        earth.ML already be.bright-INCH.IPFV
        'It's already dawn' (lit. 'Earth has already become bright')
        [FN.26M]

     c. *Bumi   wan   **falaak~falaak-da.***
        earth.ML already RDP~be.bright-INCH.IPFV
        'It is already morning' (lit. 'Earth has already become very bright').   [FN.26M]

On intransitive stative verbs, reduplication may also be used to mark 'gradual change' as shown in examples (7-8). In these constructions, a stative verb is typically combined with an inchoative aspect marker *-da/di*

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[5]Apart from pronominal prefixes and aspectual suffixes, there are no other productive affixes on the verb (see example (144) in Chapter 4).

[6]It is common to combine reduplication of the manner verb *laak* 'walk' with path verbs such as *we* 'go', *me* 'come'.

'INCH.IPFV/PFV' (see §4.7.2.2). Only the stem is reduplicated, while the aspect suffix is not.

(7) a. *kiik-a*   b. *kiik-da*   c. *kiik~kiik-da*
        red-STAT   red-INCH.IPFV   RDP~red-INCH.IPFV
        'red'   'turn red'   'gradually turning red'
     (Kratochvíl & Delpada, in prep.)

(8) a. *yook-a*   b. *yook-da*   c. *yook~yook-da*
        wet-STAT   wet-INCH.IPFV   RDP~wet-INCH.IPFV
        'wet'   'turn wet'   'gradually turning wet'
     (Kratochvíl & Delpada, in prep.)

While in general, affixes (pronominal prefixes and suffixes) are not involved in reduplication, there is one exception to this rule. Out of the six pronominal prefix paradigms that Abui has, the patientive paradigm[7] may be reduplicated alongside the verbal stem, while those of the other paradigms may not (see §4.6 for overview on pronominal prefix paradigms; see also Kratochvíl, 2011a, 2014a).[8]

The distinction between the patientive paradigm and other pronominal paradigms is illustrated in examples (9-12). Examples (9-10) show the reduplication of verb stem and patientive pronominal prefix *ha-*.

(9) *Neeng nuku natet   ba   pining*
     man   one   stand.PFV LNK field
     halak~ha-lak-da.
     RDP~3.PAT-examine-INCH.IPFV
     'A man is standing there inspecting the field.'   [SS.56M.7]

(10) *Hedo pi   pi-maama   he-nala*
     3.FOC 1PL.INCL.AGT 1PL.INCL.AL-father 3.AL-thing
     la=ng   ***habeeq~ha-beeq-da.***
     MED.LOCA=ALL   RDP~3.PAT-bad-INCH.IPFV
     'This here, we are really destroying our esteemed friend's thing.'
     [CV.75F.HJ]

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[7]The patientive paradigm is also the most frequently used paradigm and is a reflex of the proto-Alor-Pantar pronominal form (see Klamer and Kratochvíl, 2018).

[8]My thanks go to František Kratochvíl for making this acute observation.

In examples (11-12),[9] the pronominal prefix *do-* '3.REFL.REC' belongs to the recipient paradigm and is therefore not reduplicated; only the stem is reduplicated.

(11) *Neeng   nuku   ...   do-anang~anang-ra.*
     man   one   3.REFL.REC-RDP~converse-IPFV
     'A man (is lying on his back) having a whole conversation with himself.'   [SS.43F.25]

(12) *Neeng   nuku   oro   mit   ba   do-m-pang~pang*
     man   one   DIST.LOCA   sit   LNK   3.REFL.REC-in-RDP~think
     'A man is sitting there, pondering (something)'   [SS.43F.25]

Numerals are reduplicated to create distributive numerals, which function to express notions such as 'one by one' as in (13a), 'two by two' as in (13b), and 'in groups of 27' as in (13c).

(13) a. ***nuk~nuk-da***
       RDP~one-INCH.IPFV
       'one by one'   [FN.26M]

     b. *A-pong   **ayoq~ayoq-da.***
       2SG.INAL-face   RDP~two-INCH.IPFV
       'You have a faceache.' (lit. 'Your face goes two by two.')
       [CV.43F.AH]

     c. *kar   ayoqu   wal   yeting   **ayoq~ayoq-da***
       ten   two   ADD   five   RDP~two-INCH.IPFV
       'in groups of 27'   (Klamer et al., 2017, p. 348)

Reduplicated numerals are formally predicates. Specifically, they undergo stem alternation and attach an inchoative aspect suffix, such as *-da* in examples (13a-c). A full list of stem alternations and inchoative aspectual suffixes for the numerals 'one' to 'six' is presented in Table 7.1 (taken from Klamer et al., 2017, p. 349). As shown in the table, the stem also undergoes irregular stem alternation such as *sua* 'three' > *sui~sui-da* 'three by three'. In

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[9]The segment *-m-* in *dompangpang* in (12) is probably lexicalized from an earlier compound involving *m(i)* 'inside' and *pa* 'touch'. It is no longer productive, athough similar related forms do exist.

addition, the inchoative *-na* is used fo numerals 'four' and 'five', while the inchoative *-ra* is used for 'six'. Note that because of the quinary system, when the numerals seven, eight, and nine are in the ones position, they follow the morphological rules of the numeral added to the base 'five'. This is shown in (13c), where the distributive numeral of '27' is derived by reduplicating the numeral *ayoqu* 'two', because the numeral *yeting ayoqu* 'seven' consists of the addition of *yeting* 'five' and *ayoqu* 'two'.

Table 7.1: Abui cardinals and distributives

	Cardinal	Distributive
1	*nuku*	*nuk~nuk-da*
2	*ayoqu*	*ayoq~ayoq-da*
3	*sua*	*sui~sui-da*
4	*buti*	*buk~buk-na*
5	*yeting*	*yek~yek-na*
6	*talaama*	*talan~talan~ra*

Larger numbers (borrowed from Malay) undergo full reduplication and do not take an aspectual suffix, as in *rifi~rifi* 'in thousands', in (14).

(14)   *Ama*   ***rifi~rifi***   *sei*   ...
      person   RDP~thousand   come.down.IPFV
      'People came in thousands (to that place.)'   (Kratochvíl, 2014b).

Question words may also be reduplicated to derive indefinite pronouns, as in (15), where *nala* 'what; thing' is reduplicated to mean 'something' or 'whatever'.

(15)   *We hel loqu iti **nala~nala**.*
      go   TOP   PL   lie   RDP~what
      'Going there, there is something/whatever.'   [CV.75F.JH]

To sum up, reduplication is found on verbs, numerals, and question words. It is most prominent on verbs where it most often marks intensity and continuity, while it may occasionally also mark gradual change. However, reduplication, even on verbs, does not appear to be entirely productive; it may not be used for every verb. In addition, there are restrictions and

rules in terms of form. Typically only the stem is reduplicated; aspectual suffixes are not, and only the patientive prefix may take part in the reduplication. Section 7.3.2 highlights that reduplication is not entirely productive, discussing a few event types where another strategy is favoured over reduplication.

7.3.2   Abui parallel verb serialization

Abui also has a subset of verbs for which reduplication is not considered the optimal strategy to express notions of increased intensity, continuation and repetition. For some of those verbs, although not all, a strategy involving the use of conventionalized and lexicalized serial verb constructions must be used. This is sometimes referred to as 'parallel serialization' or 'synonymous serialization'. Parallel serialization is a type of verb serialization where two verbs with parallel or in some instances synonymous meanings are paired together to convey repetitive events, or events with an increased intensity (Kratochvíl, 2007, p. 357).

Examples of three such constructions are presented in (16-18).[10] In (16), the parallel verb pair include *-yok -tel* '-shake' '-tie together' meaning 'shake back and forth'. In (17), *-lal* 'laugh' *-baai* 'revel' combine to derive the meaning 'burst out laughing'. In (18), *-fik* 'pull' *-bel* 'pull out' combine for the meaning 'tugging back and forth'.[11]

One important feature of these constructions is that both verbs in the construction have the same argument structure. As such, they are both marked with the same pronominal prefix. Examples (16-18) illustrate this, while also presenting three different persons being indexed. In example (16), the third person patient prefix *ha-* is used on both verbs *ha-yok ha-tel* 'shake back and forth' indexing *deisi* 'his body' in a transitive clause 'He shakes his body back and forth'. In (17), the reflexive patient prefix *da-* is used on both verbs *da-lal da-baai* 'burst out laughing' to index *maayol nuku* 'a woman' in a reflexive construction. In (18), the distributive patient prefix *ta-* is used on the verbs *ta-fik ta-ber* 'tugging each other back and forth'. The distributive prefix signals a reciprocal relation between the participants

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[10]There are many more of these event types, but these three were investigated because they appeared in the responses to the Surrey Stimuli.

[11]These verbs may also occur on their own.

(for more information on reflexive as well as reciprocal constructions, see §4.6.7).

(16) *de-isi=ng*　　　　*ha-yok*　　*ha-tel.*
3.REFL.AL-body=ALL　3.PAT-shake　3.PAT-tie.together
'[He] shakes his body back and forth.'　　　　　[ss.30м.36]

(17) *Maayol nuku do-nakal*　　　　*mit ba* *da-lal*
woman one　3.REFL.REC-alone　sit　LNK　3.REFL.PAT-laugh
da-baai.
3.REFL.PAT-revel
'A woman is sitting by herself and burst out laughing.'　[ss.59ꜰ.33]

(18) *Neeng ayoqu oro*　　　*ming* *ta-fik*
man　two　DIST.LOCA　ALL　DISTR.PAT-pull
ta-ber　　　　　*ba* *me* *do.*
DISTR.PAT-pull.out.PFV　LNK　come　PROX
'Two men there are tugging each other back and forth, coming our way.'　　　　　[ss.43м.44]

In my corpus, parallel serializations are used by the older Abui speakers, while the younger speakers mostly use verb reduplications instead, a strategy that older speakers find unacceptable. Section 7.6.2 discusses this contrast in more detail.

7.4　Reduplication in Alor Malay

Reduplication in Alor Malay bears some differences as well as similarities to reduplication in Abui. In terms of form, unlike Abui, only full reduplication is found. This is related to the fact that Alor Malay has little productive morphology (see footnote 13; §1.7; Baird et al., in prep.). In terms of distribution, it is more widespread than it is in Abui. It is found on a larger number of word classes, is more productive, and also has more functions. Specifically, nouns, verbs, adjectives, question words and numerals can all undergo reduplication.

On nouns, reduplication marks a number of closely related quantitative functions. This may be (associative) plurality as in (19), collectivity as in

(20), or diversity as in (21). In (19), *ana~ana* 'RDP~child' is reduplicated and also combined with the plural word *dorang/dong* to mark plurality.[12]

(19) *Kemarin, ini=apa, dengan **ana~ana** dong latihan tu*
      yesterday HESIT   with   RDP~child PL practice DIST
      ko?
      TAG
      'Yesterday, erm, you had singing practice with the children, right?'
      [CV.24F.DA.AM]

In (20), *mama~mama* 'RDP~mom' is combined to form the collective noun of 'ladies'.

(20) *Sepertinya ibu,   dia   pung tangan kita   lihat ni,*
      it.looks.like mother 3.AGT POSS hand   1PL.INCL look PROX
      *ke   **mama~mama** begitu.*
      like RDP~mom   like.that
      'It seems like a woman. Her hands, [if] we look at them, resemble those of ladies.'   [SS.25M.30.AM]

In (21), *daun~daun* 'RDP~leaf' marks the diversity of 'all sorts of leaves'.

(21) ***Daun~daun** ada banyak di   George pung bahu   jadi,*
      RDP~leaf   exist many LOC G.   POSS shoulder so
      ini, Simon datang ko   kasi bersi.
      PROX S.   come   LNK CAUS clean
      'There were all sorts of leaves on George's shoulder, so, well, Simon came and cleaned [it].'   [SS.28F.80.AM]

The semantic meaning elements of plurality and diversity can also be seen when reduplication is applied to verbs and adjectives. For verbs, reduplication can express the intensity, repetition, continuation, or habituality of an event or state; as well as its aimlessness or casualness (see also Sneddon et al., 2012 and Kluge, 2014).

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[12]Reduplication to mark plurality, while still common in eastern varieties of Malay, is more salient in Standard Indonesian (see Sneddon et al., 2012). In eastern varieties such as Kupang and Alor Malay, the plural word is often used sometimes on its own and other times alongside a reduplicated form.

In example (22), reduplication of the verb *bergerak* 'move' marks continuation of the event of moving.[13]

(22) *Wa   ada   **bergerak~bergerak** la!*
     EXCL PROG RDP~move   EMPH
     'Wa...he keeps on moving!'   [CV.9F.MM]

In example (23) reduplication of the verb *foto* 'take photos' expresses an activity of 'taking photos over and over again'. In both examples (22) and (23), the progressive marker *ada*, originally meaning 'exist', is combined with the reduplicated verbs to mark continuation.

(23) *Dia ada   sengaja   **foto~foto**   orang   tu.*
     3SG PROG deliberately RDP~take.photo person DIST
     'He is deliberately taking many photos of them over and over again.'
     [CV.28M.DA.AM]

Another prominent function of verbal reduplication in Alor Malay (as well as many other Malay varieties) is to express doing something in an aimless or casual manner, i.e. without a particular goal (cf. Sneddon et al., 2012; Kluge, 2014). In (24), the subject, *nyong* 'man', is just sitting around casually, not engaging in any other activity and with no particular aim in mind. This is expressed by using the reduplicated form *duduk~duduk* 'RDP~sit'.

(24) *Ada nyong satu, dia **duduk~duduk**.*
     be   man   one   3SG RDP~sit
     'There's a man, just sitting around.'   [SS.28F.80.AM]

In example (25), the reduplicated form of *jalan* 'walk' implies 'walking around aimlessly', with the adverb *terus* adding a sense of continuity.

(25) ***Jalan~jalan** terus   makanya lu   lupa   to?*
     RDP~walk   continuously hence   2SG forget TAG
     'Constantly going around for no reason; no wonder you forgot, eh?'
     [CV.28M.DA.AM]

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[13]Unlike other varieties of Indonesian, where *ber-* is treated as a prefix and thus does not take part in the reduplication, Alor Malay has very little productive morphology. Thus, verbal reduplication involves full reduplication, as in *bergerak~bergerak* and not *bergerak~gerak*.

In (26), some examples of reduplications carrying a notion of aimlessness and casualness are given.

(26)   *senyum* 'to smile'   *senyum~senyum* 'smile for no reason'
       pikir 'think'   *pikir~pikir* 'ponder'
       jalan 'walk'   *jalan~jalan* 'go for a stroll; travel around'
       pegang 'hold (tightly)'   *pegang~pegang* 'hold (loosely)'
       duduk 'sit'   *duduk~duduk* 'sitting around, relaxing'
       berdiri 'stand'   *berdiri~berdiri* 'standing around (without purpose)'   [FN.40F]

The interpretation of the meaning element added by the reduplication process depends on the lexical semantics of the base word as well as the combination with other items in the clause (e.g. using the reduplication in a progressive construction with *ada* 'PROG' as in (23), or combining it with the adverb *terus* to express continuation in (25)). In addition, it also interacts with the pragmatic context of the utterance. As a result, the same reduplication may get different interpretations depending on the context where it is used. For example, *senyum~senyum* 'RDP~smile' may mark casualness or aimlessness as in 'smile for no reason', but in other contexts it can mark repetition, continuation or intensity ('smile repeatedly', 'keep on smiling', 'smile a lot').

Adjectives can also be reduplicated to mark intensity. This is illustrated in example (27), where the adjectives *keras* 'strong' and *takut* 'afraid' are both reduplicated. With the prohibitive *jangan*, the construction means 'don't be so afraid'.

(27)   *Omong ko   suara **keras~keras** jangan **takut~takut** la!*
       speak   COMPL   voice RDP~strong   PROH   RDP~afraid   EMPH
       'Speak such that your voice is loud and strong, don't be so afraid!'
       [SS.23M.6]

Further, similar to Abui, question words, such as *apa* 'what' or *kapan* 'when' are reduplicated to derive impersonal pronouns, such as 'whatever' or 'whenever', as shown in (28-29).

(28) *Saya tida punya apa~apa   untuk kamu.*
      1SG   NEG have   RDP~what for   2PL
      'I don't have anything for you (pl.).'   [FN.23F]

(29) *Kapan~kapan dia   datang di   Takpala, di   orang   Abui,*
      RDP~when   3SG   come   LOC Takpala LOC   person Abui
      baru dia   liat kita   na   dia   senang begitu.
      then 3SG   see   1PL.INCL COND 3SG   happy   like.that
      'Whenever/someday she'll come to Takpala to the Abui people;
      when she'll see us, she'll be happy.'   [CV.28M.DA.AM]

Alor Malay also reduplicates numerals to derive distributive numerals,
which function to express notions such as 'one by one', as in (30).

(30) *Dulu OMK   ni   banyak orang   tapi **satu~satu***
      past Catholic.youth PROX many   person but   RDP~one
      su   mulai keluar.
      already start   exit
      'In the past there were lots of young Catholic Abui people, but one
      by one they've started to leave.'   [FN.23F]

7.4.1   Summary: Comparison of reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay

To sum up, reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay shares some similarities
and exhibits some differences. Abui generally reduplicates the stem (with
a few exceptions), while Alor Malay reduplicates the whole word. Another
difference is that reduplication in Abui is less productive than it is in Alor
Malay. Abui has no nominal reduplication, while Alor Malay marks (asso-
ciative) plurality, diversity, and collectivity through nominal reduplication.
In Abui, reduplication is not entirely productive; it may be applied to many
but not all types of verbs, marking intensity, continuation, repetition, and
gradual change. In Alor Malay, reduplication is much more productive; it
may be applied to all verbs and marks intensity, continuation, repetition,
and casual/aimless manner. Reduplication of stative verbs and adjectives in
Abui marks intensity or gradual change, while in Alor Malay, it only marks
intensity. Reduplication of question words appears to work similarly across
both languages, deriving indefinite pronouns. Reduplication of numerals

also has the same function, namely to mark distribution 'one-by-one'. The reduplication features of both languages are compared in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Reduplication in Abui and Alor Malay

	Abui	**Alor Malay**
Formal features	Partial reduplication	Total reduplication
Verbs	Intensity, continuation, repetition; not entirely productive	Intensity, continuation, repetition casual/aimless manner; entirely productive
Nouns	n/a	(Associative) plurality, diversity, collectivity
Adjectives/ stative verbs	Intensity, gradual change	Intensity
Question words	Indefinite pronoun	Indefinite pronoun
Numerals	Distribution	Distribution

7.5   Present study

For this study, reduplication data in Abui is compared across the four age-groups of (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults, and elders; see §3.4 for discussion on age-groups. The source of the data includes the Surrey Stimuli (∼25 hours) and conversational data (∼5 hours) (see §3.5 for more details).[14] From both of these genres, we isolated all the utterances that contained reduplications in Abui. In total, this amounted to 189 utterances by a total of 60 different speakers; see Table 7.3.

As shown in Table 7.3, the group of (pre)adolescents had the most number of speakers producing reduplications (20 speakers), while elders had the

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[14]As stated in §3.5, the data was not originally intended to elicit reduplication patterns, but was rather aimed at eliciting an Abui bilingual corpus of various age-groups from which variable patterns could be detected. Only after recording and transcribing the data, did it become clear that the reduplication patterns showed variability across the age-groups which warranted further investigation. In addition, genre was not controlled for in this study.

least (8 speakers). These speaker counts refer to speakers who produced a reduplication in either the Surrey Stimuli or a conversation.[15] While generally speaking, less data was collected from a smaller number of elders than (pre)adolescents, the figures in the table also suggest that there was a higher chance that (pre)adolescents would produce a reduplication than the other groups, possibly as a sign that it is becoming more frequent and productive among them.

Table 7.3: Participant list for reduplication tokens

Groups	Age range	Speakers	Total number of reduplication tokens
(pre)adolescents	9-16	20	65
Young adults	17-25	17	56
Adults	26-34	15	44
Elders	40-75	8	24
Total	9-75	60	189

With respect to which verbs were reduplicated, all speakers reduplicated a wide range of verbs: 45 different verb forms were used in the 189 utterances we investigated. The most frequent of these included *laak* 'walk' (28 tokens), (*dom*)*pang* 'think' (26 tokens), *halak* 'inspect' (15 tokens), and *anang* 'talk' (11 tokens) used by all age-groups. Together, these four verbs accounted for 80/189 utterances. Out of the 45 verbs, 41 other verbs had between 1 and 3 tokens. There is thus very little overlap in the Abui verbs that speakers reduplicate. This is especially striking since the data consists of responses to a stimuli set depicting a limited set of events, which we would expect to show a bias towards a limited set of verbs.

The Abui data presented in this chapter are of three types. First, we compare Abui utterances across age-groups, which we argue are representative of emerging trends in reduplication patterns. Second, we evaluate the utterances of the younger speakers using the judgements of older speakers, in the form of corrections to utterances that appear ungrammatical to them. These judgements are not part of the original data set, but were eli-

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[15]As such, they may differ to other counts, such as number of speakers in Surrey Stimuli (cf. Tables 3.12 and 3.10).

cited after the initial data had been recorded and transcribed (they are indicated as 'corrections' in the text; see also §3.5.3.1 for more information on judgement data). Third, we contrast the utterances of younger speakers ((pre)adolescents or young adults) with utterances that the older speakers (adults or elders) themselves produced in response to the same video stimuli. Occasionally, utterances by older speakers in the Kratochvíl corpus are included to illustrate a contrast in usage.

One of the main motivations for including this judgement data was to include additional evidence to support the claim that younger speakers' utterances deviated from the norm. Ideally, if there was an equal number of speakers in each group, one could compare their utterances only; however, only eight elder speakers were sampled, compared to 20, 17, and 15 for (pre)adolescents, young adults, and adults, respectively. Therefore, judgement data had to be brought in to pinpoint that utterances by younger speakers deviated from those acceptable by elders. In addition, because the differences in meanings are so nuanced and there do not appear to be any clear-cut rules as to which verbs are reduplicated and which are not, it is even more important to recruit elder native speakers to evaluate them. Finally, because it has been claimed that indigenous minority languages have large amounts of variation due to a lack of a standard, using judgements is a useful means to tap into the boundaries of acceptable variation (Nagy, 2009).

Using both judgements and utterances of older speakers, we hope to show that some of the reduplications used by (pre)adolescents and young adults are not acceptable according to elder speakers, and that these explicit judgements, which were given after the recordings were made, are indeed supported by what elders (and to some extent adults) actually produced when they were recorded. Taken together, these two types of evidence show emerging trends in the reduplication patterns of younger speakers.[16]

Furthermore, in addition to isolating 189 utterances containing Abui reduplication, we also isolated 20 utterances containing parallel serializations. Parallel serialization constructions, like reduplication, are used with certain events to mark intensity in Abui (discussed in §7.3.2). They were collected in order to compare which strategy was preferred among which

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[16]More in-depth information on how the data was coded and analyzed can be found in §3.8.

age-group.

Finally, in order to be able to compare the Abui patterns with those attested in Alor Malay, we also compiled a set of 93 Alor Malay utterances containing reduplications. These utterances were used as a database on which the description in 7.4 is based. These utterances came from responses to the Surrey Stimulus task and from conversational recordings both collected from the Alor Malay corpus (see §3.17) as well as from Alor Malay utterances present in the Abui corpus (see §3.16).

7.6   Transfer of reduplication from Alor Malay into Abui

In this section, we discuss the transfer of reduplication from Alor Malay into Abui. First, we present matter transfer: reduplications in Alor Malay as part of Abui utterances in §7.6.1. Next, we describe three ways in which young bilinguals transfer patterns of verbal reduplication into Abui under influence of Alor Malay: (i) by replacing parallel serializations with reduplications (§7.6.2); (ii) by using reduplication to mark the notion of aimlessness (§7.6.3), and (iii) by expanding reduplication to new structural domains (§7.6.4). In §7.6.5, we summarize the token frequencies of these four types of transfer for the four age-groups.

7.6.1   Matter transfer: Malay reduplications

Malay insertions are found in the utterances of all Abui speakers; however, only in the younger group (mostly (pre)adolescents and young adults) does the set of Malay insertions also include reduplications. Two frequently inserted Malay reduplications by younger speakers include the adverbs *tiba~tiba* 'suddenly' (from the base form *tiba* 'arrive')[17] and *sama~sama* 'together' (from the base word *sama* 'with; same') - in the examples below, the insertions are marked in bold. Both of these reduplications are treated as adverbs when inserted into Abui; however, *sama~sama* 'together' is occasionally aslo treated as a verb.

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[17]As pointed out by František Kratochvíl (p.c.), even in Malay, *tiba~tiba* is a lexicalized form and native speakers are probably not readily aware of the derivation link between *tiba* and *tiba~tiba*, suggesting that is probably inserted as one chunk. Nonetheless, it is still an instance of matter borrowing involving a reduplicated form.

In example (31), the Alor Malay loan *tiba~tiba* occurs in the adverbial slot, before the agentive pronoun *di* 'he'.

(31) 25-year-old male (Young adult)

oro   *nu=ng*   *we* **tiba~tiba**   *di*   *kaberang-di.*
DIST.LOCA   DIST=ALL   go suddenly.ML   3.AGT   trip-INCH.PFV

'[He was] going there; suddenly, he tripped.'   [SS.25M.43]

Examples (32-34) illustrate the insertion of *sama~sama* 'together'.[18] In (32), *sama~sama* is treated as an adverbial, modifying *laak* 'walk'.

(32) 27-year-old female (Adult)

Moqu loqu nu   hel   mi=se   sama~sama laak.
child PL DIST 3.NAGT take=PRIOR together.ML walk

'Those children, pick them up and walk together.'   [CV.27F.GJ]

In examples (34) and (33), younger speakers combine *sama~sama* 'together' alongside the Abui word *-tafuda* 'all' to derive the sense 'altogether'.

(33) 24-year-old male (Young adult)

Moqu loqu faring ya   pi-muknehi   *George*
child PL   many and 1PL.INCL.AL-same.sex.relative   G.
baai nu-tafuda   sama~sama we-i   hare...
also   1.PL.EXCL-all together.ML   go-PFV   so

'Many kids and our brother George as well, we all went together, so...'   [CV.24M.BC]

(34) 22-year-old female (Young adult)

Pu-tafuda   sama~sama-di   ba yai paneeng naha!
1PL.INCL-all together.ML-INCH.PFV LNK song make   NEG

'We can't all sing together!'   [CV.22F.OG]

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[18]Malay *sama~sama* 'together' can also be used in other contexts, such as in responses to *terima kasih* 'thank you'. It does not seem to be used in Abui in this particular sense.

The base form of *sama~sama* is Malay *sama* 'same'. Interestingly, the base form *sama* 'same' has also been borrowed into Abui and is used by older speakers. It appears to be fully integrated into Abui and it differs suprasegmentally from Malay *sama* 'same'. In the Abui *sama* 'same', the first syllable is short and the second one prominent, while in Malay, the first syllable is prominent and longer.[19] Thus, the borrowing of *sama* 'same' must have happened at an earlier stage than the reduplicated form, especially since most adult speakers do not consider Abui *sama* to be a Malay word, whereas they flag *sama~sama* immediately as a Malay insertion, indicative of young people's speech.

The form *sama~sama* is typically not found in older speakers' speech. When older speakers are presented with sentences such as (32-34) containing *sama~sama*, they often reject it and construct a new sentence only containing -*tafuda*, as in (35).

(35) 40-year-old female (Elder)

Pu-tafuda   yai   paneeng naha!
1PL.INCL-all song   make   NEG

'We can't all sing together!'   [CV.22F.OG]

In addition, this is also reflected in how they speak; to derive the sense 'altogether', they use -*tafuda* 'all' on its own, as shown in (36).

(36) 40+ year-old (Elder)

Nu-tafuda   hel fala   nu=ng   taa.
1.PL.EXCL-all TOP house DIST=ALL sleep.IPFV

'We slept in that house altogether.'   (Kratochvíl corpus)

The categorization of *sama~sama* in Abui varies. Often, it is treated as an adverbial, with no morphology and occurring before the verb, as in (32) and (33). Sometimes, however, it is treated as a verb, as in (34), where it takes the inchoative perfective suffix -*di* that is commonly indicative of a derived verb. It also occurs in clause-final position that is typical for verbs, preceding the clause linker *ba*.

Examples (37a-c) and (38) illustrate two instances of nonce insertions. These utterances only occur between once and three times in the corpus.

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[19]I thank František Kratochvíl for pointing this out.

In (37a), a (pre)adolescent speaker inserts *teman~teman* 'RDP~friend' into an Abui nominal construction; compare Alor Malay (37b) and Abui (37c). In Abui, nominals cannot be reduplicated, as shown by the ungrammatical phrase between brackets in (37c).

(37)   a.   Abui with Alor Malay loan reduplication: 12-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

   *e-**teman**~**teman***   *loqu*
   2SG.AL-RDP~friend.ML   PL

   'your friends'   [CV.12F.MM]

        b.   Alor Malay: 40-year-old female (Elder)

   lu   *pung*   *teman~teman*   *dong*
   2SG   POSS   RDP~friend   PL

   'your friends'   [FN.40F]

        c.   Abui: 40-year-old female (Elder)

   e-feela   *loqu* (* *e-feela~feela loqu*)
   2SG.AL-friend   PL

   'your friends'   [FN.40F]

Another example is *senyum~senyum* 'smile continuously/with no aim' (from *senyum* 'smile') in (38). The verb *senyum* 'smile' does not have a direct equivalent verb in Abui. This lexical gap could be a plausible explanation for the matter transfer of this Malay term into Abui.

(38)   27-year-old male (Adult)

   Wiil   *neeng* *nuku* *iti*   *de-wiil*   *ha-buk*
   child   man   one   PROX.LOCA   3.REFL.AL-child   3.PAT-cradle
   ba   *natet*   *haba* *la*   ***senyum~senyum*** *ba*
   LNK   stand.PFV   but   MED.LOCA RDP~smile   LNK
   natet   *do.*
   stand.PFV   PROX

   'A young man is standing here cradling his child but he is standing and smiling for no reason.'   [SS.27M.56]

The token frequencies of matter transfers are listed in Table 7.4. These counts include the widespread insertions *sama~sama* 'together' and

tiba~tiba 'suddenly' as well as full nonce reduplications (of verbs, nouns and other words) that are directly transferred from Malay. (pre)adolescents and young adults have similar tokens: 16/65 (25%) vs. 13/56 (23%), while adults have 5/44 (11%) and elders have 0. More specifically, (pre)adolescents favour *sama~sama* insertions as well as nonce insertions, while young adults favour *sama~sama*, and *tiba~tiba*.

Table 7.4: Token frequencies for matter transfer

Groups	Speakers	Total	Matter transfer		
			sama~sama	*tiba~tiba*	Nonce
(Pre)adolescents	20	65		16 (25%)	
			5	0	11
Young adults	17	56		13 (23%)	
			7	6	0
Adults	15	44		5 (11%)	
			2	1	2
Elders	8	24		0	
			0	0	0
Total	60	189		34	
			14	7	13

7.6.2 Pattern transfer I: The replacement of parallel serializations by reduplications

As discussed in §7.3.2, Abui employs parallel serialization as one of its two major strategies to express increased intensity, continuation, and repetition of events. Although Abui lacks a standard grammatical norm, there are two indications that Abui speakers consider parallel serializations as the 'older' and more preferred pattern compared to verb reduplications. First, with regards to specific events, elder speakers utter such parallel serializations instead of reduplicated constructions; second, they also explicitly reject the reduplicated constructions as sounding unacceptable.

In this section, we review the younger speakers' tendencies to use reduplicated constructions instead of parallel serializations, and compare them

with corrections provided by older speakers, complemented by naturally produced utterances by older speakers. Tokens are presented in Table 7.6 at the end of the section.

Specifically, the parallel serializations in Table 7.5 were all uttered by older speakers in response to certain video stimuli (see Table 3.11). (pre)adolescents (age 9-16), especially, seem to prefer reduplicated constructions over parallel serializations when faced with the same video stimuli.

Table 7.5: Use of parallel serializations and reduplications by older and younger speakers

Older speakers Parallel serializations	Younger Speakers Reduplications	Translation
-yok -tel -shake -tie.together	*-yok ~-yok* RDP~shake	'shake (s/t) back and forth'
-lal -baai -laugh -revel	*-lal ~-lal* RDP~laugh	'burst out laughing'
-fik -bel/r -pull -pull.out	*-fik ~-fik* RDP~pull	'tug back and forth'

These constructions are illustrated in (39-41) below. The reduplication uttered by the younger speakers in (39a), (40a) and (41a) is semantically equivalent to the parallel serialization uttered by the older speakers in (39b), (40b) and (41b). However, while (pre)adolescents would rather use reduplication to encode the intensity, continuation or repetition of events, the older speakers prefer to express this by parallel serialization.

In (39a), in response to Surrey Stimuli clip C03, a 13-year-old speaker reduplicates *ha-yok* '3.PAT-shake' to mark intensity and repetition. From (39b), derived from judgment data, and (39c), derived from production data, it is clear that older speakers have a preference for using the parallel serialization *ha-yok ha-tel* '3.PAT-shake 3.PAT-tie.together'.

(39)   Responses to clip C03 'People dancing'

    a. 13-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

       Di   *de-raala*   **hayok~ha-yok**   *ba*   *di*
       3.AGT   3.REFL.AL-throat   RDP~3.PAT-shake   LNK   3.AGT

       taa.
       sleep.IPFV

       Intended: 'He shakes his neck back and forth and then sleeps.'
       [SS.14F.55]

    b. Correction of (39a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

       Di   *da-wata=ng*   **ha-yok**   **ha-tel.**
       3.AGT   3.REFL.INAL-neck=ALL   3.PAT-shake   3.PAT-tie.together

       'He shakes his neck back and forth.'   [FN.40F]

    c. 30-year-old male (Adult)

       ... *de-isi=ng*   **ha-yok**   **ha-tel.**
       3.REFL.AL-body=ALL   3.PAT-shake   3.PAT-tie.together

       '[he] shakes his body back and forth.'   [SS.30M.36]

In example (40a), a 16-year-old speaker marks intensity on the verb *da-lal* '3.REFL.PAT-laugh' through reduplication. Both (40b) and (40c) show that older speakers (adults and elders) have a preference for the parallel serialization *da-lal da-baai* '3.REFL.PAT-laugh 3.REFL.PAT-revel'.

(40)   Responses to clip C07 'Woman sitting and laughing'

    a. 16-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

Maayol nuku o   mit-i   ba   do-nakala   o
woman one   MED   sit-PFV LNK 3.REFL.LOC-alone MED
dalal~da-lal.
RDP~3.REFL.PAT-laugh

Intended: 'A woman is sitting and laughing really hard on her own.'   [SS.16F.17]

    b. Correction of (40a) by a 40-year-old female (Elder)

Maayol nuku o   mit-i   ba   do-nakala   wala
woman one   MED   sit-PFV LNK 3.REFL.LOC-alone only
o   da-lal   da-baai.
MED   3.REFL.PAT-laugh 3.REFL.PAT-revel

'A woman is sitting and laughing really hard on her own.'
[FN.40F]

    c. 48-year-old male (Elder)

Maayol nuku do-nakala   mit ba   da-lal
woman one 3.REFL.LOC-alone sit LNK 3.REFL.PAT-laugh
da-baai.
3.REFL.PAT-revel

'A woman is sitting and laughing really hard on her own.'
[SS.48M.70]

In (41a), a similar example is shown with the verb *ha-fik* '3.PAT-pull' reduplicated by a 22-year-old speaker to derive the meaning 'tug'. Similar to the examples above, the correction in (41b) provided by a 40-year-old speaker, complemented by the utterance in (41c) are clear indications that older speakers prefer parallel serialization while speakers under 34 have a preference for reduplication. In (41c), the distributive prefix *ta-* encodes the reciprocity of the event.

(41)   Responses to clip C01

   a.   22-year-old male (Young adult)

   *Neeng   nuku   de-feela   ha-tang   **hafik~ha-fik.***
   man   one   3.REFL.AL-friend   3.INAL-hand   RDP~3.PAT-pull

   'A man is tugging on his friend's hand.'   [SS.22M.38]

   b.   Correction of (41a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

   *Neeng   nuku   de-feela   ha-tang   **ha-fik***
   man   one   3.REFL.AL-friend   3.INAL-hand   3.PAT-pull
   ha-bel.
   3.PAT-pull.out.IPFV

   'A man is tugging on his friend's hand.'   [FN.40F]

   c.   48-year-old male (Elder)

   *Neeng   ayoqu   oro   ming   **ta-fik***
   man   two   DIST.LOCA   ALL   DISTR.PAT-pull
   ta-ber   ba   me   do.
   DISTR.PAT-pull.out.PFV   LNK   come   PROX

   'Two men there are tugging each other back and forth, coming
   our way.'   [SS.48M.70]

The token frequencies for reduplication utterances where parallel serialization would be expected are listed in Table 7.6. The column 'Parallel serialization target' represents contexts where intensity is meant to be marked on a verb that is typically used in a parallel serialization. (Pre)adolescents produce five of these targets, using reduplication in four of them, while using parallel serialization in one. Young adults produce four such targets, using reduplication in one of them, while using parallel serialization in three. Adults produce nine such targets, using reduplication in one of them, while using parallel serialization in eight. Elders produce seven targets, and use parallel serialization in all seven. This suggests that (pre)adolescents are most likely to use reduplication instead of parallel serialization, although two instances were also found in young adults and adults combined.[20] These

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[20]Alor Malay also has serial verb constructions, so one question that might come to mind is whether the verb serialization strategy of Abui could be a pattern that is similar to

results show that this type of pattern transfer of reduplication is not incredibly salient; however, it is still found in the community, especially among (pre)adolescents.

Table 7.6: Token frequencies for pattern transfer I: Replacement of parallel serializations

Groups	Speakers	Parallel serialization target	Reduplication	Parallel serialization
(Pre)adolescents	20	5	4	1
Young adults	17	4	1	3
Adults	15	9	1	8
Elders	8	7	0	7
Total	60	25	6	19

7.6.3   Pattern transfer II: Reduplicating with the notion of aimlessness

As discussed in §7.4, in Alor Malay, reduplication of verbs not only marks intensity, continuity and repetition, but also aimlessness and casualness. In Abui, reduplication marks intensity, continuity and repetition, but the notions of 'aimlessness' and 'casualness' are not found in the verb reduplications of the older speakers. Reduplications by young speakers, however, do express notions such as 'aimlessness' and 'casualness'; for example *natea~natea* 'just standing aimlessly' in (42) and *mit~mit* 'just sitting around aimlessly' in (43).

(and perhaps influenced by) verb serialization in Alor Malay. We compared both patterns and did not see a connection between them, as many Alor Malay serializations encode notions that are different from the notions expressed by the parallel serializations in Abui, and also involve different types of verbs.

(42) 13-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent); response to clip P06

*Wiil neeng **natea~natea** mai he-feela nuku*
child man RDP~stand COND 3.AL-friend one
hor-i.
3.call.PFV-PFV

'As the man was just standing there [casually], his friend called out to him.' [SS.13M.47]

(43) 15-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent); response to clip P21

*Neeng nuku do **mit~mit** ba langsung laak-e.*
man one PROX RDP~sit LNK immediately.ML walk-IPFV

'A man is just sitting around [casually]; then walks away.' [SS.15F.22]

Another example from the corpus is *wahai~wahai*, with the meaning 'look around aimlessly' shown in (44). It is likely that this Abui reduplication is calqued on the Malay reduplication *lihat~lihat* 'look around aimlessly'. For older speakers, *wahai~wahai* does not mean 'looking around aimlessly'. For them, reduplication of -*wahai* 'to look at' (with a pronominal object prefix *he-*) means 'staring at [something] continuously'.[21] This was not the event depicted in clip P06 in (44).

(44) 15-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent); response to clip P06

*Neeng nuku di natea ba **wahai~wahai.***
man one 3.AGT stand.IPFV LNK RDP~look.at

'A man is standing and looking around (aimlessly).' [SS.15M.10]

The token frequencies are presented in Table 7.7. A total of 15/189 (7.9%) reduplicated forms were used in ways which expressed aimlessness/casualness. (Pre)adolescents used 8/65 (12.3%) reduplicated forms with the notion of aimlessness/casualness, followed by young adults, 6/56 (10.7%) and adults 1/44 (2.2%). Elders did not produce any such forms. This data shows that this type of transfer is most salient among (pre)adolescents and young adults.

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[21]The verb (-)*wahai* 'look at' is also involved in another process of contact-induced change, namely semantic generalization, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 7.7: Token frequencies for pattern transfer II: Transfer of notion of aimlessness/casualness

Groups	Speakers	Total number of re-duplications	Pattern transfer II
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	8 (12.3%)
Young adults	17	56	6 (10.7%)
Adults	15	44	1 (2.2%)
Elders	8	24	0
Total	60	189	15 (7.9%)

7.6.4   Pattern transfer III: Expanding reduplication to new domains

Sections 7.6.2-7.6.3 focused on two specific types of pattern transfer, which appear more than twice in the corpus. There also appeared a large series of reduplications which deviated from the norm, but which did not group together to form any significant pattern; thus because many utterances are nonce utterances (occuring between once and three times), they are grouped together in this section. This section differs slightly to the previous ones as the previous ones show one clear pattern of use, while this section presents a number of nonce examples. Grouped together, the examples in this chapter are argued to suggest an increased productivity for the process of reduplication.

The examples presented here include instances relating to function and form. In terms of function, we describe nonce instances where reduplication in Abui is used beyond its traditional grammatical domains, discussed in §7.3. Young Abui speakers are expanding the use of reduplication to replace verbal constructions in a way that is not (yet) acceptable for speakers of the older generation. They also extend reduplication to the nominal domain. In terms of form, younger speakers are simplifying the system by ignoring some of the more complex rules regarding which affixes are reduplicated and simply reduplicating the whole word, similar to Alor Malay.

Examples (45a-c) illustrate evidence for the claim that younger speakers are applying reduplication to verbs that would otherwise not be reduplic-

ated. In the utterance by a 17 year-old in (45a), the Abui verb *karok* 'snore' is reduplicated (and its first vowel is also changed from [a] to [o], by analogy to the Malay word *mengorok* 'snore'). The reduplication indicates continuity and/or intensity. It was deemed unacceptable by a 40-year-old, who corrected it as in (45b). In the corpus, it occurs several other times as an unreduplicated stem, as in (45c). It is still unclear[22] exactly why older speakers do not accept this reduplication, while they do accept other reduplicated verbs (see §7.3). Nonetheless, it is taken to suggest that younger speakers apply reduplication more productively and to a wider set of verbs than do older speakers.

(45)   Responses to clip C05

    a.   17-year-old male ((Pre)adolescent)

Neeng	*nuku*	*iti*	*taa*	*do*	*o*
man	one	PROX.LOCA	sleep.IPFV	PROX	MED

korok~korok-da	*do.*
RDP~snore-INCH.IPFV	PROX

       'A man is sleeping and snoring.'   [ss.17m.1]

    b.   Correction of (45a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

Neeng	*nuku*	*taa*	*ba*	*karok-e.*
man	one	sleep.IPFV	LNK	snore-IPFV

       'A man sleeps and is snoring.'   [fn.40f]

    c.   31-year-old male (Adult)

Neeng	*kalieta*	*nuku*	*iti*	*taa*	*ba*
man	old.person	one	PROX.LOCA	sleep.IPFV	LNK

karok-e.
snore-IPFV

       'A man is sleeping and snoring.'   [ss.31m.59]

In example (46a), the 17-year-old speaker reduplicates the verb *hayeei* 'fall' to signal that the log that the girl was carrying kept falling; that is, to express the iterativity of the event. As shown in (46b) and (46c), a more

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[22]It was confirmed with older speakers that it wasn't the vowel change which triggered their ungrammaticality judgement, but the reduplication instead.

commonly used construction to describe this event involves using a serial verb construction with the causative verb *ong* 'make/do'. In (46b), the child causes the log to fall, as evidenced by the pronoun *di* '3.AGT', whereas in (46c), the reflexive pronoun *del* implies that the log makes itself fall.

(46)　Responses to clip C18

　　a.　17-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

　　　*... lakang tihai mai o **hayeei~hayeei** ba iti.*
　　　very　heavy COND MED RDP~fall.from.above LNK lie

　　　'... because it is very heavy, it keeps falling and lies (there).' [SS.17F.32]

　　b.　Correction of (46a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

　　　... lakang tihai mai o di la ong
　　　very　heavy COND MED 3.AGT MED.LOCA make
　　　hayeei.
　　　fall.from.above

　　　'...because it is very heavy, she drops it there.'　　　[FN.40F]

　　c.　43-year-old female (Elder)

　　　Moqu nuku oro bataa ha-fik-e. Del
　　　child one DIST.LOCA wood 3.PAT-pull-IPFV 3.REFL.NAGT
　　　ong hayeei di ha-fik beeqa.
　　　make fall.from.above 3.AGT 3.PAT-pull can.not

　　　'A child is pulling a log. It falls, she can't pull it (anymore).' [SS.43F.25]

The corrections listed in (45b) and (46b) to the examples (45a) and (46a), respectively, show that younger speakers are expanding the verb reduplication pattern to mark distinctions such as intensity and iterativity that were previously marked by other verbal constructions. Older speakers do not accept all the reduplications that young speakers produce.

In addition to applying reduplication to verbs, young speakers also extend it to the nominal domain. The corpus contains two instances of reduplicated Abui nouns, shown in (47a-b), both uttered by young speakers. The reduplication *neeng~neeng* 'men' may have been created partly analogous to Alor Malay *laki-laki* 'man; men', which can have both a singu-

lar and a plural interpretation. The reduplication of *maayol~maayol* 'wo-men' is meant to mark plurality; the Malay equivalent would be *perem-puan~perempuan* 'women'.[23] In contrast, (47c) shows an adult's use of the plural word *loqu*, which is the default strategy for marking plurality. Only two instances of this occurred.

(47)   Responses to clip C03

    a. Reduplication of nouns; 14-year-old female ((pre)adolescent)

        Neeng~neeng ya   maayol~maayol o
        RDP~man   and RDP~woman   MED
        do-ha-yok.
        3.REFL.REC-3.PAT-shake
        'Men and women are dancing.'   [ss.14F.15]

    b. Reduplication of nouns; 24-year-old male (young adult)

        Neeng~neeng maayol~maayol del
        RDP~man   RDP~woman   3.REFL.NAGT
        to-wal-ri   ba   do-ha-yok-e.
        DISTR.REC-be.like-PFV LNK 3.REFL.REC-3.PAT-shake-IPFV
        'Men and women are gathered together and dancing.'
        [ss.24M.40]

    c. Use of plural word; 32-year-old (Adult)

        Neeng ya   maayol loqu do-ha-yok-e.
        man   and woman PL   3.REFL.REC-3.PAT-shake-IPFV
        'Men and women are dancing.'   [ss.32F.60]

In addition, there were a few deviant nonce reduplications concerning form. In these instances, younger speakers reduplicated the whole word, as opposed to just the stem, akin to Malay reduplication (as discussed in §7.4). There were, in total three such types of reduplications. An example given here relates to a non-verb reduplication attested in young speakers: *nuku~nuku* 'one by one' in (48). This form is likely to be a calque from Malay *satu~satu* 'one by one' (compare example (30) above). Although Abui can reduplicate cardinal numerals to derive distributive numerals (Klamer et al., 2017, pp. 348-349), as shown in (48c), as well as in (14) above, the generally

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[23] As discussed in §7.4, (associative) plurality in Alor Malay may also be marked using the plural word *dorang/dong*.

accepted form of the distributive of 'one' takes an irregular short form *nuk* of the stem *nuku* 'one', and is inflected as a verb, with the aspectual suffix *-da/di*. In contrast, the reduplication of the young speaker in (48a) just copies the regular form *nuku* 'one', without any additional affixes.

(48)   a. 16-year-old female ((Pre)adolescent)

   A-ra   ***nuku~nuku, nuku~nuku*** *he-fanga.*
   2SG.PAT-try   RDP~one   RDP~one   3.REC-speak.IPFV

   'Try (it) one by one, say it one by one.'   [CV.16F.DA]

   b. Correction of (48a) by 40-year-old female (Elder)

   A-ra   ***nuk~nuk-di***   *ba*   *he-fanga.*
   2SG.PAT-try   RDP~one-INCH.PFV   LNK   3.REC-speak.IPFV

   'Try to say it one by one.'   [FN.40F]

   c. 27-year old female (Adult)

   Meeting   ba   taha   tel   amet-a   ba   rifi
   betel.vine REL   on.top tie   small-STAT REL   thousand
   nuk~nuk-da   *yo...*
   RDP~one-INCH.IPFV   MED.ADDR

   'The betel vine that you tie [in] small [bunches] which [sell for] 1000 per piece...'   [CV.27F.GJ]

What has been shown in this section is a number of instances of nonce reduplication. The most notable ones include an increased productivity on verbs, an expansion of reduplication to the domain of nouns, and the use of total reduplication on numerals, instead of stem reduplication. The token frequencies for a combined total of all the deviant reduplications of types discussed in this section are listed in Table 7.8. (pre)adolescents produced 6/65 (9.2%) such tokens, followed by young adults, 3/17 (5.4%), and adults, 1/44 (2.2%). All of these instances were shown not to be acceptable for speakers of the older generation. This suggests that (pre)adolescents are most likely to exhibit this kind of transfer, followed more moderately by young adults and to a much lesser extent adults. This is analysed as an extension of the reduplication pattern already present in Abui under influence of Alor Malay.

Table 7.8: Token frequencies for pattern transfer III: Expanding reduplication to new domains

Groups	Speakers	Total number of reduplications	Pattern transfer III
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	6 (9.2%)
Young adults	17	56	3 (5.4%)
Adults	15	44	1 (2.2%)
Elders	8	24	0
Total	60	189	10 (18.9%)

7.6.5   Summary of token frequencies

Section 7.3 described 'native' patterns of reduplication found in older speakers. Sections 7.6.1-7.6.4 have described instances of contact-induced reduplications, which included both matter transfer and pattern transfer (three types). Table 7.9 summarizes the token frequencies found in each of these categories. It displays the total number of reduplications per group and lists the number of native reduplications as well as the instances of contact-induced reduplications.

Looking at the column of 'native reduplications', it is clear that there is positive correlation with age. (Pre)adolescents produced 31/65 (47%) native reduplications, followed by young adults 33/56 (59%), adults 36/44 (82%), and elders 24/24 (100%).

Looking now at the category of contact-induced reduplications, (pre)adolescents and young adults have similar tokens with respect to matter transfer: 16/65 (25%) vs. 13/56 (23%). With regards to pattern transfer (combining the three types), (pre)adolescents show a higher proportion compared to young adults: 18/65 (28%) vs. 10/56 (18%). Adults had 5/44 (11%) tokens of matter transfer and 3/44 (7%) tokens of pattern transfer, while elders had 0 tokens of either.

Table 7.9: Summary of total token frequencies for reduplicated words

Groups	Speakers	Total N of reduplications	Native reduplications	Contact-induced reduplications				
				Matter transfer	Pattern transfer	PT1	PT2	PT3
(Pre)adolescents	20	65	31 (47%)	16 (25%)	18 (28%)	4	8	6
Young adults	17	56	33 (59%)	13 (23%)	10 (18%)	1	6	3
Adults	15	44	36 (82%)	5 (11%)	3 (7%)	1	1	1
Elders	8	24	24 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Total	60	189	124	34	31	6	15	10

7.7   Discussion

Verbal reduplication exists in both Alor Malay and the Abui of elder speakers, encoding intensity, continuity, and repetition. However, reduplication is used much more elaborately and productively in Alor Malay than in Abui. While Alor Malay reduplicates nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, question words and numerals, Abui reduplicates only (stative) verbs, question words and numerals. In addition, there are restrictions on Abui verbal reduplication that do not apply in Alor Malay: to encode intensity, some Abui verbs must feature alongside another verb in a parallel serial verb construction; in Alor Malay, any verb can be reduplicated. Furthermore, Alor Malay allows for a broader set of semantic notions to be expressed through reduplication, such as casualness/aimlessness.

Comparing the reduplication patterns of (pre)adolescents, young adults, adults with those of elders, it is observed that (pre)adolescents and young adults, in particular appear to be expanding the system in four ways: 1) They tend to use more matter reduplication borrowings from Alor Malay, 2) They use verb reduplications instead of parallel serializations, 3) They extend the semantic notions encoded by reduplications to include casualness/aimlessness, 4) They use reduplication more productively on verbs and in some cases also reduplicate items from other word classes. The outcome observed here involves both the transfer of matter and the transfer of pattern, and more specifically pattern extension, whereby 'an existing pattern spreads to a wider range of contexts' (Backus et al., 2011, p. 743) in the younger generation. Adults display very few of these tendencies, and generally behave like elders.

In terms of matter transfer, we observed a number of Malay insertions such as *sama~sama* 'together' and *tiba~tiba* 'suddenly', which are used very regularly by younger speakers. These two, but especially *sama~sama* 'together' seem to be increasingly integrated into Abui. In addition, there are a number of nonce insertions such as *teman~teman* 'friends' and *senyum~senyum* 'smile for no reason'. Such transfer of reduplicated matter is a clear instance of direct transfer from Alor Malay into Abui. It was mostly (pre)adolescents and young adults who used matter insertions (to a similar degree), while adults did so to a much lesser extent. This is in line with the language exposure and language use of these age-groups, discussed in §3.4.

We described three types of pattern transfer which all involved ex-

tending the reduplication pattern into new domains. Judgements by elder speakers as well as utterances from them were used to show that these were indeed emerging patterns, previously not in use. In this area as well, (pre)adolescents were most likely to engage in pattern transfer, followed by young adults, and then by adults. This too is in line with their language exposure and use. The most salient type of pattern transfer taking place in all three groups combined is the calquing of the notion of casualness and aimlessness.

We argue that matter transfer may also accelerate the pattern transfer process. For example, both of the nonce instances of matter borrowing, the first using reduplication to mark plurality and the second applying the notion of casualness/aimlessness, are also attested as pattern transfer. Matter transfer accelerating pattern transfer has been shown in other languages as well, such as, for example, the matter borrowing of Spanish conjunctions into Imbabura Quechua triggering Spanish-modelled subordinate clauses instead of former nominalized constructions (Gómez-Rendón, 2007).

In a contact scenario, speakers do not always necessarily introduce completely new structures borrowed from the other language, but tend to build on structures which already exist in their native language. In other words, pattern transfer nearly always involves an adaptation in the frequency distribution of patterns that already existed in the recipient language (Silva-Corvalán, 1993, 1994, 2008). This adaptation in frequency has been referred to as a 'system-preserving change', as it involves a restructuring of the system, altering 'the way in which a [shared and existing] category is expressed' (Backus, 2004, p. 180). A 'shared' category may share some parameters across two languages, but may also have some important underlying differences, as in the case of reduplication in Alor Malay and the Abui of older speakers. Backus et al. (2011) claim that a construction that initially shows a small amount of overlap with a dominant language, may very easily expand its usage further and thus gain a larger amount of overlap due to contact. For example, using a subject-verb-object word order in German subordinate clauses (which normally have subject-object-verb order) is common in informal styles of German, but due to the influence of English on the German variety spoken in Australia, it has become the standard order for subordinate clauses in Australian German (Clyne, 2003).

A similar process of expansion is argued here to explain why younger Abui speakers extend their reduplication system to i) include verbs that

would normally only be serialized to mark intensity, ii) add the notion of casualness, and iii) reduplicate verbs and nouns that normally would not be reduplicated. That is, when speakers find evidence for a construction that is shared among the dominant and recipient language, that structure is likely to show an increase in frequency in the recipient language, in addition to becoming more entrenched and more productive (Backus, 2004). Furthermore, as pointed out in §7.2 and §7.4, reduplication in Alor Malay may have multiple functions, sometimes even marking seemingly opposite functions. The fact that younger speakers are encoding casualness/aimlessness in addition to intensity (based on context) is evidence that they are transferring this flexibility from Alor Malay to Abui. This may be considered a form of complexification of Abui.

While incorporating the notion of casualness/aimlessness may be seen as a form of complexification, there are also ways in which the reduplication system is undergoing simplification. For example, reduplication in Abui, by being less productive is in Alor Malay imposes more restrictions on speakers. It appears to be lexically based, so speakers have to process which verbs may or may not be reduplicated. In addition, there are subtle rules governing form: suffixes are not reduplicated, except for the patientive paradigm. Younger speakers appear to be simplifying the system by expanding the inventory of verbs which may be reduplicated and by choosing to ignore formal rules, by simply using total reduplication. The fact that both complexification and simplification are taking place is not uncommon (Trudgill, 2011). Both of these phenomena seem to suggest strongly that transfer from Alor Malay is taking place.

Word classes might offer a window into entrenchment and productivity. The transfer of Alor Malay reduplication first expands the reduplication of verbs, expanding a pattern that already existed in Abui. Nouns are still only slightly affected, as Abui traditionally does not have noun reduplication. This suggests that the emergent contact-induced change discussed here first affects and expands the verbal domain where both languages have structural overlap, initially staying away from the nominal domain where no structural overlap exists. However, the nonce borrowings of noun reduplication could suggest that, after verbal reduplication is expanded, nominal reduplication might be next in line. Here too, it was shown that both matter transfer of reduplicated Alor Malay nouns and pattern transfer of reduplicated Abui nouns were found.

In addition to these tendencies involving pattern extension, several other factors must be mentioned in explaining this contact scenario. First, reduplication is generally known to be a category which is transferred through contact (Ansaldo & Matthews, 2004; Wee & Lim, 2004; Bakker & Parkvall, 2005; Evans, 2009; Reid, 2009). As mentioned in §7.2, other Alor-Pantar languages, such as Kafoa and Reta have also been reported to be the subject of potential transfer effects from Alor Malay with respect to the marking of plurality and casualness/aimlessness respectively (Baird, 2017; Willemsen, to appear), so it is unsurprising that this transfer would also take place in Abui. If this is indeed the case, future studies could investigate more Alor-Pantar languages and observe whether Alor Malay is affecting their reduplication systems in similar ways.

It must also be pointed out that reduplication is a cross-linguistically common morphological strategy (Rubino, 2013) and has been cited as being one of the universal basic combinatory principles governing improvised language behaviour (Muysken, 2013). This implies that it is rather prominent in scenarios involving incomplete acquisition. This thus explains its salience in pidgins and creoles (Bakker & Parkvall, 2005). Bakker and Parkvall (2005) list a number of key hypotheses explaining the prevalence of reduplication in creoles. Besides the obvious iconic element of reduplication, they argue that reduplication arises in the pidgin phase. Due to the limited lexicon offered by a pidgin, communicative pressure might force the lexicon to expand. In addition to borrowing matter (which Abui speakers also do), another efficient method is to introduce a morphological process to derive new meanings. Therefore, taken together, the new Abui reduplication patterns are likely to be the result of a combination of contact-induced change and these universal word forming strategies. These different factors cannot be easily disentangled, and are argued to all play a role in explaining the phenomena discussed here.

Both the matter and pattern transfer tendencies described here are argued to be a form of emergent contact-induced change (Backus et al., 2011, p. 745): these changes are not completed yet, none of these changes have reached a level of full systematicity, and are merely present in a few constructions. Similar to what Backus et al. (2011) found for Turkish-Dutch contact, emergent contact-induced change in reduplication in the Abui context is argued to be an outcome favoured by the bilingualism setting at play. Abui has been in contact with Malay for roughly 50 to 60 years, and especially the

groups of (pre)adolescents and young adults now consider Malay to be their dominant language (see §2.4.2). Future, follow-up studies of the same population can investigate whether this variation leads to change.

7.8   Summary and conclusion

The function and distribution of reduplication in the Abui spoken by younger speakers is affected by pattern transfers from Alor Malay, combined with matter transfer. The changing patterns are first applied to the domain where there is overlap in both languages: existing Abui verb reduplications become more Alor Malay-like by extending the structural patterns and the notion of casualness from Alor Malay into Abui. The addition of this notion is argued to be a form of complexification in Abui. At the same time, because speakers apply reduplication across the board to verbs that typically do not get reduplicated and sometimes also reduplicate the whole word instead of just the stem, reduplication itself is argued to also show simplification. This contact-induced change is favoured by 50 to 60 years of stable bilingualism and is also enhanced by the fact that reduplication is a universal word forming strategy and can emerge spontaneously in language contact situations. Thus, the emerging trends reported here are argued to be explained by both transfer from Alor Malay as well as incomplete acquisition of Abui.