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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF REDUPLICATION IN ENGLISH AND KARAKALPAK

Reduplication, a word-formation process involving the repetition of a word or its part, is a widespread linguistic phenomenon. This study aims to explore the formal properties of reduplication in English and Karakalpak, two languages with distinct typological characteristics.

We explore various types, distribution, and semantic properties of reduplication in both languages. English, despite being a Western European language, exhibits a wide range of reduplicative patterns, including copy reduplication (tick-tick, puff-puff), ablaut reduplication (mish-mash, sing-song), rhyming reduplication (handy-dandy), and rhyming compounds (merge-purge). These types vary structurally and phonologically. Copy reduplication involves the repetition of a whole base, often found in baby talk, shortened words, and expressive language. Ablaut reduplication entails the repetition of a word with vowel change. Rhyme reduplication is characterized by consonant gemination in the reduplicant. Rhyming compounds is composed of two content words. In Karakalpak, a Turkic language, reduplication is also a productive process, with full and partial reduplication being the primary types. Full reduplication involves the repetition of entire words or roots (oyın-oyın, tóbe-tóbe), while partial reduplication, particularly interfixed reduplication (kep-kelte, mup-muzday), is used to form intensive forms of adjectives and adverbs. Full reduplication is used to express intensity, plurality, or duration. Additionally, there are other types of reduplication such as echo reduplication (balıq-malıq, shay-pay) and synonymous reduplication (aman-esen, ıdıs-tabaq). Echo reduplication is the process, where a word is repeated with a phonetic modification to create a rhyming pair. This type often conveys collectivity, indefinite plurality, humiliation and contempt. Synonymous reduplication involves the combination of two content words. These words can be synonyms, near-synonyms, or antonyms. This study has provided an overview of formal properties exhibited by reduplication in English and Karakalpak, but it is still important to explore the semantic and pragmatic functions of reduplicative words in both languages in future research.

Key words: *reduplication, English, Karakalpak, total reduplication, partial reduplication.*

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ПОРІВНЯЛЬНЕ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ РЕДУПЛІКАЦІЇ АНГЛІЙСЬКОЮ ТА КАРАКАЛПАЦЬКОЮ МОВАМИ

Редуплікація, процес словотворення, що передбачає повторення слова або його частини, є поширеним мовним явищем. Це дослідження має на меті дослідити формальні властивості редуплікації в англійській та каракалпацькій мовах, двох мовах з різними типологічними характеристиками.

Ми досліджуємо різні типи, розподіл та семантичні властивості редуплікації в обох мовах. Англійська, незважаючи на те, що є західноєвропейською мовою, демонструє широкий спектр редуплікативних моделей, включаючи копійну редуплікацію (tick-tick, puff-puff), аблаутну редуплікацію (mish-mash, sing-song), римовану редуплікацію

(handy-dandy) та римовані сполучення (merge-purge). Ці типи різняться структурно і фонетично. Копійна редуплікація передбачає повторення цілої основи, часто зустрічається в дитячій мові, скорочених словах і експресивній мові. Аблаутна редуплікація передбачає повторення слова зі зміною голосного звуку. Римована редуплікація характеризується гемінацією приголосного в редупліканті. Римовані сполучення складаються з двох змістовних слів. У каракалпацькій мові, що належить до тюркської групи, редуплікація також є продуктивним процесом, причому основними типами є повна і часткова редуплікація. Повна редуплікація передбачає повторення цілих слів або коренів (оуіп-оуіп, tóbe-tóbe), тоді як часткова редуплікація, зокрема інтерфіксальна редуплікація (kep-kelte, mup-muzday), використовується для утворення інтенсивних форм прикметників і прислівників. Повна редуплікація використовується для вираження інтенсивності, множинності або тривалості. Крім того, існують інші типи редуплікації, такі як ехо-редуплікація (baliq-maliq, shay-pay) та синонімічна редуплікація (atan-esen, idis-tabaq). Ехо-редуплікація – це процес, коли слово повторюється з фонетичною модифікацією, щоб створити римовану пару. Цей тип часто виражає колективність, невизначену множинність, приниження та зневагу. Синонімічна редуплікація передбачає поєднання двох змістовних слів. Ці слова можуть бути синонімами, квазісинонімами або антонімами. Це дослідження надає огляд формальних властивостей, що демонструються редуплікацією в англійській та каракалпацькій мовах, але все ще важливо дослідити семантичні та прагматичні функції редуплікативних слів в обох мовах у майбутніх дослідженнях.

Ключові слова: *редуплікація, англійська мова, каракалпацька мова, повна редуплікація, часткова редуплікація.*

Topicality of the research. While reduplication has been extensively studied in various linguistic contexts, a cross-linguistic analysis, particularly focusing on formal properties and typological variations, is still needed. This research aims to address this gap by examining the formal properties of reduplication in English and Karakalpak.

Analysis of the recent research and publications. Reduplication is a word-formation process involving the repetition of a word or part of it. It is a common linguistic phenomenon found in many languages, including English and Karakalpak. In this study, we will analyze Minkova's (2002) paper about ablaut reduplication in English, Merlini Barbaresi's (2008) work on English reduplicatives, Mattiello's (2013) book chapter on English reduplicatives and other. We will also analyse the research works of Karakalpak linguists, including Baskakov's (1952, as cited in Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 13) extensive work on Karakalpak morphology, Bekbergenov's (1979) paper on Karakalpak word-formation, Nazhimov's (1971, as cited in Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 13) dissertation abstract on Karakalpak reduplicatives and other works on Turkic languages.

Purpose and aim of the study. The purpose of this study is to investigate the formal properties of reduplication, focusing on its various types, distribution, and semantic properties in English and Karakalpak. The aim of this study is to explore the formal properties exhibited by the various types of reduplication found in both languages.

Presentation of the main research material. Cross-linguistically, there are two types of reduplication: total and partial. Total reduplication is the "repetition of an entire word, word stem (root with one or more affixes), or root" (Rubino, 2005, p. 11). Partial reduplication involves the repetition of "only part of the semantic-syntactic or phonetic-phonological constituent whose meaning is accordingly modified" (Moravcsik, 1978, 304).

English, despite being a Western European language, widely and productively uses reduplication as a word-formation process (Merlini Barbaresi, 2008, p. 228), which contradicts Rubino's (2005, p. 11) claim that Western European languages do not employ reduplication as a morphological device. Moreover, English reduplicative words are classified in various types. In particular, Minkova (2002, p. 134), following Jespersen (1974, pp. 173–183, as cited in Dienhart, 1999) and Dienhart (1999, p. 3), divides reduplication into three types: ablaut reduplication, rhyme reduplication, and copy reduplication. Merlini Barbaresi (2008, pp. 230-231) follows this classification and gives four types by dividing rhyme reduplication into rhyming reduplicatives and rhyming compounds. Mattiello (2013, p. 155) expands this taxonomy by introducing an onomatopoeic type.

Therefore, total reduplication is referred to as "copy reduplication" in English (Minkova, 2002, p. 133). It is also known as "full" or "complete" reduplication (Schwaiger, 2015, p. 468). According to Minkova (2002, p. 133), Old English texts rarely show examples of reduplicated words. However, the earliest recorded examples include forms of copy reduplication such as *ha-ha* and *weʒla weʒ* (around c. 1000). In English, copy reduplicatives involves the repetition of the base. Examples of copy reduplication include *choo-choo* 'a child's word for a train', *hush-hush* '(especially of an official plan or project) highly secret or con-

fidential', *lulu* 'an outstanding example of a particular type of person or thing', *puff-puff* 'a child's word for a steam engine or train', *rah-rah* 'very enthusiastic about something' (OED, 2024).

Mattiello (2013, p. 155) claims that copy reduplication is not the most productive type and is less common than other types in English. Additionally, Marchand (1960, p. 46) provides a less detailed description of English copy reduplicatives compared to other types. However, copy reduplicatives are found in baby talk (1), and as shortened words (2) (Mattiello, 2013, pp. 148–149). There are also the patterns "involving an additional syllabic extension" (Minkova, 2002, p. 138), as in (3).

(1) *boo-boo* 'a mistake', *nana* 'a banana', *tick-tick* 'a clock or watch' (OED, 2024);

(2) *goo-goo* 'amorously adoring' from *googly* (Mattiello, 2013, p. 149);

(3) *bumpety-bump* 'with a bump, suddenly, violently', *clickety-click* 'a fast and rhythmic click-clack' (Mattiello, 2013, pp. 311–312).

Ablaut reduplication involves the "repetition of the same basic component (a morpheme or pseudo-morpheme) with vowel aphophony, i.e. alternation of the (internal) vowel" (Mattiello, 2013, p. 149). This type is also called as "apophonic" (Merlini Barbaresi, 2008, p. 231). Examples of ablaut reduplicatives include: *chit-chat*, *criss-cross*, *mish-mash*, and *sing-song*. In general, reduplicative words consist of a base and a reduplicant, which is a full or partial copy of the base (Minkova, 2002, p. 135). Etymologically, ablaut reduplicatives do not possess fixed position for the base and the reduplicant, which means that the meaningful component can be "in the left or right constituent" (Merlini Barbaresi, 2008, p. 231).

Rhyming reduplicatives demonstrate the "repetition of the same basic component (a morpheme or pseudo-morpheme) with consonant gemination" (Mattiello, 2013, p. 151), as in *ninny-pinny, killer-diller, hippie-dippie, handy-dandy,* and *fancy-schmancy*. Subsequently, rhyming compounds are "the closest to canonical formations" (Merlini Barbaresi, 2008, p. 233). They are "phonologically marked by rhyme" and "motivated by two meaningful constituents" (Mattiello, 2013, p. 154), as in *fender-bender*, *huffy-puffy, merge-purge,* and *rumble-tumble*.

Reduplication is a common phenomenon in the Karakalpak language (Wurm, 1951). As previously noted, reduplication can be either full or par-tial. This categorization is also recognized by most linguists studying Karakalpak. In particular, Baskakov (1952, as cited in Bekbergenov, 2016, p. 187) suggests that reduplication can be full or partial in the formation of the intensive degree of adjectives. Nazhimov (1971, as cited in in Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 73) also identifies two main types of reduplicative words in Karakalpak: full and partial. Bekbergenov (1979, pp. 73–80) subdivides reduplicative words into four general categories: identical, non-identical, rhyming, and intensive. Below we will consider all the types.

Full reduplication is the repetition of the entire word, base, or root. Baskakov (1952, as cited in Bekbergenov, 1979, pp. 12–13) does not consider reduplication separately but rather analyzes words formed through reduplication in each part of speech. For example, *oyın-oyın* 'games, toys', *tóbe-tóbe* 'mountains, hills', *mayda-mayda* 'small, tiny', *pada-pada* 'herds', *kúnde-kúnde* 'every day', *qızıq-qızıq* 'very interesting' illustrate cases of full reduplication but *oyın-oyın*, *tóbe-tóbe* and *pada-pada* are reduplicated nouns, *mayda-mayda* and *qızıq-qızıq* are reduplicated adjectives, and *kúnde-kúnde* is a reduplicated adverb. Bekbergenov (1979, p. 73–74) calls such words "identical paired-repetitive words" and explains that they are created by repetition, involving the exact duplication of the base of the word without any changes. Bekbergenov (1979, p. 73) also notes that these types of words are usually used to emphasize certain attributes, such as plurality, intensification, extensiveness, duration, and others. Some examples of identical reduplicative words in Karakalpak are *qalta-qalta* 'bags', *júz-júz* 'hundreds', *tartınıp-tartınıp* 'hesitantly', *bara-bara* 'day by day', and *sulıw-sulıw* 'very beautiful'.

The following type of reduplication is known as echo reduplication, which is commonly used with nouns in many languages. The echo construction consists of two components. The first component is the main one, and the second one is a kind of 'echo' of the first. In other words, the first component is a content word, and the second component is an artificially rhymed word phonetically (Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 76).

Echo reduplication is common in Turkic languages. For example, in Turkish, *m*-reduplication is typically found in colloquial speech (Göksel & Kerslake, 2004, p. 91). In Nogai, along with *m*-reduplication, there are several more productive

models of reduplication with *b, s* and *t* as consonant replacements.

Echo reduplication is also found in Karakalpak. According to Bekbergenov (1979, p. 76), such words are formed by combining two identical words with a phonetic modification of the base of the second word through a change in the initial consonant, if the word begins with a consonant, or by inserting a consonant, if the word begins with a vowel. Bekbergenov (1979, p. 76) also notes that the first consonant of the second word is often either a labial *m, b, p* or a dental *s*: *adam-madam* 'people', *shay-may* 'tea and treats for it', *kitap-pitap* 'books', *jetim-setim* 'poor people, orphans'. In Karakalpak, there are also rare cases where the second component begins with other sounds. In particular, Bekbergenov (1979, p. 76) mentions that the sound ʃ (*sh*) can be added to the beginning of the second component (*qıyır-shıyır* 'crooked, oblique; winding').

Bekbergenov (1979, pp. 76–77) explains that when rhyming repeated words are formed, sounds close to each other in their articulation are not used for rhyming. For example, if the first component begins with the sounds *b, p, f,* which are close in articulation to the labial deaf sound *p*, then the second component does not begin with the sound *p*: *balıq-malıq* 'fish' (not *balıq-palıq*), *fokus-mokus* 'hocus pocus' (not *fokus-pokus*), *vagon-magon* 'wagons' (not *vagon-pagon*). Also, if the first component begins with the sounds ʒ, ʃ, t͡ʃ, t͡s which are close in articulation to the sound *s*, then the second component does not begin with the sound *s*: *jalın-palın* 'flame; to ask, beg, implore' (not *jalın-salın*), *shiyshe-piyshe* 'glass; bottles' (not *shiyshe-siyshe*), *chemodan-pemodan* 'suitcases' (not *chemodan-semodan*), *shetka-pyotka* 'brushes' (not *shetka-setka*) (Bekbergenov, 1979, pp. 76–77).

According to Bekbergenov (1979, p. 78), echo reduplication conveys meanings of collectivity, indefinite plurality, humiliation and contempt. Bekbergenov (1979, p. 78) also notes that some words may be perceived as rhyming reduplications, but may in fact be words with different meanings.

Another type of reduplication, which is found in most Turkic languages, including Karakalpak, is a type of partial interfixed reduplication. Baskakov (1952, as cited in Kdirbaeva, 2023, p. 168) claims that this type is one of the types used to form the intensive degree of adjectives and adverbs. Baskakov (1952, as cited in Kdirbaeva, 2023, p. 168)

calls this type incomplete and further explains that the repetition is incomplete when the first word is an initial truncated syllable ending in a consonant (*muzday* 'cold' → *mup-muzday* 'as cold as ice'). Typically, this consonant is the voiceless labial 'p'.

Bekbergenov (1979, pp. 78–79) explains that paired-repetitive words of this type are formed by repeating an adjective or adverb, and the first component is a truncated form of this base. Bekbergenov (1979, pp. 78-79) also asserts that intensive reduplication in the Karakalpak language is used to intensify the degree of certain qualitative adjectives and adverbs. Bekbergenov (1979, p. 79) provides a detailed explanation of how the intensive form is formed and shows three patterns of the initial syllable truncation during reduplication of this type. If the first syllable of a word ends in a consonant, then this consonant is replaced by the sound 'p'. This syllable becomes the initial intensifying component, and the second component will have a full form, as in the word: *kelte* 'short' → *kep-kelte* 'very short'. If the word begins with a vowel sound in the first syllable, the sound "p" is added before the vowel, and this becomes the first component of the word. The second component of the word will remain in full form: *semiz* 'fat' → *sep-semiz* 'very fat'. When the first syllable of a word ends in two consonants, these consonants are removed and replaced by the sound "p": *shalt* 'quick; fast' → *shap-shalt* 'very quick; very fast'.

However, this structure is not universal for the formation of the intensive degree of adjectives, as there are deviations from it. Bekbergenov (1979, p. 79) acknowledges that there may be cases where certain words in modern Karakalpak demonstrate violations of these patterns. Baskakov (1952, as cited in Kdirbaeva, 2023, p. 169) implies that in some cases, the final consonant may be a nasal "m" or a whistling "s": *jım-jırt* "quietly, complete silence", *qum-quwıt* "excitement, commotion, agitation", *tım-taraqay* "in disorder, unordered, in all directions", *tım-tırıs* 'complete silence, completely silent, completely mute', *nám-náhán* 'very big, huge', *bes-beter* 'moreover, very; worst of all'. Stachowski (2014, pp. 81–210) suggests that *qum-quwıt* and *jım-jırt*, ending in "m", may be borrowings. However, *qum-quwıt* could also be "simply an apparent doubling", and the "m" in *jım-jırt* could be a final consonant, "which suggests an Oghuz origin [...] and thus further complicates the issue" (Stachowski, 2014, pp. 81–210). The only inten-

sive reduplicative word *bes-beter*, which ends in "s", could have been borrowed from the Turkmen language. Stachowski (2014, pp. 81–210) points out that these three words "contradict" the general pattern for Kipchak languages, in which "p" and "pp" are the only possible final consonants". It is worth noting that in the Karakalpak language there is only one case of a double *pp*: *aq* 'white' → *appaq* 'snow-white'.

Also, paired words are linked to reduplication in that the combination of synonyms can be called synonymous reduplication. Kryuchkova (2000, as cited in Kdirbaeva, 2024, p. 135) states that "in all languages, reduplication can be associated not only with the repetition of the sound envelope of reduplicants, but also with the repetition of its semantics". Kryuchkova (2000, as cited in Kdirbaeva, 2024, p. 135) calls the phenomenon that entails the repetition of semantics "semantic repetition" or "synonymous reduplication": Karakalpak *saw-salamat* 'healthy', *ot-jem* 'forage (a combination of grain and grass feed)'.

Nazhimov (1971, as cited in Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 38) argues that the term "paired word" encompasses both "exactly paired" and "paired-repetitive" words. Nazhimov (1971, as cited in Bekbergenov, 2016, p. 187) also defines a paired word as a lexical unit consisting of "two morphologically identical words with related meanings and sound similarity". There are two ways to form paired words: a combination of two content words of the same type (*aman-esen* 'safe and sound', *jetim-jesir* 'orphans') and a combination of a content word and an echo-word (*ájik-gújik* 'to be in agreement, friendly', *alǵaw-dalǵaw* 'in splashes; dissatisfied; worried; torn').

Bekbergenov (1979, p. 40) distinguishes "paired-repetitive words" as a separate type of compound words, that is, he does not consider them part of "paired words". At the same time, Bekbergenov (1979, p. 34) defines "paired words" as grammatically independent two-component words or roots formed by combination and having a semantic connection with each other. The components have one common intensifying or generalizing meaning, but they can differ from each other phonetically.

In foreign linguistics, paired words are called differently. In particular, Johanson (2021, p. 44) writes that "two parallel nouns with similar meanings form a synonym compound, hendiadys, […]

or a hyponym compound to express a higher concept". In Germanic studies, terms such as 'twin words', that is, 'twin formulas (Zwillingsformeln)', have appeared, which denote paired coordinated words that are close in meaning and sound (Thun, 1963, pp. 268–271). Hendiadys comes from Greek and means the expression of a single idea by two words connected with 'and' (OED, 2024). The term 'binomial' is defined as a noun phrase with two heads joined by a conjunction, in which the order is relatively fixed (OED, 2024). Although Ainur Abish uses the term 'binomial' for the following Kazakh words: *ıdıs-ayaķ* 'bawl', *kiyım-kešek* 'clothing', *tuw-us-tuw-ɣan* 'relatives', *dos-žaran* 'friends' (Johanson, 2021, p. 340). Karakalpak equivalents of these Kazakh examples are *ıdıs-tabaq* 'dishes', *kiyim-kenshek* 'clothes', *tuwısqan-tuwǵan* 'relatives', *dos-yaran* 'friends'.

The terminology denoting paired words in descriptive grammars of Turkic languages is not homogenous. Dmitriev classified them as paired phrases, Kononov and Baskakov considered them as compound words of a coordinating type (Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 38). Thus, various studies highlight different formal properties of such combinations, although foreign terms describe the same phenomenon.

Paired words are formed by combining synonyms, near-synonyms, or antonyms (Inkelas & Zoll, 2005, p. 47). Inkelas and Zoll (2005, p. 61) write that "Turkish […] has a number of noun-noun compounds in which the second member denotes a class of which the first is a member (often a prototypical member)". For example, *kórpe-tósek* 'bed (lit. blanket-mattress)', *saqal-murt* 'beard and mustache (lit. beard-mustache)', *qız-kelinshek* 'girls and young women' convey generalization, using a more general concept. And Bekbergenov (1979, p. 48) calls such words correlatives, belonging to the same semantic series. In addition, paired words are formed from synonyms. Stylistic proximity and phonetic similarity play a certain role in the combination of synonyms: *qatar-qurbı* 'friends-peers', *sın-sımbat* 'posture, appearance', *túri-túsi* 'appearance, face', *zorlıq-zombılıq* 'violence; aggressive actions'.

Furthermore, paired words can be formed from antonyms. Not all antonyms can form paired words; the most prominent ones from the antonymous series are chosen (Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 47): *úlken-kishi* 'people of all ages (from young to very old)';

ashshı-dushshı 'both good and bad difficulties/ conditions'; *barı-joǵı* 'existence, everything that exists'; *jaqsı-jaman* 'both good and bad'. Such words are considered words with incompatible meanings.

It is also important to note that in synonym compounds, the components might differ etymologically (Inkelas & Zoll, 2005, p. 61). For example, *esap-shot* 'abacus', and *zań-zakon* 'laws, code of laws' do not only translate each other but also explain their meaning and complement each other (Bekbergenov, 1979, p. 47). In *esap-sanaq* 'all accounting; statistics', the two nouns are semantically identical but have different etymological origins, one (*esap*) coming from Arabic and the other (*sanaq*) from Karakalpak.

Conclusions and prospects for further research. In conclusion, this study has explored the phenomenon of reduplication in English and Karakalpak, with a particular focus on its formal properties. While both languages exhibit various reduplicative patterns, they also share certain commonalities. In English, reduplication is a morphological process, encompassing various types such as copy reduplication, ablaut reduplication, and rhyming reduplication. These types differ structurally and phonologically. English reduplication serves various functions, including intensification, diminution, and onomatopoeia. Karakalpak, a Turkic language, also employs reduplication as a productive word-formation process. Full and partial reduplication are the primary types observed. Full reduplication involves the repetition of the entire word or root, often to convey plurality, intensity, or emphasis. Partial reduplication, particularly interfixed reduplication, is used to form intensive forms of adjectives and adverbs. While this study has provided an overview of reduplication in English and Karakalpak, it is important to explore the semantic and pragmatic functions of reduplicative words in both languages in future research.

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