

# Reduplication in English

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## 0. Introduction

In human language, reduplication (=RED) is remarkably common phenomenon. It has excited a good deal of interest from linguists, anthropologists, and other fieldworkers. Motu, one of the Austronesian languages in Melanesia, for instance, provides rich data of RED; whereas in English the functions of RED are quite poor, though reduplicated compounds denoting natural and animal sounds are very frequent and productive. Sapir (1921) says that "Even in English it is not unknown, though it is not generally accounted as one of the typical formative devices of our language"; furthermore, Bloch and Trager (1942) comments that "Reduplication in English plays no part in inflection, and only a limited part in derivation". In Jespersen (MEG, Vol.6), reduplicated compounds are divided into the following categories as viewed from the perspective of word-formation.

- (1) The kernal repeated unchanged ; sometimes with an extension of one of the kernals.
- (2) The kernal repeated with change of vowel.
- (3) The kernal repeated with change of consonant.

(Jespersen, MEG. Vol.6)

The first category denotes the repetition of a word like quack-quack for ducks and chirp-chirp for birds. The second denotes the repetition of a word with slight modification of a vowel such as hee-haw for

donkeys. The last shows the repetition of a word with slight modification of a consonant as in bow-wow for dogs. Recently most linguists use terms such as complete (or total) and incomplete (or partial) reduplication. The "quack-quack" is a complete RED, where all of the stem is repeated and the "hee-haw" "bow-wow" is an incomplete RED, where only a part of the stem is repeated. Both forms of RED occur in certain word classes in English. What is important in Sapir is that the words like sing-song, wishy-washy, roly-poly are of universal features. Thus, English is not an exceptional but rather a quite common language when its RED is viewed from word-formation. But if RED in English were classified by function, would English RED still be the same type as most other languages? The purpose of this study is to show the main functions of RED and the relation between parts of speech and word-formations of RED in English. In English morphology, this phenomenon has been neglected by many linguists, so that I should be delighted if this attempt could contribute to our understanding of English linguistics.

## 1. Reduplication in AN and NAN Languages

Before we discuss RED in English, let us look at RED throughout the Austronesian languages including a few non-Austronesian languages which have a great variety of forms and functions. By giving a detailed description of RED in AN and NAN languages, we will be able to do an adequate description in English. The classification is based on data collected from various articles and dictionaries.

### 1. 1. Plurality

(1) Motu: tau "man", tatau "men" (2) Yareba: ana "tree", ana ana "many distinct trees" (3) Siroi: foro "lung", foro foro "lungs"

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(4) Kalkatungu: kujiri "boy", kuji-kujiri "boys" (5) Tolai: rat "basket" rarat "baskets" (6) java: wet "tree", wet wet "trees" (7) Indonesian: orang "man", orang-orang "men" (8) Hawaiian: make "death, to die" ma-make "deaths everywhere, many deaths" (9) Tongan: luo "hole (in ground)" luoluo "having many holes"

### 1. 2. Diminution

(10) Hawaiian: ahole "the adult stage of a species of fish (adult 6 to 8 inches long), ahole-hole "the young stage of the same fish (adult two inches long)" (11) Hawaiian: mana "branch", mana-mana "tiny branch, finger, toe" (12) Motu: mero "boy", meromero "little boy" (13) Motu: mereki "plate, dish (a borrowing)", merekimereki "small plate, dish" (14) Motu: memero "boys" memeromemero "little boys" (15) Motu: huala "crocodile", hualahuala "small crocodile; sea-horse"

### 1. 3. Duration (Continuous Action)

(16) Hawaiian: hoe "to paddle", hoe-hoe "to paddle continuously, frequently, or for a long time" (17) Tok Pisin: karim "to carry", karim karim "to carry on and on" (18) Motu: badu "to be angry", badubadu "to keep on being angry" (19) Yareba: er-i "he looked", er-e er-e utebi "he kept looking around" (20) Tigak: rik ais-aisok "they work and work" (21) Tongan: vakai "look, check on", vakavakai "to persistently look upon and keep looking upon"

### 1. 4. Intransitivity

(22) Motu: inu-a "to drink something", inuinu "to drink" (23) Tigak: kalum-i "see it", kal-kalum "look, appear" (24) Tolai: puang (tr.) "to bury", pupunang (intr.) "to bury"

### 1. 5. Intensification

(25) Tongan: katoa "all", katokatoa "absolutely all" (26) Tongan: kehe "different", kehekehe "various, very different" (27) Motu: haraga "qui-

ckly”, haragaharaga “very quickly” (28) Tok Pisin: bagarap-im “to ruin” bagar-im-ap-im “to ruin completely” (29) Tigak: gi ro-mat “thank you”, gi ro-ro-mat “thank you very much” (30) Kalkatungu: jakapi “to listen” jakapi-jakapi “to listen intently”

#### 1. 6. Distributive Function

(31) Tok Pisin: wanpela wanpela ailan …“each island …” (32) Tagalog: isa-isa “one by one” (33) Nakanai: isasasa (-sasa “one”) “one by one”

#### 1. 7. Little Difference in Meaning

(34) Hawaiian: opio “young”, opio-pio “young” (35) Tongan: ngali “to look, to seem, to appear”, ngalingali “to look, to seem, to look as if” (36) Tongan: mei “almost, nearly”, meimei “almost, nearly, close to it”

#### 1. 8. Depreciation

(37) Tongan: momoko “cold”, mokomoko “cool” (38) Tongan: havili “windy”, havilivili “a gentle breeze” (39) Tongan: poto “smart, clever”, fakapotopoto “wise, sensible”, (40) Tongan: mafana “warm”, mamafana “lukewarm” (41) Tongan: kata “laugh”, katakata “to laugh slightly or to smile”

#### 1. 9. Formation of Colour Adjective

(42) Motu: koremakorema “black”, kurokuro “white”, kakakaka “red”  
laboralabora “yellow”, gadokagadoka “green, blue”

(43) Fijian: loaloa “black”, vulavula “white”, damudamu “red”, dromodroma “yellow”, karakarawa “green, blue”

(44) Ponapean: toantoal “black”, pwetepwet “white”, weitahta “red”  
oangoahng “yellow”, mei “blue”, pwul “green”

(45) Tahitian: 'ere'ere “black, brown”, 'uo'uo “white”, 'ute'ute “red”  
'rea'rea “yellow”, matie “green”, ninamu “blue”

(46) Hawaiian: eleele “black”, keokeo “white”, ulaula “red”, melemele

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“yellow”, omaomao “green”, po-lu “blue”

### 1. 10. Nominalization

(47) Tolai: ki “to sit”, kiki “seat” (48) Motu: huni-a “to hide (trans.)”  
huni-huni “hiding”

### 1. 11. Names of Animals and Plants

(49) Tok Pisin: aiai “apple fruit”, baibai “decorative palm”, gorgor “type of ginger”, kaukau “sweet potato”, marmar “jacaranda tree”, mukmuk “sago (roasted on open fire)”, pitpit “type of sugarcane”, popo “pawpaw”, saksak “sago”, tiktik “wild sugarcane”, demdem “snail”, girigiri “small cowrie shell”, kotkot “raven”, lala “tailorfish”, musmus “bedbug”, natnat “mosquito” (50) Hiri Motu: baubau “bamboo, smoking pipe, any pipe or tube”, besisi, bisisi “shell fish”, geregere “hornbill”, ginigini “a thorn” huahua “fruit”, kokokoko “Cassowary”, kokoroku “chicken, rooster”, koukouna “the shell (of something, e.g. of a coconut), finger, nail”, kurukuru “kunai grass”, parauparau “flower”, popo “peppervine (used for chewing with betelnut), raurau “leaf”

### 1. 12. Onomatopoeic Words

(51) Nakanai: kaboiboi “bark, as a dog”, (52) Nakanai: tagogoro “rumble”

### 1. 13. Names of Places

(53) Pukapuka, Bora Bora (French Polynesia), (54) Pago Pago (American Samoa) (55) Vanavana (Tuamotu), (56) Ureparapara (Van Banks), (57) Butaritari (Kiribati), (58) Hereheretue (Tuamotu), (59) Lomaloma (Fiji), (60) Nengonengo (Tuamotu), (61) Sumasuma, lingalinga, popo, karokaro, hamuhamu, keakea, Blup Blup karkar, koko, Bumbum, Moimoi, Gabagaba (from New Guinea)

We can see that a variety of functions exist in those natural lan-

guages. Also, this phenomenon can take place at various parts of speech. What is interesting to me is substratum theory in Pidgin and Creole languages. As is often said, the study of language contact may contribute to theories of language universals, linguistic typology, language acquisition, and so forth. Pidgins and Creoles to be mainly found in Oceania are as follows: (a) Tok Pisin (b) Solomon Islands Pidgin English (c) Bislama (d) Australian Pidgin English (e) Pitcairnese Creole English (f) Norfolkese (g) Hiri Motu (h) Pidgin English in Fiji and Pidgin Hindustani (i) Hawaiian Pidgin English. The relation between Tolai and Tok Pisin in some parts of grammar reflects the substratum theory (See Mosel 1980, Okamura 1990). The syntactic characteristics including the transitive suffix, subject marker, and other function words are quite similar, though its forms are dissimilar. Mosel (1980) argues that Tolai and Tok Pisin have only a very few types of RED in common as follows:

- (1) the reduplication of nouns denoting plurality.
- (2) the reduplication of cardinal numbers by which distributional numbers are derived.
- (3) the reduplication of adverbs denoting intensity.

(Mosel: 1980)

According to Mosel, these types of RED are too common to prove any definite substratum influence. To the contrary, Mühlhäusler (1975) has a view that plurality is not normal for Pidgin (dispela tumbuna tumbuna, em tupela tumbuna "those ancestors, those two ancestors").

As shown in 1. 1., plurality is very common in AN and NAN

languages, so that I personally would like to consider that TP accepts its feature. In my view, since pidgin is not learnt in the school system, the spread of complicated morphological process could not be done from place to place in Melanesia. In a recent report of how plurality can be shown in TP, it is shown how TP is becoming increasingly anglicised, especially in urban pidgin (that is, TP now takes plural suffix -s as does English). It seems that RED is regarded as a salient but not a substantive characteristic of pidgins (Samarin and others in Romain). In the expansion of vocabulary in Pidgins as well as in natural languages, the process is a remarkably common and necessary phenomenon. In fact, there may lie the key to the explanation for the pidginization of languages. The problem of major interest is the interplay of structural and non-structural factors. New guinean adopt rain as /ren/, paper as /pepə/, place as /ples/. In addition to that, they adopt reef as /rip/, green as /grin/, sleep as /slip/. The symbols i, e, a, o, u often correspond to English long vowels or diphthongs.

The speaker's attitude toward the source language is very important as one of non-structural factors. English enjoys great cultural or social prestige in New guinean community. So English serves as a mark of education or status.

### 3. RED as Viewed from Word-formation

The classification of RED which Jespersen denoted is the one as viewed from the perspective of word-formation. Quirk et. al (1986) in CGEL (A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language) describes English RED from a semantic viewpoint.

- [i] to imitate sounds, eg: rat-a-tat [knocking on door], tick-tock [of clock], ha-ha [of laughter], bow-wow [of dog];
- [ii] to suggest alternating movements, eg: seesaw, flip-flop, ping-pong;
- [iii] to disparage by suggesting instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation, etc: higgledy-piggledy, hocus-pocus, wishy-washy, dilly-dally, shilly-shally;
- [iv] to intensify, eg: teeny-weeny, tip-top.

(CGEL: 1579-80)

There are a lot of examples for each of the above categories. In addition, RED is a feature particularly found in plant and animal names, though it has no grammatical function, for instance, "dodo" is not derived from "do". It is probably an universal feature. Therefore we have to distinguish these examples from those mentioned above which Quirk denoted. Also we must note that people often give such reduplicated forms to the names of coffee shops and restaurants. Probably because we feel such a form is very friendly and pretty. In Taylor (1970) RED is defined as "a morphological process that consists of the repetition of all or part of the stem of a word". In LONGMAN, "the formation of a derived or inflected form by doubling (part of) a word, with or without partial modification". Here let us collect reduplicated compounds from the OALD and classify them. The relation between reduplicated compounds and parts of speech can be shown below. There are 96 examples referring to this study in OALD. The occurrence of RED can be seen in almost any part of speech, although RED occurs most noun or adjective form in the repetition of a word and modification of a consonant and

modification of a vowel.

### 3. 1. Modification of a Consonant

n. tutti-frutti, silly-billy, mumbo-jumbo, roly-poly, nitty-gritty, walkie-talkie, wheeler-dealer, whipper-snapper, rat-tat (rat.a.tat), honky-tonk, hill-billy, hubble-bubble, hurdy-gurdy, hurly-burly, heebie-jeebies, hanky-panky, fuddy-duddy, hocus-pocus, hotch-potch.

adj. harum-scarum, hoity-toity, arty-crafty, airy-fairy, twopenny-halfpenny, teeny-weeny (also teensy-weensy).

adv. willy-nilly

adj. n. namby-pamby

adj. adv. higgledy-piggledy

adj. adv. n. hugger-mugger

adv. n. helter-skelter

interj. n. bow-wow

### 3. 2. Modification of a Vowel

n. bric-a-brac, chit-chat, clip-clop, nick-nack (knick-knack), ping-pong, riff-raff, mish.mash, tick-tack, tick-tock, hee-haw, jim-jams

adj. n. sing.song, zig.zag, ticky-tacky

adj. tip.top, wishy-washy

v. dilly-dally, shilly-shally

n. v. tittle-tattle, see-saw

adv. n. pit-a-pat (pitter-patter), ding-dong

adj. adv. v. criss-cross

### 3. 3. Repetition of a Word

n. pom.pom, paw.paw, quack-quack, tar.tar, tom-tom, yackety-yack, AA, AAA, yo-yo, hub.hub, ha-ha, dum.dum, cha-cha, ju-ju, beri-beri, DD, CC, bon-bon, boo.boo, can.can, tu.tu, mama, papa, dodo, coco, roro, kkk,

v. pooh-pooh, name names,  
adj. pretty-pretty, hush-hush, gaga  
interj. tut-tut, ta-ta, yum-yum  
n. v. wee-wee, murmur,  
adj. adv. fifty-fifty, so-so  
n. adv. tête-à-tête  
n. adj. goody-goody  
prep. vis-a-vis

The examples of interjections are very limited in any dictionary, but if we look at A TREASURE-HOUSE OF ENGLISH ONOMATOPOEIAS, then we can find many examples. Probably the richest word-class is that of interjections, since animal and natural sounds are unlimited as a corpus.

Interjection > Noun > Adjective

3. 4.

interj.

beep-beep, beh-beh, bing-bong, bla bla, blub.ba-blub.ba, blub-blub  
bluh bluh, blup-blup, boo.boo, bow-wow, buck buck, bud.da-bud.da  
bump.e.ty-bump, ca-ca-ca, chat-chat, chatter-chat-chat, cheg-cheg  
chuga-chuga, clickety-clack, cling clang, clip-clop, clitter-clatter  
clock-clock, cluck cluck, foff coff, cring cling, denga-denga-deng  
ding-a-ling, ding.dong, eh-eh-, fit-fit, flip-flap, flip-flop, fluf fluf,  
goo goo, har har, haw-haw, hee-haw, hee-hee, ho-ho hoo.roo,  
hubble-bubble, hur hur, jingle-jangle, koink-koink, map-map  
noc noc, oink-oink, pah-poh-poh, pip-pip, plunk-plonk, put-put

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put.ta-put.ta, putt-putt, rang-kang, rat-a-tat, rat-tat, rik.ka-tik-ka-tik, rrum-rrum, rub-a-dub, rasha-rusha, scrub-a-scrub  
slish-slosh, splish-splash, splitter-splatter, SSSHHH, SSSS, tak-tak  
ta-ta, tat-tat-tat, tick.tack, tick.tick, tick-tick-a-tick, tick.tock  
tika-tika, ting-a-ling, tok tok, too too, trot.trot, tush-tush tu-  
whit tu-whoo, tweng-tweng, twit-twit, uffa-uffa, uh-uh, wang-wang  
whip-whap-whip, whoit-whoit, whurra-whurra, woo hoo, yeck-yeck-  
yack, yo-ho, voo-hoo, yum-yum

n. boo-boo, boo.book, boom.boom, buln. buln, buzz-buzz ca.ra.ca.ra,  
cha-cha, chi.chi, chiff.chaff, chit.chat, choo.choo, clip-clop, coff  
coff, ding-a-ling, ding.dong, flic.flac, flim.flam, frou.frou, haw-  
haw, hee-haw, hubble-bubble, hurdy.gurdy, jingle-jangle, mot.mot,  
mur.mur, pee-pee, pee.wee, ping-pong, pit-a-pat, pitter-patter, pom-  
pom, poo.poo, puff-puff, put-put, putt-putt, quack-quack, rat-a-  
tat, rip.rap, rub-a-dub, rumble-tumble, snip-snap, splish-splash,  
splitter-splatter, tac-au-tac, tick.tack, tick.tick, tick.tock, ting-a-  
ling, tit.tup, tom-tom, tuwhit-tu-whoo, ubble-gubble, wa-wa,  
whooper-dopper, yack-yack, yuk-yuk, yum-yum

adj. chi.chi, ding.dong, ga.ga, helter-skelter, hush-hush, miminy-piminy,  
swishy-swashy, wham-bam, whooper-dopper

(collected from A TREASURE HOUSE OF ENGLISH ONOMATO-  
POEIAS)

We cannot say what is the most frequent category of word-formation in English now, but, in total, from the examples in the Appendix and the OALD, the modifications of a vowel are more numerous than the modifications of a consonant. Moreover, the repetition of a word like quack-quack is the most frequently for occurring category in the above-mentioned sources. Thus we can order as follows:

Repetition of a word > Modification of a Vowel > Modification  
of a Consonant

These three categories also appear with the conjunction “and” like “such and such”, “huff and puff”, “wear and tear”. In relation to the third category [1. 3.], most onomatopoeic words are classified here. The onomatopoeic words in any human language take this form. It is important that onomatopoeic word like “quack-quack” can also function as nouns. In the Japanese language, parents sometimes simplify their speech when they speak to their children (boo boo “horn of a car” for a car). This is not equally distributed among all English speakers. Some animal names may have derived from the cry of animals. In English, animal names listed in 3. 4. are mostly derived from Aboriginal languages in Australia and Maori in New Zealand. Again: boobook n. (Austral.) medium sized brown spotted owl. [imit.] (from COD), bulnbuln n. (Austral.) lyre-bird. [Aboriginal, imit.] (from COD), caracara n. any of various large long-legged mostly S American hawks resembling vultures in habits [Sp caracara & Pg caracara, fr Tupi caracara, of imit. origin] (from LONGMAN), chiff-chaff n. small European bird (*Phylloscopus collybita*) of warbler family. [imit.] (from COD), dodo n. (pl. ~s or ~es). large extinct bird of Mauritius etc.; old-fashioned, stupid or inactive person; as dead as the or a~, entirely obsolete. [f. Port. doudo simpleton] (from COD), motmot n. colourful bird inhabited in the tropics in America. peepee n. (Am.) chick, peewee n. (Austral.) magpie lark.

When we describe the names of animals which do not exist in Europe and America, we do not try to use English word. Needless to say, Australian English was originally Cockney speech, and devel-

oped with borrowings from Aboriginal languages, mainly animal, plant, and place names. This can be said in many varieties of English such as New Zealand English (from Maori) Tok Pisin (mainly from Tolai). About 80% of the vocabularies in TP are derived from English, but in syntax it is plausibly derived from Austronesian languages in Melanesia. In New Guinea, the species of birds number are more than 550, thus the repetition of the same sound can be seen in various animal and plant names. It is almost certain that this phenomenon refers to aspects of the culture. In relation to the first category 3. 1. the second element of the reduplicated compound seems to have additional meaning. On the second category 3. 2. Jespersen claims the vowel of the first element denotes "smallness" and the vowel of the second element denotes its opposite meaning. The pattern [i] ~ [æ] is the most frequent and the others [i:] ~ [ɔ:], [i] ~ [ɔ], [i] ~ [ʌ], [æ] ~ [ʌ],

#### 4. RED as Viewed from Function

In the second section we surveyed the various functions of RED throughout AN and NAN languages. But in English it takes other morphological methods to denote plurality, diminution, intransitivity, and so forth. In plurality English takes the plural suffix -s as in "books" and accompanied vowel alternation as in "men". The diminutive particle in English can be shown by adding on "-ie" sound as in "birdie". Transitivity in English can be distinguished not by morph but by meaning. What other kinds of functions does English have? Intensification, duration, and distribution should be examined. The intensification signifier in English is shown as in "Hear! Hear!" (from OALD), "a big big man", "Let it cool till it's thick thick" (from

The Main Functions of RED in Motu, English, and Japanese

	Motu	Jap.	Eng.	
Names of Animals and Plants	+	+	+ *	not frequent in English
Names of Places	+	+	+ *	not frequent in English
Onomatopoeic Words	+	+	+	
Intensification	+	+	+	
Plurality	+	+	-	
Continuous Action (Duration)	+	+	- *	RED combined with 'and' such as 'on and on' is not included here.
Diminution	+	-	-	
Distribution	+	-	- *	RED combined with 'by' such as 'one by one' is not included here.
Nominalization	+	-	-	
Intransitivity	+	-	-	
Formation of Colour Adjectives	+?	-	-	

Figure 1

Sapir). As may be expected easily, these examples are numerous even in English. The most remarkable thing in Sapir is as follows:

... Such locutions as a big big man or let it cool till it's thick thick are far more common, especially in the speech of women and children, than our linguistic text-books would lead one to suppose. In a class by themselves are the really enormous number of words, many of them sound-imitative or contemptuous in psychological tone, that consist of duplications with either change of the vowel or change of the initial consonant. (Sapir: 76)

In some sense, RED in English has its own disadvantages, whereas AN and NAN languages do not. Also in Gullah speech, the expression like "good good" (for very good) is often used in everyday conversation. Tok Pisin typically shows this function: bikpela bikpela man "very big man" (-pela indicates adjectival suffix). Intensification is found with adjective and adverb without the meaning of disadvantages in

TP. By means of strengthening an utterance, RED combined with "and" can be seen very often (again and again). It is true that RED combined with "and" has intensifying meaning. But if we admit this as one of reduplications, then we have to admit RED combined with "by" and "to" which have distributive meaning. Let us pick up such examples: "one by one", "one to one". Such types will not be taken as instances of RED here. Whether those types have fallen into distributive functions or not is ambiguous from the Taylor's definition. But at least it lacks linguistic adequacy in that such combinations are not counted as one of reduplications in the world. Finally let us consider the basic notion of RED which Sapir explained.

The functions are even more exuberantly developed than with simple duplication, though the basic notion, at least in origin, is nearly always one of repetition or continuance.

(Sapir: 77-8)

There are at least two points to be examined. One is that Sapir recognized the fundamental function as repetition or continuance. However, diminution which we looked at in the second section, is one of the most important functions in AN and NAN languages. Taylor concludes the basic notion of RED in Motu "Three are important active processes, viz., intensification, diminution, and the formulation of nouns from verbs." It is doubtful that repetition or continuance is the most basic function of RED.

The other is the part "at least in origin ...". How can we confirm the origin of RED? Unfortunately it is not well explained, but there is a possibility to do this through the study of language con-

tact. Mühlhäusler mentioned the examples "liklik" from Kuanua "iklik", "rere" from "ready" and "tete" from "today" in Tok Pisin. They might show how reduplicated compounds come into a language. As a result of language contact, Australian English picked up reduplicated compounds like boobook from Aboriginal languages. Such vocabulary may be widespread in the everyday use, but a functional change would be rare even if communication between native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English is increased. It is certain that RED in English grammar has not played an important part. Of the various functions of RED in the world, one is found in English: intensification, though it is not lexicalized.

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Appendix

REDUPLICATED COMPOUNDS (from Jespersen and other linguists)

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. arf arf                        | 28. clatter-patter              |
| 2. balow-baloo                    | 29. click-clack                 |
| 3. bibble-babble                  | 30. click-click                 |
| 4. bim-bam-bum                    | 31. clink-clank                 |
| 5. blabber-blubber                | 32. clinkum-clankum             |
| 6. blamby-pamby                   | 33. clip-clap                   |
| 7. blang-blang-blang              | 34. chick-chuck                 |
| 8. bow wow                        | 35. chip-chap-chop              |
| 9. bubble-bubble                  | 36. clip-clop                   |
| 10. bumpty-bump                   | 37. clish-clash                 |
| 11. clackety-clackety-clack-clack | 38. clitter-clatter             |
| 12. clank-clank                   | 39. clipperty clapper           |
| 13. clock-clock                   | 40. chiff-chaff                 |
| 14. clop-clop                     | 41. chiff-chat (or chick-chack) |
| 15. clump, clump                  | 42. chit-chat                   |
| 16. clunk-clung                   | 43. criss-cross                 |
| 17. clickety-click                | 44. dick-duck-drake             |
| 18. cloppety-clop                 | 45. didder-dodder               |
| 19. charlie-parlie                | 46. dilly-dally                 |
| 20. chickety-chick                | 47. Dind, dong dended           |
| 21. chip-chip                     | 48. dimber-damber               |
| 22. chirp chirp                   | 49. din-din                     |
| 23. choo-choo                     | 50. ding-dong                   |
| 24. chuff-chuff                   | 51. ding-dong-danged            |
| 25. chug-chug                     | 52. driggle-draggle             |
| 26. chut-chut                     | 53. dingle-dangle               |
| 27. clatter-clutter               |                                 |

## Reduplication in English

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 54. dribble-drabble     | 82. higgledy-piggledy     |
| 55. drip-drip           | (rarer higglety-pigglety) |
| 56. drip-drop           | 83. hippity hoppity       |
| 57. fid-fad             | 84. hish-hish             |
| 58. fiddle-faddle       | 85. hockery-pockery       |
| 59. fiss-fass-fuss      | 86. hocus pocus           |
| 60. fix-fax             | 87. honk honk             |
| 61. flick, flock        | 88. hotch-potch           |
| 62. flim-flam           | 89. hotch-podge           |
| 63. flim-flammed        | 90. hodge-podge           |
| 64. flimmery-flammery   | 91. hush hush             |
| 65. flip-flap           | 92. jibbering jabbering   |
| 66. flip-flop           | 93. jig-jog               |
| 67. flipperty-flopperty | 94. jiggety-joggety       |
| 68. frish-frash         | 95. jiggle-joggle         |
| 69. gew-gaw             | 96. jiggy-joggy           |
| 70. Georgy-Porgy        | 97. jim jams              |
| 71. gibble-gabble       | 98. jingle-jangle         |
| 72. gibber-jabber       | 99. jug-jug               |
| 73. gobble-gobble       | 100. kittle cattle        |
| 74. goody-goody         | 101. kribs krabs          |
| 75. hanky-panky         | 102. krims-krams          |
| 76. haha                | 103. liony-piony          |
| 77. harum-skarum        | 104. lip-lap-lop          |
| 78. hee haw             | 105. lock-lock            |
| 79. Heezlum Peezlum     | 106. lovey-dovey          |
| 80. helter-skelter      | 107. miz-maze             |
| 81. higgie-haggle       | 108. mingle-mangle        |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 109. mish-mash  | 136. plop-plop                          |
| 110. mixty-maxty<br>(mixy-maxy)                               | 137. pooh-pooh                          |
| 111. namby-pamby  | 138. plod-plod                          |
| 112. nib-(k)nob   | 139. plup-plup                          |
| 113. nibble-nobble  | 140. Mrs. Princum-prancum               |
| 114. nid-nod  | 141. prittle-prattle                    |
| 115. niddle-noddle  | 142. puff-puff                          |
| 116. niddy-noddy  | 143. quack-quack                        |
| 117. niff.naffy<br>(niffy-naffy)                              | 144. quark-quark                        |
| 118. nick-nick  | 145. ramp-ramp                          |
| 119. nimini-piminy  | 146. rat-a-tat                          |
| 120. nimmy-pimmy  | 147. razzle-dazzle                      |
| 121. nip-(k)nap   | 148. ribble-rabble<br>(ribblie-rabblie) |
| 122. nitty-gritty   | 149. rickety-rackety                    |
| 123. nosy-posy  | 150. riff-raff                          |
| 124. oink oink  | 151. rig-rag                            |
| 125. pad-pad  | 152. rip-rap                            |
| 126. papa   | 153. roly-poly                          |
| 127. peep (pip)-pap-pop                                       | 154. scribble-scrabble                  |
| 128. pibble pabble  | 155. seesaw                             |
| 129. pick-pack  | 156. shilly-shally                      |
| 130. pindy-pandy  | 157. sing-song                          |
| 131. ping-pong  | 158. shiffle-shuffle                    |
| 132. pinkie-pankie  | 159. shilly-shally                      |
| 133. pishery-pasherie   | 160. sip-sup-sop                        |
| 134. pishy-pashy  | 161. skimble-skamble                    |
| 135. pit-a-pat<br>(pitter-pat, pitter-patter,<br>pit-patting) | 162. slabber-slubber-slobber            |
|   | 163. sleek (slick)-slack                |
|   | 164. slip-slop                          |
|   | 165. slippery-sloppery                  |

## Reduplication in English

- |                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 166. slip-slap-slop           | 194. tip-top           |
| 167. slip-slippering          | 195. tippety-tap       |
| 168. slit-slot                | 196. tisty-tosty       |
| 169. snick-snack              | 197. tit-tat-to        |
| 170. snip-snap                | 198. tit (teat)-tot    |
| 171. snip-snap-snorum         | 199. tit-tattering     |
| 172. snip-snip                | 200. titter-totter     |
| 173. snipper-snapper          | 201. tittle-tattle     |
| 174. spatter-sputter          | (tiddle-taddle)        |
| 175. splatter-splutter        | 202. triddle-traddle   |
| 176. stick-stock              | 203. tringum-trangum   |
| 177. strip-strap-strop        | 204. teeter-tottering  |
| 178. squib-squab              | 205. tong-tong-tong    |
| 179. swingledome, swangledome | 206. twiddle-twaddle   |
| 180. tap-tap                  | 207. twisty-twirly     |
| 181. teeny-weeny              | 208. twittle-twattle   |
| 182. thump-thump              | 209. walkie-talkie     |
| 183. tip-tap-top              | 210. whim-wham         |
| 184. tick-tack                | (whimsy-whamsy)        |
| (tric-trac)                   | 211. whipper-snapper   |
| 185. tick-tack-tuck           | 212. whir-whack        |
| 186. tickle-tackle            | (whack-whir)           |
| 187. tick-tock                | 213. wish-whish        |
| 188. tig-tag                  | 214. whittie-whattie   |
| 189. tilley-valley            | 215. wiffle-waffle (s) |
| 190. ting-ating-ting          | 216. wig-wag           |
| 191. ting-ting                | 217. wiggle-waggle     |
| 192. tip-top                  | 218. willy-walloo      |
| 193. tip-tap-toe              | 219. wish (y)-wash (y) |
|                               | 220. woof woof         |
|                               | 221. zig-zag           |

such and such	step by step	blow-by-blow account
so-and-so	side by side	bit by bit
more and more	play by play	
huff and puff	one by one	
p and p	day by day	
over and over	wall-to-wall	
out-and-out	mouth to mouth	
on and on	point-to-point	
neck and neck	one to one	
one's nearest and dearest	heart-to-heart	
through and through	bumper-to-bumper	
hither and thither	black to black	
wear and tear	air-to-air	
turn and turn about	night after night	
up-and-up	day after day	
huff and puff		
half-and-half		
B and B		
C-in-C		
arm in arm		

## Reduplication in English

Toru Okamura

Reduplication has been recognized in many languages of the world. There are two main types of reduplication as viewed from word-formation: complete (or total) reduplication, where all of the stem is repeated like “quack-quack” and incomplete (or partial) reduplication, where only a part of the stem is repeated like “hee-haw”, “bow-wow”.

The seven functions of reduplication in Motu, one of the Austro-nesian languages in Melanesia are reported, that is, plurality, diminution, intensification, formation of colour adjective, formation of nouns from verbs, continuation, and formation of intransitive verbs from transitive verbs. But in English morphology, reduplication has been neglected by many linguists, since it does not play an important part in English grammar. The purpose of this study is to show the main function of reduplication in English and the relation between parts of speech and word-formations in reduplication. In English, reduplicated compounds denoting natural and animal sounds are very frequent and productive. From OALD and other linguistic articles, reduplicated compounds are collected and classified. The most abundant data for a word-class can be found for interjections: Interjection > Noun > Adjective. At the moment we cannot say what is the most frequent category, but from the above examples, the modification of a vowel is more numerous than the modification of a consonant: Repetition of a Word > Modification of a Vowel > Modification of a Consonant. The main function of English reduplication is intensification, though it is not lexicalized. Intensification is found with

adjectives and adverbs. The distributive and durative functions are excluded here, since RED combined with “and”, “by”, “to” lacks linguistic adequacy. The names of animals and plants have no grammatical function, though it is almost certain that they refer to aspects of the culture. The problem of major interest is the interplay of structural and non-structural factors (See p.7).