

## A CROSSLINGUISTIC STUDY OF REDUPLICATION

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*Reduplication is an important phenomenon in language studies. Its linguistic forms has long been studied in terms of various formalist theories but there is a general consensus that the role of reduplication in English has been widely ignored. Recent corpus based studies have indicated that the usage of reduplication among English speakers is more widespread than assumed to be and needs in depth study. This article takes another look at the traditional forms of reduplication and current views on how they occur. It also discusses reduplication and repetition found in Malay and Tamil and compares them with English forms, in order to establish a pattern.*

### INTRODUCTION

Reduplication is a morphological process in which the root, stem of a word or a part of it is repeated. In many languages, reduplication is used in inflections to convey grammatical functions and in lexical derivations to create semantic forms. Tannen (1987) views it to be a limitless resource for individual creativity and the central linguistic meaning making strategy. While linguistic forms of reduplication at the lexical level have long been explored by formalist theories, Wang (2005) states that there is a general tendency among linguists to overlook its functions at the level of discourse. Rastall (2004) sees most reduplication forms that appear in the media as ephemeral in the sense that they tend to appear as word plays that do not 'enter the language' and stresses the need for studies to look at reduplications beyond their lexical level. The general level of ambivalence among linguists could be due to a preference to focus on the formal features of the language which deal with classical generative approaches, rather than look at forms that are theoretically awkward and irrelevant (Ghomeshi et.al, 2004). However, all is not lost, as there is a growing number of corpus based studies on reduplication that reveal the use of reduplication in English to be more widespread than generally believed, and its usage continuously expanding among North Americans, British and non native speakers of English (Wang, 2005; Ghomeshi et. al., 2004, Biber et. al, 1998; Conrad, 1999, Sinclair, 1997). In line with these arguments, this article attempts to look at select forms of reduplications as they appear in English, Malay (language spoken in South East Asia) and Tamil (language spoken in South Asia). It will also look at the semantic as well as functional features of reduplication at the lexical, semantic and phrasal level.

## REDUPLICATION AND REPETITIONS

Reduplication is a word formation process in which some part of a base (a segment, syllable, morpheme) is repeated, either to the left, or to the right of the word or, occasionally, within the middle of the word. While reduplication is found in a wide range of languages and language groups, its level of linguistic productivity varies and it is sometimes used interchangeably with repetition. Repetition is a term which is used to indicate sounds and concepts that are repeated in one form or the other to provide reinforcement and emotional emphasis. Ghomeshi et. al. (2004) refers to it as child language, amongst its numerous definition. It is widely used as a poetic device which occurs when a sound, syllable, word, phrase, line, stanza, or metrical pattern is repeated to make it the basic unifying device. In describing the features of repetition, Lausberg (1998) proposes that it has both informative and reinforcing functions. However, Wang (2005) insists that both repetition and reduplications have been used interchangeably because they overlap at some point. This is evident in the Malay Language, where repetition is used interchangeably with reduplication. The Malay phrase *kata ganda* refers to a multiple word while *kata ulang* is used to denote repeated words. Both *kata ganda* (reduplication) and *kata ulang* (repetition) are used in inflections to convey a grammatical function, i.e., plurality, intensification, as well as in lexical derivation to create new words (See Table 1). This is unlike the English Language, where repetition is used to signify a more "expressive" tone or figurative speech which is also often, but not exclusively, iconic in meaning e.g. *They were amazed at this **big, big** voice coming out of this tiny girl.*

Table 1. Lexical Level

Malay	English
<b>Inflectional -Repetition</b>	
<i>Singular –plural</i>	<b>Expressive/ figurative speech</b>
<i>buku</i> (book) <i>buku-buku</i> (books)	Knock – knock
<i>guli</i> (marble) <i>guli-guli</i> (marbles)	Tiny, tiny tinyplace
<b>Derivational- Reduplication</b>	
<i>Different meaning</i>	<b>Expressive/ figurative speech</b>
<i>adik</i> - (younger brother)	<i>widdle, waddle penguin song</i>
<i>adik beradik</i> (siblings) <i>ikat</i> (tie)	<i>Wiggy waggy dog</i>
<i>ikat ikatan</i> (bundles that are tied)	

Persson, (1974) insists that repetitions in English can be distinguished at three linguistic levels which are a) lexical as in *old, old view*; b) syntactical as in *God he knows* ; and c) semantic as in *they deceived and hoodwinked us.* Wang (2005) insists that there are fundamental differences between

reduplication and repetition and that reduplication exists at the lexical level while repetition exists at the syntactical level.

### **Reduplications and Triplications**

Phonologically, reduplication is described as reduplicated *segments* (sequences of consonants/vowels) or reduplicated *prosodic units* (syllables or moras). In addition to phonological description, reduplication is also described morphologically as the reduplication of linguistic constituents (i.e. words, stems, roots). Thus, reduplication is interesting theoretically because it involves the interface between phonology and morphology. In reduplication, the *base* is a word (or part of the word) that is often copied. The reduplicated element is called the *reduplicant*, and most often repeated only once as in *you are a sick, sick man* or *you're really, really sick*. However, in some languages, reduplication has been found to occur more than once, resulting in a tripled form, and not a *double* as in most reduplication such as in *She is sick, sick, sick* and never *She is \*sick, sick!* (Ghameshi et.al, 2004). Incidentally, this feature occurs only within specific categories (e.g. verbs) and positions (e.g. sentence-finally). *Triplication* refers to a triple use of a morpheme and is more pronounced in Micronesian languages like *Mokilese* and South Asian languages such as *Telugu*, while another Micronesian language *Pingalapese* has both reduplications and triplications (Moravcsik, 1978). In English, triplication is more of an exception, but it does exist. For example in *tic tac toe, win,win,win* and *you-you-you*. However, in this paper, only reduplications and repetitions will be discussed.

### **Full and Partial Reduplication**

*Full reduplication* involves the exact repetition of a sound or word. In English this would involve putting together a sound or morpheme to bring forth an entirely new grammatical function or semantic feature while full reduplication would be used to provide emphasis as indicated in (1). However, Tamil derives reciprocal forms from reflexive forms by total reduplication as in (2) and (3).

(1) English

Are you LEAVING-leaving now?

i.e. are you 'really' leaving (for good) or merely stepping out for a minute?

(Ghameshi et.al, 2004).

(2) Tamil

[avar]

he /himself

[avar-avar]

he (to) himself

[avar-avar valkai]

he to his own life

(3)

[nam]

our

[nam-nam]

ourselves

[nam-nam vittilay]

our own houses

In Malay, the nouns take on plural forms as in (4), and verbs become adverbial phrases with full reduplications, as in (5).

- (4) Malay  
 [murid] pupil  
 [murid-murid] pupils  
 [Dia **murid** sekolah rendah] S/He is a primary school pupil  
 [Mereka **murid –murid** sekolah rendah] They are primary school pupils
- (5) [kuat] loud  
 [kuat-kuat] to speak / to read loudly  
 [Suaranya kuat] His voice is loud  
 [Sila bercakap kuat-kuat] Please speak loudly

*Partial reduplication* involves reduplication of only a part of a word (e.g. *chit-chat*, *flip-flop*). In Malay, reduplicated forms indicate a continuous process and the progressive form (e.g. *-keep Ving*; *is Vin*; *Vs*) and this is done by adding a prefix ‘ber’ before the base and reduplicating the base; that is (ber) + base + root as in (6) and (7).

- (6) [ketuk] peck  
 [berketuk] to peck  
 [berketuk-ketuk] keeps pecking / is pecking / pecks
- (7) [sorak] cheer  
 [bersorak] to cheer  
 [bersorak-sorak] keep cheering / is cheering/ cheers

Partial reduplication involves consonant ablaut or vowel alternation (e.g. / i-æ/ as in *rip rap* and /i-o/ as in *ping pong*). There are three types of partial reduplications namely vowel alternations, onset alternations and rhyming words. The first being situations in which the components of the reduplication exist with independent meanings but combine to form a different concept or meaning (e.g. *ship-shape*, *tip top*) as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2. Partial Reduplication - Vowel Alternation

English	Malay	Tamil
<b>vowel alternation</b>	d. <i>gopoh gapah</i> (hurriedly)	g. <i>tumbi kɪmbi</i> (cough and sneeze)
a. <i>chit chat</i>	e. <i>sana sini</i> (there and here)	h. <i>maram kiram</i> (trees and shrubs)
b. <i>criss cross</i>	f. <i>hina dina</i> (commoners)	i. <i>elumbang tollum</i> (skin and bone)
c. <i>see saw</i>		

With vowel alternations, the first syllable of the reduplicated form, the derivation of a form such as *crisscross* undergoes two stages such as 1) syllable copy and 2) vowel ablaut. Here the initial syllable is fully reduplicated and linked to its CV slots (CVCV-> CVCV.CVCV). A vowel change motivated by ablaut occurs from /e, i, o,/ to /a,u/ for the second syllable as illustrated in (8) for English, (9) for Malay and (10) for Tamil.

- (8) English Context  
 see to look
- Repetition**  
 see see (to provide emphasis to a verb)
- Sentence** **See, see** the cyclist passing by.
- Vowel alternation**  
 see saw playground equipment
- (9) Malay Context  
 [Gopoh] hurry/ greedy
- Repetition**  
 [gopoh gopoh] to act swiftly
- Sentence -**  
 [Kenapa gopoh gopoh sangat hari ini?] Why are you behaving in a hurried manner today?
- Vowel Alternation**  
 [gopoh gapah] to act hurriedly and clumsily
- Sentence -**  
 [Kenapa terlalu gopoh gapah, kan esok masih ada?] Why are you acting hurriedly, isn't there a tomorrow?
- (10) Tamil Context  
 [inbam] pleasure/ bliss
- Repetition**  
 [inbam inbam] great pleasure/ eternal

<p><b>Sentence</b> (Inbam, inbam endru theidinnen)</p>	<p>pleasure (provide emphasis )</p> <p>Eternal pleasure was my quest / I was searching for pleasure</p>
<p><b>Vowel Alternation</b> [inbam tunbam]</p>	<p>happiness and sadness</p>
<p><b>Sentence</b> [Sugam, sugam, itthu innbammana tunnbammanaathu]</p>	<p>Bliss, bliss, this is happiness tinged with sadness</p>

Onset alternations occur when there is a consonant (C) change in ‘h-C’ or ‘C-w’ alternation such as in *handy dandy*, *bow wow* and *mumbo jumbo*. Often, the root word would have a meaning while the reduplicant would lack any explicit meaning as indicated in Table 3. In Malay, the reduplicant can have an independent meaning or lack any meaning altogether. The Malay words ‘*duka*’ (3g) and ‘*piut*’ (3h) refer to sadness and great grandchildren respectively but ‘*lenang*’ (3e) and ‘*bingar*’ (3f) have no meanings on their own. In Tamil, onset alternations occur with contrastive words. In Table 3 the Tamil word *mellum keellum* (3j) means ‘up’ and ‘down’ and *anum pennum* (3l) refers to the generic term for male and female.

Table 3. Partial Reduplication- Onset Alternation

English	Malay (adjective/nouns/adverbs)	Tamil (collective forms)
a. <u>h</u> andy <u>d</u> andy	e. <i>senang lenang</i> (easy times)	i. <i>kastam nastam</i> (difficulty and loss)
b. <u>h</u> urly <u>b</u> urly	f. <i>hingar bingar</i> (pandemonium)	j. <i>mellum keellum</i> (up and down)
c. <u>b</u> ow <u>w</u> ow	g. <i>suka duka</i> (ups and downs)	k. <i>kadum vidum</i> (forest and home)
d. <u>t</u> eeny <u>w</u> eeney	h. <i>ciut piut</i> (great grandchildren)	l. <i>anum pennum</i> (male and female)

As for rhymes with diminutive suffixes, the English words tend to lack independent meanings but take on a new meaning when combined (e.g. *wishy-washy*, *hoity-toity*). These words are often found in nursery rhymes and children’s story books.

Table 4. Partial Reduplications – Rhyming Words

English	Malay	Tamil
<b><i>rhyme</i></b> – <b><i>diminutive suffix</i></b>		
a. boogie woogie	a. <i>dolak dalih</i> (excuses and delays)	a. <i>kuchi kichi</i> (twigs and sticks)
b. lovey dovey	b. <i>gemuk gedempul</i> (rotund)	b. <i>konji kinji</i> (plead and whine)

In Malay and Tamil, rhymes with diminutive suffixes exist as an integral part of their daily discourse and are used to discuss contrasting images and views. In terms of individual meanings, the root word would have an independent meaning while the reduplicant may or may not have any meaning as explained in (11) and (12).

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (11) | <u>Malay</u><br>[gemuk]<br>[gedempul]<br>[gemuk gedempul] | <u>Meaning</u><br>fat<br>lacks meaning<br>rotund             |
| (12) | <u>Tamil</u><br>[kuchi]<br>[kichi]<br>[kuchi kichi]       | <u>Meaning</u><br>stick<br>lacks meaning<br>sticks and twigs |

With rhyming forms, assuming that the root is the first syllable of the reduplicated form, the derivations seem to undergo both the syllable copy as well as the vowel ablaut. Thus, when the two pseudo morphemes are put together, their rhymes (nuclear + coda) are the same as in *boogie woogie* and *lovey dovey*, making them a part of the group of alternations as well.

### ***Echoic expression***

Echoism is a distinctive form of expression which includes repetition of words for aesthetic or expressive effect. Echoism includes primary onomatopoeia and secondary onomatopoeia. Within primary onomatopoeia, there is an attempt to direct imitation of naturally occurring sounds in sound symbolism or natural correspondence between sound and sense. However, the echoic forms appear to exist in contexts that are culture specific as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5. Imitation Of Natural Sounds

English	Malay	Tamil
chug chug (locomotive)	<i>berkokok</i> (to crow)	<i>kaa kaa</i> ( raven call)
ding dong (doorbell)	<i>ketuk-ketuk</i> (to peck)	<i>lol lol</i> (to bark)
gobble gobble	<i>desas desus</i> (to whisper)	<i>sala-sala</i> (rustle )

As for secondary onomatopoeia, the sound of word forms are felt to be appropriate to the meaning of the lexemes of which they are forms. This often leads to some form of universality in the way speakers of a language think and construct images. This feature seems to be applicable to all the three languages discussed as evident in Table 6.

Table 6. Natural Correspondence Between Sound And Sense

English	Malay	Tamil
head over heels kit and kaboodle kith and kin fair and square	<i>segar bugar</i> (healthy and wealthy) <i>anak pinak</i> (children) <i>saudara mara</i> (kith and kin) <i>adil saksama</i> (fair and equal)	<i>talaikal teriyamal</i> (head over heels) <i>sirrum sirrapum</i> (wealth and fame) <i>sontham bantham</i> (kith and kin) <i>sarri sammam</i> (fair and equal)

The composition of onomatopoeic words is determined by the system of the language to which it belongs. Thus a word would be considered onomatopoeic even if only a part of it is imitative as stressed by Waugh (1993). This would account for certain imitations of natural sounds which are culture specific and totally different from how another culture views the object. This would include the more subtle sounds such as *knock-knock* and *splish splash* as well. It is also interesting to note that despite the difference in language and culture, it is still possible to see a common pattern in the way concepts of fairness and equality and kith and kin exist in all three languages.

### REDUPLICATION AT THE SYNTACTICAL LEVEL

The functions of reduplication can be considered to be both rhetorical as well as cohesive. Content can be reiterated in a paraphrase form or alternative lexical forms (near -synonyms) and meaning is specific to the context in which the form is created (Wang, 2005). Both repetition and reduplication play significant roles in the negotiation of lexical meaning and can be categorized into four groups which are as follows:

- Repetition
- Reiteration
- Referring expressions
- Parallelism -echoing forms/ semantic parallelism

In terms of repetition or exact copy, an interesting feature in English is that words like *tar* and *do* exist as individual morphemes as shown in Table

7(a) and 7(b) while in Malay and Tamil, the syllables *ku*, *su*, *ka* exist as syntactic features.

Table 7. Categories Of Reduplication

English	Malay	Tamil
<p><b>Exact copy</b>            a. tartar            b. dodo            c. old, old            d. hot, hot, hot</p>	<p>k. <i>kuku</i> (finger nail)            l. <i>susu</i> (milk)            m. <i>mata-mata</i> (policeman)            n. <i>betul, betul</i> (very true)</p>	<p>u. <i>kaka</i> (noun- crow)            v. <i>tatta</i> (grandfather)            w. <i>kadda kadda</i> (speedily)            x. <i>palla-palla</i>            (variety/shinning/many)</p>
<p><b>Reiteration</b>            e. itsy bitsy            f. nitwit</p>	<p>o. <i>gunung ganang</i>            (mountainous)            p. <i>bijak pandai</i> (wise and bright)</p>	<p>y. <i>asai-perasai</i> (desire and greed)            z. <i>anbum panbum</i> (kindness)</p>
<p><b>Referring Expression</b>            g. here and there            h. this and that</p>	<p>q. <i>sana sini</i> (there and here)            r. <i>ini dan itu</i> (this and that)</p>	<p>aa. <i>inggum anggum</i> (here and there)            ab. <i>ithuvum athuvum</i> (this and that)</p>
<p><b>parallelism</b>            i. look and look            j. draw and draw</p>	<p>s. <i>senyap, senyap</i> (discrete)            t. <i>jerit, jerit</i> (shout continuously)</p>	<p>ac. <i>parka parka</i> (look and look)            ad. <i>todarra todarra</i> (went on and on)</p>

All three languages share similar features at the syntactical level. With exact copy, repetition is used to form nouns (e.g. *dodo*, ‘*susu*’ and ‘*kaka*’) and to indicate continuity (e.g. old,old and ‘*kadda kadda*’). However, words in Tamil like *kadda kadda* (speedily) or *pala-pala* (variety/many/shinning) can also be used to intensify an adverb or adjective by becoming a triplication and this can be done by simply adding another root form and the suffix + *vendru* as in (13).

- (13) [*Kadda –kadda*] ‘speedily’  
*Kadda kadda kaddavendru kundithaan* → He drank quickly by gulping it down.

[*palla –palla*] ‘variety / shinning / many’  
*Palla palla pallavendru minniyaathu* → It shinned luminously

As for reiteration, referring expressions and parallelism, all three languages use similar expressions to provide emphasis to refer and to make contrasting observations.

### BEYOND THE WORD LEVEL

Repetitions and reduplications happen to be important features of both Malay and Tamil because their languages enable a number of inflectional and derivational forms to be attached to their nouns and verbs. These help to change the meanings and functions in countless ways as illustrated in (14) and (15) below.

#### (14) Tamil-suffix

[ithu ] (root)- ‘this’

[ithu + -*vum*] > [ithuvum] – ‘this too’

[ithu + -*an*] > [ithuthan] - ‘only this’

[atthu] (root) - ‘that’

[atthuvum] – ‘that too’

[atthuthan] – ‘only that’

#### (15) Malay- prefix and suffix

[ ikat] (root) - ‘tie ‘

[ ikat-ikat] – ‘tie several times’

[*ter*-ikat]- ‘attached’

[ikat +*kan*] > [ ikatkan] – ‘to tie’

[*mengikat*- ikat] > ‘continue tying’

[*terikat*-ikat] – ‘continuously attached’

[*terikat*-*ikatkan*]- ‘intentionally attach’

[ikat-ikatan]- ‘bundles that are tied up’

This degree of flexibility is highly helpful for speakers of Tamil in particular, because it enables them to construct lexical chains of connected words in running discourse. Here content is reiterated in paraphrase forms or alternative lexical forms. This makes it possible for meanings to become fixed in context under the circumstances created by the speakers. The repeated words then take on specific roles in the negotiation of meaning among its speakers. In Tamil, these lexical chains appear in the form of echoic expressions which have three separate functions. The functions are as follows: a) to denote contrastive meanings; b) to provide emphasis, and c) to specify distributive qualities.

#### *Contrastive Meanings*

The common link within all repetitions is that it allows its speakers to say something new by replacing existing information. In Tamil, the verb is often repeated to bring about a contrastive meaning. A reduplicated verb where the first term is in the form of the positive past participle (AVP) plus optional *-um* followed by the same verb stem in the form of negative past participle (AVP) would mean ‘not doing something.’ So, in Table 9, the verb ‘*kan/ kand*’ (seen) when used with the positive past participle (AVP) and the *-um*, followed by the same verb stem in the form of the negative past participle (AVP) would serve as a reminder to the listener that he has overlooked an object.

Table 8. Echoic Expression To Indicate Contrastive Meaning

Tamil	English
a. <i>kandum kannammel</i>	see and not see (literal translation) overlook (meaning)
b. <i>kandum kannathathumma</i>	seeing and not seeing (literal translation) ignoring something with intention (negative meaning)
c. <i>paattum paakkaadadumma</i>	observing and not observing pretending to be unaware, oblivious (negative meaning)

While the first sentence (8a) is merely meant as a passing commentary, the second verb (8b) takes on a different form of the negative participle which can be either adjectival or adverbial. This is followed by an adverbial *-aa* attached, which brings about a negative connotation. This time around, the speaker's intent is to chastise or admonish the listener for failing to notice, intentionally ignoring or pretending not to have noticed.

### ***Emphatic Expression***

The last verb of an utterance (usually a modal verb) can be reduplicated for emphasis by taking the infinitive of the finite verb and adding an emphatic *-ee* to it while placing it before the finite verb, which is *Vb + infinitive + ee + Vb Finite*. There can be various possible configurations which can occur such as a) reduplicating the infinitive of the main verb (plus *v- ee*) and b) reduplicating the auxiliary verb as indicated in Table 9.

Table 9. Emphatic Reduplication

Tamil	English
a. <i>.pooha maatta v-ee maatteen</i>	won't go will never ever go (literal translation)
b. <i>poohamaattenna</i> <i>poohamaatten</i>	will never ever go (translation) I won't go means I won't go (literal translation)
c. <i>poohavee poohamaatten</i>	absolutely certain of not going (translation) to go (there) I never ever will (literal translation) I refuse to go (there) (translation)

The sentences in table 9 (a), (b) and (c) are indicative of a number of ways in which the speaker is able to express his intent. Using the same verb '*pooha*' (go), and by adding the inflections (*v-ee*) and (*na*), the speaker is able to alter the degree of his intention. In 9a, the speaker is making a comment

about not intending to go to a specific location. In 9b, the speaker is defining his position on the matter by repeating the verb with the inflections to declare that he (the speaker) has no intentions of going to the location. However 8c is an outright declaration of never ever going to the place and this is done by adding the inflection (v-ee) and (en).

### ***Distributive Function***

Reduplication of interrogative pronouns (and some interrogative pronouns) have distributive functions whereby they specify different kinds of objects or links to different objects within a relationship. They can also distribute qualities among various object as indicated in Table 10.

Table 10. Distributing Objects

Tamil	English (translation)
<i>a.Enna + enna -&gt; enn-enna</i>	What kinds of things (are there)?
<i>b.Enna + enna -&gt; enn-ennavo</i>	Many kinds of things.
<i>c.Engge + engge -&gt; engge-enge</i>	Where, in what different places?
<i>d.Engge+ engge -&gt; engengo</i>	Many different places.

The words ‘enna’ (what) and ‘enge’ (where) are repeated to indicate plurality. However, the inflection (-a) at the end of the words, can turn it into an interrogative pronoun while adding an (-o) will give it distributive qualities. This form of repetition involves simple repetition, where different speakers repeat each other’s words to push their topic forward (McCarthy, 1998).

## **DISCUSSION**

In discussing repetition and reduplications, there is a general consensus that many of the above processes can only be formulated for ‘regular examples’ to some extent (Wang, 2005; Thun, 1963). As discussed by Carter and McCarthy (1998) formal solutions trying to explain English reduplication phenomena are not always deterministic and more likely to be probabilistic. Deterministic solutions have often been found to be misleading due to the existence of frequent exceptions in the forms. While at the outset it might appear as though the Malay and Tamil languages appear to have a more widespread role for reduplication and repetition in their daily discourse, corpus-based studies on reduplication and repetition in English has revealed the situation to be otherwise. As highlighted by Wang (2005), both reduplication and repetition are present not only in literary discourses, but exist functionally and pragmatically in all types of everyday English Language. In fact, it is routinely employed in advertisements, newspapers, political slogans and textual headings. Table 11 illustrates how repetition at the phonetic and lexical level have become integral aspects of topic headings in textual discourse such as the *National Geographic Magazine*.

Table 11. Topic Headings

<b>Describing War</b>	<b>Nature</b>
<b>B</b> aghdad <b>B</b> efore the <b>B</b> omb <b>D</b> angerous <b>D</b> ivide <b>D</b> ressed for <b>D</b> istress <b>S</b> hattered <b>S</b> udan <b>C</b> riss <b>C</b> rossed <b>C</b> haos	<b>A</b> nimal <b>A</b> bstraction <b>M</b> onkey see, <b>m</b> onkey recognize <b>S</b> nakes, <b>s</b> nakes, <b>s</b> nakes <b>T</b> errors of <b>T</b> asmania <b>D</b> awn in the <b>D</b> eep

A cursory look at the topic headings indicate that the writers have focused on phonological repetition and morphological repetition to create a dark and more serious effect. On a similar note, as mentioned by Halliday (1994), advertisement is also another place where ‘... repetition is perhaps the major factor.’ Example (16) shows the clever use of compound words in advertisements.

- (16) **Lime light**  
**Lovelight**  
**dinnerlight**  
**porchlight**  
**Right** in any **light**
- Topic: Prescription eye wear  
-Right Light  
L: onset repetition  
Partial reduplication  
– (new word+ light)  
(i= eye –sight rhyme /repetition)  
Brightness- darkness, dimness -  
appropriateness  
Sequence of events-Lexical cohesion

The distinguishing attribute of the above advertisement on prescription eyewear is the repetition of the word *light* to stress the importance of the *right sight*. The words are short creating a quick yet effective message. Another characteristic being the metaphoric extension of the concept of *light* with *sight* and the consonant alternation of words *right* and *light*.

Another instance of widespread application of repetitive words at the discourse level can be seen in the subtle use of words in the *All State Insurance* advertisement below(17).

- (17) All State Shape Up and Save

Presenting allstate shape Up & Save rates and discounts  
**Keep yourself in shape and save on life insurance.**  
If you exercise regularly you could save up to 35%.  
**Keep your driving record in shape and save on auto insurance.**  
Our Good Driver reward you for being a safe driver.  
**Keep your house in shape by making it safer and save on your home insurance.**

The advertisement has all the features of echoic expression where the phrases *shape up* and *save on* are used as contrasting concepts that get repeated throughout the text to provide emphasis on the cause and effect relationship. It is interesting that the name of the company '*allstate*' appears in lower case while the word '*Save*' appears in upper case to provide greater emphasis to the concept of 'save'. In addition, the words *safe on*, *save up*, *safe driver*, and *making it safer* keep following the reader throughout the text like an echo.

Table 12. All State Insurance

Cause	Effect
<b>Keep yourself in shape</b>	<b>Save on life insurance</b>
<b>Keep driving record in shape</b>	<b>Save on auto insurance</b>
<b>Keep your <u>house</u> in shape</b>	<b>Save on <u>home</u> insurance</b>

Similar words like *keep* and *save*, *house* and *home* as highlighted in table 12 construct a cohesive link between the ideas and move the discourse forward. Phrases like *life insurance*, *auto insurance* and *home insurance* are partial reduplication forms where the difference introduce new meanings to the nature of insurance policies. The words are repeated at the lexical, semantic and the syntactical level, in order to provide a sense of plurality, continuity, emphasis and poetic effect. The words *safe* and *save* are repeated to provide the idea of nature and sense. There is the clever interplay of words at the syntactic level which certainly show that repetitions and reduplications are much more prevalent in English than we are willing to admit.

## CONCLUSION

The use of reduplication for expressive and aesthetic effect in English is more extensive than previously thought possible and new studies are constantly coming up with instances that shows its usage to be much more widespread than originally believed. As a form, reduplication is partly predictable and regular, corresponding to expected sound alternation patterns. However, despite countless studies on reduplication, there are still exceptions which need to be worked out for each language. In the words of Jakobson and Waugh,(1987) 'it is not possible to predict that each pattern will undergo the same alternation for all languages and variations are not deterministic and the formulated rules should be modified based on different individual cases.' Most of all, not all reduplications are meaningful or have pragmatic outcomes. The deterministic rules are incomplete and require further study, and the rising number of corpus-based studies on reduplication will definitely help develop greater awareness about the direction of reduplication in actual discourse. Until then, it is evident that reduplication is interesting word play which can serve to enrich any language.

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