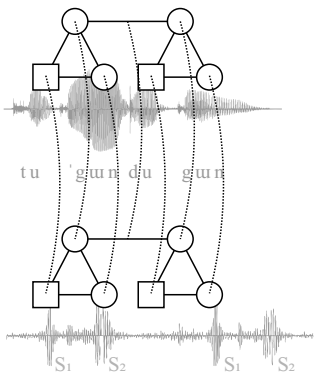


A. Structure mapping



reduplication : iterativity
ASPECT
disyllable : S1 S2 heart sounds
EVENT STRUCTURE
speech : nonlinguistic sound
MODALITY

3

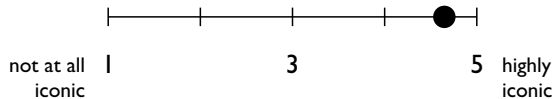
CUMULATIVE ICONICITY

B. Iconicity rating



tu 'gun du gun

How well do form and meaning fit?



C. Guessability

100%

chance

0%

Collabra

Language

