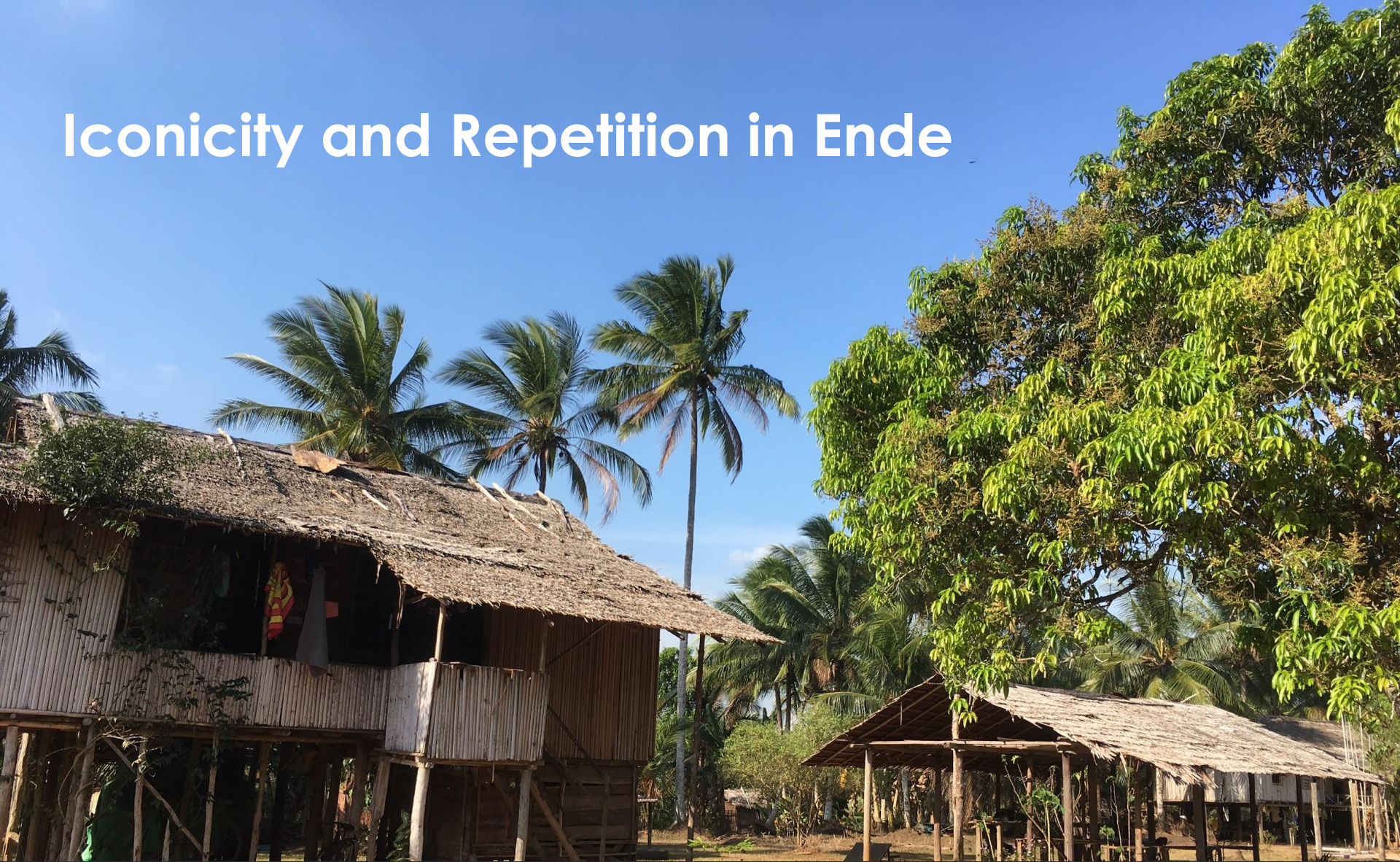


# Iconicity and Repetition in Ende



APLL11, Leiden

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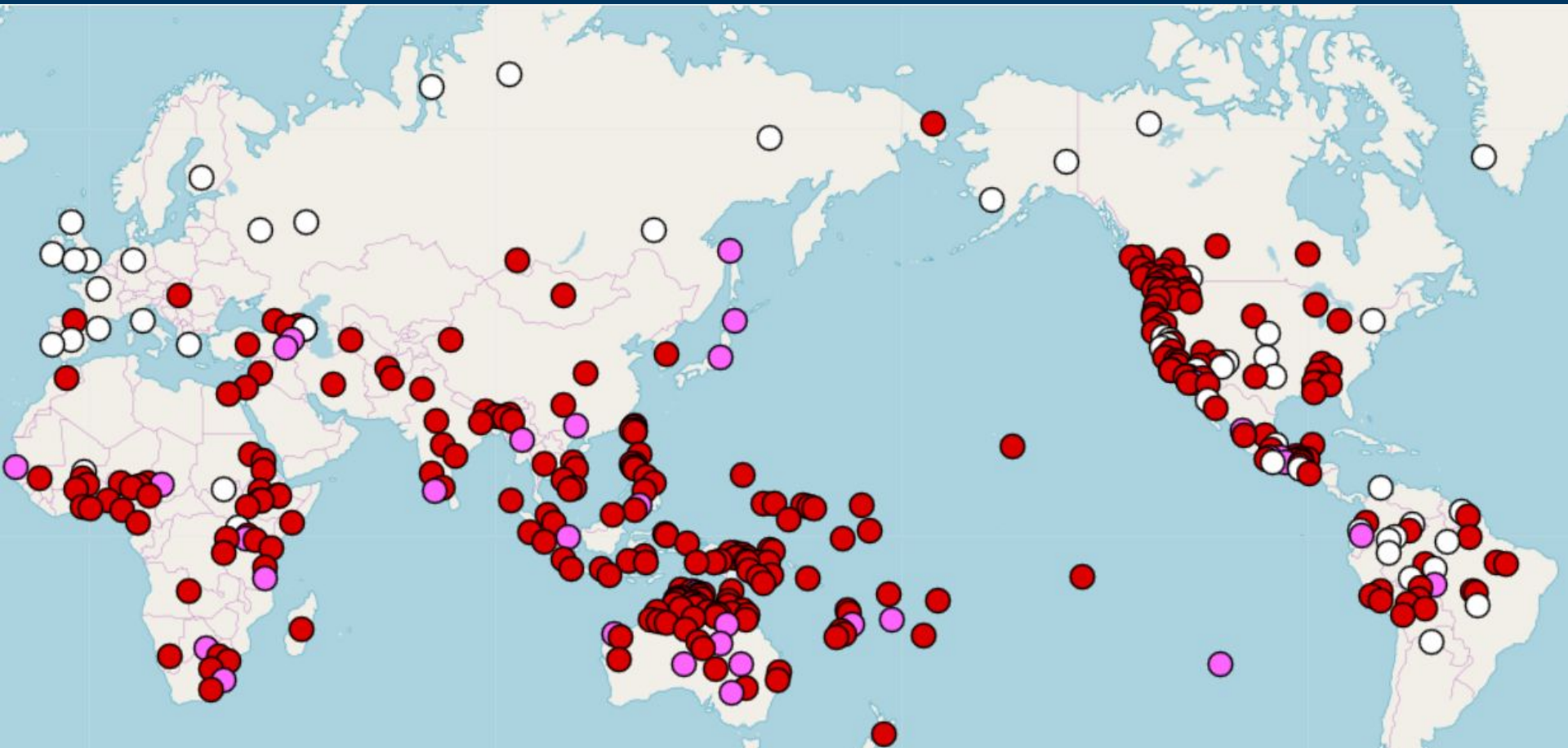
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# Outline

1. Background
2. Reduplication in Ende: forms and functions
3. Repetition in Ende
4. Conclusions and open questions



# Reduplication: word-internal repetition of all or part of a word



	Productive full and partial reduplication	278
	Full reduplication only	35
	No productive reduplication	55

# Iconicity

- Form resembles meaning in some way
- Stolz (2007) argues: increase in form representing additional meaning component is enough to be iconic

# Does iconicity make a difference?

- Increased vividness of expression/other stylistic purposes
- Source for innovations
- Preferred choice among existing options in discourse?
- Easier to learn? (L1 or L2)

But note reduplicated forms may be easier to learn, regardless of iconicity (Ota et al. 2016)

- More likely to be borrowed?

But caveat above might apply

- Watch out for invoking iconicity where other factors such as frequency explain better (Haspelmath 2008)



## Ende

- Pahoturi River family
- Non-Austronesian
- Western Province (southern PNG)
- Complex verbal morphology (as in Idi)
- Synthetic and analytic verbs
- Most nouns monomorphemic

## Research Questions

- What are the **forms** and **functions** of reduplication in Ende?
- How **iconic** are the various types of reduplication?
- How does reduplication compare with other types of **repetition** in Ende?
- (How does it compare with reduplication in neighboring languages?)

# Data

- Nearly 700 reduplicated words
- Mostly taken from the dictionary compiled by the Ende Tribe Language Dictionary Project (led by Kate Lindsey and Warama Kurupel)
- Supplemented with multi-genre corpora recorded and compiled by Kate and me



## 2 major types of reduplication in Ende:

### 1. **Phonological/inflectional reduplication** of short verb roots

- semantically empty
- NOT iconic

### 2. **Semantic/derivational reduplication**

- Applies to many word classes
- many different functions
- varying levels of iconicity
- varying productivity

# Phonological/inflectional reduplication (Lindsey 2019)

- Morphophonological minimality constraint
- Would-be monomorphemic, monosyllabic stand-alone forms reduplicate
- Depending on the verb class, this may result in either the nonplural (singular/dual) or the plural form having reduplication
- Various forms occur (full, partial, fixed segment)
- Not dependent on meaning, not iconic

Inflected nonplural	Inflected plural	Infinitival nonplural	Infinitival plural	Meaning
-po	-po	po~po	po-nen	'sharpen'
-ga-ny	-ga	ga-ny	ga-nen, ga~ge	'plant'

## Semantic/derivational reduplication: form

- Wide variety of word classes
- Typically does not include suffixes
- Single syllable: full reduplication

*nagnag* 'friends' (*nag* 'friend')

- 2 or more syllables: everything but the final coda consonant (if present) is copied in front of the base.

*bällkebällke* 'plant type' (*bällke* 'parrot')

*mäkämäkäp* 'dreadlocks' (*mäkäp* 'knots')

*ikoikop* 'watch' (*ikop* 'look/see')

## Form continued

- HOWEVER that final consonant may be included (full reduplication) if:
  - The final consonant is a sonorant  
     *känyerkänyer* ‘soothe’ (*känyer* ‘quietly’)
  - Or the initial segment is a vowel
- Some words are recorded in both forms  
     *ikoikop, ikopikop* ‘watch’  
     *bägäbägäl, bägälbägäl* ‘Achilles tendon’,  
     *bägäl* ‘bow’
- Question for future research: how often and where do they appear in actual use?
- Very few examples with other final consonants



# Meanings

Note: most do not have an independent base form attested in the dictionary or corpus.

- X-like, related to X
  - May account for many plant and animal names
  - May account for **color terms** (common! Blust 2001)
  - N > N or N > Adj
  - Iconic?

*gäbagäba* 'shady', *gäba* 'shade'

*bunkombunkom* 'tree type', *bun-kom* 'head-hair'

*mamam* 'red', *mam* 'blood'

# Meanings (more straightforwardly iconic)

- Intensification of verbs
  - Very few verbs like this, not totally sure of it
  - Strongly lexicalized--compare:
 

*lla ikop~ikop-ang* 'audience'

man see~see-AGT

*lla ikopang* 'boyfriend'
- Plural/distributive for some nouns
  - Humans
    - Obligatoriness varies by lexeme
 

*mänmän* 'girls' vs *lligllig* 'boys'
  - Mass nouns
 

*pinpin* 'dust'
- Plural of certain adjectives
 

*ulleulle* 'big.PL'

## Meanings continued

- Deriving adverbs from adjectives
  - Typically but not always with additional morphology
  - *mer* 'good'
  - *mermer* 'properly'
  - *mermerae* 'properly'
  - *mermerangae* 'properly'
- Reflexive pronouns from possessive pronouns
  - *obo* '3SG.POSS'
  - *oboobo* '3SG.REFL'
  - Written with a double vowel...
  - Iconicity?

# Meanings continued

- A few diminutive nouns
  - Counter-iconic? Still additional meaning...  
*kopkop* 'small hole'
- Games
  - Very productive!  
*rokaroka* 'guessing game'  
*plenplen* (English *plane*)
  - Iconic motivation?
  - Link with child speech



## Side note: complications

- A small number of words seem to exhibit other types of reduplication, for example:  
*dradre* 'tree type'  
*obosasa* 'bird type'  
*duduli* 'that way'
- Some may be borrowings (especially species names, see Evans et al. 2012)
- But they can't all be:  
*gagagäll* 'badly'  
*gagäll* 'bad'

## Recap: types of reduplication in Ende

1. Phonological/inflectional
  - a. Reduplicates verb roots that would be too short on their own
  - b. Various forms of reduplication
  - c. Not iconic
2. Semantic/derivational
  - a. Full or near-full reduplication
  - b. Many functions
  - c. Varying degrees of productivity and iconicity
3. Other
  - a. Small proportion (approx 20/700)
  - b. Borrowing? Erosion? Something else?

## Whole-word repetition

- Different from reduplication: verb is repeated in full, including affixes
- It may be repeated multiple times
- Specific functions:
  - Long duration, with implication of weariness
  - Emphatic command

# Repetition examples



Däbe lla da gogon gogon, mäse ada

däbe lla da go-g-on go-g-on mäse ada

that man SBJ REM-AUX-3SG REM-AUX-3SG trying like. this

dägawalle, "Ei, wiya, wiya", a ngattong ada

dä-ga-walle ei wiya wiya a ngattong ada

REM.3O-AUX-HAB hey come come and/uh first like.this

That man kept on doing that again and again, he was telling him "Hey, come, come", at first he was calling him like this

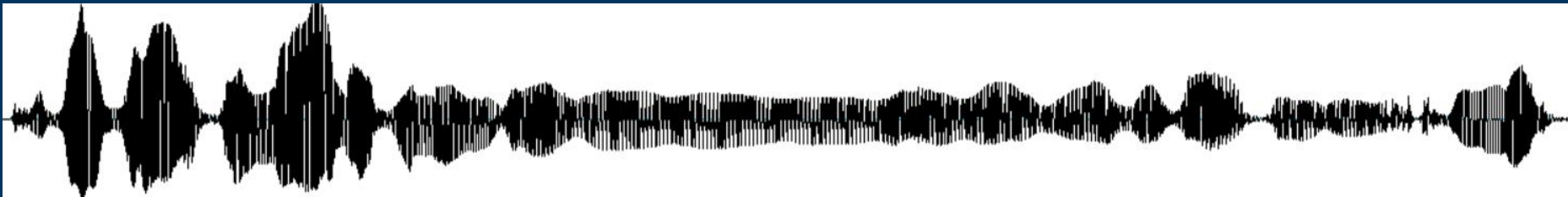






# Gegege example

30.75-60.1



Ge = 'this' / "It doesn't mean anything"

Bogo daeya *dängalbän gegegegegegegege* ←  
*dägagän ge* ada nga! "Mälla da eramedan?  
 Ngäna ddone bällabälle eran." Ako e ako kame  
 gongkobogalle. Ako *deyagalle gegegege-*  
*kalkäll* a angde *dägagalle* bogo dallalle tutu me  
 säre godmenalle. Tutu alle ikop *gogalle*  
*gegegege* ada "ilidan ge mälla da? Eramedan?"  
 Ako a walle we guspunalle gongkääbägalle. Ako  
*deyagalle deyagalle deyagalle deyagalle*  
*deyagalle* ada nga

## Conclusions: Repetition

- This type of iconic pattern in discourse and prosody is common
- It still deserves to be described!
- Consistent form and function in the language, and frequent use
- How common are these discourse patterns crosslinguistically?
- How do they vary across languages, speakers, and time?

Also: One more thing distinguishing repetition and reduplication: the specific morphemes aren't so important--blah blah blah gegege

## **Conclusion: Many types and layers of repetitive structure in Ende, with a wide range of iconicity**

- Semantically empty reduplication of verb roots
- Fossilized and/or borrowed reduplicated forms
- Creating new lexemes via full reduplication
- Prosodically-enhanced, iconically rich discourse repetition

## **Directions for further research:**

- Crosslinguistic--borrowings, inheritance
- Prosodic/phonological criteria for wordhood
- Gesture!



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