

Reduplication (Twin Words) in Turkish with Reference to English

Mahmood Abbas Dawood
College of Education / Tikrit University

ABSTRACT

In order to share ideas and feelings effectively besides using gestures and intonation in speech, vocabulary is also considered as a useful way. The more vocabularies you have, the clearer and more accurate ideas you express. Word formation processes are the most common ways to enrich vocabulary. This ability to adopt, understand, and use such a new word results from the fact that these word-formation processes are based on certain rules and regulations. These processes are very important for language users, because the constant creation of new terms and new uses of old terms is a sign of vitality, flexibility, and creativeness.

This paper has been conducted to mention the similarities and differences between English and Turkish word formation in general and the process of reduplication in particular. At the beginning, the researcher gives a general idea of word formation in English and Turkish then explains the morphological rules that determine the reduplication process in the languages under study. The phonological and the semantic properties have also been discussed throughout this paper. Sufficient examples have been given in both languages to clarify the idea.

At the end of the paper, there are the major findings and conclusions that the researcher reached as a result of the comparison between English and Turkish as far as the process of reduplication is concerned.

List of Turkish Phonemes

Letter	IPA	English approximation	Letter	IPA	English approximation		
A	a	a/	As <i>a</i> in <i>father</i>	M	m	/m/	As <i>m</i> in <i>maverick</i>
B	b	/b/	As <i>b</i> in <i>boy</i>	N	n	/n/,/ŋ/	As <i>n</i> in <i>nice</i>
C	c	/dʒ/	As <i>j</i> in <i>joy</i>	O	o	/o/	As <i>o</i> in <i>more</i>
Ç	ç	/tʃ/	As <i>ch</i> in <i>champion</i>	Ö	ö	/œ/	Roughly as <i>ö</i> in German <i>Göttingen</i>
D	d	/d/	As <i>d</i> in <i>dog</i>	P	p	/p/	As <i>p</i> in <i>spin</i>
E	e	/e/, /ɛ/, /æ/	As <i>e</i> in <i>red</i> , as <i>a</i> in <i>cat</i>	R	r	/r/	As <i>r</i> in <i>Rat</i>
F	f	/f/	As <i>f</i> in <i>far</i>	S	s	/s/	As <i>s</i> in <i>song</i>
G	g	/g/, /ɟ/	As <i>g</i> in <i>gal</i>	Ş	ş	/ʃ/	As <i>sh</i> in <i>show</i>
Ğ	ğ	/ɰ/	As in <i>ağaç</i>	T	t	/t/	As <i>t</i> in <i>stop</i>
H	h	/h/	As <i>h</i> in <i>hot</i>	U	u	/u/	Roughly as <i>oo</i> in <i>tool</i>
I	ı	/ɯ/	Roughly as <i>u</i> in <i>turn</i>	Ü	ü	/y/	As <i>ü</i> in German <i>über</i>
İ	i	/i/	As <i>i</i> in <i>machine</i>	V	v	/v/	As <i>v</i> in <i>vivacious</i>
J	j	/ʒ/	As <i>s</i> in <i>measure</i>	Y	y	/j/	As <i>y</i> in <i>yes</i>
K	k	/k/, /c/	As <i>k</i> in <i>skull</i>	Z	z	/z/	As <i>z</i> in <i>zigzag</i>
L	l	/l/, /ʎ/	As <i>l</i> in <i>lickety-split</i>				

1. Word Formation and the Structure of Turkish Words

Most of the words in Turkish that have more than one syllable are considered to be complex words. Processes of word formation create words that can be very long and sometimes correspond to whole sentences in English. **Suffixation** is the main word formation process in Turkish. The formation of a new word by attaching an affix to the right of a **root**. Any linguistic item to which suffixes can be added, whether this is a simple root or a combination of a root plus suffix(es), is referred to as a **stem** (Göksel and Kerlake, 2005: 43).

suç-lu-luk-la mı (in a guilty manner)

yap-ı-laş-tır-ıl-ma-mış (has not been built up)

2. Reduplication and its Types in Turkish

Underhill (1970: 436) defines reduplication as "the repetition of words or parts of word." He adds that Turkish uses reduplicative forms in grammatical, stylistic and lexical areas.

According to Marantz (1982: 437) reduplication is:

A morphological process relating a base from a metaphor or stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base via the affixation (or infixation) of phonetic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form.

Swift (1963: 120) defines this phenomenon as the repetition of all or part of a base dividing Turkish reduplication into two groups: total and partial. Total reduplication requires the repetition of the entire word without change like:

çabuk çabuk (quickly)

kapı kapı (from door to door)

Partial reduplication means a part of the word is repeated. The second repeated word never occurs as a free form in the language, like: ***Kitap mitap*** (books, booklets and the like)

2.2.1 Doubling

Doubling is the simple repetition of a word without the form distinction. It occurs with nouns, adverbs, adjectives and measure terms.

(i) Doubled adverbs, doubled nouns, doubled adjectives and doubled distributive numerals all occur with an adverbial function:

yavaş yavaş (slowly) (adv +adv)

sabah sabah (early in the morning) (n +n)

usul usul (slowly and softly) (adj +adj)

birer/birer (one by one) (numeral + numeral)

(ii) Doubled adjectives are also used as modifiers with plural nouns, both to draw attention to the quality denoted by the adjective and to indicate a large quantity of the item in question:

koca koca (*ağaçlar*) (many huge (trees))

sarı sarı (*evler*) (many yellow (houses))

(iii) When doubled nouns are used adjectivally they are usually used without plural marking on the noun that is modified. These forms indicate a large quantity or a great variety of the item in question:

çeşit çeşit yiyecek(ler) (all kinds of (dishes))

boy boy kutu(lar) (boxes of all sizes)

kutu kutu kitap (many boxes of books)

(iv) The particle (*mi*) inserted between two occurrences of an adjective intensifies its meaning. These forms are colloquial, and are usually used either as predicative adjectives or in indefinite noun phrases:

Adam kurnaz mı kurnaz (The man is extremely sly)

güzel mi güzel bir kız (a remarkably pretty girl)

2.2.2 Emphatic Reduplication

In this kind of reduplicated words, the phonological and morphological features interfere in creating the word. Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 90) explain this kind as follows:

Emphatic reduplication is used for accentuating the quality of an adjective:

uzun (long) → *upuzun* (very long)

güzel (pretty) → *güpgüzel* (very pretty)

It occurs mainly with underived adjectives, and occasionally with adverbs. In emphatic reduplication, a prefix is attached to the stem. If the stem begins with a vowel the prefix consists of this vowel and the reduplicative consonant (p):

ince (thin) → *i+p+ince* → *ipince* (very thin)

eski (old) → *e+p+eski* → *epeski* (very old)

If the stem begins with a consonant, the prefix consists of this consonant, the vowel following it and one of the reduplicative consonants /p, s, r or m/:

sarı (yellow) → *sa+p+sarı* → *sapsarı* (bright yellow)

kati (hard) → *ka+s+kati* → *kaskati* (hard as a rock)

temiz (clean) → *te+r+temiz* → *tertemiz* (clean as a pin)
siyah 'black' → *si+m+siyah* → *simsiyah* (pitch black)

In some cases the reduplicated segment contains an additional segment:

(i) -A:

gündüz (daytime), (by day) *gü+p+e+gündüz* (in broad daylight)
sağlam (in good condition) *sa+p+a+sağlam* (in very good condition)

yalnız (alone) *ya+p+a+yalnız* (all alone) (also *yapyalnız*)

(ii) -*Il* or -*Am*, in some cases where the reduplicative consonant is (r):

çiplak (naked) *çı+r+l+çiplak* (stark naked) (also *çırçiplak*)
parça (piece) *pa+r+am+parça* (torn to shreds), (smashed into pieces)

The occurrence of a particular reduplicative consonant is, to a degree, based on the consonants in a stem. For example, the reduplicative consonant cannot be the same as the first or second consonant of the stem. The number of stems which can undergo emphatic reduplication is limited.

Words which undergo emphatic reduplication are stressed on the initial syllable (e.g. *kápkara*, *sápasaglam*, *ápaçık*) except when the reduplicated form contains -*Il* or -*Am*, in which case this latter syllable bears stress (e.g. *çırılçiplak*). Emphatically reduplicated words cannot occur with the modifiers such as *çok* (many) or *en* (most).

2.2.3 A Phonological Analysis of Turkish Reduplication

According to Hatipoğlu (1971: 13-15) there are similarities between initial and/or final sound(s) of reduplicated words:

cümbür cemaat (all together)

düğün dernek (merry entertainment).

One or both members of reduplication may not be used alone. The one which has fewer syllables, the one beginning with a vowel and the native words mostly come first. The phonological rules applying in the reduplication of onomatopoeic words are:

- (i) If [a] occurs in the initial syllable of the first word, [u] usually occurs in the initial syllable of the second: *çarpık çurpuk* (very crooked), *haşır huşur* (rustlingly),
- (ii) If there is [i] in the initial syllable of the first word, this vowel also occurs in the other syllables of the same word and all the syllables of the second word, *ıvır zıvır* (unimportant details)

According to their phonological criteria, reduplicated words are divided into four types:

Forms which are similar in (i) initial sound(s), *çul çaput* (old clothes), *düğün dernek* (merry entertainment), (ii) the final sound(s) *kırık dökük* (candle end), *yırtık yırtık* (tattered), (iii) completely identical *zaman zaman* (time to time), *zangır zangır* (shaking with a rattle), and (iv) not similar at all: *güzel çirkin* (beautiful or ugly), *okuma yazma* (literacy). (ibid)

Özgenç (1980:1) defines onomatopoeia as sound-symbolic words which suggest color, shape and noises. The onomatopoeic forms function as a noun, adjective and adverb via reduplication and suffixation.

According to Özgenç classification, the unsuffixed bases can be grouped into two: monosyllabic bases such as *şıp şıp* (with a dripping sound), *zonk zonk* (throbbing); and disyllabic bases such as *şan-gır şan-gır* (with a smash), *muş-il muş-il* (sleeping soundly) (Özgenç, 1980:13).

Reduplication plays an important role in Turkish onomatopoeic word formation. There are complete and partial reduplications in onomatopoeic words in Turkish. Complete reduplication can be monosyllabic *tak tak* (knock knock), *zonk zonk* (throbbing) or disyllabic *ban-gır ban-gır* (loudly), *cay-ır cay-ır* (fiercely)). Partial reduplication, on the other hand, includes structures such as *gıpgıcır* (brand new) (derived from *gıcır*).

Özgenç (1980:31-32) notes that the vocalic or consonantal change may occur in some combinations of partial reduplication.

- (1) **Change in vowel** : a. *şap şup* (slobbery kissing) b. *cart curt* (tearing noise) c. *şakır şukur* (easily) d. *tangır tungur* (with a rude clatter)
- (2) **Change in consonant**: a. *tis pis* (silent and covering) b. *höt zöt* (hectoring) c. *zirt pirt* (frequently) d. *çat pat* (smattering)

Özgenç (1980:32) observes another kind of reduplication which involves monosyllabic structures.

- (3) a. *şap + pa + dak* all of a sudden (for kissing)
- b. *lüp + pe + dek* (all of a sudden (for swallowing)
- c. *zınk + ka + dak* “all of a sudden (for stopping)
- d. *pat + ta + dak* (all of a sudden)

2.2.4 *m*-Reduplication

This type is the most productive type of reduplication in Turkish. It involves either the addition or the substitution of the sound /m/ in the second constituent. The function of *m*-reduplication is to generalize the concept denoted by a particular word or phrase to include other similar objects, events or states of affairs. This is a colloquial usage.

- Doktor önce *hastanın gözüne mözüne* baktı, sonra sorunu anlamadığını

söyledi.

- The doctor first checked the patient's eyes, etc., then said that s/he didn't

understand the problem.'

- Eve çat kapı bir alıcı geldi, *odaları modaları* dolaştı.

(Today a prospective buyer came unannounced, [and] looked around the rooms, etc.)

- *Soner'ı moner'i* görmedim.

(I didn't see *Soner* or anyone.)

m-reduplication involves the repetition of a word or phrase in a modified form. If this word or phrase begins with a vowel, the modifying consonant (m) is prefixed to its second occurrence:

etek metek (skirt(s) and the like)

içecek miçecek (drinks and the like)

If the word or phrase begins with a consonant, this consonant is replaced by (m) in its second occurrence:

kapı mapı (door(s) and the like)

çay may (tea and the like)

In most cases the reduplicative form immediately follows the word which it reduplicates. One exception is noun compounds, where the entire compound is repeated, with only its first word undergoing *m*-reduplication:

- Ben adam **tarih hocasıymış marih hocasıymış** anlamam.

Fransız tarihini

ondan daha iyi biliyorum.

I don't care if he is *a history teacher or whatever*. (I know more about French history than he does.)

(Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 91)

3. Reduplication in English

According to Crystal (2008: 407) **reduplication** (*n.*) is "A term in morphology for a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix/suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root. "

Before dealing with the process of reduplication, it is important to mention the basic processes of word formation in English in brief. In fact the process of word formation, as Hurford and Heasley, (1983:206) state, is not one process, but three simultaneous processes: a morphological process (changing the shape of a word by adding a prefix, suffix or an infix), a syntactic process (changing the part of speech of a word), a semantic process (producing a new sense).

Grammarians agree on the following processes of word formation in English:

1. Conversion: In English very often lexical items are created not by affixation but by conversion or zero derivation (Katamba, 1984:70), i.e., without any change being made to the shape of the

original base. The word-form remains the same, but it is realized as a different lexical item. e.g. verbs as nouns (e.g., to *laugh* > a *laugh*) , adjectives as nouns e.g., a *dark* corner ... in the *dark*).

2. **Invention:** It means invention of totally new terms, more recent examples are *kleenex* and *teflon* (Stageberge, 1981: 121).
3. **Echoism:** Words are invented to sound like the sound they name or the entity which produces the sound. Examples: *hiss*, *buzz*, and *cuckoo* (ibid:122).
4. **Borrowing:** One of the most common sources of new words in English is the process simply labeled “borrowing”, that is, the taking over of words from other languages.
5. **Folk Etymology:** It is the popular modification of a borrowed or unfamiliar word out of a tendency to give the word a familiar form, or because of an erroneous notion of original word’s meaning (Hartmann and Stork, 1972:84). For example, *Welsh rabbit* is originally *Welsh rarebit*.
6. **Clipping:** clipping is “cutting off the beginning or the end of a word or both, leaving a part to stand for the whole” (Stageberg, 1981:122). Examples: *telephone* or *phone*
7. **Acronymy:** An acronym is a word formed by taking the initial letters of the words in a title or phrase and using them as a new word. The created acronym may be pronounced as a word, e.g. **UNICEF** or as letter as **MP**.
8. **Blending** "is the fusion of two words into one, usually the first part of one word with the last part of another"
9. **Reduplication** is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word, or only part of it, is repeated. It is used to convey a grammatical function, such as plurality, intensification, etc., and in lexical derivation to create new words. It is often used

when a speaker adopts a tone more "expressive" or figurative than ordinary speech and is also often, but not exclusively, iconic in meaning (*Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 128) state that form and meaning in reduplication are motivated iconically since reduplicated words usually express the concepts of intensity, plurality, and repetition and more of form stands for more of content.

According to (Zappata, 2007: 23):

*Reduplication consists in the repetition of all or of part of a root or stem to form new words. If the entire root or stem is repeated, the process is called **total reduplication**, and the new word is considered as a **repetitive compound**... If only a part of the root or stem is repeated, the process is called **partial reduplication**, and the repeated portion is called a **reduplicative**. Such reduplicatives may occur preposed, interposed, and postposed to the root or stem; however, reduplicatives are more common word-initially and word-medially.*

In reduplication, a new word is created by repeating a morpheme by a change in the vowel or in the first consonant. Following the first word, the second word cannot be used alone (Robins: 1967: 212-213).

Dineen (1967: 228) states that reduplication is one of the six main kinds of grammatical processes: word order, composition, affixation, internal modification of grammatical element and accentual differences.

Most of the languages, including English, agree on full and partial reduplication. Full reduplication indicates that the whole base is repeated, whereas partial reduplication denotes the repetition of part of the base (Mathews, 1974: 127).

Another classification of reduplication is presented by Haspelmath (2002: 24) according to whether the repeated or copied element comes before or after the base. He calls them as pre-and post-reduplication respectively.

In English, partial reduplication is a little bit more common than total reduplication usually with a change of vowel or initial consonant as in *tiptop* and *hanky-panky*. The base morpheme is usually the second part like *dilly-dally* but sometimes it is the first part like *ticktock*. In the words like *singsong* both are the base and in *boogie-woogie* neither half is the base (Stageberg, 1981: 127).

Quirk et al. (1985: 1589-1590) in addition state that the most common uses of reduplicatives are the following:

- a. To imitate sounds, e.g., *rat-a-tat* (knocking on door), *tick-tack* (of a clock), *ha-ha* (of laughter), *bow-wow* (of dog).
- b. To suggest alternating movements, e.g., *see saw*, *flip-flop*, *ping-pong*.
- c. To disparage by suggesting instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation, etc., e.g.,
higgledy-piggledy, hocus-pocus, wishy-washy, dilly-dally, shilly-shally, willy-nilly.
- d. To intensify, e.g., *teeny-weeny*, *tip-top*.

As a result of the result process (the new word), and the element repeated- Stageberg (1981: 127-128) calls the constituent parts as twin-words dividing them into three kinds:

1. The base morpheme repeated without change: *clop-clop*, *tick-tick*.
2. The base morpheme is repeated with a change of initial consonant: *fuddy-duddy*
3. The base morpheme is repeated with a change of vowel: *chitchat*, *criss-cross*

Crystal (2003: 176) adds:

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. Reduplication is not a major means of creating lexemes in English, but it is perhaps the most unusual one.

English uses some kinds of reduplication, mostly for informal expressive vocabulary. There are three types:

- **Rhyming reduplication:** hokey-pokey, razzle-dazzle, super-duper, boogie-woogie, teenie-weenie, walkie-talkie, wingding
- **Exact reduplications** (baby-talk-like): bye-bye, choo-choo, night-night, no-no, pee-pee, poo-poo
- **Ablaut reduplications:** bric-a-brac, chit-chat, criss-cross, ding-dong, jibber-jabber, kitty-cat, knick-knack, pitter-patter, splish-splash, zig-zag. In the ablaut reduplications, the first vowel is almost always a high vowel and the reduplicated ablaut variant of the vowel is a low vowel.

(Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia)

The two properties that characterize Ablaut reduplication in English (*chit-chat, dilly-dally*) are: (1) identical vowel quantity in the stressed syllabic peaks, (2) maximally distinct vowel qualities in the two halves, with [I] appearing most commonly to the left and a low vowel to the right (Minkova, 2012: 1)

4. Conclusions

Word formation is a method of creating a new words so that it enriches our treasure of vocabulary. In general, to master a language, learners must have a thorough grasp of how words are formed and an ability to use them effectively. In short, there are many differences in word formation in English and Turkish though both of them are formed by morphemes. Concerning reduplication, the following points are worth mentioning:

1. Reduplication is a universally observed process in which all or a part of an item is duplicated in order to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast. The material reduplicated can be a whole word, a whole morpheme, a syllable or simply a string of consonants and vowels.
2. In Turkish a word can be reduplicated while replacing the initial consonants (not being "m") with "m". The purpose is that the meaning of the original word is broadened. For example, *tabak* means *plate*, and *tabak mabak* then means *plates, dishes and such*. This can be applied not only to nouns but to all kinds of words, as in *yeşil meşil* meaning *green, greenish, whatever*.
3. In Turkish reduplications, reference may be made either to the sense and the phonetic forms of the base *yavas yavas*, or only to the meaning properties of the bases *ev bark, akili usulu*, or only to the sound properties of the objects to be reduplicated *hekim hakim, tuz buz*.

4. Reduplication in Turkish is used for different purposes like to signal the grammatical concept of plurality, tense, aspect, passivization. Also, it is very productive in forming adverbials, adjectivals, and reduplicate compounds marking various semantic notions such as intensity, excessive quantity, frequency continuation, irritation and similarity.
5. In English, constituents of reduplication differ from Turkish in that one of them is assigned head and the other that of non-head which operates as the modifier of the head constituent. Apart from emphatic reduplication, in Turkish neither of the constituents can be assigned the status of head or non-head.
6. Reduplication in Turkish may be total or partial. It is called total if the whole phonetic-phonological string is duplicated. It is called partial if only part of the semantic-syntactic and/or phonetic-phonological constituent is duplicated. The same is found in English. In some reduplicated words, the base is repeated without change like *clop-clop*, or it is repeated with a change of initial consonant *hocus pocus*, or in change in the vowel *chit chat*.
7. In English the majority of reduplicated forms involve a play on the rhyme of words. The result can be a combination of two existing words, like *flower-power* and *culture-vulture*, but more usually one of the elements is meaningless, as in *super-duper*, or both, as in *namby-pamby*.

References

- Crystal, David (2008) *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Sixth Edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Crystal, David (2003) *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dineen, Francis (1967) *An Introduction to General Linguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hartmann, R.R.K., and F.C. Stork. 1972. *Dictionary of language and linguistics*. London: Applied Science.
- Haspelmath, Martin (2002) *Understanding Morphology*. London: Arnold.
- Hatipoğlu, V. (1971). *Türk Dilinde İkileme*, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
- Hurford, J.R. & B. Heasley 1985: *Semantics: A course book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Katamba, Francis (1993) *Morphology*. London: Macmillan of Chatham PLC.
- Lakoff, G and Johnson M. (1980) *Metaphors we Live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Matthews, P. H. (1974) *Morphology: An Introduction to the Theory of Word Structure*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Minkova, Donka (2012) *Ablaut reduplication in English: the criss-crossing of prosody and verbal art*. **Iraqi Virtual Science Library**. www.ivsl.org/

- Özgenç, F.M (1980). *Onomatopoeia in Turkish: Prosodic Analysis*. Unpublished M.A Thesis. Boğaziçi University.
- Robins, R. H. (1967) *General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey*. London: Longman.
- Stageberg, Norman (1981). *An Introductory English Grammar*. 4th Ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- *The American Heritage® Book of English Usage* (1996). Boston: Houghton Mifflin
- Swift, L. (1963) *A Reference Grammar of Modern Turkish*. The Hague: Mouton..
- Underhill, R. (1970) *Turkish Grammar*. Cambridge: MIT
- Reduplication - *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia* [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Reduplication](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reduplication) Retrieved December, 2012
- Zapata, A. Argenis (2007) **Types of Words and Word-Formation Processes in English**. Universidad de Los Andes. Available at: [webdelprofesor. ula.ve/](http://webdelprofesor.ula.ve/)
- *Word*. Retrieved December, 2012, at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Word>.