

THE TYPOLOGY OF REDUPLICATION IN SÈKPELÉ

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Abstract

Reduplication as a morphological process has received much attention in cross-linguistic typology. However, this is not the case with Sèkpelé, a Ghana-Togo Mountain language spoken by the people of Likpe. Ten (10) speakers of the language from Bala and Todome served as consultants. The study revealed that reduplication is very productive in the Sèkpelé language and can be applied to various word classes. Reduplication in Sèkpelé stems from morphological and syntactic processes which show diminution, augmentation, and attenuation.

Keywords: Reduplication, Complete reduplication, Partial reduplication, Sèkpelé, Repetition

Etiki disi bulòkə tinpli

Betidi kpə buyifo keyifo etsyi lə akponkplobi businkli katēyi əsuə fenkə kusu kōni kō əsuə baaye keyifo akponkplobi bamba lə kawunsia eto bele kpə biə batēyi əsuə. Tsyafəe, kutsyuə saa meenyifo tō kulesa nkōmā eto oklè lə Sèkpelé, Ghana kō Togo eto kōtini bele eto lōni əsuə. Bofō bōwusenko itsyi Bala kō Todome eto Bakpele ninā māmā lefosi oflō itə nko eto keyifo kamā buyifo. Bō keyifo itsyi lə businkli katēyi əsuə ələkə ete nkə businkli katēyi abo lə Sèkpelé əsuə. Ekpa wee nkə businkli katēyi kpe lə sele siāmā eto akpa ateate əsuə. Akponkplobi eto buyifo ku etiki eto bōkə nyamblē ate nkə businkli katēyi le Sèkpelé ate lefe, lesa etsyuə eto kase lāmō lee ləfā, kō kase lesa ətsyuə eto buyifo lefō kofe kpə.

Akponkplobi ətsyuə: Akponkplobi businkli katēyi, Akponkplobiā kekən busingli katēyi, Akponkplobiā eto kutsyā busingli katēyi, Busingli katēyi.

1. Introduction

Reduplication is a linguistic phenomenon very productive in languages and has received a lot of attention from scholars over the years. This phenomenon allows for the creation of new linguistic forms. A significant feature of language is its productivity and the ability to generate new words and concepts in an infinite way (Chomsky 1976). The dynamic essence of language also permits reforms as time changes and new adaptations are made to speak to new inventions and discoveries. The conceptualization of reduplication is broad, and it extends to ideas, words, sentences, phenomena, and/or the recurrence of things in general. Rubino (2005) asserts that reduplication is the systematic repetition of phonological material within a word for semantic or grammatical functions. Similarly, Katamba (1993) avers that reduplication is a realization of an affix as a consequence of borrowing a phonological segment from the base. As a purely language device and a word formation process, reduplication copies a phonological segment (s) from the stem of a word and attaches it to the same stem as a prefix, suffix, infix, or circumfix (Al-Hassan 1998). These definitions establish two scholarly perspectives on the concept of reduplication: reduplication as a phonological copying (e.g. Marantz 1982; Steriade 1988) and reduplication as purely a morpho-semantic property (Inkelas, 2005) respectively. Either way, its relevance in language cannot be overlooked as it allows for new linguistic categories to be added to the lexicon of the language. Reduplicative morphemes perform many roles in language, including showing ‘intensity’, ‘distributivity’, ‘number’, ‘inchoative’, and ‘augmentation’ among others (Rubino 2005:19). However, these functions vary among languages, depending on the types and forms of reduplication a particular language possesses. For instance, reduplicated verb-stems in Akan are used to show iterativity and/or - distributivity (Osam, Marfo & Agyekum 2013). The verb **tùà** ‘to pay’ and **fé** ‘to vomit’ when reduplicated will become **tùà-tùà** (pay-pay) and **fé-fé** (vomit-vomit). The reduplicated forms indicate the repetitive and distributive nature of the acts. Other word classes, apart from verbs, can undergo reduplication in Sèkpelé. For example, **kpété** (big) reduplicated becomes **kpété-kpété** (big-big), which means ‘very big’, and **bám-bá** (loud), reduplicated becomes **bám-bám** (RED-loud), meaning ‘very loud’. A number of studies have explored aspects of Sèkpelé, including its

phonology, morphology and grammar (Ameka 2002; Ameka 2006b; Ameka 2007; Ameka 2009a; Ameka 2009b; Ameka 2013; Delalorm 2008; Delalorm 2009; Delalorm 2016; Lomotey 2009; Ring, Okyerefo & Somevi 2002; Ring 2003). However, attention is not given to the concept of reduplication. Consequently, this paper fills that gap by examining the concept of reduplication in Sɛkpɛlé.

The study is organized as follows: section two (2) lays out the purpose of the study, while section three (3) presents brief typological features of Sɛkpɛlé. Section four (4) discusses the data sources and data collection methods, while section five (5) reviews relevant literature on reduplication to situate the present study. Section six (6) explores the typology of reduplication in Sɛkpɛlé, by examining its morpho-semantic, syntactic, and phonological features, Section 7 discusses the functions of reduplication in Sɛkpɛlé, and finally, the conclusion is presented in section 8.

2. Purpose of the study

Reduplication is a notable phenomenon in Sɛkpɛlé - as evident from our data. Despite the extant literature on Sɛkpɛlé, a detailed account of the concept of reduplication is missing. This paper, therefore, examines the concept of reduplication in Sɛkpɛlé. It provides an exhaustive account of the main types, a description of the forms and their functional properties.

3. The Sɛkpɛlé language and its speakers

Sɛkpɛlé is a Ghana-Togo Mountain (GTM) language spoken by the people of Likpe in the Oti region of Ghana. The language has two major dialect divisions, namely, Sɛkpɛlé and Sekwa. Sɛkpɛlé is also an SVO language. It has a root-controlled ATR vowel harmony system, where the first syllable of the stem determines the ATR value of the prefixes (Ameka 2007, 2017), a feature common to all GMT languages. Vowel harmony in Sɛkpɛlé is a property of a word. For instance, in the sentence

(1) **u-dí** **lesa**
NCL-eat.PST food
'S/he ate'

(2) **be-dí** **lesa**
NCL-eat.PST food
'They ate'

In the examples above, the ATR value of the vowel in the verbs determines the value of the prefix vowels. In example 1, the vowel in the verb is a +ATR, therefore it selects a +ATR prefix with the same height. Similarly, the +ATR value of the vowel in example 2 also selects a prefix vowel that has a +ATR vowel, but not of the same height. Like many other Kwa languages, Sɛkpɛlé is tonal, with two types of tones: register and contour tones. It has a syllable structure of V, N, CV, CLV, CGV, and NCV. Similarly, as with other Kwa languages, the vowels are the tone bearing units. Tones perform grammatical functions in the language. Examples are as follows:

(3) **kà** - 'to insult'

(4) **ká** - 'to drive' (Delalorm 2016:66)

Sɛkpɛlé has a noun class system whose prefixes alternate either due to vowel harmony or homorganic nasal assimilation present in the language (Delalorm 2016:88). For instance, referring to the previous examples, example 1 has the prefix 'u' denoting a singular noun and example 2 has the prefix as 'be' denoting a plural noun. Both examples have the vowels of the verbs being a +ATR; hence, they have their corresponding prefix vowels having the same ATR value of verb stems. In these examples, the alternating prefixes are triggered by vowel harmony and not homorganic nasal assimilation.

4. Methods

The data sources include a written source, native speaker consultants and native speaker intuition. The authors made a random search through the Sekpelé Bible to identify reduplicated words. Additionally, the authors visited the research sites, namely, Bala and Todome from January to June of 2023 to record natural conversations at the market, church, schools and homes. The selection of these communities is based on convenience sampling: one of the authors is a native of both Bala and Todome. These communities speak different dialects of Sekpelé, which are Sela of Bala and Sekwa of Todome. As a native speaker, the author played a crucial role in selecting speakers based on the dialectal variety they represented, and also in identifying relevant linguistic features. We consulted 10 natives: five consultants from Bala and five from Todome. The two communities visited exhibited somewhat distinct linguistic features, which are more profound with a variation in the sounds used. This notwithstanding, the dialectal variations, there exists mutual intelligibility among these speakers. Therefore, the dialectal variations have minimal effect on our data since natives of both communities produced almost the same words. The researchers relied on their discretion to select the consultants that could provide data for the study. The consultants included heads of families, clan heads, and some prominent traditional rulers whose ages ranged between 40 to 73 years. These natural conversations were transcribed, translated into English, coded and used together with those gathered from the Sekpelé Bible for the analysis.

5. Reduplication Reviewed

Reduplication, as a word formation process, repeats some part of a base (a segment, syllable, morpheme) either at the word-initial (prefix), or the word-final (suffix) or more rarely within the middle (infix) or both the initial and final of the word (circumfix). This makes reduplication an affixation process such that a segment (s) is borrowed from the base and attached to the preexisting word for derivational or grammatical purposes (Katamba 1993; Nadarajan 2006; Aziaku 2016). Although reduplication is commonly found in many languages and language groups, its level of linguistic productivity differs from one language to another. Reduplication may be restricted to specific constituents in some languages while it may apply to most if not all types of constituents in other languages. For instance, in Ewe, verbs, nouns, adverbs and sentences can be repeated. But in Akan and Sekpelé, sentences cannot be reduplicated. Witness an example of sentence reduplication in Ewe:

(5) **tɔ-ati-tɔ-ati**

Peck-tree-peck-tree

‘Golden-tailed woodpecker’

(Aziaku 2016:111)

- (6) **mi-lé-e na-m, mi-lé-e na-m, **
 2PL-catch-3SG PREP-1SG 2PL-catch-3SG PREP-1SG
 you catch him for me, you catch him for me ...
 ‘catch him for me, catch him for me,’

(Ansre 1963:132)

According to Ansre (1963), reduplicated sentences mostly occur in proverbs and witty sayings. However, as observed in example 5, they may not necessarily be proverbs. This is because although the basic sentence structure in Ewe is SVO, other structures such as VO (verb-object) as illustrated in example 5 can form a sentence in Ewe. On the other hand, we may reject Ansre’s (1963) argument in example 6 on account that the repeated stems are expected to be attached to their stems and not detached from them. This means some scholars use the term reduplication interchangeably with repetition. Nonetheless, it is not entirely the case that reduplication can be considered a form of repetition. This is because while some reduplicated forms reiterate the entire base without any alteration, other forms copy fragments that are not morphemes or syllables (Katamba 1993). The phonological nature of the reduplicated constituent varies across languages. For instance, the reduplicative morphemes can be classified based on the number of phonemes included in the duplicated stem, whether it has a C, CV, CVC, V, CVCV, or other syllable structures.

Reduplication in any language can assume two forms: consecutive or inconsecutive. In consecutive reduplication, the copy immediately follows the stem without any intervening segment or morpheme. This form is common with total/complete reduplication. In inconsecutive reduplication, there is a segment, syllable, or morpheme that separates the copy from the original stem (Al-Hassan 1998; Aziaku 2016). However, the extent to which this process is permitted varies across languages, with some allowing all attachments, and others only accommodating a selected few. For instance, Sɛkpɛlé permits the two forms. The inconsecutive reduplication in the language is triggered by a homorganic nasal assimilation triggered by the consonant sound following the infixed segment. Reduplication is, therefore, a regularity that exists in a language as regards the principles that govern that language (Aziaku 2016). With this, the relationship between morphology and syntax can be said to be mutual.

6. Typology of Reduplication in Sɛkpɛlé

This section explores the different patterns and types of reduplication in Sɛkpɛlé. Reduplication involves a complete copying of part or whole of a linguistic unit, such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, or adjectives (Ansre 1963; Aziaku 2016), yielding two distinct forms: **partial** and **total reduplication**.

6.1 Complete/Total Reduplication

Complete reduplication involves repeating the whole syllable or morpheme without altering it (Ofori 2002; Nadarajan 2006). In Sɛkpɛlé, various lexical categories, including adverbs, ideophonic words, verbs, and adjectives can be completely reduplicated.

i. Complete Reduplication of Adverbs

6.1.1 CVCV STEMS

Stem	Reduplicated
(7) mónó fast	mónó-mónó → ‘quickly/very fast’ fast-fast
(8) lètá separately	lètá-lètá → ‘separately’ separately-separately

In examples (7)-(8), the stems are fully copied and devoid of an alteration. Also, the generic meaning of the stems and the reduplicated forms remain the same. In the case of tone, the reduplicated forms in some instances show some variation. In (7), the stem is completely duplicated along with its tone. However, in example (8), the stem is entirely duplicated, but the tone of the copy alters from [-high +high] to [-high -high]. The original stem appears on the right side, while the reduplicated morpheme is prefixed to it.

6.1.2 CVV STEMS

Stem	Reduplicated
(9) bɔ̀ɔ̀ slowly	bɔ̀ɔ̀-bɔ̀ɔ̀ /bɔ̀ɔ̀-ə̀ → ‘very slowly’ slowly-slowly

Example 9 reveals a case for CVV syllable pattern in Sɛkpɛlé. The copy preserves the original tone and meaning. However, in the partial reduplication, the stem appears on the left and only repeats its last vowel. This occurrence could be considered as a mere vowel lengthening, and in both cases, the meaning is not altered.

ii. Reduplication of Adjectives

6.1.3 CVCVCV STEMS

Stem	Reduplicated
(10) kémíní small	kémíní-kémíní → ‘very small/tiny’ small-small
(11) ké small	ké-ké → ‘very small’ small-small
(12) bóà bad	bóà-bóà → ‘very bad’ bad-bad
(13) sóké bit	sóké-sóké → ‘bit by bit’ bit-bit

Examples (11), (12) and (13) illustrate total reduplication, where the stems are fully replicated together with their tones. Example (11) seems to have varied usage in Bala and Todome (the two research sites). **Ké** and **ké-ké** are used for inanimate nouns. Similarly, **ké** and **kèkè** are used for animate nouns among the people of Bala. Among the Bala people, the **ké** used for animate nouns does not have reduplicated forms. For example, one can say **likpéfi ké** (child small) meaning ‘a small child’ but cannot say **likpéfi ké-ké** (child small-small). However, one can say **kpo me ntù ké** (pour me water small) which means ‘pour me some water’. In the same way, one can equally say **kpo me ntù ké-ké** (pour me water small-small) meaning ‘pour me some water in bits’. Additionally, the form **kèkè** (small) is used to modify animate nouns. An example is **likpéfi kèkè**. In contrast, the Todome people do not have the single form **ké** for describing animate nouns; instead, they have the form **kèké**. Thus, while Bala people will say **likpéfi ké** or **likpéfi kèkè**, Todome people will say **likpéfi kèké** (child small), meaning ‘a small child’, with a tonal change on the first syllable, which is the copy. This implies that **ké**, **ké-ké**, **kèkè**, and **kèké** all mean ‘small’ and they are used in different contexts depending on the dialect. In example (13), **sóké**, an adjective, when reduplicated changes to an adverb. Examples (11) and (13) are adjectives but function as adverbs when reduplicated.

6.1.4 CVCV STEM

Stem	Reduplicated
(14) kpété big	kpété-kpété → ‘very big/large’ big-big
(15) lóní one	lóní-lóní → ‘a few’ one-one

Examples (14) and (15) present stems that have been completely copied together with their tone similarly as discussed in section 6.1.1. However, they differ in form and function, with 6.1.1 functioning as adverbs and 6.1.4 functioning as adjectives. We noted that the reduplicated form in example (15) can also function as an adverb. An example is as follows,

- (16) **u-ləkə** **ko-kpa** **lóní-lóní**
NCL-remove NCL-leg one-one
‘S/he took their steps one at a time.’

It is noteworthy that the reduplication of adjectives intensifies their meaning. The degree of intensity depends on the number of times the adjective is reduplicated. It is possible for an

adjective to be converted into an adverb as presented in examples (10), (11) and (13). In essence, adjectives can be repeated a number of times depending on the degree of intensity that the speaker intends to invoke.

iii. Ideophonic Words

6.1.5 CVV/CV STEMS

(17) kpóó Quietly	kpóó-kpóó → ‘very quietly’ quietly-quietly
(18) kpà (ideophonic)	kpà-kpà → ‘the sound from hitting someone/thing’
(19) dù (ideophonic)	dùdù → ‘the sound from hitting someone/thing’

The ideophonic reduplications above express sensory or emotive quality. The reduplication is at times determined by the speaker to create a sense of rhythm, duration or iteration. The ideophones in this category are restricted in both form and function because they are not referential nor do they perform lexical functions (cf. Aziaku 2016).

iv. Reduplication of Verbs

6.1.6 CV STEMS

Stems	Reduplicated
(20) té ásá v o teach thing	àsà-té-té → ‘lessons’ thing-teach-teach
(21) yà lèsà v o buy food	lèsà-yà-yà → ‘food that was bought outside.’ food-buy-buy
(22) là àtónì v o cut firewood	àtónì-là-là → ‘firewood’ firewood-cut-cut
(23) wǎ lèsà v o cook food	lèsàwǎwǎ → ‘cooked food’ food-cook-cook
(24) bé grow	bé<m>bé → ‘aged/mature’ grow<m>grow

In the reduplication of the CV verb stem in examples (20)-(23), the verbs + their objects are reversed from VO (verb-object) to OV (object-verb) and the verb is repeated to form a kind of verbal adjective that combines with the noun to form a compound noun. In these cases, for example, there is a change in meaning because of the change in word class; thus, **wǎ lèsà** ‘cook food’ becomes **lèsàwǎwǎ** ‘cooked food’. In all these instances, the tone of the verbs remains the same in all the reduplicated forms. However, the verb-stem in example (24) is intransitive. The entire stem is repeated and infixed with ‘m’, triggered by the homorganic nasal assimilation, which is common in speech. This converts the verb into an adjective. We argue that the infixed ‘m’ is a consequence of in-consecutive reduplication in the language.

6.1.7 CVV STEMS

Stem	Reduplicated
(25) kùḁ ḁklé v o grind pepper	ḁ-klé-kùḁ<n>Kùḁ → ‘ground pepper’ NCL-pepper-grind<η>grind

The CVV transitive verb stem and its object are combined to form a verbal adjective as shown above. The verb stem is then doubled and combined with the object in a reverse order, changing the structure from a VO (verb-object) to an O+(V-V) (object+verb-verb) compound word. The alveolar nasal /n/ that is introduced into the repeated verb is due to homorganic nasal assimilation as seen in example (24). The insertion of the alveolar nasal /n/ between the two verbs follows the inconsecutive reduplication, where a segment mediates the copy and the stem (Al-Hassan 1998).

6.2 Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication is a process where a segment or part of a stem is repeated and the copy is attached to the existing stem either as a prefix, suffix, infix, or circumfix. This type of reduplication can take various forms, such as simple consonant gemination, vowel lengthening, or nearly a complete copy of the stem (Inkelas & Downing 2015). It appears only verbs and some adverbs undergo partial reduplication in Sekpelé.

i. Partial Reduplication of Verbs

6.2.1 CCV STEMS

Stem	Reduplicated
(26) flá bíká v o wash clothes	bíkáflá → ‘washed clothes’ clothes-RED-wash

The verb in this category undergoes partial reduplication, and the reduplicated form is attached to its object. That is, segments of the original verb stem are copied and prefixed to the existing stem, followed by a reversal of the word order. The tone of the object changes from [+high +high] to [-high -high]. Likewise, the tone of the partial copy alters from [+high] to a [-high] while the original verb stem maintains its [+high] tone.

6.2.2 CVCV STEM

Stem	Reduplicated
(27) tìdì ato v o to thicken ears	ato-tì-tìdì → a thicken ear ears-RED-thick ‘very stubborn’

In example (27), there is a copy of some segments of the verb-stem, and the copy was bound to the stem initial, after which the word order is reversed, resulting in a kind of verbal adjective. Additionally, the tone of the reduplicant remains unchanged. All the verbs in the partial reduplication discussed so far are transitive verbs.

ii. Partial Reduplication of Adverbs

6.2. CVCCV STEM

Stem	Reduplicated
(28) bám-bá loudly	bám-bám-bá → ‘very loudly’ RED-loudly

In adverbial partial reduplication, some segments of the adverb-stem, in example (28) are copied and attached to the stem initial. This results in another form of the adverb that intensifies the act.

7. Functions of Reduplication

Reduplication performs many functions in Sɛkpɛlé. In Sɛkpɛlé, some words can be reduplicated to form new words whose meanings differ from their original stems. Words that can be reduplicated to derive new words in Sɛkpɛlé include verbs and adjectives. For example,

(29) **bìkàfàfló** **námó** **kpó** **lé** **díyó**.
washed clothes DET. be.at hold room
'The washed clothes are in the room.'

(30) **Ò-sàní** **bémbé** **námó** **tó** **lé** **ó-kwé**.
NCL-man grown the go.toward hold NCL-farm
'The old man is going to farm.'

In sentence (28) above, a new word was formed from a verb stem and its object by repeating part of the stem and reversing the word order to yield a new word illustrated by **fló** + **bíkó** becoming **bíkàfà-fló**. Similarly, in sentence (29), the verb **bé** (to grow) is repeated and infixed with 'm' to form an adjective.

Additionally, we discussed that reduplicated forms in Sɛkpɛlé can be used to denote number (plurality, distribution), iteration, frequency, or intensity. Adverbs, adjectives and ideophones belong to a class of words that can be reduplicated to perform these functions. For example, reduplicated forms of ideophones encode iteration, frequency and intensity of an act. Below are some examples:

(31) **yó** **kpóó**
'walk slowly'

(32) **yó** **kpóó-kpóó**
walk slowly-slowly
'walk very slowly'

Sentences (31) and (32) illustrate the encoding of manner of an action- that is, how something is done. While (31) denotes 'walking slowly', the reduplicated form of the ideophone in (32) conveys the iteration and intensification, signalling that the person is walking more slowly than before. The repeated ideophonic sound enables listeners to vividly imagine the manner and duration of the action.

We note that reduplicated forms of adverbs also encode frequency, intensity, distance, number and distribution. Let us examine some of the earlier illustrations:

(33) **yó** **mónó**
'walk fast'

(34) **yó** **mónó-mónó**
'walk quickly'

(35) **fí** **lóní**
'take one'

(36) **fí** **lóní-lóní**
'take one each'

As illustrated above, sentences (33) and (34) describe the manner of walking, with the latter intensifying the action to ‘very fast’. Notably, **mónó-mónó** implies a long distance that is being covered with rapid steps. In contrast, sentences (35) and (36) encode number and distribution, more specifically, the quantity and sharing of something.

Another function of reduplicated forms in Sèkpélé is that they encode augmentation or attenuation of a thing or phenomenon. Consequently, reduplicated forms may enlarge or reduce the form of a thing. Adjectives in Sèkpélé are mostly used to encode augmentation or diminution, for example, **kémíní-kémíní** (small-small), **kê-kê** (little-little) and **kpété-kpété** (big-big).

- (37) **ɔ̌-lé** **lòsà** **nəmó** **bù-bùdí** **kémíní-kémíní**
 3SG-hold food the Prog-takeoff small-small
 ‘S/he is eating the food in bits.’

- (38) **ɔ̌-kpé** **kpété-kpété** **té** **díyó**
 NCL-bowl big-big be house
 ‘A very big bowl is in the house’.

Sentences (37), and (38) show reduplicated adjectives modifying the form of an object by either diminishing or augmenting it. While sentence (37) conveys diminution, its counterpart (38) emphasizes enlargement. Notably, these adjectives can be repeated multiple times to convey varying degrees of modification, as seen in the potential tripling of **kpété-kpété** to **kpété-kpété-kpété**.

8. Conclusion

The paper has established that reduplication is a common occurrence in the Sèkpélé language. Findings indicate partial and total reduplication in ideophones and across various word classes, such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives in Sèkpélé. Some reduplicated forms change their word classes while others do not. Reduplicated forms in Sèkpélé perform various functions, including diminution, attenuation, augmentation, frequency, number (plurality), distance, and derivational functions. It is worth noting that the original stems in the reduplicated forms are typically found at the right of the reduplicants, except in cases of vowel lengthening, where the stem is found at the left, and the copy is attached to its word final. The study also reveals that reduplication in Sèkpélé involves consecutive and inconsecutive copying. In consecutive form, the copy and the original immediately follow each other without a syllable, morpheme, or segment interference. There are few instances in Sèkpélé where there is inconsecutive copying, whereby some consonant sounds are infixes into the copy and stems of both partial and complete reduplicants. This reveals that the infixes sounds are triggered by homorganic nasal assimilation present in the language. Besides, ATR vowel harmony does not have much influence on reduplication in Sèkpélé since the copies either bear the ATR value of the first vowel of the stem concerning total reduplication, or the prefix vowel is elided, in the case of partial reduplication. Notwithstanding, we observed a vowel harmony between the prefix vowel /ɔ̌/, which is also the noun class marker and the stem vowel /é/ in one of the objects in the VO reduplication.

Abbreviations

RED	Reduplicate
DET	Determiner
V	Verb
O	Object
CM	Complement
SG	Singular
PL	Plural
NCL	Noun class marker
HAB	Habitual marker
PREP	Preposition

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