Spatial reduplication in Sicilian: lexicon or grammar?

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1. Introduction

In this paper we propose an analysis of a particular type of total NN reduplicative structures in Sicilian (and regional Italian spoken in Sicily) with a spatial semantic value. In particular, as we show, these constructions have the function of establishing a trajector / landmark spatial relation between two entities. As we will see, in different subtypes, the reduplicated noun can correspond either to the landmark or to the trajector. In the analysis we present these reduplications are considered as a morphological derivational (lexeme-forming) strategy, creating either adverbs or adjectives. In particular, we show that, in spite of the different input and output categories they specify, the homogeneity in the construction of their semantic interpretation justifies considering that all these strategies are indeed subtypes of the same, larger, construction. Moreover, we show that the semantic interpretation of Sicilian total reduplications crucially depend on the semantic features of the reduplicated noun, but also on the semantics of the related entity (typically expressed by a noun, but which can also be expressed by an explicit or implicit PRO) and of the verb marking the syntactic relation between the two. Consequently, we propose to consider that the morphological construction involving the reduplication is in turn encompassed into a larger construction which also includes en element (typically a noun) corresponding to the entity which is in a spatial relationship with the reduplicated noun. More globally, we consider that the data presented and the analysis proposed provide evidence in favor of considering reduplication as a particular subtype of compounding. Like compounding, it is useful to distinguish between cases in which reduplicated structures are the result of a general, cross-linguistic (and possibly universal) human ability to combine words and cases in which they correspond to grammaticalized lexeme-formation strategies submitted to language-specific constraints.

Our paper is organized as follows: in Section 2 we argue in favor of a joint analysis for compounding and (total) reduplication, and of identifying a dichotomy between two types of compounding / reduplication; Section 3 presents the data our treatment is based on; Section 4 proposes an analysis of Sicilian total reduplications in a Construction Morphology framework; finally, Section 5 contains some concluding remarks.
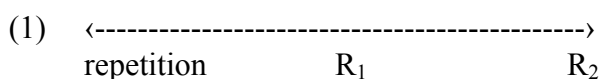
2. The place of reduplication in linguistic competence

Total reduplication (TR) can be considered as a particular type of compounding (cf. Bauer 2003). Generally speaking, compounding consists in creating a lexeme by combining two (rarely more than two) other lexemes. Formally, in most cases the output lexeme results from the juxtaposition of the stems of the two input lexemes (although more complex cases are possible, cf. Montermini 2010). Semantically, the meaning of the output lexeme results from a function applied to the meanings of the two input lexemes (Guevara and Scalise 2009: 104). A rule of TR specifies that the two input lexemes are the same; consequently, the form of the output lexeme consists in the repetition of the stem of the input, and its meaning consists in a

function applied to the meaning of the input (often involving such features as plurality, iterativity, intensification, etc.).

Compounding itself, however, can be seen as a complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. What we normally call "compounding", in fact, may correspond to at least two linguistic phenomena differing both in their origin and in their properties. On the one side, the presence of compound words in a language can be the outcome of a general cognitive ability to connect semantically two words by simply juxtaposing them. We propose to call this phenomenon Compounding₁ (C_1). In this case, the juxtaposition of lexemes that takes place is closer to what happens in syntax, and, semantically speaking, the compound has a compositional meaning inferable from the sum of the meanings of the lexemes involved. When linguists cite compounding as the "widest-spread morphological technique" (Dressler 2006: 23), it is probably C_1 that they have in mind. On the other side, the rules for forming compound words differ significantly from one language to another and are submitted to various kinds of restrictions and constraints, which include phonological and prosodic constraints on the form of the input stems, constraints on the semantic compatibility between the two lexemes involved, constraints on head placement, constraints on the presence of "linking elements", which can be obligatory (e.g. *-o-*, or sometimes a different vowel, in Modern Greek, cf. Ralli 2013) or optional (e.g. *-e-*, *-en-*, *-s-* in German and Dutch, cf. Libben et al. 2009 and Don 2009: 380-381, respectively). These facts suggests that, in another sense, compounding, like all other derivational phenomena, consists in a set of morphological patterns that are codified in the grammar of individual languages, and are therefore subject to different language specific parameters (cf. Bauer 2009; Guevara and Scalise 2009; Arcodia and Montermini 2012). We propose to call this phenomenon Compounding₂ (C_2).

Similar considerations can be applied to TR. In particular, a parallel distinction between Reduplication₁ (R_1) and Reduplication₂ (R_2) can be drawn. Cross-linguistically (and sometimes within the same language), we observe a sort of *continuum* going from R_1, the repetition of the same word-form – usually for stylistic purposes –, to clear instances of R_2, i.e. forms that represent the output of a language-specific process. Gil (2005) argues in favor of a *continuum* ranging from stylistically marked repetition to strictly grammaticalized reduplication with a large greyish in-between area for which the classification is not straightforward. We can consider that R_1 stands between the two poles identified by Gil, as we show in (1):

(1)   ‹--›
       repetition R_1 R_2

Repetition (or reiteration) is a pragmatic cross-linguistic device generally employed in oral speech (less often in writing) to mark emphasis. Unlike in typical reduplication, the resulting structures are not necessarily binary, as units can be repeated recursively (2a); moreover, the units involved are not necessarily stems or word forms, but may consist in larger syntactic units, such as APs (2b); and finally, the repeated units are not necessarily contiguous, since other units, such as conjunctions, can be intercalated between them (2c):

(2)   a. *He runs, runs, runs and climbs everything like a little monkey.*
          [http://haberdasheryfun.com/page/15]
       b. *This is a very beautiful, very beautiful, sturdy table.*
          [http://www.wayfair.com/Abbyson-Living-Sienna-Dining-Table-AD-DT-018-BYV2437.html]
       c. *In fact, the tension builds so intensely as Lola runs, runs, and runs that we can only be thankful that the film has a relatively short running time.*
          [http://www.hccentral.com/cgi-bin/films.cgi?fid=12]

In its turn, R₁ has often a specific semantic function: it is restricted to the designation of a 'real' or prototypical instance of the object designated by the input lexeme. This phenomenon, largely described in the literature, has been observed in the colloquial speech of many languages and is often called Contrastive Focus Reduplication (Ghomeshi et al. 2004, Forza 2011). In oral speech, one of the elements is often pronounced with a special intonation, marking emphasis (a fact we indicate with capital letters in (3)).

(3)　　a. *I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the SALAD-salad*
　　　　b. *Is he French or FRENCH-French?*
　　　　　　[Ghomeshi et al. 2004: 308]

Like C₁, R₁ may be considered as a general feature of the human linguistic ability, whereas R₂ is a more specific phenomenon, submitted to language-specific parameters.

　　Both types of reduplication are attested in Sicilian: R₁ constructions (4a) express one of the semantic values prototypically associated with reduplication with no specific grammatical feature (the same phenomenon can be observed in Italian, among others, cf. Wierzbicka 1986, Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994, Forza 2011); R₂ (4b), on the other hand, corresponds to a morphological lexeme-formation process:

(4)　　a.　(R₁) *Avi*　　　　　　*l'*　　　　*occhi*　　*nìuri*　　　*nìuri*
　　　　　　have.3.SG.PRES.IND　DET.M.PL　eye.M.PL　black.M.PL　black.M.PL
　　　　　　'He/she has really black eyes'
　　　　b.　(R₂) *Camina*　　　　*muru*　　*muru*
　　　　　　walk.3.SG.PRES.IND　wall.M.SG　wall.M.SG
　　　　　　'He/she walks along the wall'

(4a) is an example of R₁: here, no specific effect on the grammatical features of the input lexeme is observed (*nìuri nìuri* functions as an adjective like *nìuri*), and semantically it has the contrastive function referred to above. On the other side, (4b) is an example of R₂. Here, the effect observed corresponds to what happens with typical derivational, lexeme-forming, phenomena: it has an effect on category (*muru muru* functions as an adverb, while *muru* is a noun), and a specific meaning, non-recoverable from the meaning of the input lexeme (cf. **camina muru*) or from the meanings usually attributed to reduplication. Specifically, the reduplicated form in (4b) expresses the same spatial relationship expressed in English by the preposition *along*. R₂ constructions like the one in (4b) constitute the main focus of this article.

3. The data

The analysis we present is based on a dataset collected from dictionaries, novels and essays, as well as from the scholarly literature on Sicilian. Moreover, some of the data have been collected from occasional exchanges with speakers from the Western area of Sicily (provinces of Trapani and Palermo). Sicilian exhibits the kind of asyndetic total R₂ (cf. Stolz 2009) exemplified above in all its varieties, including in non-standard regional varieties of Italian. The phenomenon involves both nouns and verbs as inputs (Caracausi 1977; Leone 1995; Sgarioto 2005; Amenta 2010; Emmi 2011). In this paper we focus on a particular kind of total NN reduplications that produce adjective- or adverb-like units. The constructions in question do not express any of the meanings generally attributed to reduplications (plurality, emphasis, intensity, iterativity, etc.); in fact, their function is to establish a spatial relationship between a

trajector and a landmark, under specific semantic conditions (cf. Todaro et al. 2014 for a detailed semantic account).

The literature on reduplication generally considers TR as a potentially universal phenomenon (Moravcsik 1978; Stolz 2009). In its turn, reduplication as a proper morphological process (R_2) is often considered to be rare in Romance (and even in Indo-European) languages, although recent studies claimed that TR is not completely absent in these languages. With the help of statistic analyses, it has been shown, for instance, that reduplicated constructions are attested in the Romance languages spoken in the Mediterranean area (see Stolz et al. 2011). These data, like the ones we consider, provide evidence in favor of considering "TR as a potential areal feature in the area of the putative Mediterranean *Sprachbund*" (Stolz et al. 2011: 519). Consequently, we consider R_2 as being part of the basic morphology of Sicilian. In particular, in Sicilian four types of lexeme-forming constructions involving reduplication can be identified:[1]

(5)[2] a. [VV]$_N$ *curri-curri*
      run-run
      'stampede'
   Po' si sintì na gran vociata e ci fu, nella parti opposta della pista, un movimento di <u>curri curri</u>.
   'Then we heard a loud scream and a stampede movement was on the opposite side of the track'
   [A. Camilleri, *La pista di sabbia*. Palermo: Sellerio Editore]

  b. [VV]$_A$ *cala-cala*
      go down-go down
      'which goes down easily' / 'easy-to-drink'
   Un vino fatto come lo facevano i nostri nonni, in poche parole un vino <u>cala cala</u> che ti inchiumma a tradimento ma con soddisfazione.
   'A wine made like our ancestors used to make it, in short, an easy-to-drink wine which pins you down unexpectedly but with pleasure'
   [http://www.firriotate.com/2013/12/10/degustazione-vino-veritas/]

  c. [N$_{SG}$N$_{SG}$]$_{Adv}$ *casa-casa*
      house-house
      'all over the house'
   Noi picciriddri giocavamo a nascondino <u>casa casa</u>.
   'We the children used to play to hide-and-seek all over the house'
   [http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2011/02/06/il-bonifico-di-berlusconi-mia-nonna-maria.html]

  d. [N$_{PL}$N$_{PL}$]$_A$ *pirtusa-pirtusa*
      holes-holes
      'full of holes'
   Genti coi vistiti <u>pirtusa pirtusa</u> che cadivano a pezzi.
   'People with very ripped clothes, falling apart'
   [A. Camilleri, *La rivoluzione della luna*. Palermo: Sellerio Editore]

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[1] For each type we provide real examples with an indication of the source. All the examples have been translated by the authors.

[2] Forms like (5a) recall the Italian reduplications that produce nouns from verbs (*fuggifuggi* 'stampede', lit. run away-run away, cf. Masini and Thornton 2009), although in Italian the reduplication in question does not seem to be productive anymore.

In this work we deal exclusively with types (5c) and (5d), i.e. with denominal reduplications forming adjectives and adverbs and expressing a spatial relation. In particular, we consider that in Sicilian three types of constructions are available in order to express a spatial relation between two entities: one of the entities is denoted by the input noun of the reduplicated construction, the other is denoted by a syntactically connected unit (in the unmarked case a NP).

Type A (6a')	Type B (6a'')	Type C (6b)
$[N_{SG}N_{SG}]_{Adv}$	$[N_{PL}N_{PL}]_{Adv}$	$[N_{PL}N_{PL}]_{A}$

Table 1: Three types of NN total reduplications in Sicilian.

(6)   a'. *U*   *picciriddro*   *ioca*   *casa-casa*
           DET.M.SG   child.M.SG   play.3.SG.PRES.IND   house.F.SG-house.F.SG
           'The child plays all over the house'
      a''. *U*   *cane*   *camina*   *muntagni-muntagni*
           DET.M.SG   dog.M.SG   walk.3.SG.PRES.IND   mountain.F.PL-mountain.F.PL
           'The dog walks in/through the mountains'
      b. *A*   *cammisa*   *è*   *pirtusa-pirtusa*
           DET.F.SG   shirt.F.SG   be.3.SG.PRES.IND   hole.M.PL-hole.M.PL
           'The shirt is full of holes'

In two of the types, the reduplicated unit can be either a singular (type A) or a plural (type B) nominal form. The output of the reduplication is an adverb. In type C the reduplicated unit can only be a plural nominal form, and the output functions as an adjective. Semantically, all three constructions denote the relative spatial localization of two entities.

4. The analysis

4.1 Sicilian reduplications as constructions

For the analysis of Sicilian NN R_2 constructions we adopt a Construction Morphology approach (cf. Booij 2010). Therefore, we claim that, like constructions, the reduplications in question instantiate generalizations made by speakers on sets of existing complex words with a systematic correlation between form and meaning. In particular, we propose to represent the TRs exemplified in (6) as constructional schemas ($[XX]_{\alpha}$) which, in their turn, are encompassed into larger constructions involving a semantically and syntactically related entity (in most cases expressed by a NP), that we represent as follows: $[Y \; \mathfrak{R} \; [XX]_{\alpha}]$. Although both levels can be characterized as constructions, the lowest level ($[XX]_{\alpha}$) constitutes a typical morphological object, whereas the highest one ($[Y \; \mathfrak{R} \; [XX]_{\alpha}]$) corresponds to a typical syntactic object. However, as we will see below, both the lowest and the highest level display holistic semantic properties that cannot be accounted for simply on a compositional basis. If the reduplicated structure is an adjective (type C), Y corresponds to its head noun or to the NP it predicates; if the reduplicated structure is an adverb (types A-B), Y corresponds to a syntactically linked NP (see 6a', 6a'').

Sicilian R_2 constructions display some typical properties of morphological derivational processes: i) they have developed a range of specific meanings not recoverable from the combination of the meanings of the base lexemes; ii) their outputs correspond to typical lexical units (no insertion possible between the nouns, single primary stress, no recursivity);

iii) they have an effect on the category of the lexemes they apply to, since they change a noun into an adverb or into an adjective.

From a semantic point of view, Sicilian R_2 constructions mark a spatial localization between a landmark (an anchoring entity) and a trajector (an entity to be located) (cf. Langacker 1987)[3]. In types A-B, the reduplicated noun designates the landmark and the syntactically connected noun designates the trajector; in type C the situation is reverted: the reduplicated noun designates the trajector and the head noun of the NP in which the reduplication appears designates the landmark. In most cases, the landmark corresponds to a circumscribed entity with discrete boundaries, and the trajector is located within these borders. Virtually any object possessing a physical extension can function as a landmark within which a trajector can be located. Moreover, as we will show in the following sections, the semantic interpretation of the larger construction can be affected by some semantic features of the nouns involved, either as trajectors or as landmarks.

As we observed above, the construction we have globally characterized as $([XX]_\alpha)$ corresponds, in fact, to three different constructions, each one with different specifications for some of their elements, which in turn are encompassed into the larger construction $[Y \, \mathfrak{R} \, [XX]_\alpha]$. The general construction and its sub-constructions are given in Figure 1. Spatial relations between the trajector and the landmark are generically indicated as IN, although they can correspond to different spatial configurations and distributions, which depend on the semantic type of each of the nouns involved.
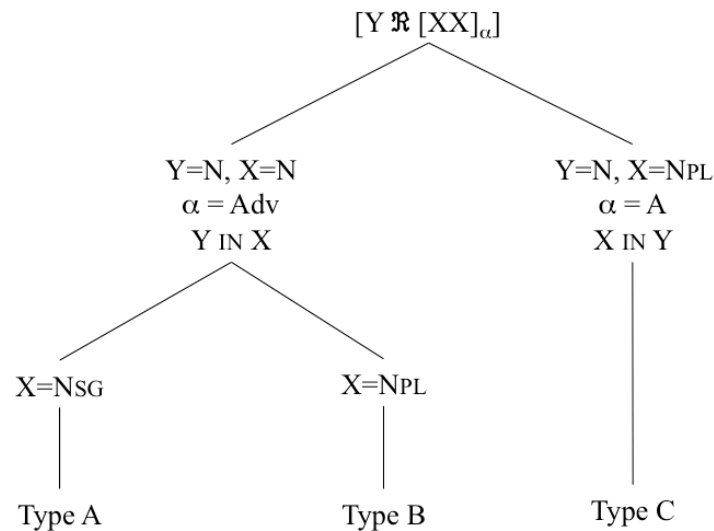
$$[Y \, \mathfrak{R} \, [XX]_\alpha]$$

Y=N, X=N
α = Adv
Y IN X

Y=N, X=NPL
α = A
X IN Y

X=NSG

X=NPL

Type A

Type B

Type C

Figure 1: Types and subtypes of reduplicative spatial constructions in Sicilian.

4.2 Semantic constraints on the trajector

The global semantic interpretation of the constructions in question is conditioned by the semantic features of the participants involved. In this section, we focus on the constraints to which the trajector is submitted, whereas in the following sections we will consider the constraints on the landmark and on the verb involved in the construction.

In Types A and B, the trajector can correspond to a mobile entity moving within the boundaries of the landmark. These cases correspond to instances in which the trajector is

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[3] The terms *landmark* and *trajector* correspond to the notions denoted as *ground* and *figure* respectively, e.g. by Talmy (1983).

animate. Here, the relationship between the landmark and the trajector is dynamic and involves a change of location of the trajector within the circumscribed space of the landmark. The trajector does not move in a linear way, going from one point to another, but rather randomly, occupying different points in an unordered way.

(7) *U   picciottu   currìa   paisi-paisi*
    DET.M.SG   boy.M.SG   run.3.SG.IMPF.IND   village.M.SG-village.M.SG
    'The boy was running all over the village'

On the contrary, if the trajector is inanimate the spatial relationship is necessarily static. In this case, it occupies a fixed position within the boundaries of the landmark, and the whole construction can be interpreted in three different ways. The choice of one of the interpretations crucially depends on the semantic properties of the nouns involved, as well as on pragmatic factors.

(8) a. *Si   fici   a   casa   muntagni-muntagni*
       REFL make.3.SG.PST.IND DET.F.SG house.F.SG mountain.F.PL-montain.F.PL
       'He/she built his/her house somewhere in the mountains'
    b. *Chi ci   fa   sta   pianta   scala-scala?*
       what there.CL do.3.SG.PRES.IND DEM.F.SG plant.F.SG stair.F.SG-stair.F.SG
       'Why is that plant in the middle of the staircase (in the way)?
    c. *Avemu   a   rina   casa-casa*
       have.1.PL.PRES.IND DET.F.SG sand.F.SG   house.F.SG-house.F.SG
       'We have sand all over the house'

(8a) is more likely interpreted as expressing a vague localization. In this case, the speaker only knows that the house in question has been built in the mountains, but ignores its exact localization. (8b) is more likely to be interpreted as expressing an incongruous localization. Here, the plant is seen as occupying an unusual, possibly disturbing, place. In these two cases, the choice between the two interpretations pragmatically depends on the referent of the reduplicated noun: it is unlikely that someone cannot precisely locate an object within the limited space of a staircase. On the other side, it is absolutely plausible that someone does not know the exact location of a house in the mountains. Finally, (8c) is more likely interpreted as expressing a homogeneous distribution of the referent of Y within the circumscribed space of X. Note that this interpretation can be activated either when Y corresponds to a mass noun (like *rina*), or when it corresponds to a plural noun:

(9) *Avemu   i   ciura   casa-casa*
    have.1.PL.PRES.IND DET.M.PL flower.M.PL house.F.SG-house.F.SG
    'We have flowers all over the house'

Although pragmatics is clearly the main reason for distinguishing the semantic nuances observed in examples (8a-c), a common, underspecified, reading can be observed. In fact, in each of these cases, the relevant semantic factor is that the whole surface of the landmark is (at least potentially) involved in the spatial relation. The simplest case is represented by (8c) and (9): here Y (*a rina*, *i ciura*) occupies the totality of X's (*casa*) surface. On the other hand, in (8a-b) Y (*a casa*, *sta pianta*) may potentially occupy any point in X's (*muntagni*, *scala*) surface, and the exact point it occupies does not change the whole reading: in the case of (8a) it is irrelevant; in the case of (8b), whatever point occupied by Y constitutes an incongrous location.

By contrast with types A and B, in type C the reduplicated noun corresponds to the trajector. In this case, the input of the reduplication is necessarily a plural noun form. The semantic interpretation is similar to that of (8c): here the trajector is interpreted as being homogeneously distributed within the landmark's boundaries. As it can be seen the value [+PL] is directly encoded in the construction of this type of reduplications. In this case, X (the reduplicated noun) can be either animate or inanimate, without any change in meaning, as the examples (10a-b) below show. As we observed above, such structures are not acceptable if X corresponds to a singular noun (10c); they are also unacceptable if Y is [-count] (10d).

(10) a. *Sugnu*   *puci-puci*
        be.1.PRES.IND   flea.F.PL-flea.F.PL
        'I am full of fleas'
     b. *Sugnu*   *papuli-papuli*
        be.1.PL.PRES.IND blister.F.PL-blister.F.PL
        'I am full of blisters'
     c. **Sugnu*   *papula-papula*
        be.1.PL.PRES.IND blister.F.SG-blister.F.SG
     d. **Sugnu*   *ogghiu-ogghiu*
        be.1.PL.PRES.IND oil.M.SG-oil.M.SG

In Table 2, we sum up the syntactico-semantic constraints on the trajector we observed for types A, B and C, respectively.

	[animate]	[count]	[±PL]
A-B	+ (dynamic) / − (static)	+ (hom. distribution) / − (incongruity)	+ / −
C	+ / −	+	+

Table 2: Syntactico-semantic constraints on the trajector in Sicilian reduplications.

4.3 Constraints on V

As the representation in Figure 1 shows, the TRs under discussion enter in a larger construction whose function is to relate two entities, one of which is designated by the input noun of the reduplication. The related entity can be designated either by an explicit NP or by a PRO-form. Since Sicilian is a PRO-drop language, the latter may not be explicit (cf. (10)). In types A and B, it usually corresponds to one of the arguments of a verb which is modified by the adverbial reduplicated structure. In type C, it mostly corresponds to a NP modified or predicated by the adjectival reduplicated structure. Types A and B do not display any specific restriction on the types of verbs involved. As we observed above, in fact, in different subtypes the spatial relation between the trajector and the landmark may be either static or dynamic, thus making both dynamic and stative verbs acceptable. Several different readings are available for the same construction and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Moreover, we claim that, if the trajector is [+animate], a dynamic meaning is intrinsic in the construction itself. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that, in this case, even a neuter verb like *essiri* 'be' entails a dynamic reading, like in (11):

(11)   *U*   *picciriddru*   *è*   *casa-casa*
        DET.M.SG   child.M.SG   be.3.SG.PRES.IND   house.F.SG-house.F.SG
        'The child is (moving) all over the house'

On the other side, a genuinely stative verb, in the same context, makes the sentence odd:

(12)[4] **U*   *picciriddru*   *rorme*   *casa-casa*
        DET.M.SG   child.M.SG   be.3.SG.PRES.IND   house.F.SG-house.F.SG
        'The child is sleeping all over the house'

As far as type C is concerned, when it corresponds to a predicative structure, the verb is necessarily stative or psychological:

(13) a. *Sta*   *strata*   *è*   *curvi-curvi*
          DEM.F.SG   street.F.SG   be.3.SG.PRES.IND   turn.F.PL-turn.F.PL
          'That road is winding' (lit. full of turns)
     b. *Mi*   *sentu*   *spinguli-spinguli*
          REFL.1.SG   feel.1.SG.PRES.IND   pin.F.PL-pin.F.PL
          'I fell very thrilled' (lit. I feel pins all over)

In this case, the reduplication has the same function and the same distribution of a qualifying adjective.

4.4 Constraints on the landmark

In type C, there are no specific constraints on the entity that can correspond to the landmark. In fact, as in all the other types of reduplications considered, the only condition is that the landmark corresponds to a physical entity which can delimit a mono- (13a) or a multi-dimensional (15b) space with discrete boundaries. The trajectors (i.e., in this case, several instances of the entity designated by the reduplicated noun) are homogeneously distributed on the surface in question.

(14) a. *A*   *corda*   *è*   *rruppa-rruppa*
          DET.M.SG   rope.F.SG   be.3.SG.PRES.IND   knot.M.PL-knot.M.PL
          'The rope is full of knots'
     b. *A*   *facci*   *è*   *mpuddri-mpuddri*
          DET.M.SG   face.F.SG   be.3.SG.PRES.IND   pimple.F.PL-pimple.F.PL
          'The face is pimply'

As far as type A is concerned, on the other hand, the meaning of the entire construction can be slightly modified by some of the features of the landmark, as Figure 1 shows.

If the landmark corresponds to an entity which can be viewed as a mono-dimensional space (along which only a monodirectional movement or distribution is possible), the reduplication is likely to mark a carrier relationship, similar to that expressed by the English prepositions *along* or *on*.

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[4] The sentence in (12) is only acceptable in a context in which (i) the position of the child is considered as incongruous, (something like 'in the middle of the house', in contrast to 'in his bed'), (ii) a child is sleeping somewhere in the house, then he moves and he sleeps somewhere else, then he moves once again and he's still sleeping, and so on.

(15) *Fattìlla*   *ciumi-ciumi*   *e*   *arrivasti*
do.2.IMPER=OBJ.F.SG   river.M.SG-river.M.SG   CONJ   arrive.2.SG.PRET.IND
'Follow the river (lit. do it along the river) and you'll get there'

Note that a structure as the one in example (15) corresponds to the only way available in Sicilian to express a spatial relation which in other Indo-European languages is usually expressed by a preposition (Eng.: *along*, It: *lungo*, etc.). Apart from spaces which are conceived as mono-dimensional, any space is usually interpreted as having different dimensions (at least two, like a sheet of paper or a table) whereon different movements or distributions are possible (along one of the three dimensions). If the landmark is multi-dimensional, then the movement (in the case of an animate trajector) or the distribution (in the case of a mass or a plural trajector) are seen as involving any dimension:

(16)   a. *I*   *picciotti*   *iocano*   *a*   *palluni*   *strata-strata*
       DET.M.PL boy.M.PL   play.3.PL.PRES.IND   PREP ball.M.SG   street.F.SG-street.F.SG
       'Boys are playing football on the street'

       b. *Un*   *putìamu*   *caminari*   *picchì*   *c'*   *eranu*   *assai*
       NEG   can.1.PL.IMPF.IND   walk.INF   because   there   be.3.PL.IMPF.IND   many
       petre   *strata-strata*
       stone.F.PL   street.F.SG-street.F.SG
       'We couldn't walk because there were a lot of stones on the street'

In standard Italian the same semantic nuance, differentiating between a simple localization and a dynamic localization, is expressed, respectively, by the prepositions *a/in* and *per*:

(17)   a. *I*   *bambini*   *sono*   *a/in*   *casa*
       DET.M.PL children.M.PL   be.3.PL.PRES.IND   PREP house.F.SG
       'The children are in the house'

       b. *I*   *bambini*   *sono*   *per*   *casa*
       DET.M.PL children.M.PL   be.3.PL.PRES.IND   PREP house.F.SG
       'The children are (moving) all over the house'

Concerning type B, as already observed, the landmark can correspond to a plural noun form:

(18) *U*   *nonnu*   *passiava*   *arvuli-arvuli*
DET.M.PL   grandfather.M.PL   stroll.3.SG.IMPF.IND   tree.M.PL-tree.M.PL
'Grandfather was strolling among the trees'

In this case, the reading of the construction containing the adverb *arvuli-arvuli* implies a multiple and dynamic localization of the trajector (the grandfather) within the landmark; in its turn, the landmark corresponds to an area containing trees and surrounded by an imaginary outline (cf. Herskovits 1987). Of course, the landmark may also correspond to a space with real boundaries. In this case, the plural indicates a movement taking place successively in several of these spaces, like in (19).

(19) *U*   *dutturi*   *firrìa*   *casi-casi*
DET.M.PL   doctor.M.PL   go around.3.SG.PRES.IND   house.F.PL-house.F.PL
'The doctor goes from an house to another'

5. Concluding remarks

The connection between reduplication and iconicity is often pointed out in the literature, since cross-linguistically these constructions often express plurality, intensity, emphasis, iterativity, etc. Roughly speaking, some of these meanings (e.g. plurality or iterativity) can also be attributed to the Sicilian reduplications we presented in this paper. However, we showed that the range of meanings these reduplications may express are restricted and crucially determined by the syntactic context, the semantics of the elements involved, etc., i.e. by the construction which is responsible for their formation. This observation led us to consider reduplication as a phenomenon proper to the human speech ability which can eventually grammaticalize and give birth to constructions, such as the ones we presented, which are formally and semantically constrained. This grammaticalization process can result in a derivational phenomenon (like the one we investigated here) or an inflectional one (like for instance, in plurals expressed by reduplication in various languages). What we claimed is that TR can be considered a special type of compounding and that, like for compounding (cf. Bauer 2009; Arcodia and Montermini 2012), it is possible to draw a distinction between two kinds of reduplication: R_1, which is the manifestation of the (potentially universal) ability of humans to reduplicate a linguistic object (e.g. a word) in a fairly iconic way (cf. (2) above) and R_2, which corresponds to a phenomenon codified in the grammar of individual languages under the form of a construction for which formal, categorial and semantic constraints are specified.

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