

## Intensifying function of reduplication (in Polish, Slovak and cross-linguistically)

In this paper, I will present the ways of intensifying in Polish and Slovak language communication using reduplication, because the process of reduplication represents grammaticalized morphological device for expressing (among others) intensification. As Sapir introduced, there is nothing more natural than the prevalence of reduplication (1921: 76) and it is omnipresent (in different proportions) in languages.

Linguists point that reduplications may perform many different functions: it is often the case that reduplications play various functions not only in different languages, but also within one language (Antoniak 2005: 14). As demonstrated by studies conducted on the 368 languages of the world, as many as 85% of them have productive reduplication, in 277 of them, in turn, there is both partial and complete reduplication. It is therefore a very common phenomenon, phonologically primary, which has been the subject of linguists' interest for years. Reduplication (from Lat. *reduplicatio*) means doubling and due to the subject of the study, will have different meanings. In linguistics, it is broadly defined as “the repetition of part or all of one linguistic constituent to form a new constituent with a different function, occurs at many points on a spectrum from phonologically defined partial reduplication to the repetition of syntactic phrases” (Inkelas 2014: 169). As Moravcsik (1992: 323–324) pointed out, reduplication is “a pattern where the double or multiple occurrence of a sound string, syllable, morpheme, or word within a larger syntagmatic unit is in systematic contrast with its single occurrence, with the iterated elements filling functionally non-distinct positions”.

Selected reduplicated structures were selected basing on semantic and lexicographic criteria. The corpus comes from written texts in Polish and Slovak, and was created on the basis of excerpts from monolingual dictionaries, websites and language corpora. The theoretical bases for my research are international studies on reduplication and intensification.

Reduplication is associated with a large subset of semantic and syntactic operations, with encoding intensity being only one of them. As Gnomeshi et al. (2004) distinguished Intensive Reduplication (IR), my aim is to present a different type of reduplication which can semantically be connected with the category of intensity. As Uspensky has stated (1972: 70), in reduplicative constructions, augmentation and intensification are universally preferred over diminution and attenuation. What is more, an increase of quantity is preferred over an increase of degree. The intensifying function means that the result of the reduplication is the intensification of the non-reduplicated component; reduplication means ‘very, really X’, i.e. SL. *širý* [‘vast’] – *široširý* [‘very vast’], *čirý* [‘pure’] → *čiročirý* [‘real pure’].

Reduplication applies to nearly all parts of speech. Although it is heavily semantically limited to adjectives and adverbs, reduplication occurs frequently also in the formation of interjections: *ha-ha*, *hi-hi*. According to its intensifying function, it is in contemporary Slovak common mainly with compound adjectives, i.e. *široširý*, *čiročirý*, *dennodenný*. Furthermore, IR is expressed by intensified adverbs *málo* → *málo-pramálo*, *veľa* → *veľa-preveľa*, *dávno* → *dávno-pradávno*.

Reduplication Patterns (RPs) occur in Slovak verbs which have a secondary intensifying function — intensive or total reduplication is when the verb root is completely doubled (Rejzek 2012:191), i.e. **plápolat** (‘burn’, ‘shine’, ‘blow’): *Jeho oči nie sú smutné. Plápolá v nich radosť, radosť tryská z jeho hlasu.* [His eyes are not sad. There is a great joy in his eyes, the joy gushes from his voice.] *Dlhý purpurový plášť prehodený cez plecía mu plápolal vo vetre fúkajúcom od mora.* [His long purple coat draped over his shoulder flared in the wind blowing from the sea];

**blábolit** (‘babble’): *Premiér síce blábolil čosi o ústave, referende, rozpočte, ktoré bránili rýchlejšiemu postupu, s tým by však zabodoval maximálne tak na kongrese SDKÚ.* [Although the prime minister was babbling something about the constitution, the referendum, the budget, which hindered faster progress, he would have scored at the most on the SDKÚ convention]; *Poznáte tie situácie, keď stojíte v nekonečne dlhom rade a niekto hneď za vami blábolí o niečom, čomu zjavne nerozumie?* [Do you know those situations when you are standing in an infinitely long line and someone is babbling right behind you about something he obviously doesn't understand?]

**trátoriť** (‘torment’): *Tak by som si to predstavovala, že by sme si kúpili miestenky, nech sme pohromade, a nech nemusíme na "stojáka" toľký kus trátoriť.* [So, I would imagine that we bought seats, let us be together, and do not have to "stand" so long to torment.]. I would try to indicate if there are such RPs in Polish.

The result of the reduplication process is a reduplicative construction (reduplicant). In this paper, a reduplicative construction will be understood, following Stolz (2011: 531–532) as an independent language sign, formally and semantically different from its components. However, as

Racová and Samko indicate (2015: 168–169), a reduplicative construction acquires its own grammatical function different from the meanings of its individual components, but the denotative meaning of the reduplicative construction in most cases does not differ from the denotative meaning of the reduplication domain.

Reduplication means reinforcement of a statement, so there are semantic constraints of the reduplicant: it involves only gradable attributes and attributes denoting a higher degree of feature intensity (*in plus*). The reinforcement does not mean the increase of intensity of a state – the aim of reduplication is not only to modify but also to specify the meaning.

Intensifying reduplication is one of the many ways of expressing the intensive degree or intensity of action that is something above assumed norm. Following Mathesius (1947), horizontal and vertical intensification can be distinguished in Polish and Slovak. Horizontal intensification means the duration of the action expressed by these adjectives and adverbs which include quantity, i.e. SL. *Kvôli tomu musím zostať ešte dlho dlho zalúbená, asi aj až dovždy do Eda.* \*[Because of that, I have to remain in love for a **long long** time, probably even until Ed]; *Podobný tvar sa dosť často často objavuje aj v poľských prameňoch.* \*[Quite **often often**, a similar shape also appears in Polish sources]; *Zbehlo sa to všetko veľmi rýchlo rýchlo.* \*[It all went very **fast fast**.]; PL. *Wyjątkowo szybko szybko rozstrzygnięta się głośna sprawa studentek, których toruńska prokuratura oskarżyła o plagiat.* \*[The high-profile case of female students accused of plagiarism in Toruń was resolved very **quickly quickly**]; *Ponad nimi, wysoko wysoko, stupy dymu zapelniają niebo.* \*[Above them, **high high** above, columns of smoke fill the sky.]; *Było to dawno, dawno temu.* \*[It was a **long, long** time ago.]; *Prowadzi daleko, daleko, w głąb tej świetlistej białej puszczy.* \*[It leads **far, far** into this luminous white forest.]. The latter refers to a lot of effort to perform an action, i.e. SL. *Už sa skutočne veľmi veľmi teším na to, že košeľu v ruksaku nebudem potrebovať.* \*[I'm **really really** looking forward to not needing a shirt in my backpack.]; *Wiemy na co nas stać i bardzo bardzo chcemy wygrywać.* \*[We know what we can do and we want to win **very very much**.]. Repetition of the same form is iconic and means '(twice) more / more intensely': *szybko, szybko* ['fast, fast'] means *faster than fast*, *powoli, powoli* ['slow, slow'] means *slower*.

The subject of reduplication is a parametric attribute. Intuitively, it seems that interpreting such an expression causes a certain intensification of a feature contained in the meaning of a language object. Therefore, a completely new quality is produced.

Changes related to the process of reduplication have a two-fold direction. On the one hand, reduplication is a very vital derivational category. New forms are still emerging or existing ones are gaining new meaning (e.g. children's words). On the other hand, reduplication undergoes further changes leading to the form and content being moved away from reduplication in the strictest sense, i.e. onomatopoeic verbs describing sounds: *mruczeć* ['murmur'] <*mrumru*, *pukać* ['knock'] <*pukpuk*, *buchať* ['bang'] <*buchbuch*, *mňaukať* ['miaow'] < *mňaumňau*.

To sum up, as Sokolová asserts (2016: 250), the status of reduplication is a marginal but legitimate way of expanding the Slovak lexis. Adjective reduplication in Polish and Slovak is natural, acceptable by language users and systemically primary. There is a gap in Slovak linguistics on reduplication itself, not talking about its intensifying function. My research tries to fill this gap, also in cross-linguistic, Polish-Slovak contrastive perspective.

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