

Widening the future: *Ca*-reduplication in Atayal

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I argue that the readings of *Ca*-reduplication in Atayal (Austronesian) are unifiable by widening the quantificational domain of future operators encoded by non-reduplicated forms. *Ca*-reduplication provides cross-linguistic evidence for domain wideners outside nominals (cf. Kadmon & Landman 1993) and a new dimension of understanding the nature of future readings.

***Ca*-reduplication applies to future time reference.** The reflex of Proto-Austronesian *Ca*-reduplication in Atayal, which is realized as *C*- by copying the initial consonant of the stem, and reducing the vowel [a] to a schwa, applies to overt, obligatory future marking on actor-voice verbs, (1), but applies to future readings of non-actor-voice verbs, which are unmarked, (2).

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| (1) a. m-bazi ‘bought/buy (AV)’ | (2) a. haypas-un ‘made/make jokes (NAV)’ |
| b. p-bazi ‘will buy (AV)’ | b. haypas-un ‘will make jokes (NAV)’ |
| c. p~p-bazi (reduplicated) | c. h~haypas-un (reduplicated; future-only) |

Unifying stronger futures and imminent futures. Unlike plain future forms (*p*-forms and unmarked forms), which are compatible with a wide range of future contexts (e.g., intentions, predictions, expectations, promises, plans, etc.), *Ca*-reduplicated verbs systematically create two types of readings: stronger future statements, often indicated by the speaker’s higher degree of certainty or commitment, or imminent future readings; see e.g., (3) and (4) respectively.

- (3) Context: *Don’t bring him to the mountain. He is a mukan (i.e., a person from the plains).*

{hriq-un / h~hriq-un}=nya’ kwara’ turu’ na qsinuw.
destroy-PV/ RED- destroy-PV}=3SG.ERG all back GEN wild.animal
‘He will destroy all wild animals’ tracks.’

Consultant’s comment on *hhriqun*: “**I’m sure** he will destroy all the tracks.”

- (4) Context: *You see that clouds have gathered* (adapted from Copley 2002:112).

cta! {p-qwalax / #p~p-qwalax} la!
look.IMP.AV FUT.AV-rain / RED~FUT.AV-rain PRT
‘Look! It’s going to rain.’

Consultant: “Not good with *ppqwalax*; you can’t observe the moment when the rain drops.”

Under Kratzer’s (1991, 2012) framework, we propose that plain future forms encode a (future-oriented) universal modal, which lexicalizes a metaphysical modal base (Condoravdi 2002), but leaves its ordering source up to the context. *Ca*-reduplication enforces that more worlds are quantified over by having fewer propositions in the modal’s ordering source, the result of which is a stronger claim. I argue that imminent futures are a special subset of the strengthening effects: An event that will happen very soon is also an event that will necessarily happen. Adopting a branching model (cf. Thomason 2002), the imminent-and-strong future reading arises when the preparatory stage of an event takes place in the actual world *w*, and hence in all other worlds, which are identical to *w* up to now; the event that begins soon after will very likely occur in all (stereotypical) worlds. This analysis explains why Atayal *Ca*-reduplication yields much more “imminent” readings than English progressive-based futures (Copley 2002), as shown by the consultant’s comment in (4); *Ca*-reduplication also serves as a language-internal argument for a modal analysis of non-reduplicated futures.

References

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