REDUPLICATION PROCESSES IN TURKISH AND GERMAN: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

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Article Info	Abstract
Keywords Reduplication Turkish German Contrastive Analysis **Received:** 13.07.2021 **Accepted:** 05.09.2021 **Published:** 28.12.2021	The main goal of this study is to analyse the reduplicative structures in two languages: Turkish and German. Unlike German, Turkish is known as a language that actively uses productive reduplicative structures. There are different functions of these structures. They can be employed to produce new words in some languages or they can add different meanings to the existing words. They are mostly divided as partial and full reduplication. Also, some of the reduplication processes are productive, which means they can be used with new words unlike unproductive reduplication which can only be used with some specific words in that language. This study is a contrastive study and this requires three steps in the study: description, juxtaposition and comparison (Krzeszowski, 1990: 35). In the description step, the features of reduplication are defined and reduplicative processes in Turkish and German are described. In the second step, juxtaposition, the common ground to be compared in two languages are stated. At the end in the comparison step, the differences and similarities regarding reduplicative processes in two languages are determined related to type and degree. In terms of degree, both languages have full and partial reduplication. On the other hand, German has more types of reduplicative structures compared to Turkish. When two languages are compared regarding type, it is possible to state that German reduplicative structures are mostly unproductive, which means those structures are generally lexicalized or idiomatic expressions and do not allow for new words unlike Turkish.

1. Introduction

1.1. The Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study is to compare reduplication structures in Turkish and German and decide whether these languages share similar types of reduplication or not.

Reduplication is defined as "The systematic repetition of phonological material within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes" by Rubino (2005). The process is mainly divided into two: full and partial reduplication. While full reduplication is the

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repetition of the full word or word stem, partial reduplication is the partial repetition of the base.

Reduplication processes are investigated by many scholars so far such as Wilbur (1973), Marantz (1982), Rubino (2005) and Hurch & Mattes (2005), Kentner (2017) and so on because they are very common in many languages like Tagalog, Sanskrit, Italian, French, English, Turkish and Persian. Since languages produce infinite number of sentences with finite number of items, repetition is necessary. One way of repetition is called reduplication. There are many arguments whether reduplication is a productive process or not. While some reduplications are based on some rules and can be productively applied to new words, some are limited to specific words. Also, in some languages, reduplication is a process which produces new words, in other languages it creates word associations rather than new words.

German is considered a language which does not have much place for reduplication, unlike Turkish. That is why this study compares these two languages to decide which language is more active in terms of reduplication processes. Following this aim, there are two research questions to be answered in this study:

1. Which of the two languages, Turkish or German, has more types of reduplication?

2. What are the similarities and differences between Turkish and German reduplications?

1.2. Description of Reduplication Structures

It is stated that reduplication processes are divided into two in terms of form: full and partial reduplication. Partial reduplication can be in different forms like consonant gemination or vowel lengthening to nearly complete copy of a base. Some languages allow for full reduplication and some allow for partial reduplication. It is noted that the languages which use partial reduplication also allow for full reduplication. There are also some languages which do not have reduplication at all (Rubino, 2005).

There are various functions of reduplication. They can be used to form new words. For example, in Indonesian *matta* means eye but *matamata* means spy. When verbs and adjectives are reduplicated different functions appear such as number, distribution of an argument, tense, aspect, attenuation, intensity, transitivity, conditionality, reciprocity, pretence and so on. As an example, in Alabama the difference between temporary and permanent is given by reduplication as in *loca* means to be black like covered in soot but *looca* means to be a black person. Reduplication with nouns can denote concepts like number, case, distributivity, indefiniteness, reciprocity, size or associative qualities. For example, in Papago *gogs* means dog and *gogos* means dogs.

Reduplicated numbers can have the meaning of collectives, distributives, multiplicatives and limitatives. To illustrate, in Javanese *sanga* means nine *sanga-sanga* means all nine. Reduplication also functions as a word-class changing derivative morpheme. In Kayardild *kandu* means blood and *kandukandu* means red (Rubino, 2005).

There are many different ways of reduplication so it is important to distinguish different forms of doubling operations so that it would be possible to differentiate between reduplication processes and other forms of doubling. Inflectional reduplication is accomplished through either as a full reduplication or as a partial reduplication which is the copying of a part of the base word. It is the least common way in reduplication processes. Lexical reduplication is another process and it is encountered more often than inflectional reduplication. Lexical reduplication can be productive since it is possible to express specific semantic and pragmatic categories via reduplicative word-class changing operations. In syntactic reduplication, same words or phrases are repeated. This form of reduplication does not have a lexical or inflectional purpose and it does not form new words. Its function is mainly apposition or coordination of structures. It is the most common type of reduplication among different languages (Hurch et al., 2008).

Many researchers try to find the distinguishing point between reduplication and repetition. Gil (2005, as cited in Hurch et al., 2008) states that while reduplication is a morphological process, repetition is a syntactic process and this means that repetition involves two identical words but in reduplication, there is one word consisting of two identical parts. The following table shows the criteria for distinguishing between repetition and reduplication.

Table 1. *The criteria for distinguishing between repetition and reduplication*

	Criterion	Repetition	Reduplication
1	unit of output	greater than word	equal to or smaller than word
2	communicative reinforcement	present or absent	absent
3	interpretation	iconic or absent	arbitrary or iconic
4	intonational domain of output	within one or more intonation group	within one intonation group
5	contiguity of copies	contiguous or disjoint	contiguous
6	number of copies	two or more	usually two

(Gil, 2005: 33,37, as cited in Hurch et al., 2008)

In some languages distinguishing repetition from reduplication is easier but in other languages which does not have a clear definition of what a word is, it is harder to identify the differences.

In short, reduplication is a process that exists in many languages and their features changes according to the language or the type of reduplication.

2. Method

It is established that there are three main steps in a contrastive study. These steps are called description, juxtaposition and comparison (Krzeszowski, 1990). In the description step, items that are going to be compared are selected. Then, characterization of these items in terms of some language-independent theoretical model is provided. Items in both languages must be described by employing the same theoretical background so that common ground is established in two languages.

Juxtaposition is the next step in contrastive analysis. In this step, the researcher searches for the identification of cross-linguistic equivalents. This step is important in deciding what is to be compared with what (Krzeszowski, 1990).

Comparison is the step where the selected items are compared in the study. While comparing, it is important to specify the type and degree of equivalence. Degree refers to the number of items shared in two languages and the type of correspondence between compared items is also stated in the comparison step.

In the study, the compared data is taken from other researches which are carried on either Turkish or German reduplication structures such as Freywald (2015), Niebuhr et al. (2012), Suçin (2010), Göksel and Kerslake (2005) and so on.

3. Findings

3.1. Reduplication in Turkish

According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005), reduplicative processes in Turkish can be analysed in three different groups: emphatic reduplication, m-reduplication and doubling. The emphatic reduplication process is used with the adjectives and sometimes with adverbs. There are different views on the productivity of emphatic reduplications. It is stated that Turkish emphatic reduplication is a productive process, which means that it is possible to reduplicate new words which are not used in reduplication before (Demir, 2018). In her study with nonce words, Demir (2018) observed that people generally produce the same reduplicated forms which indicate that there is a rule-governing regulation in emphatic reduplications. However,

Kaufman (2014) claims that emphatic reduplications are partially unproductive. This means that they are not just memorized irregularities but there are some patterns that can be acquired by the speakers. However, the new members are acquired in some special circumstances. The function of emphatic reduplications is to raise the quality of an adjective as in the following examples.

(1) *kısa* 'short'   *kıpkısa* 'very short'

(2) *hızlı* 'fast'   *hıphızlı* 'very fast'

It is also stated that emphatic reduplications give the meaning of 'very' rather than 'completely'. They intensify the meaning of a gradable predicate and work on a scale of degree. It also gives the meaning of a prototype. For example, the word *katı* 'hard' is reduplicated as *kaskatı* 'hard as a rock'. The adjective is not bounded to hardness because something cannot be completely hard. Rock is a prototypical object that symbolizes hardness and that is why reduplicated form gives the meaning of it. Kaufman (2014: 22) states some generalizations about the semantics of emphatic reduplications and the term TER is the name given for emphatic reduplications.

1. TER occurs with gradable adjectives, is questionable with ungradable adjectives

2. TER occurs with both gradable adjectives that select for an endpoint on a scale (such as *temiz* "clean") and those that do not (such as *güzel* "beautiful")

3. TER is in complementary distribution with *çok* for colour adjectives

4. TER does not pick out an endpoint of a scale, but rather the interval that includes the bound

5. When no bound is available, the prototypicality operator establishes a contextual bound

In emphatic reduplications, a prefix is attached to the base. If the stem's beginning is a vowel, the prefix involves this vowel and the reduplicative consonant 'p'.

(3) *ince* 'thin'   *i+p+ince ipince* 'very thin'

(Göksel & Kerslake,2005: 90)

If the stem's beginning is a consonant, the prefix involves this consonant and the vowel following it and one of the reduplicative consonants 'p', 's', 'r' or 'm'.

(4) *sarı* 'yellow'   *sa+p+sarı*   *sapsarı* 'bright yellow'

(5) *katı* 'hard'   *ka+s+katı*   *kaskatı* 'hard as a rock'

(6) *temiz* 'clean'   *te+r+temiz*   *tertemiz* 'clean as a pin'

(7) *siyah* 'black'   *si+m+siyah*   *simsiyah* 'pitch black'

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 90)

In some cases, reduplicative prefix may have additional segments:

(8) *gündüz* 'daytime'   *gü+p+e+gündüz*   *güpegündüz* 'in broad daylight'

(9) *çıplak* 'naked'   *çı+r+ıl+çıplak*   *çırılçıplak* 'stark naked'

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 91)

Demircan (1998) and Yu (1999) claims that some constraints apply to Turkish emphatic reduplication structures (as cited in Kaufman, 2014). The first constraint is to avoid full reduplication so it is not possible to reduplicate the word *zor* 'difficult' as *zorzor*. The correct reduplicated form is *zopzor* which means very difficult. The second one is that there should be no gemination between linker and the initial consonant of the base. That is why the adjective *sefil* 'miserable' can be reduplicated as *sersefil* 'very miserable' but cannot be reduplicated as *sessefil.* Another constraint is to avoid a linker that is identical to any consonant in the base. According to this constraint *köskötürüm* 'very fresh' not *kömkötürüm* or *körkötürüm* is the reduplicated form of *kötürüm* 'fresh'. The last one is to avoid a linker that shares any feature such as [labial], [strident], and [approximant] with any segment in the base. The word *berrak* 'clear' is reduplicated as *besberrak* 'very clear' not as *bepberrak* or *benberrak* or *berberrak*.

Turkish is an agglutinative language that does not have a place for prefixation. However, it is mentioned that emphatic reduplication is accomplished through prefixes. Some ideas oppose the argument that emphatic reduplication is executed by prefixation. Kim (2009) states that these emphatic reduplicated forms are formed through full-to-partial reduction from the compounds.

An example of this process is given below.

(10) Compound formation in *çırílçıplak*

çıpıl-ak	*çıpıl-çıpıl-ak*	
çıpıl-ák	*çıpíl-çıpıl-ak*	stress assignment
çıpıl-ák	*çıríl-çıpıl-ak*	*Ip*/-to-/*rl* dissimilative variation
çıplák	*çıríl-çıplak*	syncope
N/A	*çír-çıplak*	(optional) compound reduction

(Kim, 2009:133-134)

Although the full-to-partial reduction is suggested for emphatic reduplication, there are not many studies on it. Therefore, this study takes emphatic reduplication as a prefixation process rather than the full-to-partial reduction from compounds.

M-reduplication in Turkish is also specified as a productive process (Gürkan, 2018). M-reduplication functions as the generalization of the reduplicated word. By m-reduplication, the word or the phrase also refers to similar objects.

(11) *Doktor önce hastanın **gözüne mözüne** baktı , sonra sorunu anlamadığını söyledi.*

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

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 91)

In m-reduplications, a word or a phrase is modified and repeated. If the word starts with a vowel, in the repetition the consonant 'm' is added to the beginning such as *etek metek* means skirt(s) and like. However, if the word starts with a consonant, in the repetition of the word, the beginning consonant is changed with the consonant 'm' like *kapı mapı* means door(s) and like. When a reduplicated item is a noun phrase, only the first word takes the reduplicative consonant 'm' like in the following sentence (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005).

(12) *Ben adam **tarih** hocasıymış **marih** hocasıymış anlamam. Fransız tarihini ondan daha iyi biliyorum.*

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

(Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 92)

The third form of reduplication in Turkish is doubling which is the repetition of the nouns, adverbs, adjectives and measure terms. Doubled adverbs, doubled nouns, doubled adjectives and doubled distributive numerals all have an adverbial function such as *yavaş yavaş* means slowly, *damla damla* means in drops or *birer birer* means one by one. It is possible to use doubled adjectives with plural nouns to emphasize the quality provided with the adjective or to point out to the large quantity of the item such as *sarı sarı evler* means many yellow houses. There are also some idiomatic expressions accomplished through doubling. They generally have two similar sounding words which can or cannot exist individually or they can be formed from two words that refer to similar concepts. Some of these doubling expressions are konu komşu 'neighbours', ufak tefek 'tiny' or çoluk çocuk 'wife and children' (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005).

Göksel and Haznedar (2007) analyze reduplication processes based on the syntactic categories of the words. They state that in Turkish nouns and adjectives can be reduplicated and create adverbs, which is the doubling process mentioned before such as *güzel güzel*, which is an adjective, meaning nicely. Another type is the reduplication of bound systems, which is further divided into two as onomatopoeic words and other bound systems. Some examples of onomatopoeic word reduplications are *zırıl zırıl* 'in a manner of sobbing' and *takır takır* 'in a clatter/ clattering'. Other bound stems are fully reduplicated and create manner adverbs such as *paldır küldür* 'in an unprepared fashion' or *dangıl dungul* 'in a coarse manner'.

According to the semantic characteristics of the reduplications, two components can be meaningful or meaningless, synonymous or antonymous. Suçin (2010) divides Turkish reduplications into three main groups according to their semantic characteristics. Only total reduplication processes in Turkish are analyzed according to their semantic characteristics in this study.

In the first group, both parts in the reduplication are meaningless.

(13) *Yengem biraz **mırın kırın** ettiyse de sonunda o da yardımcı olacağını söyledi.*

'After **hemming and hawing** for a while, my aunt finally said she would help.' [mırın 'NG', kırın 'NG']

(Suçin, 2010: 213)

In the second group, only one part of the reduplicated word is meaningful. M-reduplications are taken under this category but there are other types of reduplications here.

(14) *İki arkadaşın **sıkı fıkı** sohbeti çevredekileri kıskandırıyordu.*

'Their **thick as thieves** conversation arouses the jealousy of the people around.' [sıkı 'tight', fıkı 'NG']

(Suçin, 2010: 214)

(15) *Okula gitmek istemeyen çocuk '**defter mefter** istemem!' diye bağırdı.*

'Not wanting to go to school, the child cried, ''I don't want **notebooks and stuff**!''.'

[defter 'notebook', mefter 'NG']

(Suçin, 2010: 214)

The third group is the reduplications which have two meaningful words. This group is further analyzing into different subgroups.

The first one is the reduplications where the two components are antonyms.

(16) *Oğlum **er geç** eve dönecek.*

'My son will come home **sooner or later**.' [er 'soon', geç 'late']

(Suçin, 2010: 216)

The second subgroup is the reduplications where both components are synonymous or closely related.

(17) *Hınca hınç dolu otobüse ite kaka, **kavga dövüş** bindiler.*

'They got on the already packed bus **by hook or by crook**.' [kavga 'fight', dövüş 'scuffle']

(Suçin, 2010: 216)

The next one is the reduplications with loanwords among components. For example, *sabi sünyan* means boys and apprentices and both components are taken from Arabic.

The fourth subgroup is reduplications with components describing benefit or loss like *iyi kötü* 'in some way or another', *kar zarar* 'profit or loss', *helal haram* 'permissible and prohibited', *hayır şer* 'good and evil' *ölüm kalım* 'life and death'.

The last subcategory is the numerical reduplications. In this type of reduplication, the smaller number is the first part and the larger number is the second part in the reduplication.

(18) *Elinde **üç beş** kuruşu vardı, onu da çarçur etti.*

'He had a modest **sum of money**, but squandered it.' [üç 'three', beş 'five']

(Suçin, 2010: 219)

3.2. Reduplication in German

Kentner (2017) divides reduplicative processes into three main categories in German: reduplicative interjections, reduplicative forms used as lexical items and reduplicative phrases. Reduplicative interjections are further divided into two. First of it is just limited to paralinguistic use, they violate word phonotactic principles such as *hahaha* or *hihi* as laughter or *rattattattatta* as the imitation of a machine gun. The second subcategory in reduplicative interjections is phonotactically legal interjections without a lexical base like *dingdong* as an imitation of a doorbell. The reduplicative forms used as lexical items are also further divided into three subcategories. In the first one, there is no identifiable morphological base. They can be either purely phonological doubling or onomatopoetic words such as *mama* 'mom' or *kuckuck* 'cuckoo' or they can have a synchronically unrecoverable base like *techtelmechtel* 'affair'. In the second subcategory, there is a single morphological base and they are called rhyme or ablaut reduplication such as *schickimicki* 'trendy' or *krimskrams* 'stuff'. Lastly, there are combination of two stems either as blends like *schnippschnapp* 'quickly' and compounds such as *kindeskind* 'grandchild' or as identical constituent compounds like *reis-reis* 'rice-rice'. Reduplicative phrases are also divided into three subcategories: frozen coordinations such as *fix und foxi* 'to be done for', X-and-X-constructions like *teuer und teuer* 'expensive and expensive' and lexical sequence such as *sehr sehr schön* 'very very nice'.

Freywald (2015) divides reduplication processes in German into three main groups. These are Rhyme and Echo Reduplications, Ablaut Reduplication and Total Reduplication. Some of these categories are explained in Kentner's study (2017). However, Freywald (2015) is using a different categorization so they will be briefly repeated here. In rhyme and echo reduplication, the first consonant of the base is replaced by another consonant in the copied, reduplicated word. *Remmidemmi* 'shindy', *klimbim* 'useless stuff', *kuddelmuddel* 'mess', *heckmeck* 'fuss' *ruckzuck/ruckzucki* 'ricky tick' or *ratzfatz* 'in a jiffy' are some of the examples of rhyme and echo reduplication. In the second group, ablaut reduplication, rather than the initial

consonant, the nucleus of the base is changed in the copied reduplicant. Some examples to ablaut reduplication are *schnickschnack* 'knick-knack', *krimskrams* 'odds and ends', *wirrwarr* 'clutter', singsang 'singsong' *pillepalle* 'easy-peasy'. The last category is total reduplication. In this category the base is identically copied such as *tamtam* 'fuss', *pinkepinke* 'dough' and *plemplem* 'doolally'. These examples in three categories are all unproductive which means it is not possible to create other examples by using the same reduplication processes. The number of them is very small and they have some sort of colloquial meanings so they exist in the lexicon as a coinage rather than separate words.

Freywald (2015) also argues that there are productive types of partial reduplication in German like partial reduplication of proper names and Turkish-style m-reduplication. Partial reduplication of proper names serves the purpose of creating intimacy and to express mild depreciation and it is accomplished through rhyme reduplication and sometimes ablaut reduplication. These names created by partial reduplication are generally used on the internet. They are productive so it is possible to reduplicate other proper names. Some examples of rhyme reduplication in proper names are *Heinzpeinz* for *Heinz*, *Matzpatz* for *Matze*, *Silkepilke* for *Silke* and so on. Other examples for ablaut reduplication of proper names are *Wiebkewabke* for *Wiebke*, *Frinzfranz* for *Franz* and *Indiandi* for *Andi*. Freywald (2015) proposes that it is also possible to use proper names in total reduplication such as *TinaTina* for *Tina*. Another productive partial reduplication process in German is established as Turkish-style m-reduplication. This reduplication is generally used in multiethnic, multilingual settings, especially where a lot of Turkish people live. The language used by these communities is named as Kiezdeutsch, which means 'hood.German' for the neighbourhood, called by Wiese and Polat (2016). As stated before the aim of m-reduplication is to generalize the concept denoted by the reduplication process and there is also the meaning of pejoration in these types of contractions. Turkish examples of m-reduplication are given before and these are some of the German examples of m-reduplication:

*(19) er kommt   schon wieder   mit   **FAHRrad-MAHRrad**.*

 'He comes by bike yet again.'

*(20) die   sind   immer   mit   der letzten miNUte. ey diese **schisser-misser**.*

 'They always come in the last minute. Man, these scaredy-cats.'

(Wiese & Polat, 2016: 17)

Freywald (2015) states that normally German is described as a reduplication avoider language in the literature which means that it does not allow for total genuine

reduplication at all. However, he argues that this is not true because German allows for total productive reduplication. The same argument is supported by other linguistics who study German reduplication processes such as Frankowsky (n.d.), Kentner (2017), Finkbeiner (2014). This type of reduplication is divided into two in German: Real-X Reduplication and Durative Reduplication. Real-X reduplication can apply to nouns, adjectives, adverbs and sometimes to verbs, semantically it narrows the word's meaning to its core. In this type of reduplication process, the word is repeated exactly and the result is a compound-like structure. The speaker who uses Real-X reduplication aims to refer to the prototype of the word reduplicated so the given meaning is 'real/really X' or 'true/truly X'.

(21) *Dann bin ich doch mal hier die langweilige Wurst, die ein Buch nach dem anderen liest. :-) Es ist höchstens drin gleichzeitig eins auf meinem Reader und ein **Buchbuch** zu lesen und selbst das mach ich nicht so gerne.*

'So, I'm the bore who reads one book after the other. At the utmost, I read one on my reading pad and a **book-book** at the same time. And even that I don't like very much.'

(Freywald, 2015: 10)

In this example, the use of *Buchbuch* 'book-book' aims at referring to an actual book that has pages but not to an e-book.

(22) *Es wird **sehr, sehr** schwierig, die nächste Runde der Champions League zu erreichen.*

'It will get **very very** difficult to reach the next round in the Champions League'

(Niebuhr et al., 2012: 258)

Here *sehr, sehr* does not intensify the meaning of *sehr* but it creates a more emphatic meaning. In German, Real-X reduplication takes place at the word level, which means the items that are reduplicated are the same as the base, not smaller or greater. Prototypical meaning is not the only function that they have. This type of reduplication does not have an intensification meaning but it creates an emphatic meaning. It causes a syntactic and prosodic break and it indicates that 'I want your attention because what I am saying is important' (Niebuhr et al., 2012).

According to Freywald (2015), this type of reduplication exists in other languages like Italian, French, Spanish and English as mentioned previously and it is called Identical Constituent Compounds (ICC) or Contrastive Focus Reduplication (CFR) or Real-X Reduplication. The reduplicated word refers to the prototype of the word denoted by the reduplicated word.

Some examples from different languages are given below:

(23) *Il est pas **malin malin**.*   [French]

'He isn't clever-clever [= really clever].'

(24) *Es un **perro perro**.*   [Spanish]

'It's a dog-dog [= real dog].'

(25) a. I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the **SALAD-salad**.   [English]

     b. We have muffins and we have **DESSERT desserts**.

(Freywald, 2015: 11-12)

The second type of total productive reduplication process in German is durative reduplication. This type of reduplication requires the uninflected verbs to go through the reduplication process.

(26) ***hechel-hechel** so, bin wieder da   **schweiß-weg-wisch***

'*pant-pant* so, I'm back again *wipe off the sweat*'

(Freywald, 2015: 23)

These uninflected reduplicated verbs are not part of the syntactic structures of the sentence. They are independent units that express independent speech acts. Some other verbs that are frequently used in durative reduplication in German are given below:

(27) *bibber-bibber*   *blubber-blubber*   *brabbel-brabbel*

    shiver-shiver   *bubble-bubble*   *babble-babble*

    freu-freu   *glitzer-glitzer*   *grübel-grübel*

    delight-delight   *sparkle-sparkle*   *ponder-ponder*

    grummel-grummel   *heuchel-heuchel*   *hex-hex*

    grumble-grumble   *pretend-pretend*   *conjure-conjure*

    hoff-hoff   *jammer-jammer*   *kicher-kicher*

    hope-hope   *complain-complain*   *chuckle-chuckle*

    klapper-klapper   *klopf-klopf*   *kopf-schüttel-kopf-schüttel*

    clatter-clatter   *knock-knock*   *head-shake-head-shake*

    lach-lach   *läster-läster*   *leucht-leucht*

laugh-laugh	*tattle-tattle*	*glow-glow*
mecker-mecker	*murmel-murmel*	*poch-poch*
nag-nag	*mumble-mumble*	*knock-knock*
quiek-quiek	*ratter-ratter*	*räusper-räusper*
squeak-squeak	*rattle-rattle*	*hem-hem*
schnarch-schnarch	*schnief-schnief*	*suelz-suelz*
snore-snore	*snivel-snivel*	*jelly-jelly [to bend sb.'s ears]*
tätschel-tätschel	*trippel-trippel*	*tröpfel-tröpfel*
pat-pat	*patter-patter*	*trickle-trickle*
tuschel-tuschel	*zischel-zischel*	*zitter-zitter*
whisper-whisper	*hiss-hiss*	*tremble-tremble*

(Freywald, 2015: 25-26)

These reduplicated verbs emphasize the duration of the event or activity given by the verb. Non-reduplicated uninflected verbs refer to the activity that happens at the moment of speaking/writing. However, when they are reduplicated, the event has a durative and continuing feature.

In the example below, *fühl-fühl* 'to feel' indicates the writer's touching on his feet to control the body temperature while writing the forum entry. The reason why it is used in a reduplicated form is to give the meaning of extended duration of the denoted event. It means feeling/fumbling for a while. It should be emphasized that durative reduplication does not give the meaning of intensification. *Fühl-fühl* does not have the meaning of feeling/fumbling vehemently but it has the meaning of fumbling for a little while (Freywald, 2015).

(28) *... drei vier dünne scheiben frischen ingwer ungeschält mit heißem wasser übergießen, paar minuten ziehen lassen löffel zucker umruhen köööstlich und *fühl-fühl* füsse sind warm*

'Pour hot water on three or four thin slices of unpeeled ginger, let it draw for several minutes, add a teaspoon of sugar, stir – delicious, and ***feel-feel*** feet are warm.'

(Freywald, 2015: 27)

3.3. Juxtaposition

This part of the study includes the second step of a contrastive study which is juxtaposition. Here, the common ground between the two languages Turkish and

German regarding reduplication is established so that it is possible to compare the two languages' reduplicative processes in the next section.

First of all, both Turkish and German have partial and total reduplications. In Turkish, emphatic reduplications are categorized under partial reduplication and m-reduplications and doubling are under total reduplication. In German, rhyme and echo reduplications are partial reduplications while there are also total reduplications such as Real-X reduplications or durative reduplications.

In both languages, there are productive and unproductive reduplication processes. The comparison of the productiveness of reduplication is given in the next section.

Both German and Turkish reduplications can add different meanings to the context. The meaning changes according to the type of reduplication. Also, Turkish and German have idiomatic and lexicalized expressions produced through reduplication.

3.4. Comparison of Reduplication Processes in Turkish and German

In this part of the study, the similarities and differences between German and Turkish reduplications related to the type and degree are defined.

In terms of degree, it is possible to say that both languages are similar since they have two main types of reduplications, namely full and partial reduplications. In Turkish emphatic reduplications are stated as partial reduplications and m-reduplications and doubling are recorded as full reduplications. In German, rhyme and echo reduplications and ablaut reduplications are partial reduplications while frozen coordinations, X and X constructions, durative reduplications are full reduplications.

When looking at the total number of reduplication classes in two languages, German has seven categories according to Kentner's study (2017) and seven different categories according to Freywald's study (2015). On the other hand, Turkish has three types of reduplications according to Göksel and Kerslake's study (2005) and three main categories according to the semantic analysis in Suçin' study (2010). This means that Turkish and German differ significantly in terms of degree regarding the total number of reduplication types.

Although German has more types of reduplication categories most of them are unproductive, which means that there cannot be new forms of reduplication produced through the same processes. However, Turkish reduplications are mostly productive, which means they are open to new members. This is a difference in terms of type in German and Turkish. It is mention in the study that m-reduplications are very productive. It is possible to reduplicate any new word which does not start with m

sound. Although there are some arguments on the productivity of the emphatic reduplications, this study suggests that they are also productive since they allow for new members as long as those words obey some rules. There is no information encountered about the productivity of Turkish doubling reduplication in the current literature. In this study, it is claimed that some of these processes are productive but some are idiomatic expressions. For example, you can double different words such as *güzel güzel* 'beautifully', *koşa koşa* 'by running', kapı kapı 'door to door' but it is not possible to produce new expressions like *konu komşu* 'neighbours'. Therefore, it is possible to state that almost many of the reduplication processes are productive in Turkish. In contrast, there are many unproductive reduplicative processes in German such as rhyme and echo reduplications, ablaut reduplications, total reduplications. There are four processes stated as productive in German. One is reduplications of proper names. The next is the Turkish m-reduplications but this type of reduplication is not used by every German speaker, its use is only limited to a group that has some connections with the Turkish people living there. Real-X reduplications are also productive and they probably exist in Turkish too even though it is not mentioned in previous studies. For example, German use of *buch-buch* refers to a book in the prototypical sense and Turkish use of *kitap gibi kitap* also refer to the same thing. Durative reduplications in German are also stated as productive.

4. Conclusion, Discussion and Suggestions

As stated before, this study analyzes reduplicative processes in German and Turkish regarding type and degree. This brings two questions that should be answered.

The first question is "Which of the two languages, Turkish or German, has more types of reduplication?" There are two answers to this question. First, if we compare the main categorization of reduplications, both of the languages have full and partial reduplication. Thus, they are similar regarding degree according to the main categorization. However, if we look at how reduplication occurs in these two languages in detail, we can see that there are seven categories in German but there are only three in Turkish so it is possible to state that Turkish and German significantly differ in terms of degree when compared how reduplicative structures are produced in two languages.

On the other hand, the fact that types of German reduplications are more than Turkish might be related to the fact that in Turkish most of the studies on reduplication is conducted on the doubling category. There are not many studies that try to categorize Turkish reduplications morphologically or according to the processes they are

constructed through. It would be a good contribution to the literature if Turkish reduplication processes are investigated more thoroughly.

The second question is "What are the similarities and differences between Turkish and German reduplications?". First of all, both languages have partial and full reduplication and productive and unproductive reduplication. However, in terms of type, German reduplicative structures are mostly unproductive and Turkish reduplication is generally productive. It is possible to reduplicate words that are not reduplicated before in Turkish but German reduplication is mostly idiomatic or lexicalized. This supports the view that German is a language that does not make use of reduplication very much. Also, the fact that Turkish is an agglutinative language that has rich morphology and makes use of many inflectional and derivational morphemes might be connected with the productivity of reduplications in Turkish since it is also a derivational process.

To summarize, this study makes an effective comparison of Turkish and German reduplication processes and finds that two languages differ in terms of type and degree related to reduplicative processes. As a suggestion, both languages lack some information related to reduplicative structures. As mentioned, Turkish can be divided into more categories if reduplicative processes are analysed morphologically and syntactically in more detail. Also, there is no study found based on just the semantic features of German reduplications. These might be some topics that can be studied in future.

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