

# Frozen reduplication & repetition in Gizey

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# Outline

1. Background: classification, location, population, data sources
2. Reduplication phenomena in Gizey: overview
3. Frozen reduplication
4. Expressive reduplication
5. Repetition
6. Expressive repetition

classification, location, population, data sources

# 1. BACKGROUND

# 1. Background: classification, location, population, data sources

## Classification

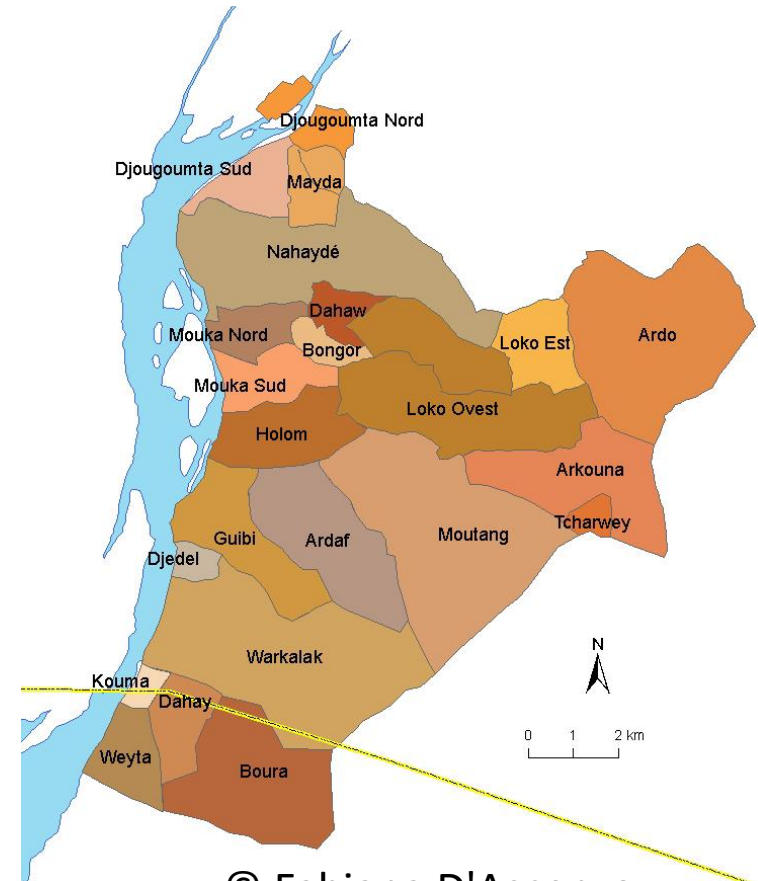
*Afro-Asiatic* > *Chadic* > Masa > A  
> Masa > Masana, **Gizey**, Marba,  
Mesme, Musey, Zime, Zumaya†  
(Newman, 2013)

## Population

10 000 – 12 000 speakers (Seignobos & Iyebi-Mandjek, 2000)

## Countries

Cameroon & Chad



# 1. Background: classification, location, population, data sources

## Data sources

- **Lexical data**

Ajello, Roberto & Antonio Melis. 2008. *Dictionnaire gizey-français, suivi d'une liste lexicale français-gizey*. Pisa Edizioni ETS. Pisa.

Ajello, Roberto, Karyo Mayore, Antonio Melis & Dobio Ousmanou. 2001. *Lexique comparatif de six langues du Tchadique central (Gizey, Ham, Lew, Marba, Masa, Musey)*. Pisa: Edizioni Plus.

- **Textual data**

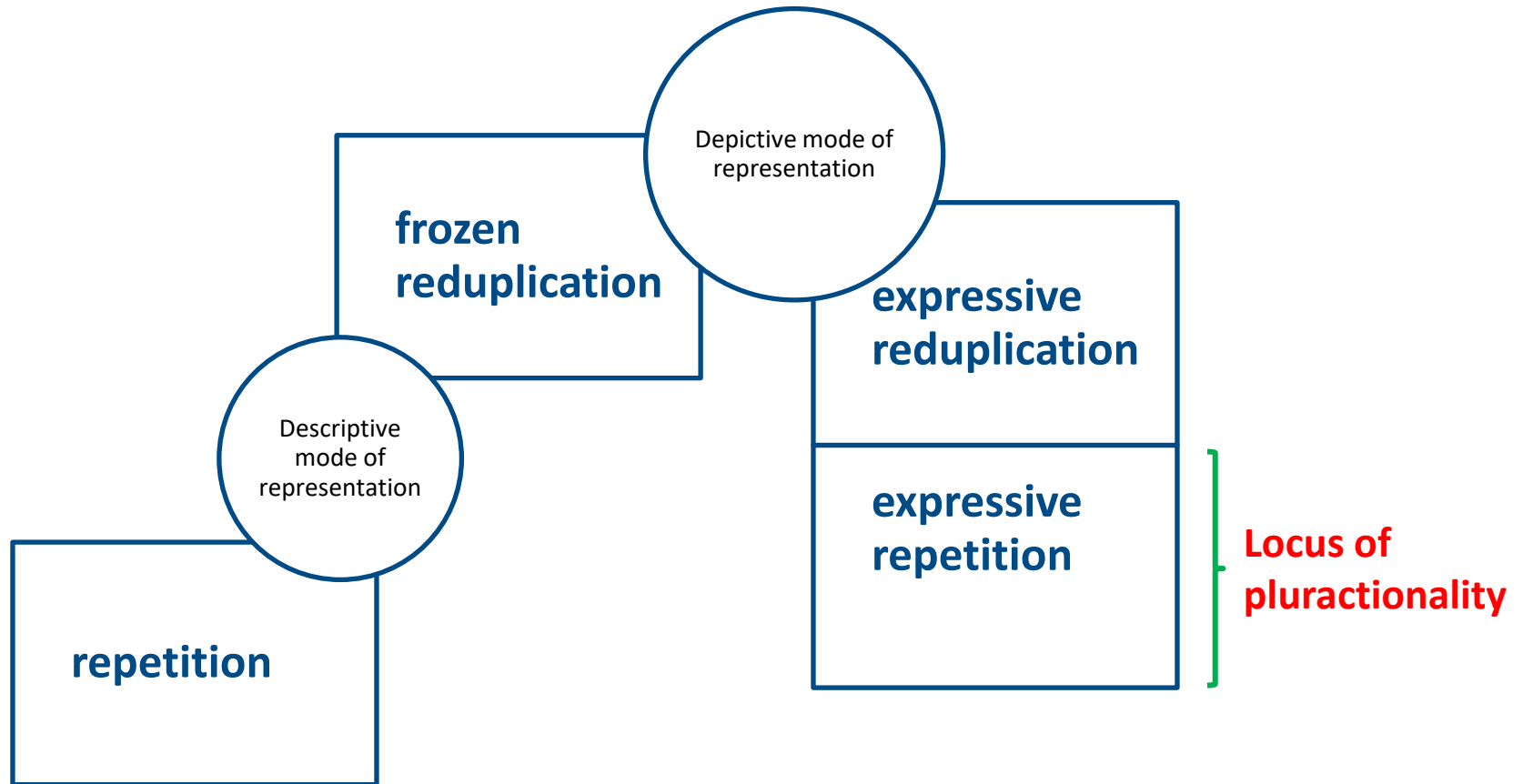
More than 3 hours of narrative data collected in 2019

Overview

## **2. REDUPLICATION PHENOMENA IN GIZEY**

## 2. Reduplicative phenomena in Gizey

DESCRIPTION & DEPICTION (Dingemanse, 2015)



## 2. Reduplicative phenomena in Gizey

REPETITION & REDUPLICATION (Gil, 2005)

Criterion	Frozen reduplication	Expressive reduplication	Repetition	Expressive repetition
<i>Unit of output</i>	Equal or smaller than a word	Smaller than a word	Equal to a word	Equal or greater than a word
<i>Communicative reinforcement</i>	Absent	Present	Absent	Present
<i>Interpretation</i>	Iconic or absent	Iconic	Absent	Present
<i>Intonational domain of output</i>	One prosodic word	One prosodic word	One intonation group	Different intonation group
<i>Contiguity</i>	Contiguous	Contiguous	Disjoint	Contiguous
<i>Number of copies</i>	One	At least two	Exactly one copy	At least one copy



Total and partial

# 3. FROZEN REDUPLICATION

### 3. Frozen reduplication


- word forms which ‘phonologically have a reduplicated structure, but which from a synchronic point of view constitute essentially unanalysable simple lexical items’ (Newman 2000: 509)

## 3.1. Total frozen reduplicatives

- There are two sets of total frozen reduplicatives:

**Set (a):** Total frozen reduplicatives of ideophonic origin (including onomatopoeia)

Set (a) constitutes a morphological niche  
according to which Set (b) is modelled



**Set (b):** Total frozen reduplicatives resulting from *CV-red* > *total-red* analogical change

# 3.1.Total frozen reduplicatives

## Set (a) forms

Forms

lù-lù

já-jà

bà-bà

kàm-kàm

bàdʒàŋ-bàdʒàŋ

kréw-kréw

Gloss

‘assembly call’

‘interjection for expressing pains’

‘daddy’

‘please’

‘in total disorder’

‘black-winged stilt’

## 3.1.Total frozen reduplicatives

### Set (b) forms

Gizey

Items

gùdǐ-gùdǐ

*'ampelocissus ssp.'*

hùlóm-hùlóm

*'asparagus P.G.'*

hùr-hùr

*'strycnos spinosa'*

bàj-báj

*'bat'*

- resulting from **CV-red** > **total-red** analogical change

# 3.1.Total frozen reduplicatives

## Some cognate forms

Gizey	Ham	Musey	Lew	Marba	Items
<b>gùldĩ</b> -gùldĩ	gùldù-gùldù	<b>gù</b> -gùłú	<b>gù</b> -gùlú	<b>gù</b> -gùldú	' <i>Ampelocissus ssp.</i> '
<b>hùlóm</b> -hùlóm	<b>hò</b> -hòlóm	<b>hò</b> -hòlóm	<b>hò</b> -hòlóm	<b>hò</b> -hòlóm	' <i>Asparagus P.G.</i> '
<b>hùr</b> -hùr	hòrò-hóró	<b>hò</b> -hóó	<b>hò</b> -hór	<b>hò</b> -hór	' <i>Strycnos spinosa</i> '
<b>bàj</b> -báj	bàj-báj	<b>pà</b> -pàj	?à- <b>bè</b> -bèj	?à- <b>bì</b> -bèj	'bat'

## 3.1. Total frozen reduplicatives

### Change path for Set (b) forms

- Proto-Masa:

\**m(V)-* (Meyer & Wolff, 2019) > *CV-red*

\**ma-holom* > *ho-holom*



Compensatory reduplication

- Gizey

*CV-red* > *total-red*

*ho-holom* > *holom-holom* > [*hulom-hulom*]

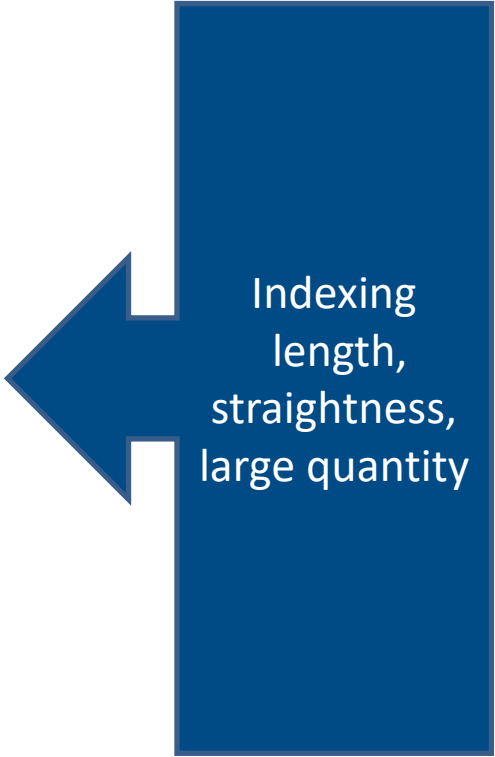


under analogy from Set (a)

## 3.2. Partial frozen reduplicatives

- CVC reduplication

dùmúl- <b>múl</b>	‘unidentified snake’
ɖzùkúl- <b>kúl</b>	‘hoopoe’
tʃíkíl- <b>kíl</b>	‘ <i>elapsoidea guntheri</i> ’
lígìw- <b>gìw</b>	‘very long’
dígèr- <b>gèr</b>	‘very straight’
ʔilènɾèŋ- <b>rènɿ</b>	‘sense of narrowness’
tínín- <b>nín</b>	‘sense of huge quantity’
bìgím- <b>gím</b>	‘sound of water’
bàjgíwɖzìw- <b>ɖzìw</b>	‘spider’



Indexing  
length,  
straightness,  
large quantity



## 3.2. Partial frozen reduplicatives

### Other patterns

'pycreus'	kés- <b>ké</b> -dʒè
'northern white-faced owl'	tʃik- <b>tʃí</b> -ríw
'unidentified creeping plant'	gìl- <b>gĩ</b> -dì
'excellent shooter'	bék- <b>bé</b> -rèw

**-CV-**

### **CVC-?**

citharinus citharus	<b>mèn</b> -mìrèn
desho grass	<b>tʃèm</b> -tʃèlém
dried deep footprint	<b>tʃòm</b> -tʃùròm
earwig?	<b>gòn</b> -gùlòn
ibis	kòn-kòlòn
straw dye	<b>kán</b> -gàlàn

### **Total + truncation?**

<del>mì</del> <b>èn</b> -mìrèn
<del>tʃè</del> <b>lém</b> -tʃèlém
<del>tʃù</del> <b>ròm</b> -tʃùròm
<del>gù</del> <b>lòn</b> -gùlòn
<del>kà</del> <b>lòn</b> -kòlòn
<del>gà</del> <b>làn</b> -gàlàn

# 4. EXPRESSIVE REDUPLICATION

## 4. Expressive reduplication

base	examples	gloss
sēlēē	sēlēē-rē-rē-rē	‘extremely thin’
wētēt	wētēt-tēt-tē-tēt	‘pouring water on someone’
kērtī	kērtī-tī-tī-tī-tīt	‘a cutlass being sharpened’
kūlōrō	kūlōrō-rō-rō-rō	‘way wall gecko runs’
hānā	hnā-nā-nā-nā-nā	‘elephant running’
hīwī	hīwī-wī-wī-wī-wī-wī-wī-wī	‘hyena expressing pains’
kēpε	kēpē-pē-pē-pēp, kēpē-pēp	

# 5. REPETITION

## 5. Repetition

- Expressing **completive**: action fully performed and completed

ɬó	gāw	hābbī	gàw
Zlo	drink.PFV	porridge=ART.SF	drink.IPFV
kējn	mīt	gù	mēj
SEQ	die.PFV	REV	die.PFV
			DM

‘As Zlo finished eating the porridge, he died’

# 5. Repetition

ʒó jūw=ām                      wā...  
 Zlo take.pfv=3sm    compl  
 'Zlo took it then'

Completive repetition does  
 not cooccur with the  
 completive particle *wā*

may cooccur with  
 expressive repetition to  
 convey durative & iterative

zīl=ām                      gù   zàl                      t=ūm                      gù                      tī tī tī tī tī  
 heat.pfv=3sm    rev    heat.ipfv    eat.pfv=3sm    rev                      eat.pfv...  
 'He cooked it (completely), and ate it (completely)'

# 6. EXPRESSIVE REPETITION

## 6. Expressive repetition

### completive + distributive

ʔúrbōj    màām    **jāw**    fūn  
 women    poss    take.PFV    fufu  
 ‘His wives each took some fufu along’

k=īzīj    **jāw**    **jāw**    mējʔ  
 with=3PL    take.PFV    take.PFV    DM



## 6. Expressive repetition

### completive + durative/iterative

tūd            **sūt**            kùlùfdì      gò            **sūt**            **sūt**            **sūt**            kējnī?  
 go.PFV        scoop.PFV    fish            REV        scoop.PFV    scoop.PFV    scoop.PFV    SEQ  
 'As they went to pick fish (for a long time)'

## 6. Expressive repetition

### iterative

nàm sǐ tǰāw dǰār ʔūsna  
 he itv dyn.dist loc grass  
 'He is there walking in the grass...'

**hīsĕk hīsĕk hīsĕk hīsĕk**  
 idph ...

∅ hālām má **kūlūmbā kūlūmbā kūlūmbā**  
 [he] give.ipfv adp horse ...  
 'He gives it to horse repeatedly'

depiction

## 6. Expressive repetition

### intensive (+ durative)

Gòrā gòrgàdēr	dōr	tāt	tāt	tāt	tāt	tāt	tāt
Gola	grow fat.pfv	idph	idph	...			
'Gola grew very fat'							

### iterative

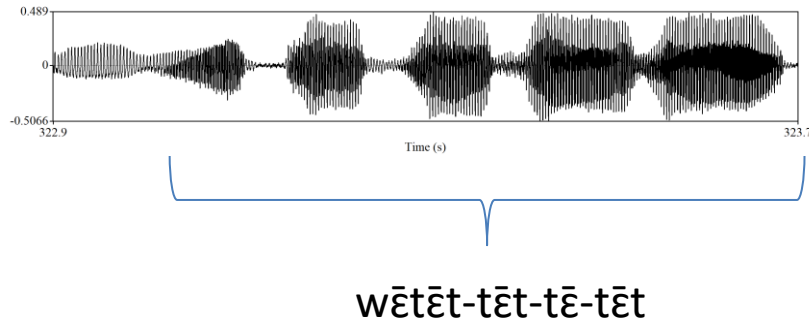
[nàm]	ɸi	ɓó	gùmú	ɸi	ɓó	gùmú	gùmu	gùmu	gùmu
3sm	take	Zlo	throw=3sm	Take	Zlo	throw=3sm	throw=3sm	throw=3sm	throw=3sm

'He takes Zlo, and throws him, takes Zlo, and throws him, takes Zlo, and throws him...

# 6. Expressive syntactic repetition

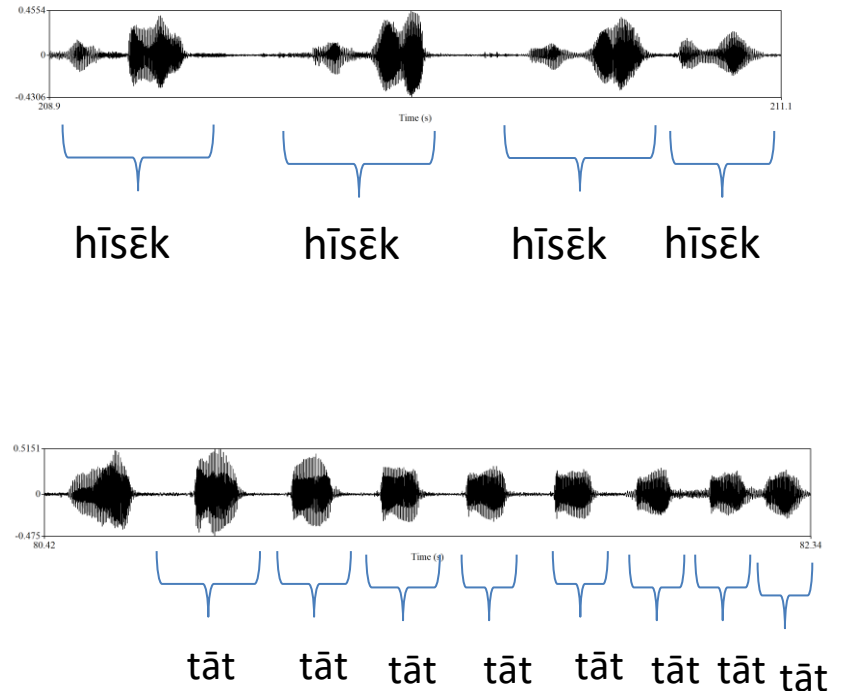
prosodic difference between expressive reduplication & repetition

**Expressive reduplication**  
(shorter pauses between duples)

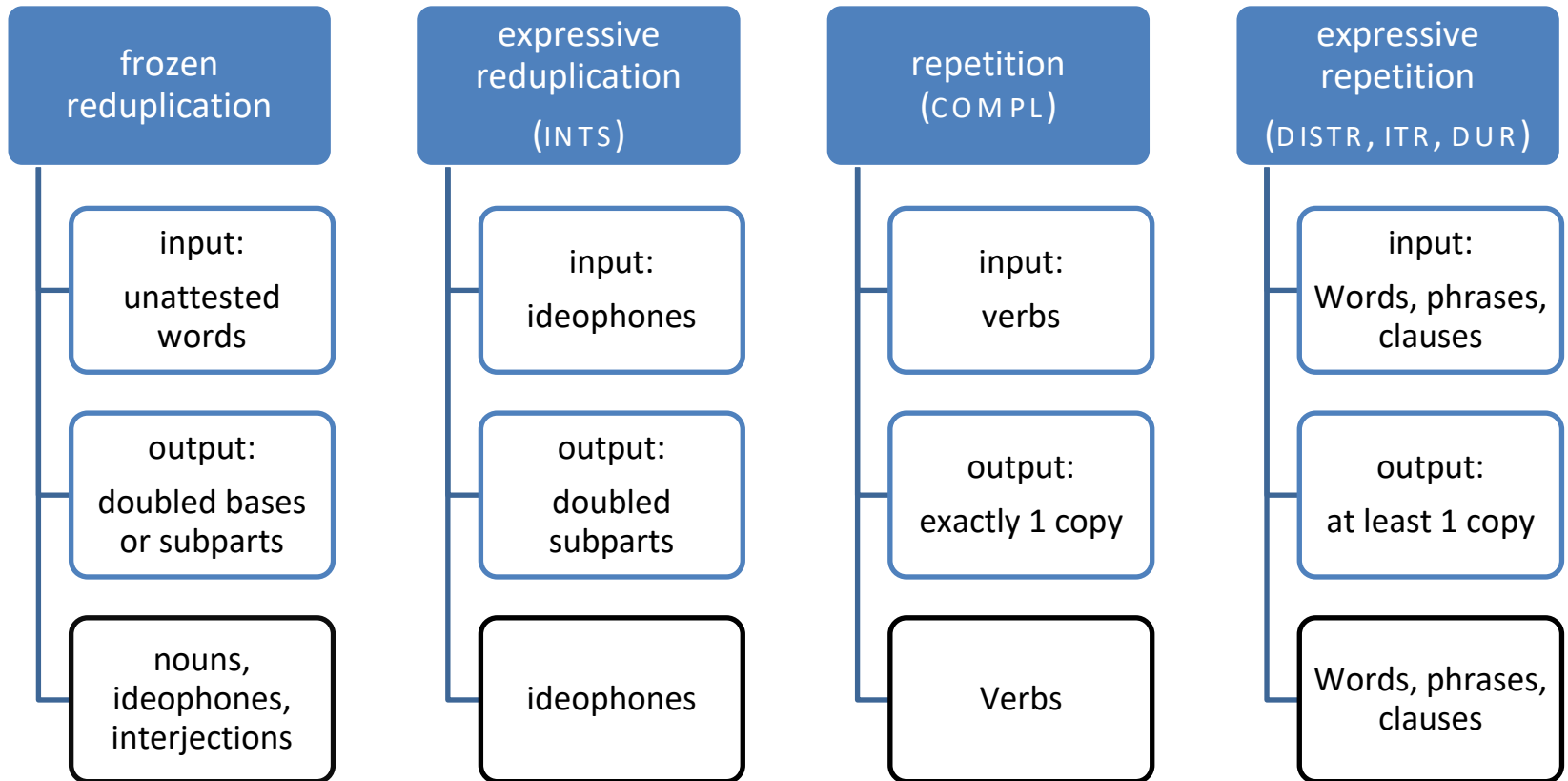


**Expressive repetition**

(longer pause between duples)



# Recap



**Thank you!**

# References

- Ajello, Roberto, Karyo Mayore, Antonio Melis & Dobio Ousmanou. 2001. *Lexique comparatif de six langues du Tchadique central (Gizey, Ham, Lew, Marba, Masa, Musey)*. Pisa: Edizioni Plus.
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