

Lexical Reduplication in Kimanyanga with Reference to English

La reduplication lexicale en kimanyanga en référence à l'anglais

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Abstract

After examining lexical reduplication in Kimanyanga with reference to English, the researcher discovers that few manyanga speakers are aware of both in the meaning and function reduplication they use in their Kikongo. Yet, quite a few functions have been discovered in Kimanyanga such as the lexical reduplication of ‘Mama mama ee’ which has a function of astonishment in Kimanyanga. The intensification function has been subdivided into subtypes such as the obstacle and simple intensifications.

Key words : *reduplication, function, astonishment, intensification, meaning*

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Résumé

L'étude sur la reduplication lexicale en Kimanyanga par rapport à la langue anglaise a démontré que peu de locuteurs de cette variété connaissent la signification et la fonction des lexiques redupliqués. Pourtant, quelques nouvelles fonctions sont découvertes dans la reduplication lexicale telle que ‘Mama mama ee’ qui exprime l'étonnement. La fonction d'intensification a révélé d'autres sous types tels que : intensification d'obstacle et intensification simple.

Mots clés : *reduplication, fonction, étonnement, intensification, signification*

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I. Introduction

N. Riemer, (2010) states that three main terms, namely language, the world and the human mind, Following Ogden and Richards (1949), these three aspects of the meaning phenomenon are often symbolized in the semiotic triangle containing three points: thought, symbol and referent.

At the top of the triangle is 'thought'. It reflects the fact that language comes from human beings and is therefore ultimately a product of processes in the mind or brain. But 'thought' can be a misleading label for these processes, for two reasons. First, these mental processes need not be conscious. Even though we sometimes do consciously think about what we are going to say, our speech is more often spontaneous, emerging without our being aware of any preliminary stage of mental preparation. Since it is the brain that produces language, we know that some such preliminary stage must have taken place, but since this stage is so often unconscious, the label 'thought' is not the most appropriate. In order to remove the unwanted implication that the mental processes leading to speech are purely conscious and non-emotional, we can replace 'thought' in Ogden and Richards' diagram with the more neutral term 'psychology'.

The leftmost point of the triangle, the 'symbol', is more straightforward one. The symbol, in this terminology, is whatever perceptible token is chosen to express the speaker's intended meaning.

The last apex of the triangle is the 'referent', or whatever things, events or situations in the world the language is *about*. Thus, the sentence *the dogs bark, the caravan goes by* has as its referent a particular situation: a situation in which certain dogs bark and a certain caravan goes by. Within that sentence, the expressions *the dogs* and *the caravan* also have referents: the actual dogs and caravan being spoken about. Note that someone who hears this sentence does not necessarily know what the exact referents of these nouns are; in the absence of any special knowledge about which dogs and caravans are being referred to, a hearer could only identify the dogs and caravan in question if the sentence was spoken when they were actually present (and even then they would have to assume that the hearer was talking about the dogs and caravan at hand, not some

others). This leads to the important point that we do not have any access to the world as it actually, objectively is. The only referents we can know are ones which are perceived by our senses or imagined in our minds.

The current paper is related to lexical reduplication, a phenomenon that has to do with meaning as long as semantic relevance and productivity of the process are the two required conditions for it. Generally, the meaning of reduplication is only obtained thanks to intended meaning, which Riemer, N. (2010) calls symbol. Reduplication is observed in many languages including Bantu languages, but its level of linguistic productivity varies from one language to another (Marantz 1982) and (Ghomeshi et al 2004). It is important to add that this variation may also concern varieties of the same language quoting, Nsimambote (2022) who disclosed the level of the lexical reduplication productivity across some dialects of Kikongo.

The goal of the current paper is to examine lexical reduplication in Kimanyanga and attempt to see the way the same phenomenon is dealt with in English. The following objectives are targeted:

First, to transcribe lexical reduplication as applied by manyanga speakers.

Second, to uncover possible meanings and functions related to them.

Third and last, to look how similar or different they are with the ones used in English.

The Kimanyanga spoken data were needed and they were obtained thanks to qualitative method. Both passive observation and unstructured interview techniques were employed. Through passive observation, the researcher transcribed some excerpts of conversation with lexical reduplication heard in EMM, a protestant church in the municipality of Ndjili, Kinshasa. Ten sentences of those excerpts of conversation have been retained for analysis. Ten informants praying in the same church were interviewed. The talk between the researcher and the participants are around disclosing the meanings and functions of the lexical reduplication used in Kimanyanga. This interview was not quantified.

II. On Reduplication

For the sake of restriction, a few scholars are mentioned in this section. Lakoff and Johnson are openers:

Remember Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stresses the categories to which reduplication is applied across languages, both content and function words. It is important to note that while talking of reduplication, linguists imply lexical reduplication where lexicons of a language are duplicated. The following table summarizes different functions of lexical reduplication mentioned.

Table n1: Functions of lexical reduplication

1.	Diminutivization
2.	iteration
3.	distribution
4.	Plurality/ quantification
5.	variety
6.	Similarity
7.	Entirety
8	intensification

The two subtypes of partial reduplication, namely ablaut/vocalic reduplication and rhyming may be also identified apart from the lexical reduplication which reduplicated fully. In the above table, eight functions of lexical reduplication are identified. The concern of this paper is look at these functions as the phenomenon of reduplication is language universal.

Dineen (1990) mentions that reduplication is used with various purposes in English. Commonly, there are two types of reduplication, namely total and partial one. Total one contains the similar elements as for example fifty-fifty. The partial one not similar such as sing-song. There are two subtypes of partial reduplication, namely ablaut/vocalic reduplication and rhyming one. For examples zig zag is vocalic whereby the vowel in the two elements are distinct in rhyming the consonant is distinct such as in walkie-talkie.

Inkelas and Zoll (2005) point out that reduplication is a word formation process across languages. It expresses a complex range of semantic and syntactic senses and functions. Two conditions are required for reduplication, namely semantic relevance and productivity of the process.

Inkela (2014) claims that the outcome of copying the word base entails generating a new semantics of the root, thus causing change in the meaning of the reduplicated stem or adding new information along with the existing meaning of the basic word. The common semantic changes associated with reduplication include diminutivization, intensification, quantification and convey a sense of distribution or lack of control. Among the common syntactic changes associated with reduplication is inflectional device mainly the repeated word in the context of quantification plays the role of the plural morpheme.

Alsamadani and Taibah (2019) add that Malay Palembang language has the following reduplication functions: plurality, variety, similarity and entirety. Plurality also refers to quantification is the most common function reduplication across languages (LaKoff and Johnson 1980). Apart from those semantic functions, iterative is also common across languages. The reduplicated noun with the sense of iteration shows that the referent of the reduplicated has undergone the same situation multiple times.

III. Data Collection and Discussion

Data drawn from the observation and unstructured interview were discussed. Ten lines from the excerpts of conversation were retained and the results of the unstructured interview were also included. The first line is from the conversation involving a pastor advising one of his believers:

III.1. Pastor: Mukwikisi fuene diatila malembe malembe.

A Christian should not do things in hurry.

In the above excerpt the lexicon (malembe) implying (slow) is reduplicated at by changing its nature. It behaves as an adverb. it

expresses intensification function. In English, formally speaking, the intensifier *very* is used instead. However, in child language, the lexicon *slow* is reduplicated similar to English.

The function of the lexical reduplication employed in the above sentence is manner. The following table provides lexical reduplication in Kimanyanga with the intensified adverbs having manner as function.

Table 2: manner reduplicated lexicon

Number	Reduplicated lexicons	informal English	informal English	Function
1	Nsualu (fast)	Very fast	Fast fast	Manner
2	Mandende (hesitatingly)	Very hesitatingly	Hesitatingly hesitatingly	Manner

III.2. A christian: Badieti muini muini tuka ku Kimpese ye bizi luaka mu 17 h ku Kinsasa.

Although the sunny day, they travelled from Kimpese and arrived at Kinshasa at 5 pm.

The researcher recorded and transcribed the above sentence from a Christian who was talking to another Christian about the arrival of their relative at Kinshasa from Kimpese. In the sentence, the lexicon related to a period of a day is reduplicated. What is interesting, here, is the meaning of attributed to this lexical reduplication. For the speaker, sunny day would have constituted as an obstacle for travelling, although this, the author managed to travel. The function attributed to this lexical reduplication is expressing obstacle intensification. In English, this meaning is not expressed. The intensifications function can be expressed as it implies that they travelled under a very sunny day and arrived at 5 pm.

Table n3 Lexicon reduplicated of time

Number	lexicons	Reduplicated lexicon	Meaning	Function
1	Mpimpa (nigt)	Mpimpa mpimpa	Very late at night	Obstacle intensification
2	Nsiuka	Nsiuka Nsiuka	Very early morning	Obstacle intensification

Ogban Uwen (2022) also disclosed related to the period of the day in Nigerian English (morning morning) to mean early morning. This can serve obstacle function depending on the context. The example shown in number two can express both simple intensification and obstacle one. For examples in Kimanyanga:

2.1 Wiza mbazi mu nsiuka nsiuka Simple itsensification Come very early morning.

2.2 Wayizi kutusikamesa nsiuka nsiuka Obstacle itsensification

He came very early morning although we were sleeping.

In 2.2, the speaker considered the fact of arriving at someone's place very early morning as obstacle for visitors, but the one who arrived very early managed to do it despite of that.

In English, this obstacle intensification, can be expressed thanks to the intensifier very and some conjunctive adverbs such as although.

III.3. A: Babingi basambilanga mu tomba luniakusu, Mbazi mbazi bukabeki luniakusu lolo, ziokele kuandi

“ many people like praying just because they are sick, just after being healed, they go away.

What retained the researcher's attention here is the way the lexicon mbazi is reduplicated to express near future. English used the intensification function with the meaning of very tomorrow. It is similar to Kimanyanga. The context in which the pastor used the lexical

reduplication expresses near future. This function and meaning in Kimanyanga is used with some time adverbials as illustrated in the following table:

Table n°4 Reduplicated lexicon with intensification

Number	lexicons	Reduplicated lexicon	Meaning	Function
1	Zono zono (recent past)	Zono	Very recent past	intensification
2	Zuzi Zuzi	Zuzi	Very recent past	intensification

It is important to mention that zono zono is more emphasized than zuzi zuzi in the sense that zono meaning yesterday and zuzi as the English equivalent of the day before yesterday. English does not reduplicate time adverbials for intensification, it uses, very for example, Helen came very early today. It is interesting notice this productive use of lexical reduplication in Kimanyanga.

III.4. Senior citizen: Bana baba ka wanga malongi ko. Tu bindamene ku bavananga malongi. Wavonda nioka, banda bandakesa nti va ntu andi.

We should always advise our children.

In the above line a senior citizen was talking to a parent. It is interesting to discover an ablaut lexical reduplication in Kimanyanga banda bandakesa. This one is not a vowel alternation neither consonant one, but syllable alternation whereby the second part adds kesa. The meaning attributed this lexical reduplication is again but it has repetitive or iteration function. This reduplication is employed to avoid the adverb again which is diaka in Kikongo. For example, the above sentence would mean wa vonda nioka bula nti va ntu andi, bula diaka. There are instances whereby the syllable addition also alters the reduplicated ... as shown in the following table:

Table 4: Syllable addition and alternation reduplication

Number	reduplicated verbs	English equivalents
1	Sola solula	Choose and choose again
2	Tanga tangulula	Count and count again

A further investigation is needed to discover more on this syllable alternation reduplication. English employs the ablaut/vocalic reduplication and rhyming one. For examples zig zag is vocalic whereby the vowel in the two elements are distinct in rhyming the consonant is distinct such as in walkie-talkie.

III.5. Pastor: Ngonda ka ngonda, luiza luavananga buku kia kumi “ give your dime each month”

The utterance of a pastor in a sermon, the lexicon ngonda is reduplicated to mean each month. The meaning provided is the one of the distributive adjectives (each, every). Ngonda (month) is reduplicated for distributive function. English does not use lexical reduplication in this context. If a kimanyanga uttered a sentence such as month month, I travel to London, English native speakers would get lost. English uses the distributive adjectives instead. It is also possible to omit the connector ka which makes it total lexical reduplication. The following table shows where ka is omitted.

Table 6: Reduplication with distribution

Number	reduplicated verbs	Total reduplication	English equivalents
1	Muntu ka muntu	Muntu muntu	Everyone
2	Kanda ka kanda	Kanda kanda	Every family

I. A mother: Kalubalandi. Kivangi kivangi bena

In the above excerpt, the reduplication kivangi kivangi is reduplicated. In Kimanyanga, it is reduplicated to express the idea that referent does something carelessly. The meaning attributed to this lexical reduplication carelessly done act. The function is intensified carelessness

act. It is interesting to discover this meaning in Kikongo. It is inexistent in English. The following table provides five examples:

Table 7: Lexical reduplication with carelessness function

Number	reduplicated verbs	English equivalents
1	Kiyendi kiyendi	Careless person who moves like a blind person
2	Kivani kivani	A person who gives to anyone
3	Kisadi kisadi	A do it yourselfer
4	Kibudi kibudi	A careless player
5	Kisumbi kisumbi	Spontaneous buyer

VI. A senior citizen: Sobeno nzila, nzila yoyo maza maza.

The reduplicated noun maza maza expresses the meaning of large quantity of water. It is nothing but quantification function of the reduplication in Kikongo dialect or variation. Plurality also referring to quantification is said to be the most common function reduplication across languages (Haiman 1980 and LaKoff and Johnson 1980). Many instances of quantification have been identified in Kimanyanga, two of them are listed below:

Table 7: reduplication expressing a large quantity

Number	reduplicated nouns	English equivalents
1	Ntebe ntebe	Clayish
2	Visi visi	Many bones/ eskeloton

III.7. A middle-aged person: Fi muntu muntu kuandi. Kumulandi ko.

The noun muntu is reduplicated in the above line. It is used with the affix (fi) as it is used to express the idea of diminutiveness. In Kikongo, while expressing diminutiveness, the noun is reduplicated with the affix (bi) or (fi). Novata (2000) identified the prefix (ki-) for diminutiveness in Kiswahili, too. The following table provides other examples in Kikongo dialectal variation:

Table 8: reduplication expressing an idea of diminutiveness

Number	Reduplicated nouns	English equivalents
1	Fitadi tadi	A small stone
2	Fingulu nguly	A baby pig
3	Fibulu bulu	A small path

III.8. Mother: Mu bundu, tuena bamanyanga na bamanyanga

When a mother was speaking, it was noticed that the lexicon bamanyanga is reduplicated. It is used to mention exclusiveness.

Table 10: Tribal and ethnic names reduplicated

Number	Reduplicated names	English equivalents
1	Mundele na mindele	Only white people
2	Mvuama na mvuama	Only the rich

Moreover, the function of exclusiveness is also applied to other lexicons such as verbs, for example:

1. Dia na dia Only eating

It is important to raise that apart from exclusiveness, similarity can also be used in the above. Another sentence, heard, wunu bavueti mpembe mpembe modia bantu bakondolo masumu. Mpembe mpembe has the function of similarity. Moreover, depending on the context, the intended meaning of dia na dia can express iteration in the following sentence: Tuka tuizidi vava, dia na dia (Riemer, N. 2010).

III.9. Senior citizen: Yandi mbikudi ya bikula bikula

He is the prophet who prophesizes frequently

In the above line, the verb bikula is reduplicated. It is used to intensify the ability of the referent. It is nothing but intensification in Kimanyanga.

Table 8: reduplication of the verbs with adjectival value

1	Niakisa niakisa	A person with a great ability of healing
3	Bangula bangula	A person who reveals deeply

The reduplicated verbs have an adjectival value.

III.10. A young: Mama mama, nsamu mia mpasi e.

In the above line, the lexicon, mama is reduplicated to express astonishment. The young girl is not calling up her mother, but she is astonished. One would wonder why only mother is employed instead of other terms. In Kimanyanga, matrilineal culture, a mother plays a crucial role. A child is tied totally to his or her mother who cooks for him or her does everything for him or her. This reduplication of relative names with astonishment function is not employed in English.

Moreover, in some spiritual churches, Christians reduplicate the personal names of some prophets for assistance while praying. As revealed by an interviewee, you can hear people saying:

Mfumu Kimbangu, Mfumu Kimbangu!

Mbuta mbumba, Mbuta Mbumba !

This practice is also noticed in English, may be for the same function. Christian reduplicate the name of Jesus while praying: Jesus, Jesus. Even, in daily conversation in English, a speaker can reduplicate a personal name of the referent to draw his attention:

Zulu, Zulu, I am talking to you.

With this sentence, the meaning is Not obtained thanks to the linguistic meaning, but it is about the intensification function.

Conclusion

The current paper examined lexical reduplication in Kimanyanga and attempted to see the way the same phenomenon was dealt with in English. It targeted the following objectives:

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