

Reduplication in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles

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Introduction

This article presents an outline of the range of reduplicated forms in the four Portuguese-based Creole languages spoken in the Gulf of Guinea (GG): the languages of São Tomé (ST), Príncipe (PR), and Annobón (*Fa d'Ambô*) (FA), and the Maroon Creole Angolar (AN).¹ Following an overview of their sociohistorical background and relation to each other (§1), the semantic range of reduplication in the GG Creoles is examined (§2), followed by a brief comment on the status of reduplicated ideophones from the four Creoles (§3). The concluding section considers the possible sources of reduplication in the GG Creoles.

1 Sociohistorical and linguistic background

The three islands of São Tomé, Príncipe and Annobón were discovered, uninhabited, by the Portuguese towards the end of the 15th century, and the largest of the three, São Tomé, was soon colonised as a base for trading on the African mainland and for the plantation of sugar. Similar settlement and colonisation of Príncipe followed at the beginning of the 16th century. Benin appears to have been the main region to be explored for slave imports initially (Teixeira da Mota 1976),² with slave trade shifting southwards, focusing first on the Congo River, and after the mid 16th century to the Angolan coast around Luanda. The introduction of African slaves into São Tomé and Príncipe for local use did not last beyond the early 17th century, when a period of decline began. It may be assumed that the Creole languages of São Tomé and Príncipe had been formed by that time. It is important to note that there was a significant amount of manumission on both islands; it is surely no coincidence that the local name for São Tomé Creole is *Forro* 'freedman'.

Annobón, by far the smallest and most remote of the Gulf of Guinea islands, was never colonised for plantation, and was largely neglected by the Portuguese following initial settlement by a handful of white Portuguese and an undetermined number of African slaves, a neglect which continues to the present day, even following Spanish annexation in the late 18th century and independence within Equatorial Guinea in 1968.³ The slaves imported into Annobón were transported via São Tomé.

Despite the different lexical proportions from substrate languages – Edo strongly influenced PR, Edo and Kikongo ST and FA, and Kimbundu AN; see §4.2 – many syntactic and semantic features are shared by these languages. Some of these common features can be traced back to a Kwa substrate rather than Bantu.⁴ In other words, Kwa appears to have contributed to the structure of the GG Creoles as the earliest substrate, whereas lexicon and phonetics/phonology may have changed or stabilized at a later stage under Bantu influence (cf the portion of Kimbundu lexicon in AN). Angolar (AN) of São Tomé differs from the other GG Creoles in that it is almost

¹ This article is based on a paper originally presented by John Ladhams at the 1999 workshop on reduplication, to which the other authors were invited to expand.

² Evidence is found for instance in several references in Álvaro de Caminha's testament of 1499 to the Benin origin of the slaves he leaves to his heirs. Also, Pacheco Pereira (1983 [1505]) states that at the end of the 15th century and the start of the 16th century, many slaves came from Benin, while the Bantu area was hardly being explored.

³ For further details of the early colonisation of the islands, see Albuquerque (1989), Garfield (1992), Ladhams (*forthcoming*), Sousa (1990), Teixeira da Mota (1976), Unzueta y Yuste (1945).

⁴ Possible Kwa features in the GG Creoles include the use of the 3rd person plural pronoun as a plural marker, body-part reflexivization, and serial verb constructions. Furthermore, the presence of co-articulated stop /gb/, more widespread use of /r/, and more limited prenasalisation in PR, in comparison to the other GG Creoles, come as no surprise if we take into account that these are features found in Kwa languages.

certainly a Maroon Creole, though the early history of the community and its language – in particular, the extent of the presumed isolation of the Maroons – is not entirely clear (see Castelo-Branco 1971, Hagemeyer 1999, Lorenzino 1998, Seibert 1998).

2 The semantic range of reduplication in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles

Much of the data presented here come from original work by the authors on the Creoles of ST (Hagemeyer), FA (Post) and AN (Maurer). The corpus of information available on the PR Creole, on the other hand, is both limited and out of date. Hence the description of reduplication in PR will necessarily be incomplete. Unless otherwise indicated, ST data are drawn from Hagemeyer (field notes), FA from Post (1998; field notes), AN from Maurer (1995), and PR from Günther (1973). Examples are cited in the orthography of their sources, which varies between phonetic representations and spelling representations.

Post (1995:196) classified reduplication under the functions intensive, iterative, and distributive, using a tripartite division similar to that proposed in Holm (1988:88-89), who distinguished intensification/superlative, accumulation/distribution, and reiteration (sometimes connected to contempt). Lorenzino's (1998) examination of reduplication in AN distinguishes intensification, continuity and separation, again corresponding more or less to other classifications.

Kihm (1994:25), in discussing reduplicated forms in Guinea-Bissau Creole, sees some overlap between 'intensification' and 'iterativity':

It is conceivable, though, that iterativity and intensification are two sides of one and the same concept, the former for extensive processes that may be thought of as discontinuous in space and/or time, the latter for intensive states that are considered to be continuously spread over space and/or time. I propose to call this common concept 'incrementation', as it is obviously (as well as iconically) related to the cognitive ability of adding one more item to a series, or one more degree to a scale.

Although this could equally be applied to the GG Creoles, where examples can be found of what Kihm refers to as continuous and discontinuous interpretations irrespective of the grammatical category, we will continue to use the traditional terminology as a matter of convenience.

As for the distributive function, this applies primarily to reduplicated numerals and quantity nouns in the GG Creoles, but Hagemeyer also notes a possibly distributive or plural reduplication of adjectives in ST.

2.1 Reduplication of adjectives

The reduplication of adjectives is well-represented in all four Creoles. In many cases, the interpretation is intensifying, but Hagemeyer points to a non-intensive plural interpretation in ST adjective reduplication, which is attested also in FA.

2.1.1 Intensifying adjective reduplication

Ferraz (1979) cites several ST adjective reduplications which involve an intensive interpretation. Hagemeyer, in contrast, found the intensive interpretation to occur rarely in ST, attested only twice in his data:

- (1) *N sebe mina-mina kwa*
1s know small-small thing 'I know a tiny little bit' (ST)

For FA, Post (1998:95) finds that most cases of intensifying adjective reduplication involve partial copying (3) rather than full reduplication (2):

- (2) *Pa da wana-xa xólo-xólo*
for give some-thing smart-smart 'So they will be given something very smart' (FA)
- (3) *fa na-mai gáíŋ-gándyi, fa na-pai gáíŋ-gándyi*
language ART-old lady great-great language ART-old man great-great
'[the] language of the very old women, [the] language of the very old men' (FA)

Maurer also (1995) cites examples which illustrate intensifying reduplication of adjectives. Again, partial reduplication appears common (4). For PR, Günther (1973:62) provides (5):

- (4) *Tia si si-sisima*
 earth DEM dark-dark 'It is very dark' (AN)
- (5) *Migu te veve*
 friend 2s old-old 'Your friend is very old' (PR)

2.1.2 Plural/distributive adjective reduplication

Hagemeijer found ST adjective reduplication to contrast with that in the other GG Creoles in that it is largely restricted to contexts in which a plural antecedent is available. In such contexts, the reduplication, which may even be preferred to non-reduplicated forms, lacks an intensive connotation:

- (6) *Inen ploko se sa godo-godo*
 3p pig DEM be fat-fat 'These pigs are fat' (ST)
- (7) *N be ua ploko godo (*-godo)*
 1s see one pig fat (*fat) 'I saw a fat pig' (ST)

He further notes that this pattern seems to be productive only with adjectives describing physical properties (big, round, tall, short, etc.) and colours, further restricting adjective reduplication. His examples show ST adjective reduplication to be acceptable in predicative position, as illustrated above, as well as in attributive position:

- (8) *Ngentu d'ubwa sa ku yo ploko godo-godo*
 inside of-pig house be withm any pig fat-fat
 'In the pig house are many fat pigs' (not: 'very fat pigs') (ST)

In contrast, Post (1998) ascribes this function of adjective reduplication, which she refers to as delimiting a set of objects, specifically to reduplicated attributes (9); it does not, apparently, apply to predicate adjectives in FA. Nor does it necessarily apply to reduplicated attributes, as seen in (2) and (3).

- (9) *na mina kitsyí-kitsyí-tudu*
 ARTchild small-small-all 'all the small children' (FA)

2.2 Reduplication of nouns

The reduplication of nouns is much less common than adjective reduplication. We may distinguish 'intensive' and distributive noun reduplication.

2.2.1 Intensive noun reduplication

We use the term 'intensive' here to refer, first, to noun reduplications with a cumulative effect. These are attested in PR, and we have identified a possible instantiation also in AN and ST, but not in FA. It is worth noting that (11) is the only example of reduplication of a non-count noun in any of the GG languages. The absence of such reduplications in the ST, FA, and AN data constitutes a significant gap. Further research will, perhaps, demonstrate that in those languages too, reduplication of mass nouns has an effect like that in (11):

- (10) *N te livu-livu*
 1s have book-book 'I have a lot of books' (PR)
- (11) *Umw te awa-awa*
 sea have water-water 'There is a lot of water in the sea' (PR)
- (12) *Minhu ma no kuna wele tê anu-anu*
 corn REL 1p sow now have year-year
 'The corn which we sowed is now quite mature' (lit: 'has many years') (AN)

But the term intensive is perhaps most appropriately applied to the reduplications of plural pronouns which Hagemeijer⁵ and Post encountered, and which have a uniquely identifying interpretation:

⁵ Not all of Hagemeijer's informants accept reduplication of pronouns.

- (13) *non-non* 'just we' *nanse-nannse* 'just you (pl)' *inen-inen* 'just they' (ST)
 (14) ... *pa no xa sxa sé fa no-no*
 ... for 1p EVID PROG know say 1p-1p '... so that we really will know that it is us (i.e. our family)' (FA)

Moreover, both Hagemeyer and Post cite examples of noun reduplications with such a uniquely identifying effect as well:

- (15) *Bo ska kume pichi-pichi tan*
 2s ASP eat fish-fish only 'You are eating nothing but the fish' (ST)
 (16) *Na pé vidyil-vidyil*
 ART man club-club 'all members of the same club' (FA)

2.2.2 Plural/distributive noun reduplication

Hagemeyer gives ST noun reduplications with a plural distributive effect, occurring as subject (17) or adverbial (18):

- (17) *Toson-toson ka fe djelu monchi*
 cent-cent ASP make money lot 'Cent by cent (or: many cents) makes a lot a money' (proverb) (ST)
 (18) *Inen ska nda matu-matu / luchan-luchan*
 3p ASP walk bush-bush / village-village 'They are walking from one bush/village to another' (ST)

Some others can be found in Ferraz' (1979) description of ST. It is noteworthy, however, that Hagemeyer's informants did not agree on several of these. Thus, they would not accept the reduplication in (19), which Hagemeyer thinks may illustrate an older pattern. They further stated that *mō* (20) should be repeated three times – the typical reduplication pattern of ideophones. Hagemeyer considers (20) a case of repetition rather than reduplication.

- (19) *Mwala-mwala o?*
 female-female Q 'Are they both girls?' (ST; Ferraz 1979:59)
 (20) *E peganka se, kota mon-mon-mon-mon-mon d-e.*
 3s take-crab DEM cut hand-hand-hand-hand-hand-of-3s
 'He took that crab, and cut off all its legs' (ST; Ferraz 1979:59)

Post (1998:96) provides FA noun reduplications to which she ascribes the function of marking a closed class of objects, rather than any number of occurrences of the objects described. This may be subsumed under a plural distributive interpretation. Thus, *ngolo-ngolo* [shell-shell] 'a collection of shells', *bodo-bodo* [edge-edge] 'coastline', *ye-ye* [island-island] 'islands off the coast of Annobón' all refer to delimited sets:

- (21) *A fa ye-ye d'Ambô na sa lanyaf*
 3GENERIC speak island-island of-Annobón NEG be spider-NEG
 'They say that on the islands of Annobón there are no spiders' (FA)
 (22) *Se no suku na xama tesyi ku sa ponto-ponto loso*
 EMPH 1p have ART place three that be point-point hamlet
 'We have three places which are hamlets situated at the various points' (FA)

An example similar to FA *godo-godo* is found in Maurer (1995:153):

- (23) *No Ngola ka zi kai no be-beega mionga*
 1p Angolar ASP build house 1p belly-belly sea
 'We, the Angolar, build our houses right by the sea-side' (AN)

2.3 Reduplication of verbs

The ST examples of verb reduplication evidence habitual (24), continuative (25) iterative (26), and intensive (27) interpretations:

- (24) *Bendepanu posa-poaá ni tudufloli ku-e kontla*
 butterfly sit down-sit down in all flower rel-3s find
 'The butterfly sits down on all the flowers it finds on its way' (ST)

- (25) *Piskado nda-nda*
fisherman walk-walk 'The fisherman kept on walking' (ST)
- (26) *Mína pikina ka sata-sata*
child small ASP jump-jump 'The child jumped up and down' (ST)
- (27) *Mwala nan tan bila-bila fa*
woman NEG anymore turn-turnNEG 'The woman never came back' (ST)

Where a transitive verb is reduplicated, a plural/distributive interpretation is usually obtained:

- (28) *E fe-fe ke*
3s make-make house 'He built many houses' (ST)
- (29) *Bo le-le livlu*
2s read-read book 'You read many books' (ST)

Hagemeijer points out that where a predicate expresses an achievement (see Vendler 1967), reduplication is unacceptable in ST (30), whereas an iterative reading is unproblematic (31):

- (30) *Bo kye(*-kye) da son*
2s fall(*-fall) give ground 'You fell on the ground' (ST)
- (31) *Bo kye-kye tudu dja*
2s fall-fall all day 'You fell the whole day' (ST)

Post (1998:95) cites examples of verb reduplication involving iterative or continuative readings (32, 33), and intensive readings (34):

- (32) *Loda ten sxa vla-vla*
wheel REP ASP turn-turn 'A wheel is always turning' (FA)
- (33) *Fa-fála molé-molé!*
speak-speak slow-slow 'Speak (continue talking) slowly!' (FA)
- (34) *A na sebe xa ngo-ngo xo mu-syi-f.*
3GENERIC NEG know EVID love-love with 1s-EMPH-NEG 'You do not know how much he loved me' (FA)

Maurer considers iterated verbs in AN as instantiating a narrative device, emphasising the duration of an activity. As such, it appears that this process is not restricted to a single iteration of the verb, but may involve multiple repetitions, even of partial copies (35). He also provides a similar PR example (36). Multiple iterations are also attested in the other GG Creoles, and the other authors essentially endorse Maurer's position that iteration may be used as a narrative device.

- (35) ... *a ka pi-pi-pia ranthu*
... 3s ASP look-look-look Congo dance '... they keep looking at the Congo dance' (AN)
- (36) *Dípôx ora a pwê ruma-ruma-ruma ugberi inhemi sê*
after when 3GENERIC put prepare-prepare-prepare basket yam DEM
'Then, when they had prepared the yam basket, ..' (PR; Maurer, field notes)

On the other hand, Maurer's data also evidence reduplications with a habitual rather than a durational interpretation, suggesting that reduplication may, after all, represent a grammatical strategy, different from the narrative strategy of multiple iterations:

- (37) *A ka tumb'e asi ka nhen-nhen nomi ngê pê*
3GENERIC ASP dip-3s thus ASP press down-press down name person put
'They would dip it (in ink) and write the person's name' (AN)
- (38) *A ka txi-txya thempu e thô*
3GENERIC ASP throw-throw joke 3s only 'They would only poke fun at each other' (AN)

In the GG Creoles, forms like *duentxi* 'sick, ill' may function not only as adjectives, but also as verbal predicates, accepting preverbal modification. Reduplication, in that case, has interpretations which we expect of verb reduplication rather than adjective reduplication. Thus, the following reduplicated examples seem to involve an iterative or continuative effect, in contrast with the simple form in (41):

- (39) *Ome dwenchi-dwenchi ante mole*
man ill-ill until die 'The man became more and more ill until he died' (ST)
- (40) *Tu ria dueci-dueci*
all day sick-sick 'I was sick every day' (AN; Lorenzino 1998:175f)
- (41) *E ta dueci*
3s be sick 'He is sick now' (AN; Lorenzino 1998:175f)

2.4 Reduplication of quantifiers

The use of reduplicated numerals and other quantifiers expressing some kind of distributive function is widely attested in the GG Creoles. Thus, Hagemeyer finds that ST quantifiers reduplicate readily, including attributive quantifiers (42), pronominal quantifiers (43), and numerals (44):

- (42) *tudu-tudu dia*
every-every day... 'each and every day' (ST)
- (43) ... *fla ni dotolo Chaga ku otlo-otlo d'inen...*
... speak in Dr Chaga with other-other of-3s...
'... to speak about Dr. Chaga and many others of them ..' (ST; Quintas da Graça 1989:30)
- (44) *Tufu inen nge se pe karu chinku-chinku*
put 3p person DEM put car five-five 'Put these people in the car(s) five at a time' (ST)

Maurer also cites reduplications of numerals with a distributive interpretation:

- (45) *Ia itxiba e, kara ngê ka m'me rô-rôthu*
here banana DEM every person ASP eat two-two
'Here are the bananas. Every person will eat two (bananas) at a time' (AN)

The reduplication *u&-u&* [one-one] in the GG Creoles has a distributive interpretation 'any one, one or another', in contrast with similar reduplications in Caribbean Creole languages, which are frequently associated with an emphatic interpretation ('immediately, at once'):

- (46) *pichi di ua-ua anu*
fish of one-one year
'The annual fish' / 'Every year's fish' (about the flying fish season) (ST; Quintas da Graça 1989:33)

However, Post points to a "closed class interpretation" – similar to that of reduplicated nouns – rather than a distributive interpretation of FA reduplicated numerals. This is also attested in the other GG Creoles:

- (47) *Osesyi no tesy-tesyi no sa mundu xata osesyi*
now 1p three-three 1p be world remain now 'Today the three of us are in this world alive' (FA)
- (48) *Dechi-dechi ome ska ba tlabá*
ten-ten man ASP go work 'All ten men are going to work' (ST)
- (49) *Do-dos- nensai-tudu sa namai*
two-two-DEM-all be feminine 'Both of them were girls' (FA)

In the specific case of the numerals two and three, partial reduplication may occur in ST, yielding *do-dosu* ~ *dosu-dosu* and *tle(f)-tlɛfi*, respectively. FA also has partially reduplicated *do-dos* [two-two] and *tesy-tesyi* [three-three], and partial reduplication of the numeral two is similarly seen in AN (45), but Günther (1973:64) only cites the full form *dosu-dosu* for PR.

2.5 Reduplication of adverbs

Reduplication of adverbs has not been systematically described. Where attested, it appears to involve an intensifying effect:

- (50) *Katxi ane nge si-e, nge si-dha-dha masi dhangaru*
among PL people DET person DET-there-there more tall
'Amongst those people, the one down there is the tallest' (AN)

1995:179) constitutes a provisional high. Multiple iterations involving full as well as partial copies are attested. The authors are generally agreed that multiple iteration may constitute a narrative device rather than a grammatical one. As such, it needs to be distinguished from reduplication. Further research may turn up some definite semantic and phonological differences between these iterations or narrative repetitions on the one hand and reduplications on the other.

3 Reduplicated ideophones

Ideophones (or phonaesthetic adverbs; cf Kihm 1994) are a non-productive feature of the GG Creoles. What is, nonetheless, of interest about this category in the context of this paper is that they are almost all reduplicative: only two were found that did not have a strictly reduplicated form – *klongondó* ‘collapsed’ and *mankweté* ‘well-dressed’ (both ST; Ferraz 1979:76), compared with at least several dozen ideophones that have a fully or partially iterated form.

While the authors do not fully agree on which items constitute ideophones in the respective languages, and what constitute possible etymologies for these items, they do agree that ideophones show the proportional influence from African languages on the GG Creoles. This challenges Childs’ (1994) claim that ideophones are created inside a Creole, based on patterns of African language models. On the other hand, it is also true that some ideophones, while created from an African base, have actually been formed in the GG Creoles. This is the case, for instance, for ST *bababá* ‘red’ < Edo *ba* ‘to be red / yellow’.

Few ideophones are shared between the GG languages. Of approximately 20 reduplicated ideophones in ST, 3 are shared with AN: *gangangánga* ‘strong’ (of fire), *kokokó* ‘cold’, *ngenéngene* ‘bright’. Of these, the first is also found in PR. In addition, Maurer reports the PR ideophone *rarara* ‘red’. No other PR reduplicated ideophones can be identified in the extant sources. Another ten reduplicated ideophones appear to be unique to AN. *Menémené* ‘sweet’ is shared between ST and FA; Maurer reports PR *mene* ‘to be/become sweet’ and AN *mene* ‘diabetes’; the existence of these forms again points to the formation of the reduplicated ideophone in the GG Creoles rather than inheritance from an African source. Post believes FA to have a considerable number of (reduplicated) ideophones, but the main published source (Barrena 1957) gives but a very partial description.

Although most reduplicated ideophones involve a single iteration of a bisyllabic phonological base (which does not exist independently!), there are also quite a few forms which iterate a monosyllabic base, usually three times, less commonly two times, and some which appear to involve a partial copy. These main patterns can be illustrated using AN data: *txikatxika* ‘full to bursting’ reduplicates **txika*, *tatata* ‘bright (of shine or luster)’ iterates monosyllabic **ta*, and *kwanana* ‘raw, insufficiently cooked’ and *ngengene* ‘bright’ appear to iterate the right-edge and left-edge syllable of **kwana* and **ngene*, respectively. Some forms show alternation between different possibilities, e.g. *fengefenge* ~ *fefenge* ‘thin’.

Maurer (1995:155) points out that, in addition to these identifiable patterns, it is quite possible to see ideophones iterated many more times, for stronger emphasis.

Based on the available data, some 12 reduplicated ideophones can be assigned a fairly firm African etymology, but it should be kept in mind that in several cases, the reduplication appears to have taken place in the GG Creoles. The African sources are Kikongo (6 forms), Kimbundu (4) and Edo (2).

4 The origins of reduplication in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles

4.1 European Portuguese

Grammarians of 16th century Portuguese (Oliveyra 1536, Barros 1540) do not refer to reduplication or to any other iterative strategy; nor does it appear in contemporary non-literary texts. However, iteration of adjectives and of verbs with an intensive effect is common enough in modern Portuguese (PT), and is likely to have existed also in earlier times:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (57) <i>Ele está muito, muito feliz</i> | ‘He is very, very happy’ (PT) |
| (58) <i>Ela é linda, linda, linda</i> | ‘She’s very pretty / beautiful’ (PT) |
| (59) <i>João bebeu, bebeu, bebeu</i> | ‘João drank and drank and drank’ (PT) |

Also, reduplications occur in the special register of 'baby talk' (e.g. *doi-doi* 'a pain' < *doi* 'it hurts', *doer* 'to hurt'). There is also one example of this kind of reduplication in adult language: *corre-corre* 'a rush/panic' (< *corre* 'he/she/it runs', *correr* 'to run'). These uses of reduplication are unproductive.

4.2 African languages

The principal African languages which have influenced the GG Creoles, notably in the lexicon, are Edo, and the Bantu languages Kikongo and Kimbundu. Ladhams calculates their contributions to ST lexicon in identifiable etyma to be proportioned as follows: 37% Edo, 47% Kikongo, and 16% Kimbundu (see also Ferraz 1979:110-5). In PR there is a greater preponderance of Edo lexical items. Ladhams calculations arrive at the following proportions: Edo 59%, Kikongo 26% and Kimbundu 15% (see also Ferraz 1975). In FA (see Ferraz 1984, De Granda 1985), greater Bantu influence is visible, as expected: Edo 41%, Kikongo 49% and Kimbundu 10%. Finally, there is overwhelming Kimbundu influence in AN (see Maurer 1992, Lorenzino 1998): Edo 9%, Kikongo 11% and Kimbundu 80%. The few lexical items with identifiable etyma from other African languages are not considered here.

4.2.1 Edo

The intensive function of iteration in Edo occurs with verbs, which "may be reduplicated once or any number of times" (Dunn 1968:216). However, Dunn adds this "can be expressive both of intensity of the action specified and the manner in which the action is performed". This phenomenon therefore appears to be a case of repetition rather than reduplication. We have seen repetition to be frequent in the GG Creoles, but it is not the main concern of this article.

(60) *ò tí' ebe tie tie tie tie ègbe w ò 'e* 'He read the book, read, read, read, read, till he was tired'

The distributive use of reduplication is found in Edo with quantities, and with adverbial forms of time:

(61) *ì mwànmwam rèn èv-èv* 'I arranged it two in a row' (compare: *èva* 'two') (Dunn 1968:93)

(62) *òt'òta* 'each evening' (compare: *òta* 'evening') (Dunn 1968:214)

As in many African languages, adjectives barely exist as a grammatical category in Edo; instead ideophones are frequently used to modify nouns:

(63) *ekhae gege ege*
sand plenty 'a heap of sand' (Dunn 1968:213-14)

Dunn goes on to say that "ideophones in Bini [Edo] tend to be reduplicated forms occurring in triplicate, e.g. *glò glò glò*", but that one can continue this reduplication "ad infinitum should one choose" (214).

4.2.2 Kikongo

What can be seen as the intensive function of reduplication in Kikongo occurs with adverbs, as indicated by Bentley (1887:605): "When an action is continuous or prolonged for some time, the adverb of manner may wear a reduplicated form". Thus:

(64) *o luvati luvati* 'sideways' *o lumonso lumonso* 'left-handedly' *o malende malende* 'patiently'
(Bentley 1887:605)

Bentley also notes an iterative function, which applies to reduplication of verbs in Kikongo. However, his example *lunga-lunga* 'to take great care of' < *lunga* 'to take care of' (1895:973) appears more in line with his remark that, frequently, reduplication is "an impatient expression", forming, as it were, "the Urgent Form of the Verb", as in:

(65) *tunga-tunga* 'to build quickly' *dia-dia* 'to eat quickly' (Bentley 1895:973-74)

Bentley also gives examples of what could be described as the distributive use of reduplication in a range of adverbial expressions as well as with numerals:

(66) *e ndambu ndambu*

'in parts' (Bentley 1887:605)

(67) *zo-zole ~zole-zole*

'two each' (Bentley 1895:948)

4.2.3 Kimbundu

Once again, adjectives are said to be "very few" in Kimbundu, but when reduplicated "their meaning is intensified:

(68) *kialu kionene-nene* 'very large chair' *ditadi diofele-fele* 'very small stone' (Quintão 1934:51)

Quintão also claims that verbs in Kimbundu may be reduplicated to give the meanings repetition, frequency, continuation (p 88). However, the range of actual forms is complicated, owing to interaction with morphological classification and syllable structure. There is no mention of the distributive use of reduplication in Kimbundu in Quintão's work.

4.3 Conclusion

Though it may be stated that reduplication is a feature in the relevant African languages which have influenced the GG Creoles, it would be unwise to draw firm conclusions at this point, as existing sources do not make it clear whether reduplication can be distinguished from other iterative devices in these languages. Moreover, we have seen iteration to exist also in Portuguese. Perhaps more importantly, the range of reduplications in the pertinent African languages appears to be more restricted than in the GG Creoles. The possible substrate base of reduplication in the GG Creoles remains to be further investigated, therefore.

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