

## REDUPLICATION IN ENGLISH STYLISTIC WORD FORMATION

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Reduplicarea ca mijloc de formare a cuvintelor provoacă o mare controversă în ceea ce privește descrierea proprietăților și tipurilor sale nu doar în limba engleză, ci și în și în alte limbi. Procesul de dublare a unui lexem este privit din unghiuri diferite în limba engleză modernă. În pofida istoriei lungi de studiu a fenomenului reduplicării, lingviștii nu au ajuns la o opinie unanimă cu privire la definiția, esența și statutul reduplicării în sistemul lingvistic. Deci în lingvistică există diverși termeni, puncte de vedere și abordări ale acestui fenomen. Reduplicarea este privită ca un mijloc de formare stilistică a cuvintelor. Reduplicarea stilistică este descrisă ca un proces de inventare a unui nou reduplicativ pentru o anumită ocazie, într-un anumit context. Multe neologisme reduplicative sunt create de autori pentru a exprima un sens nou, sunt folosite o singură dată și nu sunt incluse în dicționare. Se numesc neologisme ale autorilor. Aceste cuvinte nou inventate sunt creații unice, individuale, ele devin un mijloc puternic de a crea forme de cuvinte expresive. Ele servesc la adăugarea de conotații, la executarea funcțiilor expresive, emoționale și estetice ale cuvântului. Din punct de vedere structural, sunt prezentate următoarele tipuri de reduplicare: contrastivă, exactă, rimată și reduplicarea prefixul -*shm*. Se discută despre reduplicarea în vorbirea copiilor și în publicitate.

**Cuvintele cheie:** *reduplicare, formare de cuvinte, dublare, neologism stilistic, ocazionalism.*

Reduplication as a means of word formation causes a great deal of controversy in terms of describing its properties and types in English as well as in other languages. The process of doubling a lexeme is viewed from different angles in Modern English. Despite the long history of studying the phenomenon of reduplication, linguists have not come to a unanimous opinion regarding the definition, essence and status of reduplication in the language system. So, in linguistics there are various terms, points of view and approaches to this phenomenon. Reduplication is viewed as a means of stylistic word formation. Stylistic reduplication is described as a process of coining a new reduplicative for a specific occasion, in a certain context. Many reduplicative neologisms are created by authors to express some new meaning; they are used just once and are not included into dictionaries. They are called authors' neologisms. These newly coined words are unique, individual creations; they become a powerful means of making expressive word forms. They serve to add connotations, execute the expressive, emotional and aesthetic functions of the word. Structurally the following types of reduplication are overviewed: contrastive, exact, rhyming, and shm-reduplication. Reduplication in children's speech and in advertising is also discussed.

**Key words:** *reduplication, word-formation, doubling, stylistic neologism, occasionalism.*

Modern English is distinguished by its great ability to form new vocabulary units and it has various trends in word formation. Being active to a more or less degree, word formation methods also show different levels of productivity.

A rare, but a very “connotative” way of forming new units with a stylistic task is known under the term reduplication. It is a means of organizing a word or individual forms of a word, a method of word formation, which serves for various types of meaning intensification.

These are new words containing a doubling of the initial word, either consisting of a syllable repeated twice, or with a more complex type of doubling. These examples appear in many languages: *roly-poly*, *willy-nilly*, *nimmi-pimmy* (in English); *Fronfron* n.m., *glonglon* n.m., *zonzon* n.m. (in French). We come across a wide range of onomatopoeic reduplicatives in Romanian: *mormăi* “grunt”, *țurțur* “sneeze”, *dârdâi* “snarl” as well as widely used phrases: *talmeș-balmeș* “confused mixture, disordered heap from which nothing can be understood or selected”, *harcea-parcea* “In pieces; to make (someone or something) harcea-parcea - to cut (someone or something) into pieces, make pieces”.

There is quite an extensive literature on reduplication, summarizing the material of various languages, as well as for individual languages. J. Hladký overviewed research works devoted to reduplication starting from A.F. Pott, published in 1862. The first, and the last dictionary of reduplicatives, as the author mentions, was compiled by Henry B. Wheatley and published in 1866. A huge list of reduplicatives is given in the research by the Swedish linguist N. Thun. His list contains more than 1,700 words, arranged under thematic headings (Hladký, 1998: 34). A full and detailed analyses of reduplication in French is suggested by N. Steinberg in his book “Reduplication in modern French language”, publishes in 1969. He pays much attention to the description of reduplication as a means of expressive word forms’ formation (43).

Many questions arise in the course of reduplication research. The following are just some of them. Does this happen with other words in English? Are all the reduplicative words compounds? Should all the reduplicatives be studied in lexicology or some of them belong to syntactic level? Is there a clear-cut division between reduplication and repetition? Even terminological diversity points at the complexity of the object being studied. In linguistic literature, such terms as “reduplication”, “gemination”, “doubling”, “duplication”, “reiteration”, “repetitive constructions”, “reduplicative compound words”, “repetition compounds”, and “isosyllabic constructions” were widely used in the early studies (Begimkulova 2023: 189).

In many languages, reduplication is used in inflections to convey grammatical functions and in lexical derivations to create semantic forms. For example, doubling is used to convey a new meaning (as in Turkish, “*zaman zaman*” (*time time*) meaning “*occasionally*”). Lexical reduplication can often result in change of meaning or tone. “The meanings can also range from highly iconic meanings, such as repetition to more abstract morpho-syntactic meanings, to quite subtle meanings, difficult to define precisely” (Urbanczyk, 2017).

Being a very multidimensional phenomenon, reduplication has a diverse nature. Some scientists have a broader view on this process. They say, it can result in doubling of a sound, a letter, an affix, a word, even a syntactic structure. We can come across personal names, surnames, nicknames, fictional characters and geographical names, as a result of doubling. It has long been considered to be a minor means of word formation. However, many authors mentioned its unusual character.

David Crystal wrote in the second edition of *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*: "Items with identical spoken constituents, such as *goody-goody* and *din-din*, are rare. What is normal is for a single vowel or consonant to change between the first constituent and the second, such as *see-saw* and *walkie-talkie*. Reduplicatives are used in a variety of ways. Some simply imitate sounds: *ding-dong*, *bow-wow*. Some suggest alternative movements: *flip-flop*, *ping-pong*. Some are disparaging: *dilly-dally*, *wishy-washy*. And some intensify meaning: *teeny-weeny*, *tip-top*. Thus, reduplication is not a major means of creating lexemes in English, but it is perhaps the most unusual one (130).

Authors of studies in the field of children's speech, children's poetry, and in the field of onomatopoeia inevitably also turn to reduplicatives, since in European languages most formations of this kind are either "children's words" or are onomatopoeic in nature. Even the very first words a child pronounces are usually reduplicative, as well as nursery rhymes: *pinky-winky*, *boo-boo*, *caca*, *dada*, *doo-doo*, *ga-ga*, *goo-goo*, *la-la*, *mama*, *nana*, *papa*, *pee-pee*, *poo-poo*, *wee-wee*.

Some examples of reduplication have existed for centuries and continue to be included in dictionaries updates, besides their occurrence in written and oral speech is rather high (*helter-skelter* (16th century), *riff-raff* (15th century) and *willy-nilly* (10th/11th century). Some of them were coined recently and are used for a particular context on a particular occasion. An example is a catchphrase *timey-wimey* from a British science fiction television series – the longest-running science-fiction TV series in the world. The phrase *timey-wimey* was used to explain the absurd nature of time travel.

The English language is full of such words - words invented on the spur of the moment and intended to be used only once. Such words are simply incomprehensible without context. The context, as it were, prepares the reader to understand the completely unexpected, and, therefore the highly connotative nature of the stylistically marked unit. D. Crystal defines nonce formation: "A nonce word (from the sixteenth century phrase for the nonce, meaning 'for the once') is a lexeme created for temporary use, to solve an immediate problem of communication" (132).

Stylistic reduplicatives appear both in conversational speech and in literature. Besides, they will most probably not be included into dictionaries. These formations belong mainly to the colloquial style in its various varieties and traditions. Many of them arose initially in slang and argot, from where they penetrated into the common language. Often these words remain outside the norm. Some authors call them reduplicative neologisms. As N. Steinberg mentions, "it often occurs as onomatopoeia or as children's words, sometimes as distortions of normal words, reduplication mostly acquires secondary figurative meanings that become the main ones; primary meanings can be completely withdrawn from use" (64).

A great number of stylistic reduplicatives start to be used as proper names – nicknames, brand names, movies and books names. Famous French footballers, for example, *Thierry Henry* and *Zinédine Zidane* are called *Titi* and *Zizou*, famous actor Jean-Paul Belmondo had a nickname *Jojo*, even politicians *Jacques Chirac* and *François Mitterrand* were nicknamed *Crac-Crac* and *Tonton* (Minova and oth., 2023).

A lot of product words are coined by means of reduplication. An advertisement slogan *The Quicker Picker Upper* (Bounty Paper Towels, 1965) by Procter & Gamble has proved its effectiveness for over 50 years. A great number of brand names are the result of reduplication, sometimes accompanied by alliteration: *PayPal*, *Coca-Cola*, *Jelly Belly*.

There is an opinion, that sometimes we just like the sound of a product's name - particularly if it contains repetitive syllables. There was even held an experiment with brand names, including the repeated syllables, presenting them to a group of volunteers. The researchers made up similar brand names for each ice-cream, taking care to include repetitive syllables in one but not the other — *Zanozan* and *Zanovum*, for example. The researchers repeated the experiment with five other types of similarly named products, including cell phone plans. Most participants of the experiment chose the products with the repetitive rhythm in their names - but there were exceptions to the rule. If the name included unnatural or uncommon linguistic sounds — *Ranthfanth*, for example — people rejected it (Kluger, 2010).

Scientific research offers a number of classifications, identifying types of reduplication. We will concentrate on some types, probably, more productive than others. This is contrastive, exact reduplication, reduplication with a change in consonant sound, and the so-called shm - reduplication.

Contrastive reduplication is used when we want to emphasize the prototypical meaning of a word, and is quite common in informal English. Contrastive reduplication is sometimes also called lexical cloning or the double construction. The term “word word” was coined by Paul Dickson to describe a word or name that's repeated to distinguish it from a seemingly identical word or name (Nordquist, 2019). "From what I have been able to determine, there is no word for this phenomenon, and 'word word' seemed to be a logical name to give it" (Dickson, 1983).

- *Would you like coffee with soya milk?*
- *No, thanks. I want coffee with milk milk.*

In the phrase “Is he like a *businessman-businessman*? Or is this like when I used to sell lemonade and call myself a businessman” do we mean – is he a “real/real businessman”?

*Are you FRIENDS-friends or Facebook friends?* Here, the speaker is contrasting the idea of friends in real life versus friends online.

Among this kind of reduplicative formations, occasionalisms – author's neologisms – are quite common.

Exact reduplication appears when two or even three parts of these words are exactly the same. Children's words that show how children learned language most often fall into this category, but there are other examples. *Blah, blah, blah* (and so on) – used for completing a sentence when you do not have to be definite or when the subject is boring. *Hush-hush* (secret, secret) – secret and not to be discussed with others).

Rhyming (change in consonant sound) and ablaut reduplication (change in vowel sound) characterizes repetition with a sound change. The two parts of the reduplicate are not exactly the same, but they rhyme with each other - *flip-flops*, *easy-peasy lemon-squeezy*, *willy-nilly*. This is often how product names are formed, for example, *Tic Tac*, *Fruit Loops*, *Nutter Butters*, *Slim Jims*, *Kitkat*, etc.

In the English language there are a number of reduplicatives, different in sound composition, but homogeneous in construction, which are expressive in nature: *helter – skelter*, *humpty – dumpty*, *hurdy-gurdy*, *hoh-nof*, *hatch-patch*, *hokey-pokey*, *hugger-mugger*, *hurry-skurry*, *horty-forty*, *hanky-panky*, *harum-skarum*, *nimini-primini*, *roly- poly*, *withy-nithy*, etc. The word *Yoba-dobbing* ‘reporting someone’s antisocial behavior to authorities is an example of most recent neologisms, inspired by COVID-19.

In Shm-Reduplication reduplication process, we form a reduplicatant by adding “shm” or “schm” to the base word. X-shmX construction is used almost like an affix to indicate irony, sarcasm, skepticism and jokes: *apple-shmapple*; *baby-shmaby*; *bagel-shmagel*; *breakfast-shmeakfast*; *fancy-schmancy*; *money-shmoney*.

The well-known «танцы-цманцы» is an example of the so-called shm-reduplication in Russian language. Most often, such words are occasional words created in a specific context “at one time”. *Joe Shmoe* (also spelled *Joe Schmoe* and *Joe Schmo*), meaning “*Joe Anybody*”, or no one in particular, is a commonly used fictional name in American English.

All the described types of reduplicatives mainly combine the expressive, emotional and aesthetic functions of the word, they can refer to both the conversational style of speech and be used in publicistic and literary styles.

So, alongside with the well-known and widely used examples of reduplication in English, like *brain drain*, *chit-chat*, *willy-nilly*, new words - reduplicative neologisms are coined from time to time, usually for stylistic purposes. They might appear everywhere, from informal conversational style to political discourse and literary style. Thus, the word *Tony's Cronies* was a term in British politics and media given to people who were viewed as being given positions of power because of their personal friendships with Prime Minister Tony Blair, during his premiership between 1997 and 2007. Another reduplicative word - *apple shmapple* - a slang term for a person who regularly uses and is somewhat obsessed with Apple computers or Macs. Conversational and informal *okei-dokey* and *blah, blah, blah* are common and wide-spread.

Reduplication has enormous neological potential, that is especially widely realized in conversational speech and Internet discourse. Being not the most productive way of word formation in the English language, reduplication plays an important role in enriching the vocabulary of the English language. Its connotative value contributes to adding great emotive and stylistic colouring to our speech. The study of reduplication gives a sufficient understanding of this process as a way of forming an English word and contributes to a deeper knowledge of the language.

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