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A STUDY ON TURKISH REDUPLICATIONS:  
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON FORM AND FUNCTION OF  
REDUPLICATION

137121

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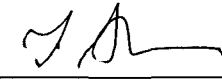
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Mersin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğüne,

Bu çalışma, jürimiz tarafından İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalında YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Yukarıdaki imzaların, adı geçen öğretim elemanlarına ait olduklarını onaylarım.

  
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## INTRODUCTION

Reduplication is a universally observed structure in which all or a part of an item is duplicated in order to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast. If we look at the world's languages, we will encounter a great variety of types which are formed by using several phonological, morphological, semantic or syntactic means. The material reduplicated can be a whole word, a whole morpheme, a syllable or simply a string of consonants and vowels which may not form any particular constituent. The structure is used for a very diverse set of purposes; the common use of reduplication, among languages, is to signal the grammatical concepts of plurality, tense, aspect, passivization, nominalization or adverbialization. It may also denote customary activity, increase in size, intensity, distribution or diminution.

In Turkish, reduplications embody quite complex structures with regard to their morpho-syntactic, semantic and functional properties. In Turkish reduplications, reference may be made to either to the sense and the phonetic forms of the bases (*yavaş yavaş, zaman zaman*), or only to the meaning properties of the bases (*ev bark, er geç, akıllı uslu, şöyle böyle*), or only to the sound properties of the objects to be reduplicated (*hekim hakim, tuz buz*). The process may duplicate the whole form and/or the whole meaning properties of the constituents (total reduplication), as in *kenardan kenardan, hepsi hepsi* or only a part of the sense and/or sound properties of the objects may be reduplicated (partial reduplication), as in *tertemiz, besbelli, yapıyapıvermek*. Furthermore, the materials to be reduplicated may be exposed to form distinctions, as observed in samples of *bak-ar bak-maz, el-den el-e, sıcak-ı sıcak-ına*.

Typological diversity of reduplications, in Turkish, manifests itself in the functional dimension of the structure as well. Turkish reduplications are very productive in forming adverbials, adjectivals, and reduplicative compounds. They may be used to mark various semantic notions such as intensity, excessive quantity, frequency continuation, distribution, iteration and similarity. Additionally, further types of Turkish reduplications have pragmatic motivations as well.

Nevertheless, structural and functional properties of reduplicative patterns in Turkish have not yet been fully discussed. The previous studies on the subject matter have become deficient in making explanatory and predictive generalizations on the working of the process in Turkish. The main source of the difficulties observed in previous studies is that the difference between the **simple coincidental repetition** and the familiar linguistic concept of **reduplication** and thus, the scope of the structure has not been determined properly. Traditional studies concentrate on the morpho-syntactic properties of each constituent apart, ignoring the interaction between them, which provides clear evidences about the formation of the structure. Such difficulties require the necessity to revise formal and functional aspects of Turkish reduplications with linguistic methods.

### **Statement of the Problem**

This study is an attempt to provide a descriptive analysis of Turkish reduplications. It will investigate the rules that explain the running of the process concentrating on the formal aspects of the structure.

In order to achieve our goals, we will seek the answers of the questions below:

- i. What are the morpho-syntactic and semantic parameters that determine the domain of reduplication in Turkish?



- ii. What are the rules and generalizations that explain the running of the reduplication process in Turkish?
- iii. What are the general structural properties of Turkish reduplications and how can they be assigned in the frame of these properties?

## Hypotheses

Our hypotheses are these:

- i. Only the repetitive structures that form a structural unit with its collective syntactic and semantic operations can be defined as reduplication in Turkish.
- ii. In Turkish, reduplicated materials are definable either by their semantic-syntactic and/or by their phonetic-phonological properties.
- iii. Turkish does not include reduplications in its grammatical system but employ it in specific lexical, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic areas.

## Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to determine the repetitive structures in Turkish that can be defined as reduplication and establish comprehensive formal and functional taxonomies. We will search for explanatory and predictive rules and generalizations about the running of the reduplication process in Turkish. To reach the goals, common cross-linguistic tendencies concerning the form and the use of the structure will be investigated and the generalizations about reduplication, offered as being one of the linguistic universals, will be evaluated. We will try to establish the universally observed properties of reduplicative structures that coincide with Turkish reduplications.

To be able to contribute to the contemporary studies on Turkish grammar, by establishing the linguistic aspects of Turkish that permit reduplicative patterns exhibiting typological diversity to a great extent, is among our goals.

### **Data Collection**

In order to form a comprehensive database, firstly the appendices, presented in previous studies on the subject matter, were gathered together and reanalyzed. Additionally, use of repetitive structures, occurring in spoken and written texts, were collected, and a comprehensive appendix, presented at the end of the study, was tried to be formed by compiling the patterns that can be defined as reduplication, in Turkish.

### **Limitations**

At the first stage of this research, all reduplication types will be assessed in terms of their structural properties in order to be able to make explanatory and predictive generalizations about the running of the process in Turkish and establish clear-cut and comprehensive assignments. Then, particularly total reduplications will be focused on and their formational and functional peculiarities will be analyzed. We will leave out many phonological discussions concerning the formation of emphatic reduplications.

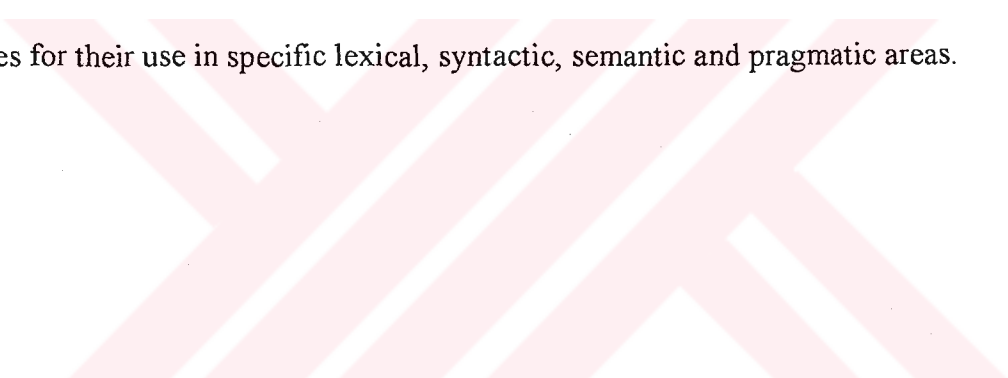
### **Organization of the study**

In the first chapter, we will present the approaches to the notion of reduplication in literature and introduce the cross-linguistically recurrent reduplicative forms and meanings. This chapter also reviews the traditional and contemporary studies on Turkish reduplications. Here, we will present the classifications, proposed in previous studies, in order to set forth the difficulties of these studies in determining the

reduplicative structures, in Turkish, that are within the scope of linguistic form of reduplication.

Chapter II concentrates on the determination of the morpho-syntactic and semantic parameters that set a simple coincidental repetitive form apart from the linguistic form of reduplication. This chapter also deals with the formal properties of Turkish reduplications and explains the running of the reduplication process in Turkish on the ground of these properties.

In the final chapter, we will propose formal and functional classifications in order to parade the full picture of the reduplicative process in Turkish. Then we will focus on establishing comprehensive formation rules for total reduplications in Turkish and the tendencies for their use in specific lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic areas.



## CHAPTER I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, linguistic background of reduplications will be reviewed. In the first section, cross-linguistically recurrent formal and functional properties of the structure will be introduced. After determining and exemplifying various usages of reduplications as derivational and inflectional devices in languages, discussions on the semantic properties of reduplications will be presented. In the second section, we will present the occurrence of the structure in the history of Turkish and review the previous studies on Turkish reduplications.

### I. 1. Approaches to Reduplication

Kiyomi defines (1995:1146) reduplication as in (1)

(1) Reduplication

Given a word with a phonological form X then reduplication refers to XX or xX (where x is a part of X and x can appear either just before X, just after X, or inside X).

Conditions

- (i) XX or xX must be semantically related to X
- (ii) XX or xX must be productive

In (1), XX stands for total reduplication and xX for partial reduplication. When partially repeated the reduplicated segment can appear initially (=prefix), in the middle (=infix) or at end of the stem (=suffix).

Similarly, Marantz identifies reduplication as “a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analysed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation (or infixation) of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form” (1982:437).

These formal definitions of reduplication match the most part of the term's use in literature. However, the number of reduplication types throughout the world's languages that is defined is infinite. As Moravcsik notes the material reduplicated may be "semantic-syntactic constituents, such as one or more semantic-syntactic features, or morphemes, or words, or phrases, or sentences, or discourses; or they may be phonetic-phonological terms such as one or more phonetic-phonological features or segments, or syllables; or they may be morphemes of a particular phonetic shape or sentences of a particular number of phonetic segments; etc..." (1978:304). Moravcsik's definition reveals that reduplication does not always require constituents identical in form and meaning. What is excluded in Marantz's and Kiyomi's definitions is that there are also some reduplication types in which reference is made only to meaning or only to sound form of the constituents to be reduplicated. For example, in Thai and Turkic languages, some reduplication types, composed of synonymous, near synonymous or antonymous constituents, are observed.

Reduplication is regarded as a linguistically universal phenomenon. The interesting point is that it occurs in many languages regardless of whether they are sisters or not. However it should be pointed out that some languages such as Tagalog, Indonesian, Samoan and Ewe include reduplications in their grammatical system. In other words, such languages use reduplication as a grammatical device. On the other hand, in some languages, reduplications have a pragmatic rather than a semantic motivation. For example, syntactic reduplication, in Swedish, is pragmatically specialized device. It communicates the speaker's emotional approach towards the subject matter and has stylistic links to literary prose or colloquial language (Lindström, 1999).

Reduplication may be total (full) or partial: It is defined as *total*, if the whole semantic-syntactic and/or the whole phonetic-phonological string is duplicated, and it is

defined as *partial*, if only a part of the semantic-syntactic and/or phonetic-phonological constituent is duplicated (Moravcsik, 1978).

Partial reduplication can be classified under further possible subtypes, depending on how the duplicated subpart is defined. The studies on the subject matter commonly define three subtypes according to the appearance of reduplicated phonetic strings in the base: **initial reduplication**, **internal reduplication** and **final reduplication** (Moravcsik, 1978 ; Kiyomi, 1995 ; Katamba, 1993 ; Marantz, 1982 ; Spencer, 1991).

Reduplication is a morpho-phonological process which indicates a semantic or grammatical contrast. A particular meaning difference may be signalled by total or partial reduplication only or it may be expressed by non-repetitive elements or deletion of or substitution of some other part of the base as well. For example, Agta, Aztec, Mandarin and Sundanese are the languages that use non-repetitive elements within the reduplicative process (Moravcsik, 1978).

Another striking point about reduplication process is that theoretically, there is no limitation on the number of times, a constituent can be reduplicated. There are instances of multiple reduplication in many languages such as Mokilese, Shipibo, Telugu (Moravcsik, 1978).

The phonological studies about reduplication deal with the phonological properties determining which part of string is reduplicated in cases of partial reduplication. The phonological properties of reduplication in languages are quite engrossing. For our purposes, it is sufficient to point out that the process of copying the phonological material is different from simple affixation or other sorts of stem modification (Katamba, 1993).

Reduplications have an important role as an intracategory changer and a word-class changer. As stated before, some languages include reduplications in their

grammatical system. Such languages use partial or full reduplication as an inflectional and/or derivational device as exemplified in the following section.

### I. 1. 1. Reduplication as a Derivational Device

In many languages, reduplications serve to distinguish members of one grammatical category from another. As observed in the following samples, some languages use reduplication in the formation of adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns.

Reduplication can serve to derive adjectives from verbs or nouns as in Fijian, Mokilese, Kiribatese and Twi.

Plain		Reduplicated		
sava-ta	<i>wash</i>	sava-sava-a	<i>clean</i>	(FIJIAN)
maunga	<i>mountain</i>	maunga-unga	<i>mountainous</i>	(KIRIBATESE)
abó	<i>stones</i>	aboabó	<i>stony</i>	(TWI)
dikol	<i>lump</i>	dikolkol	<i>lumpy</i>	(MOKILESE)

(Lindström, 1995; Kiyomi, 1995; Moravcsik, 1978)

In some languages reduplication is very productive in forming adverbs from adjectives, verbs and nouns.

Plain		Reduplicated		
krasib	<i>to whisper</i>	krasib-krasâab	<i>in whispers</i>	(THAI)
wɛɛw	<i>brilliant</i>	wɛɛw-waaw	<i>brillantly</i>	(TWI)
se	<i>one</i>	sehse	<i>one by one</i>	(AZTEC)
óse	<i>week</i>	ósóósé	<i>everyweek</i>	(YORUBA)
araw	<i>day</i>	arawáaraw	<i>everyday</i>	(TAGALOG)

(Moravcsik, 1978; Kiyomi, 1995)

As a word formation process, reduplication sometimes correlates with verb derivation from nouns and adjectives:

<b>Plain</b>		<b>Reduplicated</b>		
takin	<i>socks</i>	takinkin	<i>wear socks</i>	(MARSHALLESE)
wah	<i>canoe</i>	wahwah	<i>go by canoe</i>	(MARSHALLESE)
shal	<i>water</i>	chechal	<i>to water</i>	(WOLEAIAN)
bar	<i>two</i>	bâmbar	<i>to divide by two</i>	(PACOH)
pe	<i>three</i>	pâmpe	<i>to divide by three</i>	(PACOH)
budak	<i>child</i>	bubudan	<i>behave like a child</i>	(SUNDANESE)

(Moravcsik, 1978; Kiyomi, 1995)

As the exemplified below, reduplication is used as a nominalization device in some languages such as Yoruba, Tagalog, Ewe, Tzetzal, and Tigak.

<b>Plain</b>		<b>Reduplicated</b>		
fo	<i>beat</i>	fofo	<i>beating</i>	(EWE)
si	<i>escape(v)</i>	sisilà	<i>escaper</i>	(EWE)
-mah	<i>hit it</i>	-mahmah	<i>fight</i>	(TZETZAL)
giak	<i>send</i>	gi-gak	<i>messenger</i>	(TIGAK)

(Moravcsik, 1978; Kiyomi, 1995)



### I. 1. 2. Reduplication as an Inflectional Device

Usage of reduplication for inflectional purposes is more widespread throughout the languages. It is generally used to mark plurality, intensity, collectivity, tense or aspect.

The most common use of nominal reduplication, among languages, is to signal the concept of plurality.

Plain		Reduplicated		
kitab	<i>book</i>	kitab-kitab	<i>books</i>	(INDONESIAN)
paga	<i>hole</i>	paapaga	<i>holes</i>	(MANDARIN)
rumah	<i>house</i>	rumahrumah	<i>houses</i>	(INDONESIAN)
kurdu	<i>child</i>	kurdukurdu	<i>children</i>	(WALPIRI)
uffu	<i>thigh</i>	uffuffu	<i>thighs</i>	(AGTA)

(Katamba, 1993; Lindström, 1995)

Verbal reduplication often indicates continuation, frequency or repetition of an event or action.

Unreduplicated		Reduplicated		
guyon	<i>to jest</i>	guguyon	<i>to jest repeatedly</i>	(SUNDANESE)
cho:ca	<i>to weep</i>	cho:cho:ca	<i>to weep continuously</i>	(AZTEC)
eet	<i>to eat</i>	eet-eet	<i>to eat continuously</i>	(AFRIKAANS)
roar	<i>to shudder</i>	roarroar	<i>to continue to shudder</i>	(MOKILESE)

(Katamba, 1993; Moravcsik, 1978; Lindström, 1995)

Reduplication of verbs may also mark tense or aspect as in Sanskrit, Latin, Tagalog.

Plain		Reduplicated		
jan	<i>born</i>	jajan	<i>(perfective)</i>	(SANSKRIT)
curro	<i>run</i>	cucurri	<i>(perfective)</i>	(LATIN)
bili	<i>buy</i>	bibili	<i>(irrealis imperfective)</i>	(TAGALOG)
bhii	<i>drink</i>	bibhii	<i>(present)</i>	(SANSKRIT)
kain	<i>eat</i>	kakain	<i>(future)</i>	(TAGALOG)

(Lindström, 1995)

Sometimes, reduplication of verbs is correlated with the plurality of the subject.

Plain		Reduplicated		
mate	<i>he dies</i>	mamamate	<i>they die</i>	(SAMOAN)
alofa	<i>he loves</i>	alolofa	<i>they love</i>	(SAMOAN)

(Moravcsik, 1978)

In some languages such as Finnish, Russian, Mandarin, Chinese, Thai and Shi adjectival or adverbial reduplication marks intensity.

Plain		Reduplicated		
xiao	<i>small</i>	xiaoxiao	<i>very small</i>	(MANDARIN)
belyj	<i>white</i>	belyj-belyj	<i>very white</i>	(RUSSIAN)
tixo	<i>quietly</i>	tixo-tixo	<i>very quietly</i>	(RUSSIAN)
täysi	<i>full</i>	täpö-täysi	<i>completely full</i>	(FINNISH)
dii	<i>to be good</i>	díidii	<i>to be extremely good</i>	(THAI)
nyeeru	<i>white</i>	nyeerunyeeru	<i>very white</i>	(SHI)

(Katamba, 1993 ; Lindström, 1995)

### I. 1. 3. Semantic Properties of Reduplication

The general observation about the relation between the meaning of a reduplication and its unreduplicated counterpart is that reduplications “almost always entail everything that their unreduplicated counterparts do and, in addition, also some thing(s) that their unreduplicated counterparts do not” (Moravcsik, 1978:316). In other words, reduplications include all the semantic properties of their reduplicants and they also have some meaning features that are not indicated by their reduplicants.

As the previous section reveals, there are some particular cross-linguistically recurrent meanings associated with reduplication such as plurality, intensity, repetition, continuation, and distribution. Moravcsik (1978) remarks that reduplication of nouns may express plurality of the participants, more specific plural meanings; every X, all X diversity, the existence or occurrence of conceptually identical objects or actions in different situations or occasions, distributive plurals. Verbal reduplications may express repeated or continued occurrence of an event with the same participants performing in it at

different time or places, repeated occurrence of an event by different participants, intensiveness and attenuation.

It is generally believed that form and meaning in reduplication are motivated iconically since it usually expresses the concepts as intensity, plurality, and repetition. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:128) formulise this situation as 'MORE OF FORM' stands for 'MORE OF CONTENT'. However, in various languages, reduplications are used to express augmentation, diminution, endearment and some other types of meanings that can not be accounted for in terms of iconicity. Furthermore, as it is mentioned in the previous section, reduplication has an important role as a word-class changer (Moravcsik, 1978; Kiyomi, 1995).

Kiyomi's (1995) approach to reduplication seems to solve this problem. She claims that reduplication can function either iconically or non-iconically. For her, in the iconic interpretation of reduplication, there are two different processes: a consecutive process and a cumulative process. In the consecutive process, each constituent of reduplication has an independent meaning so the meaning is not cumulative. In this process, plurality in nouns and repetition and continuation in verbs are regarded as prototypical meanings. In the cumulative process, the reduplicated form is perceived in a semantically cumulative way; it is regarded as the semantic reinforcement of the stem. Intensity is considered as prototypical meaning in this process.

Kiyomi lists usage of reduplication for derivational purposes and various meanings – among which diminution is the most frequent – obtained by reduplication as the non-iconic functions of reduplicative constructions.

## I. 2. Approaches to Turkish Reduplications

### I. 2. 1. Historical Background of Reduplication in Turkish

Reduplication, being the most significant morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristic of Turkish, occurs in every historical period and dialect of Turkish.

Studies on old texts put forward that reduplications are frequently practiced pattern in every historical period of Turkish. Orhun inscriptions, known as the oldest Turkish texts, contain many samples of reduplication, such as *eb bark (ev bark)*, *iş küç (iş güç)*, *yok çiyag (fakir sefil)*, *iç taş (iç diş)*, *inili içili (büyük küçüklü)*. The tendency of expression through reduplication is also observed in Uygur; *aş içgü (yiyecek içecek)*, *ulug kiçig (büyük küçük)*, *edgü yabız (iyi kötü)* are just some of the reduplication patterns observed in Uygur texts. Karahanlı also uses reduplications to form semantically effective expressions; *ukuş bilig (akıl bilgi)*, *iş tuş (eş dost)*, *ulug kiçig (büyük küçük)* are some of them appearing in Kutadgu Bilig (Aksan, 1996).

Many of reduplications, occurring in Uygur, Köktürk and Karahanlı texts have still been surviving in Turkish and/or Turkic languages. A large part of reduplications used in old texts has alternated phonologically up to present but there are also some samples of reduplicative patterns used exactly in the same form as they exist in old texts such as *ev bark* (Çagatay, 1942). Diachronic studies on the subject matter help us in explaining some reduplicants which can not be used alone, but survive in reduplications in Modern Turkish as in the example *bark* in *ev bark*.

The tendency to use reduplicative patterns borrowed from Arabic and Persian languages starts in 10<sup>th</sup> century. Coordinated reduplications used in Ottoman Turkish

originated from the Persian tradition of using ' ü ' conjunction between two synonymous or antonymous words such as *yaz u kış, can ü gönül* (Aksan, 1996). On the other hand, some synonymous reduplications in Turkish were formed by using one Turkish word with its Arabic or Persian counterpart together. *Yüz surat, güçlü kuvvetli, kılık kıyafet* are some reduplications formed by this way.

### I. 2. 2. Previous Studies

Karl Foy's article ' Studien Zur Osmanischen Syntax ' is the first survey on reduplications in Turkish. In this study, Foy analyses the forming rules of reduplications in Turkish and classifies the reduplications according to their syllable number and operations (1899).

In traditional grammar books, the explanations about reduplicative processes are limited to some examples of adverbial and adjectival reduplications and their semantic properties under the title of modified adjectives or modified adverbs (Banguoğlu, 1959; Gencan, 1979; Emre 1945).

In their study, Vogelin and Ellinghausen aim to explain some morpho-syntactic aspects of reduplications (1945). But this study does not go beyond listing and exemplifying some reduplicative structures, occurring in Turkish.

Tuna emphasizes the productivity of Turkish in forming verbal, nominal, adverbial and adjectival reduplications and he points out that by this way of construction, Turkish forms very strong and effective expressions in respect to semantics and phonology (1945). In another study he deals with phonological aspects of equisyllabic reduplications and establishes several groups in terms of the syntagmatic relations between the constituents (1982).

In her detailed study, Hatibođlu defines reduplicative constructions as the structures in which identical, synonymous, antonymous or related two words (phonologically or semantically) are used together to intensify the meaning and to enrich the concept (1971:9). Hatibođlu interprets reduplications as the constructions related with music and psychology so she assumes the usages such as alliteration, rhyme, epanalepsis, and epistrophe as the subtypes of reduplication since these concepts also display phoneme or word similarity or repetition. In this survey, Hatibođlu determines some phonological, syntactic and functional properties of reduplications in Turkish and proposes different taxonomies, established according to etymon and lexical identity of constituents, as below:

1. Reduplications Formed by Turkish Words

*şıkır şıkır , yorgun argın , eğri büğrü*

2. Reduplications Formed by one Turkish and one Loanword

*kılık kıyafet , yüz surat*

3. Reduplications Formed by Loanwords

*hal hatır , rica minnet, zarar ziyan*

4. Numeral Reduplications

*bir iki , sekiz on*

5. Determinative Reduplications

*güzeller güzeli , neyin nesi , sigara üstüne sigara*

6. M-initial Reduplications

(1971:18-21)

### Interrupted Reduplications (composed of at least three words)

#### 1. Coordinated Reduplications

*yıllarca ve yıllarca , ancak ve ancak*

#### 2. Interrogative Reduplications (interrupted by interrogative particle )

*gider mi gider , ne ev ne ev*

#### 3. Triplication

*ezim ezim ezilmek , çatır çatır çatırdamak*

#### 4. Split Reduplications

*arş ileri arş*

*toprak sel , ışık sel , güneş sel , ay sel*

*gel zaman git zaman*

*ne in var ne cin var*

#### 5. Split Numeral Reduplications

*üç aşağı beş yukarı*

*bir deri bir kemik*

#### 6. Repetitions

*sen misin , sen misin garib vatan ?*

*bir gün herkes ölecektir, ölecektir*

( 1971:22-26 )

### Reduplications according to Syntactic Category of Constituents

#### 1. Nominal Reduplications

a- formed by proper nouns

*Hanya'yı Konya'yı , Ali Veli*

b- formed by common nouns

*demet demet , elden ele , dere tepe*

#### 2. Pronominal Reduplications

*şu bu , sen seni bil , kim kim*



### 3. Adjectival Reduplications

a- formed by identical adjectives

*beyaz beyaz , küçük küçük*

b- formed by non-identical adjectives

*anlı şanlı , abuk sabuk , delik deşik*

### 4. Adverbial Reduplications

a- from adverb based words

*şimdi şimdi*

b- from noun based adverbs

*sabah sabah , zırl zırl*

c- from adjective based adverbs

*güzel güzel , küçük küçük*

d- from gerunds

*gide gele , koşa koşa*

### 5. Interjectional Reduplications

*vah vah , eyvah eyvah*

### 6. Conjunctional Reduplications

*fakat fakat , ancak ancak*

### 7. Verbal Reduplications

*koştu koştu , olmaz olmaz , durur durur, oldu olacak,*

*gelse gelse, durup dururken , düştü düşeli , görüp göreceği,*

*derse desin, kaşarken koşarken , yerse yer yemezse yemez*

( 1971:28-33 )

## Reduplications in terms of their Formation and Structure

### I- Reduplications formed by nominal roots or stems

#### 1- Echoic Reduplications

a- identical

*fokur fokur , murıl murıl*

b- non-identical

*şapır şupur , hapır hupur*

## 2- Nominative Reduplications

a- identical

*top top , demet demet*

b- non-identical

*yarım yamalak , yalan yanlış*

## 3- Dative Reduplications

a- identical

*göze göz , başa baş*

b- non-identical

*vara yağa , sağa sola*

## 4- Ablative Reduplication

a- identical

*baştan başa , kıydan kıydan*

b- non-identical

*dereden tepeden , şundan bundan*

## 5- Locative Reduplications

a- identical

*ayda ayda , orda orda*

b- non-identical

*ayda yılda , kıyıda köşede*

## 6- Determinative Reduplications

*yaşını başını , elini eteğini*

## 7- Instrumental Reduplications

*için için , ardın ardın , canla başla*

## 8- Possessive Reduplications

a- identical

*topu topu , boyu boyuna , güzelliğine güzel,**işi iş, başına başına*

b- non-identical

*kolu kanadı , eli ayağına , dili damağına, ağız dili*

### 9- Reduplications formed by some derivational suffixes

#### a- with the suffix { -ll } }

identical

*akıllı akıllı, belli belirsiz, köylü köyüne*

non-identical

*irili ufaklı, büyüklü küçüklü*

#### b- with the suffix { -slz } }

identical

*sessiz sessiz, arsız arsız*

non-identical

*sessiz sedasız, ipsiz sapsız*

#### c- with the suffix { -llk } }

*günlük güneşlik*

#### d- with the suffix { -clık } }

*hanım hanımclık, kargacık burgacık*

## II- Reduplications formed by verbal roots and stems

### 1- Reduplications formed by gerunds

#### a- identical

*koşa koşa, dönüp dönüp, giderken giderken*

#### b- non-identical

*düşse kalka, sere serpe, yatıp kalkıp*

### 2- Reduplications formed by participles

#### a- identical

*bilmiş bilmiş, koşan koşan, bilir bilmez*

#### b- non-identical

*sararmış solmuş, yazan çizen, yenilir yutulur*

### 3- Reduplications formed by infinitives

#### a- identical

*burma burma, saçma saçma*

#### b- non-identical

*derme çatma, bitmek tükenmek*

4- Reduplications formed by deverbal adjectives

a- identical

*baygın baygın , kırık kırık*

b- non-identical

*aygın baygın , delik deşik*

5- Reduplications formed by inflected verbs

a- identical

*koştu koştu , durmuş durmuş , gelse gelse*

b- non-identical

*düşündü taşındı , ezildi büzüldü*

6- Reduplications formed by inflected verbs and gerunds

*kalakaldım , duradurdun*

7- Reduplications formed by auxiliaries

*mırın kırın etmek , kaş göz etmek*

(1971: 35-49)

### Operations of Reduplications

- 1- Modifying the meaning
- 2- Enhancing the meaning
- 3- Exaggerating the meaning
- 4- Augmenting the meaning
- 5- Facilitating the expression

(1971:55-57)

In the traditional studies mentioned above, the structures that are inside the domain of reduplication were not determined properly; every structure containing word or phoneme repetition is defined as reduplication which motivated the occurrence of unwanted categories in the assignments. On the other hand, these taxonomies have been established with no specific linguistic criterion; phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic taxonomies are presented all at once, in a rather mixed manner since formal, functional and

notional features of Turkish reduplications were not determined properly. Thus, the traditional studies become inefficient in determining the scope of reduplications and their overall formal patterns in Turkish. They are far from making explanatory and comprehensive generalizations on the subject matter.

The linguistic studies on the subject matter focus on establishing the types of reduplications used in Turkish and some of their morpho-syntactic and semantic features.

Ağakay identifies reduplication as a structure – formation process by duplicating the word or the part of the word (1953:189). He notes that to be able to identify phonologically identical forms repeated one after the other as reduplication, they should convey a new semantic notion; such words should signify a new concept together. Ağakay classifies reduplications with respect to their formal properties as below:

#### I. Partial Reduplications

*apaçık, kapkara, bası bası vermek, çökü çökü vermek*

#### II. Total Reduplications

(Ağakay uses the term 'ikizleme' for total Reduplication )

##### 1. Simple Reduplications

Both constituents are identical in form

##### 2-Connected Reduplications

Such reduplicated forms embody constituents inflected by different suffixes or connected by conjunctions or particles.

*başa baş, koşan koşana, ev de ev, yapar mı yapar*

(1953:190-191)

## Reduplications in terms of their sense

### I. Lexicalized Reduplications

*sürsür , gitgit , dolusu dolusuna*

### II. Grammatical Reduplications

Reduplications in this group have formation rules and express specific meanings depending upon these rules.

#### 1. Sentential Reduplications

*ev de ev , yapar mı yapar , geldi mi geldi*

#### 2. Adverbial Reduplications

*kenardan kenardan , kapı kapı , versin versin ,  
koşa koşa , efendi efendi*

#### 3. Adjectival Reduplications

*avuç avuç (altın) , saçak saçak (buzlar)  
kalem kalem (parmaklar) , güzel güzel (kızlar)*

(1953:190-191)

Underhill describes reduplications as “the repetition of words or parts of words” (1970:436). He notes that Turkish uses reduplicative forms in grammatical, syntactic, stylistic and lexical areas. Still, his taxonomy includes only *m-* initial and some types of adjectival reduplications.

For Swift, reduplication “refers to the repetition of all or part of a base or expanded word form” (1963:120). He analyses reduplications in Turkish in two groups: complete and partial reduplication. Swift identifies complete reduplication, which requires the repetition of the entire word without change, as phrasal structures. For him, partial reduplication in Turkish is a means of word-formation since the second constituent of the reduplication never occurs as a free form in this language. He lists and exemplifies the types of partial reduplication as below:

1. Reduplication of a word but with an initial /m/ on the second occurrence

*çocuk mocuk, kitap mitap*

2. Reduplication of a word with more or less phonemic variation in the second

*abuk sabuk, çoluk çocuk, abur cubur, cicili bicili, çarpuk çurpuk*

3. Onomatopoeitic reduplications; there are some complete reduplications of this type and some partial reduplications with phonemic change

*çıtır çıtır çatır çutur, çıtır pıtır*

4. A large group occurs of reduplications and false reduplications consisting of two words juxtaposed which have similar sound or/and similar meaning. In most cases the two forms do not derive from the same base so that this is not a true reduplication.

*ufak tefek, yorgun argın, ara sıra, iri yarı*

*alış veriş, sarmaş dolaş, öteberi*

5. A very common type of reduplication is the utterance of the first syllable of a substantive stressed and with a final consonant (/p/, /m/, /r/ or /s/ ). This structure is restricted to the adjectivals.

a. *epeski, apayrı, epeyi*

b. *bambaşka, çarçabuk*

c. *çırılçıplak, karmakarışık, darmadağınık*

(1963: 120 – 123)

Aksan defines reduplication as a linguistic tendency in which a concept is signified by two words in order to modify and express it more effectively (2000:81-82). In his studies, Aksan focuses on the semantic properties of reduplications and their components apart. He calls attention common use of the reduplications comprised of synonymous or antonymous constituents. He also notes the use of reduplications for pragmatic purposes (2000).

Aksan assigns reduplications according to their constituents as:

1. Reduplications composed of identical constituents

Noun	<i>kapı kapı , sayfa sayfa</i>
Adjective	<i>sarı sarı , sıcak sıcak</i>
Adverb	<i>zaman zaman , yavaş yavaş</i>
Gerund	<i>geze geze , durup durup</i>
Verb	<i>durdu durdu , oturur oturur</i>

2. Reduplications composed of synonymous constituents

Noun	<i>çarşı pazar , din iman</i>
Adjective	<i>derme çatma , doğru dürüst</i>
Adverb	<i>açık seçik , sarmaş dolaş</i>
Gerund	<i>ezile büzüle , çevirip çevirip</i>
Participle	<i>bitmiş tükenmiş , yenir yutulur</i>
Verb	<i>ağlamış sızlamış , yazdı çizdi</i>

3. Reduplications composed of antonymous constituents

Noun	<i>yer gök , ölüm kalım</i>
Adjective	<i>büyük küçük , uzak yakın</i>
Adverb	<i>ileri geri , bugün yarın</i>
Gerund	<i>bata çıka , otura kalka</i>
Participle	<i>olur olmaz , gelen giden</i>
Verb	<i>durdu durmadı , geldi gitti</i>

4. Onomatopoeic Reduplications

*horul horul , çıtır çıtır , gacır gucur*  
*hıçkır hıçkır , oflaya puflaya*

5. m-initial Reduplications

proper nouns *Ayşe Mayşe , Paris Maris*  
 common nouns *takım makım , araba maraba*



Demircan refines the previous traditional studies with a linguistic perspective and presents very detailed phonological, semantic and pragmatic observations on the subject matter.

Reduplication is the repetition in one form or other, of parts or wholes of linguistic items: 1.a) an ordinary lexical item (*gizli*.secret) or b) an onomatopoeic form (*şıpır*: the sound of dripping water) may be repeated either as it is (*gizli gizli*: secretly, *şıpır şıpır*) or by modifying its form in a number of ways (*gizli mizli*: secret, *şapır şupur*: smacking of lips): 2) a blend of the stem of a verb and a syllable closed by /m/, /t/, (*sür-üm*) may be duplicated (*sürüm sürüm sürünmek*: to lead a wretched life): 3) if the base is an adjective (*sarı* : yellow ), it may be changed into an emphatic form by proposing to it a syllable of the initial CV of the base closed by one of /p, m, s, r / ; or 4) by means of semantic coordination, a word may be coupled with another either a) as two synonymous ite *kaka*: by pushing and shoving) or b) as two antonymous (*bata çıka*: by sinking and rising ) or c) as two words of other semantic relationships (*ağrı sızı* : ache and pain, *ara sor*: seek and inquire, *ana baba*: mother and father ). (1988:231)

Demircan's definition of reduplication reveals the assortment of reduplication types in Turkish and span of their scope. He classifies reduplications according to formal levels, semantic properties, and relation between the constituents of reduplications as below:

#### **Formal Patterns of Reduplications in terms of Levels**

##### **A. Clause level**

Hava açar açmaz yola çıkalım

As soon as it clears away, let's set out

##### **B. Word level**

Açık açık anlat : explain it clearly

## C. Syllable level

AP.açık : very clear

sü. Rüm sü. Rüm sürün : intensely suffer

## D. Phonemic level

yaşa yaş.ŞA / yaş.ŞAA

live (you) live + emphasis

(1988:232)

### Syntactic Classification

## 1. Base-identical

## a. Non-interrupted

i. without functional change

ii. with functional change

## b. Interrupted

i. by focusing elements or postpositions

ii. by lexical items

## 2. Non identical (with different inflectional suffixes)

( 1990: 69 )

### Operations of Reduplications

## I. Expressing Quantity

1- Number

2- Repetition

3- Intensity, continuity

## II. Expressing Quality

1- Truth, approval

2- Perfectness

3- Negation

4- Emotional

(1998 :242-245)

### Formal classification of reduplications

Form	Formation	relation to base	Examples
+Full	non-echoic	identical	Adj. açık açık:clearly Adv. yavaş yavaş:slowly N. ev ev : house to house V. yaz yaz : write , write Pron. ben ben: It's me,me Conj. De..de:either ..or Int. Oh oh : Oh
		Different	Adj. açık saçık: open / partly naked immodestly dress ...
	Echoic	identical	Adj. cıvıl cıvıl: chirpy chirpy Adv. şır şır (ak):smoothly flow ...
		Different	Adv. şapır şupur:( of lips and tongue) smackingly ...
	Rhymic	vocalic	Adv. mırın kırın (et): pretend unwilling ...
		consonantal	Adj. eğri büğrü:crooked eski püskü: shabby old+tattered ...
	non-emphatic	m-initial	Adj. açık maçık: open or the like Adj. hızlı mızlı: fast or the like N. ev mev : house or houselike V. gel mel : come or come Int. Oh moh : Oh or oh ...
		emphatic	m-final
		pre-syllabic	Adj/Adv. AP.açık: quite clear / ly

## Semantic Reduplications

### 1. Synonymous (and) additive

Adj.	ince narın: slim and delicate
Adv.	tıka basa: cram and pressing
N.	kir pas: filth and rust
	çayır çimen: meadow and grass
	ev bark: house and family/property
V.	yan tutuş: burn and inflame

### 2. Antonymous (and/or) additive

Adj.	küçük büyük : small or big
	iyi kötü: good or bad
Adv.	alt üst : upside down
N.	inek öküz: cow or ox
	alış veriş: buy and sell
	ölu diri: dead alive
V.	gir çık: enter – exit
Pron.	sen ben: you – me

### 3. Related ( and )

Adj.	telli pullu: decorated with gold thread and mite
N.	üst baş: clothes and hat
	ana kız : mother and daughter
	yağ bal butter and honey
	karı koca: wife and husband
	iğne iplik: needle and thread
V.	ağla inle: cry and moan
	vur kur : hit and break
	dur otur: stop and sit

( 1988:239-240 )

As pointed out in section I 2.1, there are also some diachronic studies on reduplications. In some reduplicative forms – especially the ones formed by synonymous or related (semantically or phonologically) constituents –, the second constituent seems to be meaningless since it cannot occur as free a form. Nevertheless, diachronic surveys display that such forms were used in Old Turkic languages and have still been surviving in some Turkic languages used today (Aksan, 1996; Çağatay, 1942 ; Eren 1949 ; Tietze , 1966 ).

The studies, mentioned below, do not specifically analyze reduplications but concentrate on various aspects of such constructions in Turkish.

In her comparative survey on Turkish and Korean onomatopoeic words, Yeon determines significant facts on echoic reduplications in Turkish and establishes the parallel tendencies in Korean (1995).

İdo also presents some phonological and semantic features of echoic reduplications, in his study in which he attempts to find systematic correspondences among some Turkish mimetic words (1999).

Y. Aksan dwells upon the identical verbal reduplications formed by constituents inflected by the same or different tense, modality or gerund suffixes. In this study, she aims at making generalizations about the relation between such reduplicative forms and the concept of tense (2001).

Akerson interprets reduplications as a peculiarity of Turkish, which has not been assessed properly in translations. She focuses on the matter of syntactic transformation of adjectival reduplications in translation (1982).

## CHAPTER II. REDEFINING TURKISH REDUPLICATIONS

As the taxonomies, in previous chapter, reveal, Turkish embody quite complex reduplicative structures in terms of their morpho-syntactic and functional properties. Most of the studies on the subject matter remain on the descriptive level (Ağakay, 1953; Hatiboğlu, 1971; Tuna, 1949, 1950); some include phonological aspects of the structure (Tuna, 1986; Demircan, 1987, 1989) and some others aim at determining semantic properties of reduplications (Demircan, 1990; Aksan, 1996, 2000). In all these studies, there is an obvious complexity in the scope, definition and terminology of reduplications.

In this chapter, Turkish reduplications are tried to be redefined. For this aim, firstly, we will present not all but some outstanding morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of Turkish, which may explain the extensive and productive usage of reduplicative patterns. These properties also motivate to define some repeated forms as reduplications although they are not. After stating the terminology problem on the subject matter, we will concentrate on the determination of the morpho-syntactic and semantic parameters that will set coincidental repetitive structures apart from reduplicative forms in Turkish. In section four, we will introduce the structural properties of Turkish reduplications and then try to explain the running of the process on the ground of these properties.

### II. 1. Some Linguistic Aspects of Turkish

Turkish is a member of the Turkic family of languages and Turkic, in turn, belongs to the Altaic family of languages. Scholars divide history of Turkish into three periods as Old Turkic, Middle Turkish and Modern Turkish. As mentioned in section I.2.1, in all these periods, reduplications has become a frequently practiced pattern.

Turkish is a canonical example of agglutinating languages. The most significant morphological characteristic of Turkish is that derivation and inflection is achieved by means of suffixing. Inflectional suffixes may be divided into two groups, a noun paradigm (noun stem, plural, possessive, case) and a verbal paradigm (verb stem, voice, negative, modality, tense, aspect and person) (Underhill, 1986). At this point, it is important to clarify that in Turkish, adjectives, following head deletion, may be inflected by the elements of noun paradigm to operate as nouns. Furthermore, a large group of noun-based words can function as adjective or adverb, and adjective based words can function as adverbs, in Turkish which creates an outstanding flexibility between the lexical categories in terms of their operations (Aksan, 2000).

- (1) a. Sıcak yemek (sıcak function as adjective)  
 b. Sıcaklar dayanılmaz oldu. (sıcak function as noun)  
 c. Çocuklara sıcak davrandı. (sıcak function as adverb)

Suffixation is the most practiced word-formation device in Turkish. Aksan notes that the number of derivational suffixes in Turkish is over 100 while it is almost 60 in German. In another study, he determines 65 different lexemes derived from the verbal base *tut* (1996). The suffixes in Turkish may be multi-functional. They may even have both derivational and inflectional operations. For example, the morpheme {-mıŝ} adjectivalize the verbs as in *yan-mıŝ ev*, *bık-mıŝ öğrenciler* and it also indicates evidential modality as in *oku-r-muŝ*, *yap-acak-mıŝ* (Aksan, 2000).

The unmarked word order is SOV (subject-object-verb), but the most distinctive syntactic characteristic of Turkish is that the word order, which is pragmatically

controlled, is highly flexible since it has a rich case marking system. Turkish uses nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, ablative and instrumental case suffixes to encode grammatical roles.

Turkish carries the canonical features of left branching language; it uses postpositions and modifiers precede nouns or verbs.

Adjectivalization, adverbialization and nominalization are carried out by certain suffixes - sometimes by function words in adverbialization process - and instead of conjunctions or pronouns, Turkish employs infinitives, gerunds and participles to attach subordinate clauses to the main clauses (Sezer, 1995; Aksan, 2000).

In Turkish, not only the noun heads but also the objects of the subordinate clauses are often deleted when they are comprehended from the context or when the noun head is indefinite (Sezer, 1995):

(2) a. *Gülenler ( kimseler = Ø ) utanacak.*

b. *Ölen ( kimse = Ø ) öldü.*

As regards semantics, Turkish tends to factual way of expression and has highly descriptive quality. In the vocabulary of Turkish, there are a great deal of lexemes and idioms formed by means of conceptualization and metaphor.

Turkish displays a tendency towards detailed expression in naming concepts. As Aksan notes, the most eminent evidence of this tendency is that Turkish vocabulary is very prosperous in terms of synonymous words (1998). Occurrence of exact synonymous pairs in a language is a very rare situation, yet a large group of synonymous words, having different distributions, should not be ignored. Both some Persian and Arabic loanwords,



used in Ottoman Turkish, and their Turkish counterparts, reactivated or newly derived after language reform movement, are extant in Turkish vocabulary such as *vazife-görev*, *mesut-mutlu*, *ekseriyet-çoğunluk*. As it is noted before, some of such synonymous pairs form reduplicative patterns in Turkish to concretize some concepts.

Another noteworthy semantic property of Turkish is its expressive diversity, which may explain the excess number of polysemic, homonymous and reduplicative forms in Turkish vocabulary.

The semantic characteristics of Turkish, mentioned above, reveal themselves in extensive use of reduplications. Turkish reduplications are conceptualized, detailed and sometimes metaphorical expressions and they have descriptive quality to a great extent.

On the other hand, as will be seen in the following section, some morphological and syntactic features of Turkish lead some structures to be interpreted as reduplication although they are not.

## II. 2. Terminology

In linguistic studies, the construction under discussion is referred to a diverse set of terms as **reiteration**, **repetitive construction**, **reduplicative construction** and **reduplication**.

A similar diversity, in terminology, is also observed in Turkish studies; in the studies on the subject matter the structure is analyzed under different terms, such as **ikiz kelime** (Eren, 1949), **çift söz** (Tietze, 1966), **ikileme** (Hatiboğlu, 1971; Demircan, 1990; Akerson, 1982; Aksan, 1996) **hendiadyoin** (Çağatay, 1948) and **pekiştirmeli sıfat** (Hatiboğlu, 1973; Ağakay 1964).

This chaotic situation in terminology manifests itself in the scope of the construction as can be seen in the taxonomies, presented in I.2.2. When the samples, defined as reduplication, in previous studies, are analysed, it will emerge that most of these forms are actually the extensions of different structures.

The main problem, observed in previous studies, is that the differentiation between the repetition (**yineleme** in Turkish) and the familiar linguistic concept of reduplication (**ikileme** in Turkish) is not determined properly. Moravcsik (1978) notes that repetitions fall within the scope of reduplication only if they create a particular meaning distinction. Taking this as the main criterion, in this study, the term **reduplication** has been used for the repeated structures that convey a specific meaning difference and the others will be termed as **repetition**. In the next section, further morpho-syntactic and semantic criteria that set apart both structure types will be investigated.

### II. 3. Repetition or Reduplication

As noted before, most of the repeated forms, defined as reduplications in previous studies, are in fact the extensions of different structures. Moravcsik offers some methods that may help to identify reduplication in a sentence:

... the occurrence of reduplication or some subtype of it in a sentence may in principle be predicted a) from meaning only, b) from meaning and intrasentential structural properties, c) from meaning and intralingual (but not intrasentential) structural properties, d) from meaning and non-structural properties of the language or style in question, e) from any combination a), b), c) and d) (1978: 326).

In this section, we will analyze some repetitive structures, defined as reduplication, in these respects and propose semantic and morpho-syntactic parameters, which can determine the structures, in Turkish, that are within the domain of reduplication.

As Moravcsik notes, it is possible to identify a repetitive structure as reduplication just by analysing the meaning it conveys. In order to define a recurrent construction as reduplication, the constituents of the pattern should integrate semantically and gain a new semantic value more or less. In other words, the repetition of the form is required to create a particular meaning distinction collectively.

(3) a. **Köy köy** olalı böyle şenlik görmedi.

b. Herekenin **halısı halıdır** . (Demircan, 1990:71)

c. **Kapı kapı** değil ki! (Demircan, 1970:71)

d. Ödediği **para da para** mı? (Demircan, 1990:71)

e. Verdiği **ders ders** olsa! (Demircan, 1990:71)

(4) a. Oy için **köy köy** dolaştı.

b. Akşama kadar **kapı kapı** gezer.

None of the repetitive patterns in (3) can be defined as reduplication since each repeated linguistic item preserves its semantic value and signifies different concepts. In (3), the former components of the repetitive patterns refer to specific concepts while the latter ones convey a general meaning. In (3a), the first *köy* displays 'the people of a specific village' and the second one refers to the notion of 'village' in general sense. On the other hand, in (4a), *köy köy* implies the plurality of the 'village.' In this pattern, the duplication indicates a semantic contrast and the repeated forms convey a meaning collectively; thus

this repetitive structure can be identified as reduplication. Similarly, the former component of the repetition, *kapı kapı*, in (3c) alludes to 'a specific door' while the latter one signifies the general sense of the entity; 'door.' In contrast, in (4b) the repeated forms, *kapı kapı*, constitute reduplication since both constituents express a new concept together that is 'door to door.'

(5) a. **Yer yerinden** oynadı. (Hatiboğlu, 1971:52)

b. **Yüzüne yüz** defa söyledim.

The repeated words, in (5a) and (5b), have phonologically identical bases. Hatiboğlu includes such forms within the scope of reduplications by ignoring the fact that they are homonymous words. Such words have different semantic values so this kind of repetitions can not be identified as reduplication.

In order to identify a repetitive structure as reduplication, it must involve not only constituents signifying more or less a new concept together but also constituents belonging to the same syntactic category (Moravcsik, 1978). In other words, the reduplicant and the base are required to be in perfect morpho-syntactic agreement (Inkelas and Zoll).

(6) a. Oku-dukça oku-muş. (Demircan, 1990:87)

b. Ye- dikçe ye-di.

c. Gel-se gel-ir-di. (Demircan, 1990:76)

d. Gül-ünce gül-er. (Demircan, 1990:76)

- (7) a. Bak-ış bak-mak (Demircan, 1990:71)  
 b. Dik-iş dik-mek (Akerson, 1982:51)  
 c. Gül-üş gül-mek (Akerson, 1982:51)  
 d. Vur-uş vur-mak

As pointed out in section II.1, in Turkish, nominalization, adjectivalization and adverbialization are morphologically oriented processes. Turkish employs certain suffixes for these processes instead of conjunctions or pronouns. This motivates some structures to be defined as reduplication as in (6) and (7). The suffixes {-DİKÇE}, {-sE} and {-(y)İncE} in (6) are used in adverbializing the verbal bases. The first components of repetitions in (6) are the verb based adverbs but the second components preserve their lexical identity as verbs. Such repetitive structures can not be identified as reduplications since they are not in morpho-syntactic agreement. A similar situation can be observed in (7). The {-(y)Iş} suffix, co-occurring with the first components of the repetitions, derives nouns from verbs. But the second components of these structures are verbs that can be conjugated. The repetitions in (7) should not be identified as reduplication just because they have phonologically identical bases. Moreover, in (6) and (7), the components of repetitions preserve their semantic contents as nouns, adverbs or verbs.

- (8) a. çizgi çizmek  
 b. yemek yemek  
 c. yazı yazmak (Akerson, 1982:51)

The above constructions, identified as reduplication by Akerson, are actually cognate objects. They are composed of a verb and a noun derived from the same verb base. Such formation violates the morpho-syntactic agreement in reduplication. As Inkelas and Zoll (ongoing work) points out, in reduplication “what the construction doubles is not the phonological string per se, but rather a morpho-syntactic feature bundle.”

(9) a. Öl-en Ø öl-dü. (Hatiboğlu, 1971:52)

b. Oku-yan Ø oku-muş (Demircan, 1990:87)

c. Ver-en Ø ver-eceg-ini Ø ver-miş (Demircan, 1990:85)

d. Al-acağ-ını Ø al-miş (Demircan, 1990:86)

The repetitive constructions, in (9), embody verbs and the adjectives derived from these verb bases. Such forms can be defined as simple coincidental repetitions containing components from different lexical categories although they have phonologically identical bases. When defining these structures as reduplications Hatiboğlu (1971) and Demircan (1990) ignore that Turkish permits noun head deletion as observed in these structures. The suffix  $\{-(y)En\}$ , in (9a), (9b), (9c), and  $\{-(y)EcEk\}$  in (9c), (9d) are employed to adjectivalize verbs. In (9), the noun heads modified by adjective clauses are deleted in the surface structures. The situation in (9a), (9b), (9c), and (9d) can simply be explained as that both subordinate and main clauses have the identical verb bases.

- (10) a. **Üzüm üzüm-e** baka baka kararır. (Hatioğlu, 1971:52)
- b. **Söz söz-ü** açar. (Hatiboğlu, 1971:52)
- c. **Acı acı-yı** bastırır. (Hatiboğlu, 1971:52)
- d. **Kardeş-i kardeş-e** düşman ettiler.
- e. **Soru-yu soru-yla** cevaplama!
- f. **Hasret-le hasret** giderdiler.

Ağakay (1953) notes that repetition of the phonologically identical forms can not be identified as reduplication, unless they have a collective syntactic function in a sentence. The repetitions, in (10), are composed of the word stems belonging to the same lexical categories. However they carry out different syntactic roles since they are inflected by different case suffixes. For instance, in (10e), the former component of the repetition, *soru-yu*, carries the **accusative case** which marks the syntactic unit that is in the object position in Turkish. It is the unit that is affected by the action signified by the verb. On the other hand the latter component, *soru-yla*, is inflected by **instrumental case** which indicates the adverbial complements. Hatiboğlu names such repetitions as subject-object and subject-complement reduplication by disregarding the fact that they mark different functional categories, and so they can not create a particular meaning distinction when used repeatedly.

- (11) a. **kafa kafa-ya** vermek
- b. **diz diz-e** oturmak
- c. **ağız-dan ağız-a** dolaşmak
- d. **bir-e bir** uymak

In (11), the case suffixes, occurring in conjunction with the repeated forms, are not in agreement with the verbs since they are idiomatic expressions. Uzun (1993) notes that, in this kind of expressions case markers lose their syntactic functions unlike the repetitions in (10). He identifies such repetitive structures as idiomatic reduplications since a specific meaning distinction is produced by means of repetition. Here, it is essential to note that idiomatization is a semantic process different from reduplication but it includes some reduplicative constructions as the ones in (11).

(12) a. **Gelir!.. Gelmez!..** Bana vız gelir.

b. Patron **gelir gelmez** tatile çıkcağım

(13) a. – Yeni bir çözüm buldunuz mu?

– **Bulduk, bulduk!**

b. Cumaya kadar bu konuya bir çözüm **bulduk bulduk**, bulamazsak işler karışacak.

(14) a. **Gitsin! Gitsin!** Zaten ben de gideceğim .

b. **Gitsin gitsin**, üç metre gitsin.

Moravcsik (1978) notes that the reduplications in a sentence can be identified from the meaning and intrasentential structural properties. A structural and semantic analysis of the sentence pairs in (12), (13) and (14) reveal that the repetitions in (12a), (13a) and (14a) are independent sentential forms. In contrast to repetitive forms in (12b),



(13b) and (14b), they mark neither semantic, nor grammatical contrast together. They are used repetitively for pragmatic aims. On the other hand, the repeated words in (12b), (13b) and (14b) form reduplications indicating a semantic contrast. In (12a), (13a), (14a) use of the words repeatedly does not create a particular meaning distinction; each component of these repetitions preserves its semantic content. In (12b), the occurrence of the suffixes {-ır... - mEz} with the repeated verb bases adverbializes the form and conveys the meaning of 'as soon as'; repetition signals a particular meaning difference by the help of additional non-iterative forms, thus can be identified as reduplication. Unlike (13a), the usage of the word *bulduk* repeatedly, in (13b), marks a semantic contrast; here the repetitive form, which can be defined as reduplication, achieves strong topic conditioning. In (14b), repeated forms constitute a reduplicative structure since their duplicated usage notifies estimation about the verbal content of the sentence.

(15) Arş ileri arş

(16) Toprak sel, ışık sel, güneş sel, ay sel

(17) Sen misin, sen misin garip vatan.

(Hatiboğlu, 1971: 24-25)

Hatiboğlu (1971) includes every kind of form repetition in the domain of reduplication disregarding the fact that the process is used to mark a semantic or grammatical contrast. The repetitions above are some syntactic methods used for stylistic aims in poetry. They do not convey a specific meaning collectively, thus can not be identified as reduplication.

In sum, all the facts discussed above reveal that not every kind of repetition that have same or similar phonological representation but the ones that form a structural unit with its collective syntactic and semantic operations, can be defined as reduplication in Turkish. To identify a repetitive structure as reduplication:

1. The repetition of the form is required to create a particular meaning distinction; the resulting structure should convey a particular meaning collectively.
2. The repeated forms should have a collective semantic content; the homonymous pairs can not form reduplication.
3. The repeated forms are required to be in perfect morpho-syntactic agreement; they should belong to same syntactic categories.
4. The repeated forms should have same and collective syntactic operations.

#### **II. 4. Formal Properties of Turkish Reduplications**

As pointed out in section I. 1, the number of reduplication types throughout the world's languages that is defined is infinite. Before defining the reduplicative forms that Turkish permits, we will try to determine the overall structural properties of the process in this section.



## II. 4.1. Properties of reduplicated objects

The most noteworthy peculiarity of Turkish reduplications is that there is no constraint on the syntactic categories; lexemes, from almost all syntactic categories, can form reduplications. At this point, it seems essential to restate the lexical identity constraint which necessitates the constituents belonging to the same syntactic categories in reduplication.

(18)	<b>Nominal</b>	renk renk, deniz derya, şıpır şıpır, pat küt
	<b>Verbal</b>	baka baka, açar açmaz, bilse bilse
	<b>Adjectival</b>	aç aç, baygın baygın, az çok
	<b>Adverbial</b>	hemen hemen, asla ama asla, peki peki
	<b>Pronominal</b>	senli benli, kim kim, şundan bundan
	<b>Interjectional</b>	tüh tüh, ha(y)di ha(y)di, eyvah eyvah
	<b>Conjunctive</b>	ancak ve ancak, hatta ve hatta
		ne.....ne, hem.....hem, de ..... de

As can be observed in (18), words belonging not only to lexical categories but also to functional categories including pronouns, interjections and conjunctions, can constitute reduplications. Reduplications, composed of pronouns, interjections and conjunctions are rarely observed in other languages. However, function words are not as productive as the content words in forming reduplications in Turkish. Additionally, mimetic words are very productive in forming total reduplications in Turkish. The reduplication types that they can form will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Moravcsik (1978) notes that in some languages, as Mandarin, reduplication is restricted to the phonological condition of monosyllabicity. In Turkish, there is no limitation on the syllable number of the constituents to be reduplicated. As can be seen in (19), Turkish reduplications are not restricted to **monosyllabicity** or **bisyllabicity**; **polysyllabic** word bases may devise reduplications as well.

(19) a. monosyllabic

yaş maş, bak bak, kat kat, pul pul, az az, cır cır, hart hart, çift çift  
hiç mi hiç, dümdüz, mosmor

b. bisyllabic

okul mokul, öbek öbek, patır patır, çatır çutur, yavaş yavaş, kolay  
kolay, sonra sonra, tertemiz, simsiyah, yalnız ve yalnız

c. polysyllabic

kırmızı kırmızı, paragraf paragraf, hiçkıra hiçkıra, alaca bulaca,  
mutlaka ve mutlaka, ağladı da ağladı

Turkish reduplications are not restricted to the condition of **equisyllabicity** either. The syllables of the constituents may be equal in number, as seen in the samples above or not as observed in reduplications devised by semantic constituents such as *ses seda*, *hısım akraba*, *sev okşa*, *sil süpür*. In such reduplications, mostly the constituent which is less in number occurs initially.

Morphological analysis of the constituents reveals that not only simple word bases but also derived or compounded ones belonging to different syntactic categories may form reduplications in different types, in Turkish.

	Simple	Derived	Compound
<b>Noun</b>	kutu kutu	bölüm bölüm	gecekondu gecekondu
<b>Adjective</b>	ağır ağır	dertli dertli	ağırbaşlı ağırbaşlı
<b>Verb</b>	koşa koşa	gözleye gözleye	boşvere boşvere
<b>Adverb</b>	şimdi şimdi	saatlerce ve saatlerce	biraz biraz
<b>Pronoun</b>	şunu bunu	–	–
<b>Interjection</b>	aman aman	–	–
<b>Conjunction</b>	ancak ve ancak	–	ya ..... ya

**Table 1.** Morphology of word bases to be reduplicated in Turkish

As can be observed in Table1, simple words are the most productive ones in forming reduplications while the reduplicative forms, embodying compounded constituents, are limited in number.

As Botha (1988) notes, in many languages, reduplicative constituents differ in ways that require one of them to be assigned the status of head and the other that of non-head which functions as the modifier of the head constituent. This observation is not always true for Turkish reduplications. The relation between the constituents in emphatic reduplications, exemplified in (20a), can be explained in the way that the reduplicants – duplicated parts of the bases, occurring initially– modify the bases which is in the head position. But the semantic composition of the total reduplications, as in (20b), is not such that the meaning of a constituent may be said to modify that of other. In Turkish, neither of the constituents in total reduplications can be assigned the status of head or non-head.

(20) a. **Bembeyaz** bir elbise giymiştim.

Bu olay **sımsıcak** bir arkadaşlığın başlangıcı oldu.

b. Bebeği **uyutur uyutmaz** geleceğim.

Saçları **lüle lüle**.

**Çiçek miçek** almadım.

Bütün evi **köşe bucak** aradım.

Bunu **bilse bilse** Ferda bilir.

Moravcsik notes that constituents to be reduplicated may be either semantic-syntactic constituents or phonetic-phonological terms; or they may have the same semantic-syntactic and phonetic-phonological features. In other words, “they may be definable either by their meaning properties only, or by their sound properties only, or in reference to both” (1978:304). Thus, reduplication types, defined by mode of the constituent, may be **monomodal** or **bimodal**. Moravcsik (1978:305) identifies “a reduplicative construction which involves the reduplication of a semantic-syntactic constituent regardless of its form, or which involves the reduplication of a phonetic string regardless of its meaning” as monomodal reduplication. In monomodal reduplications reference is made only to the meaning or only to the sound form of the constituent to be reduplicated as opposed to the bimodal reduplications which necessitate reference, made both to the sense and to the phonetic form of the constituents. In other words, bimodal reduplications must involve constituents identical in form and meaning.

On the other hand, reduplications may be either **total** or **partial**. Total reduplication involves the duplication of the whole semantic-syntactic or the whole

phonetic-phonological string. If the reduplication involves the duplication of only a part of the semantic-syntactic or the phonetic-phonological constituent, it is defined as partial.

An analysis of Turkish reduplications in terms of the mode of the constituents and the extent of reduplication proves that all six basic possible types of reduplication occur in Turkish.

### Total bimodal Reduplication

Plain		Reduplicated	
<i>sepet</i>	basket	<i>sepet sepet</i> (elma)	baskets of apple
<i>isit-ip</i>	to heat	<i>isitip isitip</i>	(iterative)
<i>hemen</i>	immediately	<i>hemen hemen</i>	almost
<i>iri</i>	coarse	<i>iri iri</i>	each one is coarse (distribution)

What makes these reduplications total bimodal is that the reduplication process duplicates not only the entire semantic properties of the constituents but also the entire phonetic forms.

Total monomodal reduplication, in Turkish, involves the semantic-syntactic constituents regardless of their non-identical form. In this type of reduplication, the duplicated thing is the whole semantic content of the constituents. The constituents are mostly non-identical in form, although paronomasia is observed in some samples. This interesting pattern can be exemplified by the following:



### Total monomodal Reduplication

<b>Noun</b>	<i>sille tokat</i>	fist and cuff
	<i>zarar ziyan</i>	loss and damage
<b>Verb</b>	<i>bık usan</i>	become tired and bored of
	<i>der devşir</i>	pick and gather
<b>Adjective</b>	<i>gizli saklı</i>	secret and hidden
	<i>deli divane</i>	utterly mad

“Partial bimodal reduplication involves the repetition of a syntactic constituent or phonetic string which is only a part of the constituent whose meaning is accordingly modified” (Moravcsik, 1978:306). In order to be able to mention reference both to semantic-syntactic and to phonetic-phonological properties in partial reduplications, the reduplicated part should be a meaningful unit, as exemplified below:

### Partial bimodal Reduplication

<b>Plain</b>	<b>Reduplicated</b>
yapıver	yapıyapıver
çiziver	çiziçiziver
basıver	basıbasıver
yazıver	yazıyazıver

The emphatic reduplication in Turkish, exemplified below, is monomodal since the emphatic syllable has no meaning. Apart from the general meaning coupled with the reduplication process, it never enters the process as a meaningful element (Demircan,

1988). In such reduplications reference is made only to sound properties of the base and the reduplicated part of it. Turkish employs monomodal emphatic reduplications to modify adjectives and adverbs.

### Partial monomodal reduplications

Plain		Reduplicated	
<i>boş</i>	empty	<i>bomboş</i>	totally empty
<i>sıkı</i>	tight	<i>sımsıkı</i>	quite tight
<i>kuru</i>	dry	<i>kupkuru</i>	quite dry
<i>sıcak</i>	hot	<i>sıpsıcak</i>	quite hot

There are some other subtypes of partial monomodal reduplications, observed in Turkish which are illustrated in Table 2.

#### II. 4. 2. Number of recurrent objects

There are cases of multiple reduplications in many languages. Such languages employ multiply reduplicated forms to convey distinct meanings or to mark concepts such as continuity and emphasis.

Turkish permits some triplicated structures which are in the form of verb phrases. In such structures, the reduplicated part functions as the modifier of the predicate of identical verbal or mimetic stem.

(21) a. hop hop hoplamak

ışıl ışıl ışıldamak

fosur fosur fosurdatmak

b. sürüm sürüm sürünmek

sızım sızım sızlamak

inim inim inlemek

In above samples, an increased temporal extent of the actions is suggested by means of triplication. Use of triplication conveys the continuation of the act.

The verbs in (21a) are derived from the echoic words preceding them while the initial reduplicated forms in (21b) are derived from the verb stem of the final verbs. The noteworthy point is that the first two constituent in (21a) may occur reduplicated. Such reduplicated echoic words may be used with other verbs which are compatible with their meaning properties. However, use of initial duplicated forms in (21b) is limited with verbs that derive them; they can not be used reduplicated.

#### **II. 4. 3. Additional Form Distinction**

As stated in section II.3, the repetition of the form is required to create a particular meaning distinction collectively in order to be defined as reduplication. A specific meaning difference may be indicated by either total or partial reduplication only or by some other substitutional, additional or deleted forms which may take place in the formation process of reduplication. It has been noted that in some languages, a certain part of the original constituent is deleted in the formation process of reduplication. For instance, Mokilese deletes a phonetic string from the end of a transitive verb to render it intransitive by means of reduplication. On the other hand, in many languages, including Aztec, Agta,

Mandarin and Sundanese, additional elements –in the form of a string or an affix– are observed in total and /or partial reduplication (Moravcsik, 1978).

Structural analysis of Turkish reduplications clarifies that duplicated word bases may be exposed to certain substitutional and / or additional form distinctions in reduplicative process. In traditional studies on the subject matter, additional form distinctions, occurring frequently in many languages, are not defined as a step in the formation process of Turkish reduplications; instead, such form distinctions which are excessive in number and assorted in form, are claimed to enter the reduplication process as the parts of the constituents. This claim prevents making comprehensive and explanatory generalisations on reduplications and motivates the occurrence of unwanted categories in assignments (see Hatiboğlu's classification of reduplications in terms of formation and structure).

The form distinctions, observed in the formation process of Turkish reduplications, are form additions and/or consonantal or vocalic substitutions.

#### **II. 4. 3. 1. Form Addition**

In Turkish, form-additions may occur in conjunction with both partial and total reduplication. The observed form additions may be analyzed in three groups:

##### **I. Additional Consonants**

/-p-/	u- <b>p</b> -uzun, k1- <b>p</b> -kırmızı
/-m-/	bo- <b>m</b> -boş, ma- <b>s</b> -mavi
/-r-/	ça- <b>r</b> -çabuk, te- <b>r</b> -temiz
/-s-/	ko- <b>s</b> -kocaman, mo- <b>s</b> -mor

## II. Additional Suffixes

### 1. Repetitive

geri-**den** geri-**den**, az-**ar** az-**ar**, mini-**cik** mini-**cik**, titre-(y)e titre-(y)e,  
dön-**üp** dön-**üp**, bil-**se** bil-**se**.

### 2. Non-repetitive

çıġlık-**Ø** çıġlıġ-**a**, doġ-**ar** doġ-**maz**, ayrıl-**dı** ayrıl-**alı**, bul-**Ø** bul-**uŖ-tur**,  
kelime-**si** kelime-**sine**, aptal-**ın** aptal-**ı**, sıcaġ-**ı** sıcaġ-**ına**, büyük-**ler**  
büyüġ-**ü**, gizli-**den** gizli-**ye**.

## III. Focusing elements

ve	günlerce <b>ve</b> günlerce
ama	çok <b>ama</b> çok
dE	ev <b>de</b> ev
mI	hiç <b>mi</b> hiç

The reduplicative samples in each group clarify that distribution of the additional elements is closely related with the reduplication types; the choice of form addition is conditioned by the type of reduplication.

Additional consonants, {p, m, r, s}, which do not belong to the bases, are observed in conjunction with emphatic monomodal reduplications. They occur between the copy and the original and play an important role in forming monomodal emphatic reduplications in Turkish; they close the copied syllable. Additional consonants are obligatory elements since their operation in the process is structural rather than semantic. The distribution of the consonants is phonologically conditioned.

A certain group of additional repetitive or non-repetitive suffixes occur in conjunction with some total bimodal reduplication types in Turkish. These suffixes are mostly inflectional. The exceptional derivational ones are the adverbialization suffixes which are always used repetitively such as { - (y)A ...- (y)A }, { -ır ...-mEz }. Such derivational additive elements do not harm the morpho-syntactic agreement between the constituents since they are used repetitively.

The distribution of the repetitive and non-repetitive additional suffixes is syntactically and semantically conditioned. At the first stage, the syntactic categories of constituents to be reduplicated determine a certain group of suffixes that can be added to the reduplicated form. These groups are composed of case markers, plural and possessive suffixes for nominal, adjectival and adverbial constituents and certain tense, modality, negation and adverbialization suffixes for verbal constituents. At the second stage, the suffixes, compatible with the semantic properties of the constituents take their place in the reduplication process (see Table 3-4). Form additions are rarely observed in the reduplications, formed by the constituents from functional categories. On the other hand, the formation of mimetic and interjectional reduplications does not permit form-additions.

In reduplicative structures, containing additional suffixes, meaning distinction is mostly provided by these form-additions. The function of additional suffixes in the reduplicative process is semantic rather than structural as opposed to that of additional consonants, mentioned above. Both constituents may occur with the same or different suffixes or just the first or second constituent co-occurs with an additional suffix and each resulting form conveys a different meaning. Additional suffixes are optional elements since they operate semantically rather than structurally; they may be adopted according to the meaning distinction, that is wanted to be created, or not.

The striking characteristic of the reduplicative process in Turkish is that a word base, co-occurring with different repetitive or non-repetitive additional suffixes, may devise reduplications contrastive in form and meaning. In such forms, constituents to be reduplicated chose an additional suffix compatible with their semantic properties.

<b>Plain</b>	<b>Reduplicated</b>	
<i>gün</i> day	<i>gün gün</i>	day by day
	<i>gün-den gün-e</i>	from day to day
	<i>gün-tü günü-ne</i>	to the very day
	<i>gün-ler gün-ü</i>	for many days
<i>gel</i> to come	<i>gel-e gel-e</i>	coming over and over
	<i>gel-ir gel-mez</i>	as soon as (he) comes
	<i>gel-ip gel-ip</i>	(iterative)
	<i>gel-di gel-eli</i>	ever since (he) came
	<i>gel-se gel-se</i>	(imposes a definite restriction)
	<i>gel-di gel-ecek</i>	about to come
	<i>gel-sin gel-mesin</i>	whether he comes or not
	<i>gel-ip gel-memek</i>	to come or not
<i>boş</i> (empty/vain)	<i>boş boş</i>	to no purpose
	<i>boş-tan boş-a</i>	to no purpose
	<i>boş-u boş-una</i>	completely in vain

The productivity in the formation of reduplications, observed above, is a reflection of the tendency towards detailed and factual expression in Turkish. It also manifests the highly descriptive quality of Turkish mentioned in section II.1.

Another form addition observed in the formation of Turkish reduplications are the focusing elements consisting of the focusing particles – *mi*, *de* – and the coordinators – *ve*, *ama* –. They appear in conjunction with total bimodal reduplications devised by words from the lexical categories. Focusing particles and conjunctions occur between the constituents without being adjacent to them. They do not establish a structural connection between the constituents but modify the emotional, logical or other semantic content of the reduplication as a whole unit (Demircan, 1988). Reduplications containing focusing particles or coordinators are very limited in number.

It is important to point out that only the additive elements that do not disrupt the morpho-syntactic and semantic unity of constituents can be defined as a part of reduplicative process. In addition, such elements should contribute the process either structurally or semantically. In other words, form additions, mentioned in this study, are the specific forms that have specific operations in the reduplicative process.

#### **II. 4. 3. 2. Substitution**

Another form distinction, observed in the formation of Turkish reduplications, is substitution. Three types of substitution are observed in the reduplicative process:

1. Internal vowel substitution
2. Initial consonant substitution
3. Initial consonant and internal vowel substitution



Internal vowel substitution, which is observed in the formation of some mimetic and adjectival reduplications, manifests itself in the form of < a-u > or < e-ü > alternation in the first syllable of the second constituent. Ido, in his article on Turkish mimetic word formation, notes that “only a in the initial syllable of the stem becomes u and the u in the reduplicated part in turn requires the following u according to the rules set by vowel harmony” (1977: 71-72).

(22) a. çatır çutur	b. çarpık çurpuk
takır tukur	yamuk yumuk
garç gurç	şarlı şurtlu
hart hurt	tek tük
kem küm	ters türs

The vowel alternations observed in mimetic (22a) and adjectival (22b) reduplications provide the vowel modification. Substitution of /-u-/ or /-ü-/ does not change the semantic content of the constituent but increases the emotional condensation that the reduplication represents as a whole unit.

Initial consonant substitution occurs in conjunction with *m*-initial reduplications. In the formation process of *m*-initial reduplications, the sound /-m-/ substitutes for the initial consonant of the second constituent if it is a C – initial word base. In cases of V-initial objects, it occurs initially in the second constituent.

## (23). sözlük mözlük

olta molta

sordu mordu

zor mor

This pattern is fully productive; any word even an acronym, may be reduplicated with this process. Occurrence of /-m-/ in the second constituent creates a negative sense in reduplicated form.

A very similar reduplicative process involving consonantal substitution or addition can also be observed in s-, p-, k-, z-, f- initial reduplications which are lexicalized and very limited in number.

## (24) p- initial

yırtık pırtık

sus pus

akça pakça

süklüm püklüm

zırt pırt

süslü püslü

## (25) k- initial

allem kallem

estek kestek

mırın kırın

pat küt

paldır küldür

patır kütür

## (26) f- initial

aslı faslı

kelli felli

sıkı fıkı

## (27) s- initial

abuk sabuk

açık saçık

kaba saba

## (28) z- initial

ıvır zıvır

kıvır zıvır

virt zirt

Formation of a very limited group of reduplications involves both substitution processes, mentioned above. In such reduplications, second constituents are exposed to two kinds of form difference; initial consonant and internal vowel substitution as the samples below clearly proves.

(29) a. alaca bulaca

eğri büğrü

eski püskü

b. allak bullak

eften püften

eciş bücüş

The internal vowel substitution, occurring in the second constituent, may be in the form of either <a-u> or <e-ü> alternation and the initial consonant alternation is provided by the substitution of mostly /p-/ and /b-/ consonants for the original ones in the first constituent. These consonants are added to the beginning of the second constituent in cases of V- initial word bases. There are also some rare cases in which the initial consonant substitution is achieved by the sounds /m-/ and /c-/ as in *abur cubur*, *halis mulis*.

As exemplified in (29b), a group of reduplications, in this type, is composed of the bases which are semantically empty. Such forms survive in only reduplications and their relation to each other is totally phonological. Thus, they are defined as monomodal

since no meaning, which can be shared by the constituents, exists; and they are total since the whole phonological form is duplicated in underlying structure.

Other reduplication types involving substitutional form difference are bimodal. Although their constituents seem not to be identical in form in surface structure, actually they are in deep structure. The constituents enter the reduplication process as being identical in form and meaning. Substitutional form difference does not change their meaning but creates the meaning distinction that is required in a reduplicated form.

Apart from additive consonants co-occurring with monomodal emphatic reduplications, the common point of form differences, observed in Turkish reduplications, is that they occur in conjunction with bimodal reduplications and contribute the reduplicative process semantically.

#### **II. 4. 4. Temporal Relations between the constituents**

As in many languages, the copy and the original in emphatic reduplications are adjacent to each other in Turkish. In the case of monomodal emphatic reduplication, one of the {p, m, r, s} consonants is interposed between the copies as noted before.

In other types of reduplications in Turkish, the constituents interlock each other syntactically although they stand apart structurally. They behave as a single syntactic unit in a sentence, as in (30a) (30b) and do not permit insertion of any other element of the sentence between them as seen in (30c).

(30) a. Bu işi seve seve yaparım.

b. Seve seve yaparım bu işi.

c. \*Bu işi seve yaparım seve.

A group of conjunctions such as *hem ... hem, de ... de, ne ... ne*, are always used reduplicated. Such reduplicated conjunctions are separated by the units that they coordinate.

Separated occurrence of the constituents of a reduplicated form is observed only in parallel structures which include a sequence of identical and similar elements either phonologically and/or semantically.

- (31) a. iş yok güç yok  
 b. gel zaman git zaman  
 c. üç aşağı beş yukarı  
 d. bir günden bir güne  
 e. hem öyle hem böyle

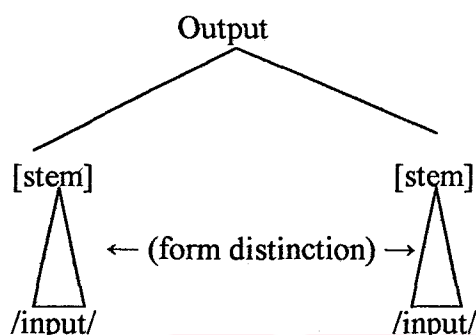
The structures in (31), defined as split (numeral) reduplications by Hatiboğlu (1971), are in fact, parallel structures containing two types of reduplicated forms – one identical and one phonologically or semantically motivated – overlapping each other.

Some synonymous reduplications may sometimes be interrupted by focusing particles to put extra emphasis on the concept as in *er yada geç*.

## II. 5. Formation Process

Formal properties of Turkish reduplications, stated in section II.4, prove that formation of these constructions is a two-staged process as illustrated below:

(32)



(The representation is based on Morphological Doubling Theory, Inkelas and Zoll)

The formal and the semantic relations between the inputs, which are generally the base form of the words, in underlying structure, determine the type of the reduplication as total or partial; monomodal or bimodal. In cases of total reduplication, the left hand and the right hand inputs have the same morpho-syntactic description and neither of them can be defined as head or non-head; or modifier or modified. In cases of emphatic reduplication, the left hand input modifies the right hand input which is in the head position.

In the second phase, 'both', 'neither', or 'one' of the inputs are exposed to certain substitutional or additional form distinctions, exemplified in the previous section. Form distinctions determine the subtypes of total or partial reduplications, illustrated in Table 2.

The form distinctions co-occurring with the word bases at this stage contribute the process either structurally or semantically.

In the light of these facts, the formation rule for Turkish reduplications may be stated in the following way:

1. Copy the whole or a part of (total vs. partial) phonetic - phonological and/or semantic - syntactic properties (monomodal vs. bimodal) of the word base.
2. Add the compatible form distinction to 'both', 'neither' or 'one' of the constituents.

The first rule is applied to all types of reduplications in Turkish while the second rule, which displays the general running of the process, is conditioned by the subtypes of the reduplication and the lexical identity of the word base to be reduplicated. The rule will be restated for each subtype in the next section.

## CHAPTER III . TYPOLOGY OF REDUPLICATION IN TURKISH

In this chapter, reduplications will be assigned according to their formal properties in order to display the structural diversity of the pattern, observed in Turkish. Firstly, morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of the bases to be reduplicated and the functions of the reduplications will be introduced. Then, we will concentrate on total reduplications and try to explain the formation rules for each type. Some observations on their uses in specific semantic, pragmatic, syntactic and lexical areas will also be presented in this chapter.

### III. 1. Formal Classification

As the previous chapter reveals, Turkish reduplications involve a very diverse set of structures. Yet, the classifications presented in section 1.2.2, has become insufficient in determining the reduplication types and the formation rules for the structure.

The common sources of the difficulties observed in these classifications are;

1. The distinction between the simple repetition and the linguistic form of reduplication has not been determined properly which has motivated the occurrence of the categories for the structures that can not be defined as reduplication (c.f. Hatiboğlu's and Demircan's classifications).
2. The relation between the constituents has been ignored; instead, all the studies have focused on the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of each constituent apart.



3. The existence of form difference has not been noticed in traditional studies; constituents have been claimed to enter to the process in their inflected forms which induced the occurrence of unwanted categories (c.f. Hatibođlu's and Swift's classifications). The linguistic studies refer existence of form difference but do not define their forms and functions in the formation process (c.f. Demircan's, Ađakay's and Aksan's classifications).

The aim of this research, at this stage is to parade the full picture of the reduplicative process exhibiting formal and functional diversity in Turkish. In order to achieve this aim, we have assigned the reduplications according to their formal properties, defined in section II.4, as in Table 2 below.

Assortment observed in form can also be observed in meaning in Turkish reduplications which makes it hard to define explanatory or predictive generalizations about the meanings, conveyed by the structure. Since the main aim of this study is to determine formal properties and the formation rules of Turkish reduplications, we will present only the observed meaning distinctions created by the reduplication process.

Form	Relation type	Form difference	Word class	Examples
Total	bimodal	---	N N (mimetic) V ADJ ADV CONJ INT PRO	damla damla fosur fosur seç seç kuru kuru tekrar tekrar ya.....ya tüh tüh kim kim
		additional repetitive suffix	N V ADJ	geriden geriden kasıla kasıla daracık daracık
		additional non-repetitive suffix	N V ADJ PRO	renkten renge çıkır çıkmaz doğrudan doğruya biz bize
		focusing element	N V ADJ ADV PRO CONJ	yıllarca ve yıllarca yapar mı yapar çok ama çok sadece ve sadece neler de neler hatta ve hatta
		internal vowel substitution	N (mimetic) ADJ	çatır çutur tek tük
		initial consonant substitution or addition	N N (mimetic) V ADJ ADV CONJ INT	yüzük müzük tıngır mıngır, çat pat oku moku, sus pus ince mince, açık saçık sonra monra aması maması of pof
		initial consonant and internal vowel substitution	N V ADJ	kargacık burgacık ezil büzül eğri büğrü

Form	Relation type	Form difference	Word class	Examples
Total	monomodal (semantic-syntactic)	---	N V	sorgu sual çalış çabala
	monomodal (phonetic-phonological)	initial consonant and internal vowel substitution		eciş bücüş allak bullak abur cubur
Partial (emphatic)	bimodal	---	V	yapıyapıvermek
	monomodal (phonetic phonological)	additional consonant	ADJ	masmavi bambaşka
Partial (non-emphatic)		---	N V ADJ	hekim hakim düşün taşın tatsız tuzsuz
	monomodal (semantic-syntactic)	---	N V ADJ ADV PRO	bağ bahçe, aşağı yukarı ölç biç, git gel aç susuz, er geç bugün yarın, şöyle böyle şu bu, sizli bizli

**Table 2.** Types of reduplication in Turkish

Whether reduplications are lexemes or phrases is a matter that is still under discussion. Uzun (1993) notes that reduplications in Turkish set up a lexical field that has not been examined intensively. Swift (1963) identifies total reduplications in Turkish as modification phrases, occurring as adjectival and adverbial in other phrase structures. This generalization excludes a large group of lexicalized forms set up by reduplication process. Ağakay (1953) also examines reduplications with this point of view and assigns reduplications as the lexicalized and the grammatical ones.

In this classification we have aimed at manifesting the general view of Turkish reduplications, when the reduplicated structures are seen as a process, not being restricted with lexicalization. Lexicalized reduplicative forms in each type will be exemplified in the following sections.

### III. 2. Syntactic Category of Bases

Turkish can constitute reduplications from almost every syntactic category by using several means of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. It can clearly be observed in Table 2 that words from both lexical and functional categories can form reduplications.

Identical, synonymous, antonymous or related (semantically or phonologically) nouns can comprise reduplications. Mostly the common nouns signifying the concepts concerning time, place, quantity, direction, number and colour form reduplications in different types. In addition, a limited group of reduplications are constituted by proper nouns such as *Ali Veli, Çin'den Maçın'den, Hanya'yı Konya'yı*.

Mimetic nouns are also very productive in forming reduplications. Mimesis is the concept, which is commonly used for sound symbolism or onomatopoeia. Ido explains the difference in connotation between mimesis and the other two as “Sound symbolism and onomatopoeia often refer exclusively to sound imitation. On the other hand, the term mimesis tends to be used to cover a broader conceptual range; it is used for mimetic words (or phonomimes), but also psycho mimes and pheno mimes which imitate psychological state and manner respectively” (1999:67). We preferred to use the term **mimetic words** since our database contains not only reduplications formed by onomatopoeic words such as *çıtır çıtır, takır takır* but also the ones comprised of psycho mimes and pheno mimes



Simple, derived or compound adjectival bases may also constitute reduplications. Additionally, participles derived from verbs and used as adjectives have reduplicated usages such as *tanıdık tanıdık*, *bilmiş bilmiş*. In respect to their operations, both attributive and determinative adjectives may devise reduplications, which have uses in both predicative and attributive positions. Since Turkish permits inflection of plural, possessive and case suffixes to the adjectives, following head deletion, they maybe inflected with such suffixes during the formation process, as form additions.

Only the predicative adverbs displaying time, location, direction, quantity and manner and some modal adverbs have reduplicated forms. However, modal adverbs can only be reduplicated with focusing elements such as *muhakkak ama muhakkak*, *mutlaka ve mutlaka*. In Turkish most of the attributive adjectives can also operate as adverbs. In this study such lexemes are examined in adjectival category.

Reduplications of identical or non-identical, demonstrative (*şunu bunu*), personal (*senli benli*), indefinite (*hepsi hepsi*, *falan filan*) and interrogative (*hangi hangi*, *kim kim*) pronouns may also occur in Turkish.

Interjections, most of which are noun-based words, have reduplicated forms such as *aman aman*, *eyvah eyvah*, *tüh tüh*.

As stated before, a group of conjunctions such as *kah...kah*, *ya...ya* are always used in reduplicated form.

Apart from the word bases from the syntactic categories, mentioned above, constituents of some total monomodal reduplications sharing same phonetic-phonological properties cannot be identified syntactically since they are empty semantically and used only in such reduplicated forms in Modern Turkish. In order to identify such forms, the subject matter should be studied diachronically.



### III. 3. Functional Classification

Turkish does not include reduplication in its grammatical system but uses it in specific lexical, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic areas. In traditional studies reduplications are defined as 'modifiers'. However, depending on the semantic and syntactic properties of the bases to be reduplicated and the reduplication type, they can also form reduplicative compounds constituted by synonymous, antonymous or related (phonologically or semantically) word bases (see Table 3). Here, it is essential to note that in Turkish, reduplication is not a compounding process; semantic interpretation of Turkish reduplications and compounds based on different formal structures. In literature, reduplicative compounds include the morphologically complex words such as *helter-skelter* in English. In Turkish, reduplicative compounds include a very large number of morphologically complex structures formed by means of semantic coordination. As Aksan (2000) notes, such reduplicative forms express subtle meaning differences that can not be conveyed in other ways.

Table 3 clearly proves that reduplication in Turkish is a very productive word-formation process and has uses for both derivational and inflectional purposes. As a derivational process, it serves to derive adjectives and adverbs from nouns, verbs, mimetic words and adjectives.





Plain		Reduplicated	
<i>iç</i>	drink	<i>içer içmez</i>	as soon as (he) drinks
		<i>içti içeli</i>	ever since he drank
<i>yapış</i>	stick	<i>yapış yapış</i>	sticky
<i>adım</i>	step	<i>adım adım</i>	step by step
<i>renk</i>	colour	<i>renk renk</i>	colourful
<i>çeşit</i>	sort/ variety	<i>çeşit çeşit</i>	of various sorts
<i>mutlu</i>	happy	<i>mutlu mutlu</i>	happily

As the samples above clearly prove, usage of reduplications for derivational purposes can not be accounted for in terms of iconicity.

On the other hand, the common use of reduplications for inflectional purposes is to mark the concepts such as intensity, iteration, frequency and continuation as below. Use of reduplication as an inflectional device operates iconically in Turkish.

Plain		Reduplicated	
<i>şirin</i>	cute	<i>şipşirin</i>	very cute
<i>boş</i>	empty	<i>bomboş</i>	totally empty
<i>hediye</i>	gift	<i>hediye mediyeye</i>	gift and the similar stuff
<i>aç</i>	open	<i>açıp açıp</i>	(iterative)
<i>sürt</i>	rub	<i>sürte sürte</i>	(continuity)
<i>yapıver</i>	do quickly and easily	<i>yapıyapıver</i>	do very quickly and easily

Usage of reduplication		Category of the base	Examples
Adverb	predicative	N	kol kola (gezmek)
		MIMETIC	harıl harıl (çalışmak)
		ADJ	uzun uzun (düşünmek)
		ADV	hemen hemen (hiç)
	sentential	V	bakar bakmaz (anlamak) gitti gideli (ağlamak)
Adjective	attributive	N	çeşit çeşit (yemek)
		ADJ	büyükler büyüğü (Atatürk)
	predicative	N	(çocuklar) boy boy
		ADJ	(gözü) mosmor
Reduplicative Compound		V	bul buluştur, gez toz
		N	zarar ziyan, giyim kuşam
		ADJ	şen şakrak, gizli saklı
		ADV	şöyle böyle, bugün yarın
		PRO	senli benli, onun bunun
		INT	ah vah, öf pöf, hele hele
		CONJ	ya.....ya, ne ..... ne
Compound Verb (with auxiliary verbs)		N	kaş göz (etmek)
		MIMETIC	ışıl ışıl (olmak)
		ADJ	tertemiz (yapmak, olmak)
		PRO	sizli bizli (olmak)
		INT	of pof (etmek)
		EMPTY WORD	allak bullak (olmak)

**Table 3.** Functions of Turkish reduplications

### III. 4. Reduplication Types in Turkish

The reduplication types established in Table 2, can be listed as below:

#### I. Total

##### I.1. Total Bimodal Reduplications

- (i) Reduplications devised without form difference
- (ii) Reduplications containing additional repetitive suffixes
- (iii) Reduplications containing additional non-repetitive suffixes
- (iv) Reduplications containing focusing elements
- (v) Ablaut Reduplications
- (vi) M-initial Reduplications
- (vii) Reduplications containing initial consonant and internal vowel substitution.

##### I.2. Total Monomodal Reduplications

- (i) Synonymous Reduplications
- (ii) Empty-word Reduplications

#### II. Partial

##### II.1. Partial bimodal reduplications

- (i) Verbal emphatic reduplications

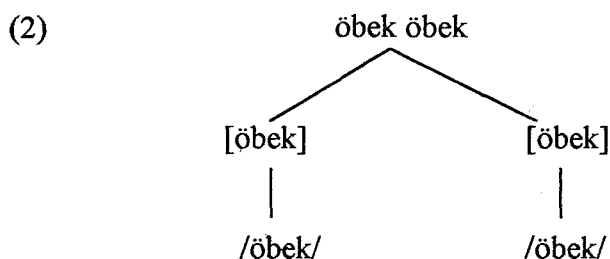
##### II.2. Partial monomodal reduplications

- (i) Adjectival emphatic reduplications
- (ii) Rhyme reduplications
- (iii) Semantically motivated reduplications



### III. 4. 1. Reduplications without Form Distinction

Reduplications in this group are total bimodal since the process duplicates both the whole semantic-syntactic and the whole phonetic phonological properties of the constituents. They are not exposed to form distinction in formation process as illustrated in (2).



**Rule 1:** Copy the entire semantic-syntactic and phonetic-phonological properties of the word base.

As Demircan (1988) notes, in this process, constituents are lexical items identical in form and meaning and they are coordinated rather than displaying modifier-head relationship.

Most of the traditional studies determine the uses of reduplications as to mark the concepts of intensity, emphasis and exaggeration. Nonetheless, functional properties of reduplications cannot be limited with these concepts. Demircan (1988) proposes two general types of meaning, expressed by identical reduplications; quantitative and qualitative. It is essential to state that the aspectual properties of the verbs, modified by a reduplicated form, play an important role in determining the meaning expressed by reduplication. For our purposes, we will not focus on the interaction between the verb and the reduplicated form used as modifier, but point out the prototypical meanings brought



about by the reduplication process.

Some qualitative and the quantitative meanings expressed by this type of reduplications can be listed as below:

## I. Expressing Quantity

### 1. Plurality

N sıra sıra (ev)

Pro kim kim (geldi)

### 2. Excessive quantity

N tutam tutam (saç)

avuç avuç (para)

poz poz (resim)

### 3. Repetition

N. diyar diyar (gezmek)

V. seç seç (al)

Mim. şapır şapır (öpmek)

### 4. Continuity

Adj. kuru kuru (öksürmek)

Mim çın çın (ötmek)

şırıl şırıl (akmak)

## II. Expressing Quality

### 1. Similarity

N. lüle lüle (saç)

kardeş kardeş (oynamak)

hanım hanım (oturmak)



## 2. Distribution

- Adj. dik dik (yamaçlar)  
kolay kolay (sorular)  
ufak ufak (doğramak)
- Adv. sık sık (gelmek)  
tekrar tekrar (saymak)
- Conj. hem .... hem, ne....ne

## 3. Emphasis

- Int. vah vah  
eyvah eyvah

Some nominal and pronominal (interrogative) reduplications in this group give the sense of plurality by putting emphasis on each constituent as the samples in (3) reveal. Excessive quantity is mostly expressed by the nominal reduplications, comprised of the nouns, signifying quantity, as can be observed in (4) clearly. Nominal reduplications expressing repetition also give the idea of ordering. As (5) reveals, some reduplicated nouns, used as adjectival, denote the idea that modified item is much more like the object reduplicated.

(3) a. Kim geldi?

b. **Kim kim** geldi?

(4) a. Bir çuval şeker almış.

b. **Çuval çuval** şeker almış.

(5) a. Kalem gibi parmak

b. **Kalem kalem** parmak

Most of the mimetic reduplications mark that the act they modify is done repeatedly or continuously in the same manner, as in (6). As Aksan (2000) notes some mimetic reduplications express the natural phenomena or the sound in a detailed manner, as in (7). A group of mimetic reduplications, as in (8), are used with only one verb in order to display the manner of the act.

(6) a. Kitaplar **patır patır** yere düřtü.

b. Yüređim **küt küt** atıyor.

(7) a. **küfür küfür, püfür püfür, efil efil, ifil ifil** (blow of wind)

b. **řırıl řırıl, řıpır řıpır, řarıl řarıl, güřül güřül, çağıl çağıl** (flow of water)

(Aksan, 2000: 86)

(8) **kikir kikir** gülmek

**tıpıř tıpıř** yürümek

**bıcır bıcır** konuşmak

(kar) **lapa lapa** yağmak

On the other hand, some reduplicated mimetic forms have metaphorical readings, as exemplified in (9).

(9) a. Hiç merak etmeyin, parayı **çatır çatır** alırız.

b. Delikanlı **çatır çatır** Fransızca konuşuyordu. (Aksan, 2000: 84)

Mimetic reduplications may also reflect speaker's judgements and evaluations such as contempt, dislike, tolerance and enjoyment. Furthermore, some reduplicated forms may have negative or positive connotations. Such pragmatic uses of reduplications can be exemplified as in (10) and (11).

(10) a. **Zırıl zırıl** ağlıyor (contempt)

b. **cır cır** ötüyor (dislike)

c. **cıvıl cıvıl** ötüyor (enjoyment)

(11) a. Etlər **çıtır çıtır** olmuş (positive connotation)

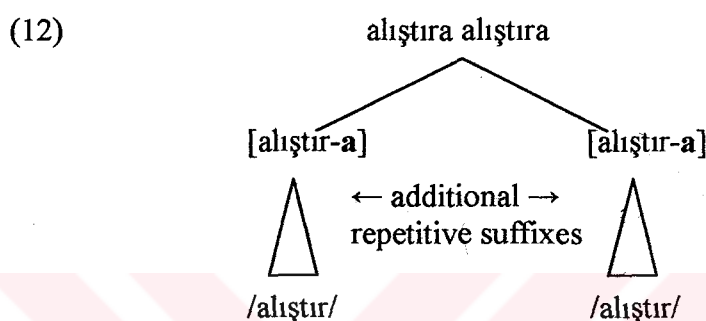
b. Etlər **çatır çatır** olmuş (negative connotation)

Adjectival reduplications in this type mark the concept of distribution. When used as adjectives, they modify plural nouns and they distribute the quality that they signify to each of the object that is modified. In other words, they do not qualify the nouns as a whole but modify the each item apart. Similarly, adverbial uses of them modify the manner of the act gradually.

The reduplicated forms such as *gırgır, çıtçıt, şakşak, dırdır, çekçek, gelgel*, are the lexical items, formed by means of reduplication and integrated structurally within the course of time. On the other hand, Uzun (1993) defines reduplications, such as *topu topu, hepsi hepsi*, as clichés which may take place among lexicalized structures. Such lexicalized forms signify new concepts which are not necessarily related with the meaning of each constituent, thus they exemplify the non-iconic use of reduplication.

### III. 4. 2. Reduplications Containing Additional Repetitive Suffixes

The formation of this type requires nominal, verbal or adjectival constituents sharing the same semantic-syntactic and phonetic-phonological properties. What makes this type different from the previous one is that both constituents are inflected by the same suffix as illustrated below:



- Rule 2:**
1. Copy the entire phonetic-phonological and semantic-syntactic properties of a verbal, nominal or adjectival base.
  2. Add the compatible repetitive suffix to both of the constituents.

As stated in II.4.3.1, additional repetitive suffixes are composed of a certain group of suffixes and their distribution is semantically and syntactically conditioned (see Table 4).

Table 4 reveals that semantic contents and the syntactic properties of the base determine the additional suffix that can be added. For instance only the numeral nouns can be inflected by the suffix  $\{-(\text{ş})\text{Er}\}$  repetitively in the process.

Reduplication	Additional Form	Examples
Nominal	-dAn ....-dAn -I(n)A ....-I(n)A -(ş) Er ....-(ş) Er	kenardan kenardan, geriden geriden üstüne üstüne, başına başına birer birer, üçer üçer
Verbal	-(y)A ....-(y)A -(y)Ip ....-(y)Ip -sE ....-sE -ken ....-ken all tense and modality suffixes	aça aç, bakına bakına, yayıla yayıla, düşüp düşüp, koşup koşup verse verse, gitse gitse okurken okurken, giderken giderken gelmiş gelmiş, gelmeli gelmeli, geldi geldi
Adjectival	-cIK ....-cIK -Er ....-Er -InA ....-InA	minicik minicik, ufacık ufacık teker teker, azar azar dikine dikine, tersine tersine

**Table 4.** Additional repetitive suffixes

The striking characteristic of reduplications in this type is that they may be inflected by plural, negation or person suffixes which do not take place in reduplicative process. In other words, most of the reduplications in this type are open to inflection as the samples in (13) and (14) reveal. Thus, such reduplicative forms can not be accounted for in terms of lexicalization.

(13) a. **Yese yese** iki tabak yer.

b. **Yesem yesem** iki tabak yerim.

c. **Yeseler yeseler** iki tabak yerler.

(14) a. Arabayı **üstüne üstüne** sürdü.

b. Arabayı **üstümüze üstümüze** sürdü.

c. Arabayı **üstlerine üstlerine** sürdü.

Some observed quantitative and qualitative meanings, displayed by this process are listed below:

- I. Expressing Quantity
  1. Iteration
  2. Continuity
  3. Frequency
- II. Expressing Quality
  1. Topic conditioning
  2. Single possibility

The additional repetitive suffixes have important operations in creating the meaning distinction in reduplicative process. Parallel with their repetitive usage, along with the bases, the prototypical meaning brought about by this process is mostly iteration continuation, and frequency in verbs and nouns, as exemplified in (15), (16), (17) (Demircan, 1988; Aksan, 2001). Thus, most of the reduplications in this type can be regarded as being iconic.

(15) Iteration

**sora sora** (bulmak)

**başına başına** (vurmak)

**dönüp dönüp** (bakmak)

**okur okur** (anlatır)

## (16) Continuity

**ağlaya ağlaya** (gitmek)**kenardan kenardan** (yürümek)**koşarken koşarken** (düşmek)

## (17) Frequency

**düşüp düşüp** (bayılmak)**alıp alıp** (ödememek)

At this point, it is essential to note that additional repetitive suffixes do not necessarily mark one single meaning. Depending on the semantic properties of the word base that they occur, they may display totally different meanings as exemplified below.

(18) **Bula bula** bunu mu buldun. (contempt, anger)(19) Parayı **utana utana** istedi. (manner)(20) **Söyleye söyleye** dediğini yaptırdı. (frequency)

Aksan (1988) notes that reduplication in inflection of desiderative conditional reduces possibilities to a single probability imposing a definite restriction. In addition, such reduplicated forms express speaker's guess on a specific situation.

(21) **Tutsa tutsa** üç milyon tutar.(22) Buna **inansa inansa** çocuklar inanır.

As exemplified in sentences below, verbal reduplications, preceding the conditional mood, express topic conditioning. In such sentences reduplications are used to achieve strong topic conditioning reinforcement (Aksan, 1988).

(23) Bu işi **yaptın yaptın**; yapamazsan başkasını buluruz.

(24) Borcunu ayın sonuna kadar **ödedin ödedin**; ödemezsen yasal yollara başvuracağız.

Additionally, the inflected forms of such verbal reduplications express a threat and warning in most cases.

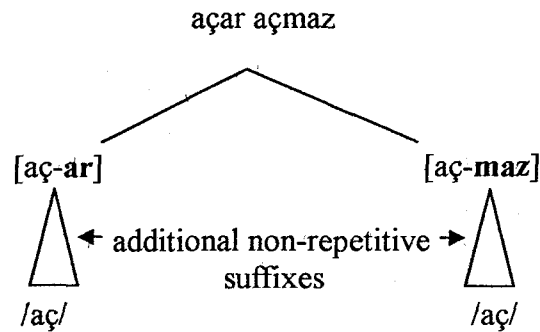
As it can be observed clearly in above examples verbal reduplications mostly operates as the verbs of the subordinate clauses. Thus they are mostly regarded as sentential reduplications (Ağakay, 1953).

### **III. 4. 3. Reduplications Containing Additional Non-repetitive Suffixes**

In this type, word bases, identical in form and meaning, is inflected by different additional suffixes in the formation process. Since they enter the process, sharing the same form and meaning properties, they are defined as total and bimodal.



(25)



- Rule 3:**
1. Copy the entire phonetic-phonological and semantic-syntactic properties of a nominal, verbal or adjectival base.
  2. Add different suffixes, compatible with the semantic-syntactic properties of the bases, to 'both' or 'one' of the constituents.

Demircan (1988) determines 161 non-identical suffix reduplications. Nevertheless, he defines every kind of repeated forms, sharing same or similar phonological representation as reduplication. As noted and exemplified in section II.3, such structures do not have the characteristics of linguistic notion of reduplication. In order to define a non-repetitive suffix as an element of reduplication process, it should not disturb the morpho-syntactic agreement between the bases.

It is essential to note that not all non-repetitive suffixes, in Table 5, are equally productive in forming reduplications.

Reduplication	Additional Form	Examples
Nominal	-Ø ....-(Y)A -A ....-Ø -dAn ....-(y)A -I ....-I(n)A -lAr ....-I -lI ....-sIz	arka arkaya, nefes nefese dişe diş, bire bir, başa baş dilden dile, aydan aya, renkten renge ardı ardına, kelimesi kelimesine yıllar yılı, tanrılar tanrısı yerli yersiz, zamanlı zamansız
Verbal	-Ir ....-mEz -DI ....-EII -(y)An ....(y)AnA -DI ....-EcEk -DI ....-lyor -DI ....-Ir -(y)Ip ....-EcEkI - Ø ....-ıştır - Ø ....-EIE -DI ....-mEDI	çıkır çıkmaz, söyler söylemez ayrıldı ayrılalı, çıktı(k) çıkalı ölen ölene, kaçan kaçana pişti pişecek, düştü düşecek bitti bitiyor, kaynadı kaynıyor gitti gider, battı batır yiyip yiyeceği, görüp göreceği sav savıştır, çek çekiştir it itele, büz büzele, geldi gelmedi, oturdu oturmadı
Adjectival	-IEr ....-I -In ....-I -dAn ....-(y)A - Ø ....-InA - I ....-InA	güzeller güzeli, yüceler yücesi aptalın aptalı, kabanın kabası uzaktan uzağa, doğrudan doğruya tam tamına, aç açına sıcağı sıcağına, boşu boşuna

**Table 5.** Additional non-repetitive suffixes

Reduplicated forms, included in this group, operate non-iconically since the meaning distinction, required in a reduplicative process, is mostly provided by the non-repetitive suffixes, illustrated in Table 5. Some of these suffixes set up lexicalized, idiomatic reduplications such as *bire bir*, *baş baş*, while some give certain meanings to the reduplicated bases. Some concepts, expressed through this type of reduplication, have

been exemplified below.

The dative case marker occurs only in second nominal constituent, signifying mostly the concepts of direction and parts of body. Such reduplicated forms indicate the position of the things relative to each other as in (26). A vast majority of the reduplications, co-occurring with dative case marker, are lexicalized forms containing idiomatic meanings, as in (27).

(26) a. Arabalar **peş peşe** dizildi

b. Halkaları **iç içe** geçirilen gerkiyor.

(27) a. Her merdiven çıkışında **nefes nefese** kalıyor.

b. Bu konuyu **yüz yüze** konuşmak daha mantıklı.

The {-dAn...(y)A} suffixes embody different meanings depending on the semantic content of the noun to which they are inflected. With the nouns signifying time, it marks an increasing or decreasing change in the sense of the modified verb as in (28).

(28) a. Bu ülke **yıldan yıla** fakirleşiyor.

b. İçimdeki kızgınlık **günden güne** güçleniyor.

(29) a. Bu gelenek **kuşaktan kuşağa** aktarıldı.

b. **Ülkeden ülkeye** dolaştı durdu.

As in (29), this additional form may express that the act is done within a longer period of time and gradually. Such usages of the structure also convey the sense of plurality.

The occurrence of {-I....-I(n)A} suffixes along with nominal bases forms adverbials signifying that the act is achieved exactly and successfully, as can be seen in (30). The sentences in (31) reveal that they may also convey the extensive similarity between two objects.

(30) a. Ödemelerini **günü gününe** yapar.

b. Tüm çalışmayı **satırı satırına** kopyalamış.

(31) a. **Saati saatine** aynı günde doğmuşuz.

b. **Virgülü virgülüne** aynı iki ödev! Sen olsan ne yapardın?

The {-IAR ...-I} suffixes co-occurring with nominal and adjectival bases denote the concept of superiority. As can be seen in (32c), for adjectives, having negative connotation the {-In...-I} suffixes are preferred to signify the same concept. When co-occurred with nouns signifying time, the {-IAR...-I} suffixes form adverbials displaying that the act has lasted for a long time, as exemplified in (33).

(32) a. **Tanrılar tanrısı** Zeus çok çapkındı.

b. **Güzeller güzeli** Ayşe'nin kaderi kötüydü.

c. Yeni çırak **aptalın aptalı**.

(33) a. **Yıllar yılı**, kocası bir gün dönecek diye bekledi.

b. **Aylar ayı**, ondan bir haber alamadık.

The most productive lexical category in forming reduplications containing non-repetitive suffixes is the verbal category. The number of non-repetitive suffixes

co-occurring with the verbal bases, in Table 5, may be increased, yet for our purposes we illustrated only the most productive ones. On the other hand, some of the verbal reduplications in this type may be inflected with person, tense and modality suffixes which are not the elements of the reduplication process, as illustrated in (34).

(34) a. <b>indi ineli</b>	b. <b>tak takıştır</b>
<b>indiniz ineli</b>	<b>takmış takıştırmış</b>
<b>indim ineli</b>	<b>taktı takıştırdı</b>
<b>indik ineli</b>	<b>takar takıştırrır</b>

Some of the non-repetitive suffixes, co-occurring with verbal bases form sentential adverbs as exemplified in (35) while some set up reduplicative compounds, as in (36).

- (35) a. **Varır varmaz**, bizi ara!  
 b. **Geldi geleli**, tek kelime bile konuşmadı.

- (36) a. Dikkat et! O vazo **düştü düşecek**.  
 b. Ne bileyim ben! Birşeyler **bul buluştur** işte!

The reduplicated verbs co-occurring with the suffixes{-Ir ...-mEz} form sentential adverbs indicating that the act of the main clause happens immediately after that of subordinate clause as can be observed in (35a). Similarly, the occurrence of the suffixes {-DI...-mEdI} along with verbal bases, manifests the time relation between the main and subordinate clauses. They reveal that the duration between the verbs of main and

subordinate clauses is so short and momentary that it can hardly be noticed, as in (37) (Aksan, 2001).

(37) Telefonu **kapattım kapatmadım**, tekrar çalmaya başladı.

The verbal reduplications inflected with the suffixes {-DI .... -Iyor}, {DI....-EcEK}, express that the act will start or end as soon as possible, as exemplified in (38) and (39). They mark proximity in time.

(38) Misafirler **geldi gelecek** ama daha hiç bir şey hazır değil.

(39) Su **kaynadı kaynıyor**.

The suffixes {(y)An...AnA} imply the sense of plurality and express that the same act is done by a very large number of people, in an exaggerated manner, as in (40).

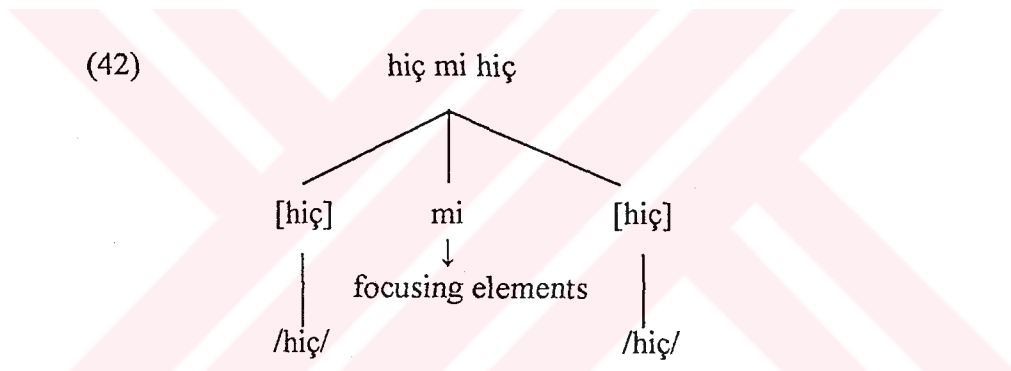
(40) Yaz geldi diye rejim **yapan yapana!**

Negative and positive forms of verbal bases, inflected with different tense and modality suffixes or not, may also set up reduplications. Such forms express two alternative situations and the speaker's indifference, carelessness and critical attitude towards the situation, as can be observed in (41).

- (41) a. Hoşuna **gitsin gitmesin**, bu işi yapmak zorundasın  
 b. **Katıl katılma**, biz yine de güzel bir parti düzenleyeceğiz.  
 c. **Gelip gelmemek** senin bileceğin iş, ama çocuklarınla ilgilenmek zorundasın!

### III. 4. 4. Reduplications Containing Focusing Elements

Reduplications in this type occur in conjunction with focusing particles or coordinators. Since the bases are identical in form and meaning, they are defined as total bimodal.



- Rule 4:**
1. Copy the whole phonetic-phonological and semantic-syntactic properties of the word base.
  2. Add the compatible focusing element between the constituents

As illustrated in (42), the focusing elements occur between the constituents not being adjacent to any of them. They interlock with the constituents semantically and behave as a single syntactic unit along with the constituents. As noted before, they do not establish a structural connection between the bases to be reduplicated but modify the emotional, logical or other semantic meaning of the whole unit.

Focusing particles, mI and dE, may also occur in conjunction with verbal reduplications containing additional repetitive or non-repetitive suffixes as in (43). Depending on the additional form co-occurring with the bases, such verbal phrases display strong possibility or continuity, or they may express that the act is done exactly and perfectly.

(43) oku-r da oku-r (continuity / intensity)

vur-du mu vur-ur (perfectness / exactness)

yap-ar mı yap-ar (strong possibility)

Nominal, adjectival and adverbial reduplications in this type are used as modifier phrases while the co-occurrence of pronominal and conjunctive bases with focusing elements set up interjectional and conjunctive phrases.

Reduplications containing additional focusing elements are usually used to mark the concepts listed and exemplified below.

#### I. Intensity

N günlerce ve günlerce

V okur da okur, anlatır da anlatır, geldi de geldi

adj. hiç mi hic, çok ama çok, tatlı mı tatlı

adv sadece ve sadece, sakın ama sakın

Int of ki of, aman da aman

Conj. hatta ve hatta, ancak ve ancak



II. Insistence

N çay da çay, telefon da telefon

V bırakmam da bırakmam, al da al

III. Strong Possibility

V gelir mi gelir, yapar mı yapar

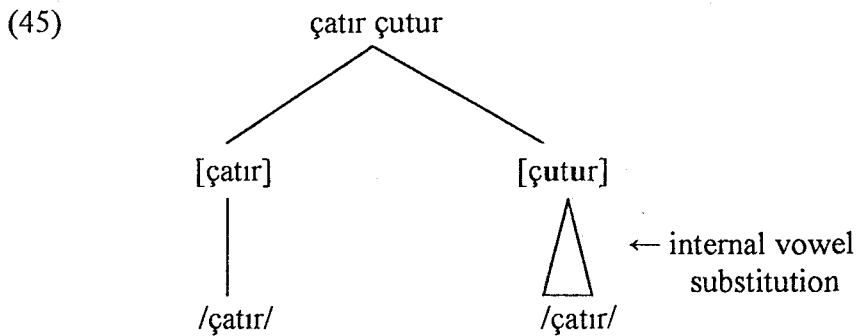
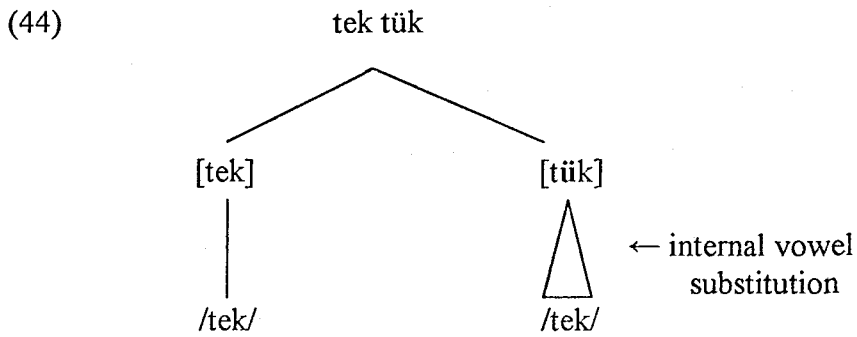
IV. Perfectness

V vurdu mu vurur, sevdi mi sever

### III. 4. 5. Ablaut Reduplication

Turkish tends to form reduplications from the bases which are phonologically similar but semantically distinctive such as *ses soluk*, *yaş baş*, *düşün taşın*, *kara kuru*; or it may form reduplications from the bases which are not identical but similar in meaning and form such as *kurt kuş*, *yüz göz*, *bağır çağır*, *gizli saklı*. As Demircan notes, in case a meaningful rhymic partner is not available “one is formed by either (a) consonantal, or (b) vocalic, or (c) both consonantal and vocalic changes in the base frame (-sk: eski püskü)” (1988:239). In the formation process, these changes occur as internal vowel and / or initial consonant substitution, as noted in section II.4.3.2.

Internal vowel substitution, observed in ablaut reduplications, involves <e-ü> or <a-u> alternations in the first syllable of mimetic or adjectival bases as displayed below. Ablaut reduplications are total bimodal since the constituents share the same phonetic-phonological and semantic-syntactic properties in underlying structure.



- Rule 5:** 1. Copy the whole phonetic-phonological and semantic-syntactic properties of the word base.
2. Substitute /ü/ for /e/ or /u/ for /a/ in the first syllable of the second constituent.

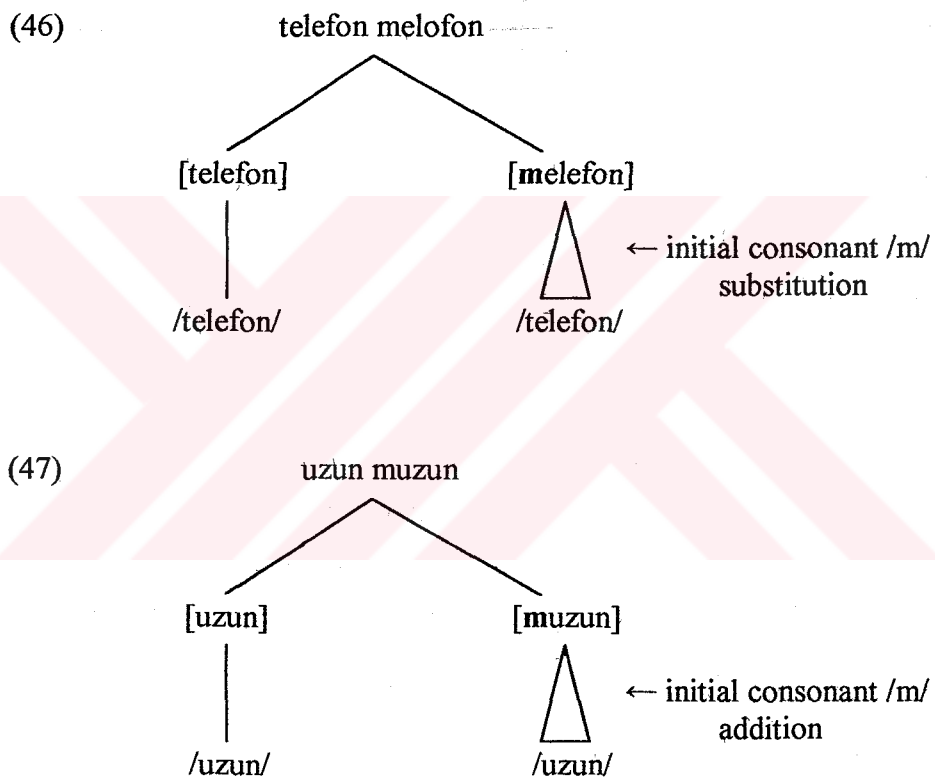
Internal vowel substitution can only be applied to monosyllabic or dissyllabic bases containing internal /a/ or /e/ sounds in their first syllables. As noted before, in cases of disyllabic bases, only the vowel in the first syllable is alternated and the alternated vowel requires its identical in the second syllable according to rules set by vowel harmony in Turkish as in *çartlı şurtlu*, *takır tukur*, *yamuk yumuk*.

Contrary to reduplication types, mentioned so far, the form distinction along with the copying process, in this type, does not load certain meanings to the whole reduplicative structure. Ablaut reduplications in Turkish are lexicalized structures which

have adjectival and adverbial uses.

### III. 4. 6. *M*-initial Reduplications

The most productive reduplication type in Turkish is *m*-initial reduplication which involves either addition or substitution of the sound /m/ in the second constituent as represented in (46) and (47). As the constituents identical in form and meaning in underlying structure, *m*-initial reduplications are defined as being total and bimodal.



- Rule 6:**
1. Copy the entire phonetic-phonological and semantic-syntactic properties of the word base.
  2. Substitute the sound /m/ for the initial consonant of the C-initial second constituent or add it to the beginning of the V- initial second constituent.

This type is fully productive and has a common usage in Turkish; any word, even proper nouns and acronyms may be reduplicated with this process, as in (50) and (51). *M*-initial reduplications are open to the inflectional forms on condition that both constituents are inflected with the same suffix, as in (48), (49) and (52).

(48) **Aması maması** yok! Söz verdin. Bizi yemeğe götüreceksin.

(49) Yavaş konuş! **Duyar muyar**, sonra uğraş dur.

(50) America çok kararlı! **NATO MATO** dinlemiyor.

(51) **Elif Melif** vız gelir. Kafasına koyduğunu yapar.

(52) **Opel de Mopel de** gözüm yok! **Eski meski**, ayağımızı yerden kesecek bir araba olsun da ne olursa olsun.

As can be observed in above samples, reduplication process does not change the syntactic category of the bases.

This pattern can not be used if the word to be reduplicated starts with the sound /m/. Aksan (1996) notes that in case the base to be reduplicated has an initial m-, internal vowel alternation, mentioned in preceding section, is observable in Middle Anatolian dialects, as in *masa musa*. On the other hand Demircan claims that m-initial words are reduplicated by pairing with *falan*, as in (53).

(53) mavi falan : blue or a similar colour

masal falan: a tale or a similar story

Metin falan: Metin or people like him

(Demircan, 1988: 241)

*M*- initial reduplications embody the meaning of 'similar or related stuff' (54), but they have pragmatic rather than semantic motivation. They communicate the speaker's carelessness and indifference towards the situation as in (55) and (56) or they express that speaker contempts and disdains the subject matter as exemplified in (57), (58).

(54) Markete uğrayacağım. **Et met** alınacak mı?

(55) Tek bulabildiğim bu ! **İnce mince** idare et işte.

(56) Biraz **ofladı mofladı**, sonra mecburen kabul etti.

(57) **Otobüse motobüse** binemem! Gel, beni al !

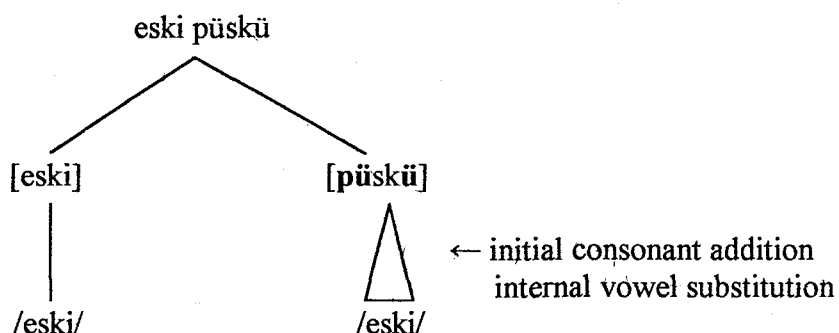
(58) **Çiçekle miçekle** uğraştırma beni, ver anahtar kadın sulasın.

As mentioned in section II.4.3.2, a group of reduplications such as *öcü böcü*, *mırım kırm*, *yırtık pırtık*, *kaba saba*, *sıkı fıkı* are formed by the same process, but the consonantal substitution is provided by the sounds s-, p-, k- b-, z-, f-. Such forms are lexicalized reduplications and they are very limited in number when compared with *m*-initial reduplications.

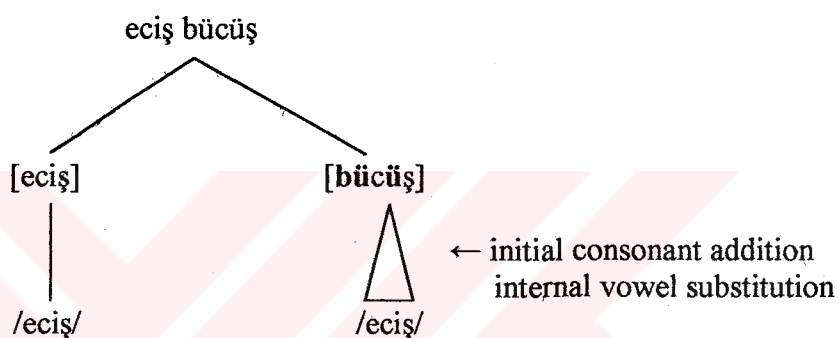
#### II. 4. 7. Reduplications Containing Consonantal and Vocalic substitutions

In the formation of this type of reduplications, which are lexicalized and limited in number, the second constituents are exposed to two kinds of form distinctions; initial consonant and internal vowel substitution.

(59)



(60)



- Rule 7:** 1. a. Copy the whole semantic-syntactic and phonetic-phonological properties of the word base.
- b. Copy the whole phonetic-phonological properties of the word base which is semantically empty.
2. a. Substitute the sounds /p/ or /b/ for the initial consonant of the C-initial second constituent; or add them to the beginning of the V-initial second constituent.
- b. Substitute /u/ for /a/ or /ü/ for /e/ in the first syllable of the second constituent.

A group of reduplications in this type are formed by the bases which are semantically empty and used only in reduplications such as *allak (allak bullak)*, *eciş (eciş bücüş)*. Such reduplicated forms are identified as being total monomodal since the process involve the reduplication of the entire sound properties of the base regardless of its meaning as illustrated in (60) and explained in rule 7(1b and 2).

Some adjectival bases may also be reduplicated with the same process as in (59). such forms are defined as total bimodal reduplications, owing to the fact that the reference is made both to the entire sense properties and to the entire form properties of the bases in underlying structure as explained in rule 7 (1a and 2).

The consonantal addition or substitution process observed in this type is provided by the sounds /p/ or /b/. But there are also rare samples in which the sounds /c/, /m/, /s/ are substituted for initial consonants or added to the V-initial constituents as in *abuk subuk*, *abur cubur*, *halis mulis*.

By means of reduplication, the quality expressed by the adjective is compared and graded; degree of the condensation denoted by the adjectives is increased by different types of reduplicative process, as can be observed in (61).

(61)	eski	old
	eski eski	(distributes the quality to each of the modified item)
	epeski	very / quite old
	eski püskü	rather old
	eskinin eskisi	the oldest

Reduplications in this type are lexicalized forms having negative connotations. As can be observed in (62), the adjectives reduplicated with this process, suggest ‘a high degree’ but ‘more than usual and expected’. This type of reduplications express speaker’s negative attitude to the subject matter, as the sample sentences below reveal.

(62) **Eđri büđrü** sokaklarda kayboldum sandım.

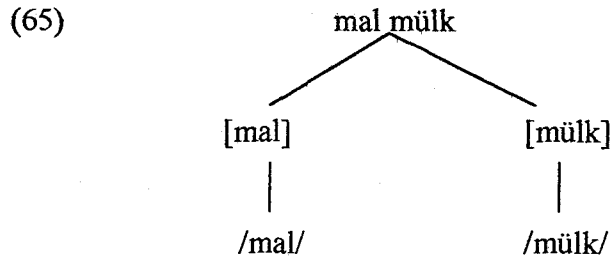
(63) **Eften püften** sebeplerle birbirinizi kırmayın!

(64) Bütün insanların içleri dışına çevrilse dünya **allak bullak** olur.

### III. 4. 8. Synonymous Reduplications

A large group of reduplications occurring in Turkish are constituted by two different phonological words which have the same or very similar meanings. It is essential to note that true or exact synonyms are very rare in languages. However, regional differences, different registers, different dialects motivate the occurrence of synonymous words in a language. The synonymous pairs, mentioned in this type, are formed by Turkish lexemes and their counterparts used either in Old Turkish such as *soy sop*, *yorgun argın*; or in Ottoman Turkish as in *kılık kıyafet*, *güçlü kuvvetli*. In addition some reduplications that still have usages in Turkish such as *şan şöret*, *rica minnet*, *ayan beyan* are constituted by Persian and Arabic originated words used in Ottoman Turkish.





**Rule 8:** Copy the whole semantic syntactic properties of the word base.

As stated in rule 8, in synonymous reduplications, the reference is made only to the semantic-syntactic properties of the base to be reduplicated, and thus they are defined as monomodal. Since the process copies the entire meaning properties, they are regarded as total reduplications as well.

In contrast, a group of reduplications, in Turkish, are constituted by two lexemes juxtaposed, which are antonymous or related in meaning such as *gece gündüz*, *git gel*, *iyi kötü*. Such forms are defined as partial owing to the fact that reduplication process copies the only the shared meaning properties.

The process is very productive in forming verbal adjectival and nominal reduplicative compounds. Furthermore, they may be derived or inflected on the condition that derivational or inflectional suffixes are attached to both constituents.

(66) a. ev bark

evli barklı

b. ses seda

sessiz sedasız

c. bit tüken

bitmez tükenmez

d. özen bezen

özene bezene

(67) a. bık usan

b. bet beniz

bıktırır usandırır

beti benzi

The derivational and the inflectional suffixes, in (66) and (67) above, are not the elements of the reduplicative process, thus can not be defined as form distinctions. They are attached to the reduplication as a whole as mentioned in section III.2. In traditional studies, each form illustrated above is assumed as being the products of different reduplication processes which makes it impossible to determine explanatory generalizations about the running of the process.

The process is used to intensify the meaning signified by both constituents. Strikingly new reduplicated forms such as *okey tamam*, *full dolu*, *çünkü neden*, *bütün hepsi geri iade* are still being invented by means of semantic coordination.

## CONCLUSION

Reduplication is a universally observed structure which involves various types of repetition in the structure of a word, phrase, sentence or discourse. It is also a very common process embodying quite complex structures, in Turkish

In previous studies, since the difference between the simple coincidental repetition and the familiar linguistic concept of reduplication is not determined properly, the extensions of different structures are included in the scope reduplications which make it impossible to make explanatory and predictive generalizations on the subject matter. The main criterion that sets a simple repetition apart from reduplication is that reduplications are structural units with their collective syntactic and semantic properties. In reduplications, the repeated forms are required to be in perfect morpho-syntactic agreement; the constituents should belong to same syntactic categories. Additionally, repetitions fall within the scope of reduplication only if they create a particular meaning distinction.

Turkish is very productive in forming reduplications from nominal, verbal, mimetic, adjectival and adverbial bases. Furthermore, pronouns, conjunctions and interjections may occur reduplicated in Turkish. Reduplicated word bases may be in simple, derived or compounded forms where the simple ones are more productive in constituting reduplicative structures. As opposed to many languages, Turkish permits reduplication of polysyllabic word bases as well.

In many languages, constituents of reduplication differ in ways that one of them is assigned the status of head and the other that of non-head which operates as the modifier of the head constituent. Apart from emphatic reduplications, in Turkish neither of the constituents can be assigned the status of head or non-head.



Reduplication types defined by mode of the constituent may be **monomodal** or **bimodal**. Bimodal reduplications require constituents sharing the same semantic-syntactic and phonetic-phonological constituents while in monomodal reduplications, the reduplicated objects are defined by either their meaning properties only or by their sound properties only. On the other hand, reduplications may be total or partial depending on how the duplicated material is defined. If the process duplicates the entire form or meaning properties of a base, it is defined as **total** and it is defined as **partial** if only a part of semantic-syntactic and/or phonetic-phonological constituent is duplicated. All the six basic possible types defined by the mode of the constituent and by the extent of reduplication occur in Turkish. It is essential to note that reduplications are defined as being total or partial; monomodal or bimodal in underlying structure; before the form distinctions which may take place in reduplicative process. In Turkish, the process may copy

- i. the whole form and meaning properties of the base as in *kaşık kaşık, atıp atıp, hemen hemen* (total bimodal),
- ii. the whole meaning properties of the base regardless of its form as in *çarşı pazar, deniz derya, ses seda* (total monomodal),
- iii. the whole sound properties of the base regardless of its meaning as in *eciş bücüş, allak bulak* (total monomodal),
- iv. only a part of form and meaning properties of the base as in *yapıyapıvermek, çözüçözüvermek* (partial bimodal),
- v. only a part of meaning properties of the base regardless of its form as in *dur dinlen, şöyle böyle, acı tatlı, kadın erkek* (partial monomodal),
- vi. only a part of sound properties of the base regardless of its meaning as in *yusyuvurlak, dümdüz, bembeyaz* (partial monomodal).

In order to identify a repeated form as reduplication, the repetition of the form is required to create a particular meaning distinction collectively. This may be provided by partial or total reduplication only or it may be expressed by some other additional, substitutional or deleted forms which may take place in the formation process. As in many languages, the constituents may be exposed to such form distinctions in the reduplicative process in Turkish. The form distinctions, occurring in Turkish, are the form additions such as additional consonants (*sa-p-sarı, ba-m-başka*), additional repetitive and non-repetitive suffixes (*dön-er dön-mez, yaz-a yaz-a*), focusing elements (*anlatır da anlatır, ekşi mi ekşi*), and vocalic (*tek tük, hapır hupur*) and consonantal (*yırtık pırtık, kül mül*) substitutions. Form distinctions observed in conjunction with both total and partial reduplications in Turkish contribute the reduplication process structurally or semantically.

The following rules display the general running of the process in Turkish:

1. Copy the whole or a part of (total vs. partial) phonetic-phonological and/or semantic- syntactic properties (monomodal vs. bimodal) of a word base.
2. Add the compatible form distinction to 'both', 'neither' or 'one' of the constituents.

Some languages such as Tagalog, Indonesian, and Samoan include reduplication in their grammatical system and use it as a derivational or inflectional device to mark concepts of plurality, tense, aspect, passivization, nominalization, adverbialization. On the other hand, in some languages, reduplication is a pragmatically specialized device; it communicates the speaker's emotional attitude towards the subject matter. Turkish does not include reduplication in its grammatical system but uses it in specific lexical, semantic,

syntactic and pragmatic areas. Reduplication in Turkish forms adverbials, adjectivals and reduplicative compounds expressing subtle meaning differences that can not be conveyed in other ways.

Turkish reduplications can operate either iconically or non-iconically. Use of reduplications to mark concepts of iteration, continuation, intensity can be listed among the iconic functions of Turkish reduplication. On the other hand, the form and meaning are motivated non-iconically in *m* – initial reduplications which are mostly used for pragmatic aims.

Although a great majority of them are phrase structures, reduplications in Turkish set up a lexical field as well. *Kırış kırış, eski püskü, dırdır, hemen hemen, yamuk yamuk* are just some of such lexicalized reduplicated forms.

Phonological aspects of reduplications, which play an important role in the formation of emphatic reduplications call for a further research which we do not aim here. Semantic properties of the constituents, the interaction between the reduplicative and the other elements in a sentence are some other worthwhile topics that further studies should be carried out.





## ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın ana hedefi, Türkçe’de yaygın olarak kullanılan ve kelime türetme açısından oldukça işlek olan ikilemelerin dil bilim yöntemleriyle tanımlamak, sınıflandırmak ve yapılan sınıflamaları yapısal ve işlevsel açıdan kapsayıcı ilke ve genellemeler altında açıklamaktır. Amaca ulaşmak için öncelikle ikileme sürecinin diğer dillerdeki yapısal ve işlevsel özelliklerine ilişkin ortak eğilimler değerlendirilerek, Türkçe’de ikileme olarak adlandırabileceğimiz yapıları belirleyecek ilkeler saptanmış ve ikileme olarak tanımlanabilecek yapıların türsel, yapısal ve kullanım boyutuna ilişkin tespitler sunulmuştur. Belirlenen yapısal özellikler çerçevesinde sürecin Türkçe’deki işleyişini açıklayabilecek kurallar önerilmiştir. Türkçe’nin gerek yapısal özellikleri gerekse işlevsel özellikleri açısından çeşitlilik gösteren ikileme yapılarına izin veren dilsel özelliklerini ortaya çıkararak, Türkçe dilbilgisinin betimlenmesine katkıda bulunabilmek de amaçlar arasındadır.

Çalışmanın giriş bölümünde araştırma problemi tanıtılmış, çalışmanın amaçları, sınırlamaları ve veri toplama yöntemleri belirtilmiştir.

İlk bölümde, öncelikle yapının kullanım ve biçimsel boyutuna ilişkin dillerarası ortak eğilimler sunulmuştur. Daha sonra yapının Türkçe’deki görünümüne ilişkin geleneksel ve çağdaş bakış açılarıyla yapılan çalışmalar özetlenmiştir. Bu çalışmalarda gözlemlenen, terim , tanım ve kapsam karmaşasını ortaya koymak amacıyla, bahsedilen araştırmalarda önerilen sınıflamalara da bu bölümde yer verilmiştir.

II. bölümde, **yineleme** ve **ikileme** kavramlarını birbirinden ayıracak temel sözdizimsel ve anlambilimsel parametrelerin belirlenmesi üzerinde durulmuştur. Daha sonra bu parametreler çerçevesinde, belirlenen ikileme yapılarının genel yapısal ve tipolojik özellikleri saptanarak, sürecin Türkçe’deki işleyişini gösteren kurallar tespit

edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Son bölümde, yapının tam resmini ortaya koymak amacıyla , yapısal ve işlevsel sınıflamalar önerilmiştir. Daha sonra tam ikilemeler üzerinde durulmuş, Türkçe’de tam ikileme olarak tanımlanabilecek yapıların oluşum kuralları, tipolojik farklılıkları ve kullanımlarına ilişkin genel eğilimler belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Türkçe , sesbilim, biçimbilim, sözdizimi ve anlambiliminin farklı araçlarını kullanarak, yapısal ve işlevsel açıdan oldukça çeşitlilik gösteren ikileme yapıları oluşturur. Bu da yapının her yönüyle tek bir çalışmada ele alınmasını olanaksız kılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, ikilemeleri diğer yapıların uzantılarından ayırt edebilecek parametrelerin oluşturulması, sürecin Türkçe’de işleyişini açıklayabilecek kuralların saptanması ve tam ikilemelerin tipolojik farklılıklarının belirlenmesi üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Ancak, yapının sesbilimsel özellikleri, tümcedeki diğer öğelerle etkileşimi, ikilemeyi oluşturan birimlerin anlamsal özellikleri de araştırmaya değer konular içermektedir.

## SUMMARY

The main purpose of this study is to determine and classify reduplications exhibiting structural and functional diversity in Turkish, and explain them under comprehensive rules and generalizations. In order to reach our goals, we have evaluated the common cross-linguistic tendencies concerning the form and the use of the structure. Then, the essential rules that explain the running of the process have been investigated by focusing on the structural aspects of the reduplicative forms observed in Turkish. The results of such an analysis can contribute to the contemporary studies on Turkish grammar since it will also reveal the linguistic features of Turkish that permits a very diverse set of reduplicative structures.

The introductory section of the research presents the problems and the limitations of the study and notes the methods of data collection.

In chapter I, we have reviewed the approaches to the reduplication as a linguistic universal and summarized the traditional and contemporary studies on Turkish reduplications. This chapter also includes the classifications proposed in previous studies.

Chapter II deals with the morpho-syntactic and semantic parameters that set a simple coincidental repetition apart from the familiar linguistic concept of reduplication. In this chapter, we have also analyzed the structural properties and the formation process of the reduplicative patterns in Turkish, defined on the basis of these parameters.

In the final chapter, we have proposed the classifications, parading the full picture of the structure in Turkish. We have aimed at establishing the typological differences of total reduplications, observed in Turkish at this stage of the research. This chapter also includes the common observed tendencies related with the use of total reduplications in specific lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic areas.

In Turkish, we encounter a great variety of reduplication types formed by different phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic means which makes it impossible to handle the subject matter in a single study. Phonological aspects of the structure, semantic properties of the constituents, the interaction between the reduplicative and the other elements in a sentence are worthwhile topics that call for further researches which we do not aim in this study.



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## APPENDIX

### NOMINAL

#### Without Form Distinctions

adım adım	demet demet	kuzu kuzu
akın akın	derece derece	küme küme
akşam akşam	deste deste	lokma lokma
al al	diken diken	lüle lüle
alay alay	dilim dilim	madde madde
Allan Allah	dirhem dirhem	mavi mavi
avaz avaz	diş diş	memleket memleket
avuç avuç	diyar diyar	mevsim mevsim
bardak bardak	dizi dizi	mor mor
beyaz beyaz	efendi efendi	nöbet nöbet
boğum boğum	ev ev	oda oda
boncuk boncuk	geri geri	öbek öbek
boy boy	gün gün	paragraf paragraf
bölüm bölüm	hanım hanım	parça parça
bucak bucak	iplik iplik	pençe pençe
buket buket	kademe kademe	perde perde
bukle bukle	kapı kapı	peşin peşin
burcu burcu	kara kara	poz poz
cümle cümle	kardeş kardeş	pul pul
çanak çanak	karış karış	pürtük pürtük
çeşit çeşit	kaşık kaşık	pütür pütür
çingil çingil	kat kat	renk renk
çil çil	kelime kelime	saat saat
çizik çizik	kırmızı kırmızı	sabah sabah
çuval çuval	kıvrım kıvrım	saçak saçak
dağ dağ	kilo kilo	salkım salkım
dakika dakika	köy köy	sarı sarı
dalga dalga	kucak kucak	semt semt
damla damla	kutu kutu	sepet sepet

sıra sıra  
sokak sokak  
sürü sürü  
şehir şehir  
tabak tabak  
tabur tabur  
takım takım  
tel tel

teneke teneke  
tırmık tırmık  
tıftık tıftık  
tomar tomar  
toprak toprak  
tövbe tövbe  
tutam tutam  
tümen tümen

vakit vakit  
yer yer  
yeşil yeşil  
yol yol  
yudum yudum  
zaman zaman

### With Form Distinctions

{ Ø ..... - (Y)A }

ağız ağza  
alt alta  
ard arda  
arka arkaya  
baş başa  
boğaz boğaza  
çığlık çığlığa  
dirsek dirseğe  
diz dize  
el ele  
erkek erkeğe

geri geriye  
gırtlak gırtlığa  
göğüs göğse  
göz göze  
iç içe  
kadın kadına  
kafa kafaya  
kol kola  
koyun koyuna  
kucak kucağa  
nefes nefese

omuz omuza  
peş peşe  
saç saça  
sırt sırta  
soluk soluğa  
taban tabana  
üst üste  
yanak yanağa  
yarı yarıya  
yumruk yumruğa  
yüz yüze

{- A..... Ø }

başa baş  
bire bir

bugüne bugün  
dişe diş

göze göz  
hınca hınç

{- dAn ..... - (y)A}

ağızdan ağıza	geriden geriye	kucaktan kucağa
alttan alta	gönülden gönüle	kulaktan kulağa
asırdan asıra	günden güne	kuşaktan kuşağa
ayaktan ayağa	haftadan haftaya saatten	laftan lafa
aydan aya	saate	renkten renge
baştan başa	içten içe	seneden seneye
boydan boya	ilden ile	şehirden şehre
dakikadan dakikaya	kalıptan kalıba	taştan taşta
daldan dala	kalpten kalbe	tepeden tepeye
damdan dama	kapıdan kapıya	uçtan uca
dilden dile	kayadan kayaya	ülkeden ülkeye
eğlenceden eğlenceye	kentten kente	yerden yere
elden ele	konudan konuya	yıldan yıla
evden eve	köyden köye	yürekten yüreğe

{-dAn.....-dAn}

arkadan arkadan	geriden geriden	kenardan kenardan
-----------------	-----------------	-------------------

{I.....I(n)A}

ağzı ağızına	haftası haftasına	rengi rengine
ardı ardına	harfi harfine	saati saatine
cümlesi cümlesine	huyu huyuna	saniyesi saniyesine
çizgisi çizgisine	kelimesi kelimesine	satırı satırına
dakikası dakikasına	kılı kılına	sayfası sayfasına
dikişi dikişine	lafı lafına	sözü sözüne
elifi elifine	noktası noktasına	ucu ucuna
günü gününe	pisi pisine	virgülü virgölüne

{-lAr .....-I}

aslanlar aslanı  
aylar ayı  
beyler beyi

saatler saati  
seneler senesi  
tanrılar tanrısı

tövbeler tövbesi  
yıllar yılı

{I(n)A.....-I(n)A}

başına başına  
gözüne gözüne

önüne önüne  
üstüne üstüne

yüzüne yüzüne

{{(ş)Er....-(ş)Er}

beşer beşer  
birer birer  
birer ikişer

dörder beşer  
ikişer ikişer  
sekizer onar

üçer beşer  
üçer üçer

with focusing elements

çay da çay  
ev de ev

günlerce ve günlerce  
yıllarca ve yıllarca

araba da araba  
bebek de bebek

synonymous nouns

ad san-adı sanı  
ağrı sızı  
akıl fikir-aklı fikri  
bet beniz-beti benzi  
çarşı pazar  
deniz derya  
düzgü düzen  
ev bark  
fakir fukara  
gam kasvet  
gelenek görenek

giyim kuşam  
göğüs bağır  
güllük gülistanlık  
günlük güneşlik  
hısım akraba  
it köpek  
kılık kıyafet  
kuvvet kudret  
mal mülk-malı mülkü  
mektepe medrese  
sağ salim

ses seda-sesi sedası  
sille tokat  
sorgu sual  
şan şöhret  
şekli şemaii  
tertipe düzen  
yaren yoldaş  
yılan çıyan  
zarar ziyan  
zehir zıkkım

**antonymous nouns**  
**simple antonyms (binary pairs)**

açlık tokluk	gece gündüz	ölüm dirim
dost düşman	kadın erkek	ölüm kalım
dünya ahret	karı koca	ölümlük dirimlik
erkek dişi	oğlan kız	yer gök

**gradable antonyms**

akşam sabah-akşama sabaha	sabah akşam
---------------------------	-------------

**reverses**

sağ sol-sağa sola-sağdan soldan-sağda solda-sağı solu-sağlı sollu

**converses**

alt üst-altlı üstlü	baştan aşağı	ön ard-önü ardi
aşağı yukarı	içi dışı-içli dışlı	yukarıdan aşağıya

**taxonomic sisters**

ağzı burnu	baştan ayağa	don paça
ağzı dili	börek çörek	el ayak
ana baba	çatal bıçak	el kol-eli kolu
ana kız-analı kızlı	çatal kaşık	el yüz-eli yüzü
ana oğul	dağ bayır	eli ayağı
baba kız	dağ dere	elinde avucunda
baba oğul	dağ taş	enine boyuna
bağ bahçe	davul zurna	fındık fıstık
baklava börek	dede nene	gelin görümce
baldır bacak	dere tepe	gelin güvey
baş göz	dili damağı	gelin kaynana
başı beyni	don gömlek	göz kulak (olmak)

kalem defter  
kalem kağıt  
kapı baca  
kaş göz-kaşı gözü  
kavun karpuz  
kazma kürek  
kedi köpek  
kelle kulak  
koyun kuzu

kör topal  
kurt kuş  
kurt kuzu  
saç baş  
saç sakal  
soğan sarımsak  
tahin pekmez  
tencere tava  
top tüfek

yağ bal  
yaka paça  
yatak yorgan  
yaz kış  
yol sokak  
yorgan döşek  
yüz göz-yüzü gözü

### semantically or phonologically related nouns

abdest namaz  
alet edevat  
ar namus  
aslı astarı  
bet bereket  
cam çerçeve  
can ciğer  
çalı çırpı  
çayır çimen  
dal budak  
din iman  
dirlik düzenlik  
düğün bayram  
düğün dernek  
eş dost  
hacı hoca  
hak hukuk  
hal hatır  
han hamam  
hatır gönül  
havası suyu-havadan sudan  
hayır hasenat  
hekim hakim

hekim hoca  
hesap kitap  
hırsız uğursuz  
huyu suyu  
ilim irfan  
in cin  
incik boncuk  
ip sap-ipe sapa  
ismi cismi  
iş güç  
kader kısmet  
kan kuvvet  
kan revan  
kap kacak  
kar buz-karda buzda  
kar kış-karda kışta  
kenarda köşede  
kış kıyamet  
kıyı köşe  
kıyı köşe-kıyıda köşede  
kız kısrak  
kız kızan  
kol kanat

kolu kanadı  
konu komşu  
köşe bucak  
kul kurban  
lamı cimi  
namaz niyaz  
od ocak  
oğlan uşak  
özü sözü  
para pul-parasız pulusuz  
sağ esen  
sağ selamet  
salkım saçak  
sandık sepet  
sap saman  
sel(ler) su(lar)  
selam kelam  
sesi soluğu  
söz sohbet  
sözü sazı  
taç taht  
taşı toprağı  
tekme tokat

toz duman  
toz toprak  
tuz buz

yağmur çamur  
yalan dolan  
yaş baş

yer yurt  
yol yordam

## MIMETIC WORDS

### without form distinction (monosyllabic)

bar bar  
bas bas  
cak cak  
cart cart  
cır cır  
çan çan  
çat çat  
çın çın  
fır fır  
fis fis  
garç garç  
güm güm  
gümp gümp

hart hart  
hım hım  
kıs kıs  
küt küt  
lap lap  
lop lop  
löp löp  
pat pat  
pıt pıt  
rap rap  
şak şak  
şap şap  
şar şar

şık şık  
şıp şıp  
şır şır  
tak tak  
tın tın  
tin tin  
trink trink  
vır vır  
viz viz  
zır zır  
zırt zırt

### (bisyllabic)

azır azır  
bangır bangır  
cayır cayır  
civıl civıl  
cızır cızır  
ciyak ciyak  
çağıl çağıl  
çatır çatır  
çingır çingır

çıpı çıpı  
çıtır çıtır  
facır facır  
faşır faşır  
fıkır fıkır  
fıldır fıldır  
fırıl fırıl  
fisıl fisıl  
fisır fisır

fokur fokur  
fosur fosur  
garç gurç  
gıcır gıcır  
gıldır gıldır  
gıvıl gıvıl  
haldır haldır  
hapır hapır  
harıl harıl



hart hurt  
haşır haşır  
hatır hatır  
hışır hışır  
horul horul  
hüngür hüngür  
ışıl ışıl  
kıkır kıkır  
kımıl kımıl  
kıpır kıpır  
kıtır kıtır  
kikir kikir  
küfür küfür  
kütür kütür  
lapa lapa

lıkır lıkır  
lokur lokur  
löprür löpür  
lukur lukur  
lüpür lüpür  
mıncık mıncık  
mışıl mışıl  
patır patır  
pıtır pıtır  
püfür püfür  
şakır şakır  
şangır şangır  
şapır şapır  
şarıl şarıl  
şıkır şıkır

şingır şingır  
şıpır şıpır  
şırıl şırıl  
takır takır  
tangır tangır  
tıkır tıkır  
tıpır tıpır  
tıpış tıpış  
vızık vızık  
vızır vızır  
viyak viyak  
zangır zangır  
zingıl zingıl  
zingır zingır  
zırl zırl

with form distinction  
(monosyllabic)

cak cuk  
cart curt  
çat çuk  
çat pat

garç gurç  
hart hurt  
pat küt  
şap şup

tak tuk  
tik tak  
trik trak  
zırt pırt

(bisyllabic)

cakur cukur  
cangul cungul  
cazır cuzur  
çangıl çungul  
çangır çungur  
çatır çutur  
çatra patra  
çıtı pıtı

çıtır pıtır  
faşır fuşur  
haldır huldur  
hapır hupur  
haşır huşur  
hatır hutur  
langır lungur  
paldır küldür

patır kütür  
şakır şukur  
şangır şungur  
şapır şupur  
takır tukur  
tangur tungur  
tingır mingır

## TRIPPLICATION

### (echoic bases)

cazır cazır cazırdamak  
cır cır cırlamak  
cıvıl cıvıl cıvıldamak  
cızır cızır cızırdamak  
çağıl çağıl çağıldamak  
dır dır dırlanmak  
fıkır fıkır fıkırdamak  
fis fis fıslamak  
fısıl fısıl fııldamak  
fiş fiş fişlamak  
fişır fişır fişırdamak  
fingir fingir fingirdemek  
fokur fokur fokurdamak  
fosur fosur fosurdatmak  
gurk gurk gurklamak

gür gür gürlemek  
gürül gürül gürüldemek  
homur homur  
homurdamak  
hop hop hoplamak  
hor hor horlamak  
ışıl ışıl ışıldamak  
kıkır kıkır kıkırdamak  
kımıl kımıl kımıldamak  
kıpır kıpır kıpırdamak  
kikir kikir kikirdemek  
kütür kütür kütürdemek  
mır mır mırlamak  
mırıl mırıl mırıldanmak  
par par parlamak

parıl parıl parıldamak  
puf puf puflamak  
şarıl şarıl şarıldamak  
şıkır şıkır şıkırdamak  
şingir şingir şingirdamak  
şırıl şırıl şırıldamak  
tıs tıs tıslamak  
vık vık vıklamak  
vır vır vırlamak  
viz viz vızlamak  
vızır vızır vızırdamak  
zangır zangır zangırdamak  
zip zip zıplamak  
zır zır zırlamak  
zonk zonk zonklamak

### (verbal bases)

bayım bayım bayılmak  
burum burum burulmak  
buruş buruş buruşmak  
didik didik didikleme  
didiş didiş didişmek  
dilim dilim dilmek  
dürüm dürüm dürmek  
erim erim erimek  
ezim ezim ezilmek  
gıt gıt gıdıklamak

inim inim inlemek  
itiş itiş itişmek  
kasım kasım kasılmak  
kırım kırım kırıtmak  
kıvrım kıvrım kıvrınmak  
kıyım kıyım kıyılmak  
kurum kurum kurulmak  
mızık mızık mızıkla(n)mak  
oyum oyum oyulmak  
parça parça parçalamak

sızım sızım sızılmak  
sürüm sürüm sürünmek  
süzüm süzüm süzülme  
ter ter tepinmek  
tırtık tırtık tırtıklamak  
tir tir titremek  
üzüm üzüm üzülme  
vızık vızık vızıklamak  
viyak viyak viyaklamak  
yarım yarım yarılmak

## VERBAL

### without form distinction

bak bak	okut okut	tıkış tıkış
kapış kapış	okutma okutma	yapış yapış
kırış kırış	seç seç	yapma yapma
oku oku	sıkış sıkış	yazdır yazdır
okuma okuma	süslen süslen	yazış yazış

### with form distinction

{-(y)A..... (y)A}

aça aç ačila açıla	gere gere	sarsıla sarsıla
alıştır alıştır	gerine gerine	seke seke
baka baka	gide gide	seve seve
bakına bakına	göre göre	sevine sevine
basa basa	güle güle	sora sora
bile bile	hıçkıra hıçkıra	söylemeye söylemeye
böbürlene böbürlene	kala kala	söylene söylene
bula bula	kana kana	sürüye sürüye
çeke çeke	kasıla kasıla	şişire şişire
dala daha	katıla katıla	tepe tepe
damlaya damlaya	kırta kırta	titrete titrete
deneye deneye	kopara kopara	titreye titreye
diye diye	koşa koşa	utana tuna
dolana dolana	köpüre köpüre	üfleyle üfleyle
döne döne	oynaya oynaya	üfüre üfüre
dura dura	özene özene	yana yana
duya duya	saça saça	yayıla yayıla
düşüne düşüne	salına salına	yuarlana yuarlana
eze eze	sallana sallana	yürüye yürüye

{-Ir.....-mEz}

açar açmaz	der demez	kalkar kalkmaz
başlar başlamaz	doğar doğmaz	kurtulur kurtulmaz
bilir bilmez	gelir gelmez	olur olmaz
çıkarc çıkkmaz	görünür görünmez	ölür ölmez
çöker çökmez	ister istemez	yer yemez

{-(y)Ip.....-(y)Ip}

açıp açıp	dönüp dönüp	kalkıp kalkıp
alıp alıp	düşüp düşüp	koşup koşup
bakıp bakıp	gelip gelip	okuyup okuyup
basıp basıp	gülüp gülüp	ölüp ölüp
bayılıp bayılıp	ısıtıp ısıtıp	şasıp şasıp

{-ken....-ken}

dur(up) dururken	giderken giderken	okurken okurken
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{-DI.....EII}

ayrıldı ayrılalı	çıktık çıkmalı	geldim geleli
bildim bileli	geldi geleli	okudu okuyalı

{-(y)En.....-(y)EnE}

alan alana	gülen gülene	ölen ölene
gelen gelene	kaçan kaçana	vuran vurana

{-sE.....-sE}

bilse bilse	gelse gelse	gitse gitse
dayansın dayansın	gelsin gelsin	okusa okusa

okusanız okusanız  
okusun okusun  
olsa olsa

olsun olsun  
uçsa uçsa  
verse verse

yapsa yapsa  
yesen yesen  
yesen yesen

{-(y)Ip.....EcEk}

görüp göreceği  
okuyup okuyacağı

olup olacağı  
yiyip yiyeceği

gidip gideceği  
alıp alacağı

{-DI....-Iyor}

bitti bitiyor

kaynadı kaynıyor

oldu oluyor

{-DI....-EcEk}

bitti bitecek  
düştü düşecek

gitti gidecek  
oldu olacak

pişti pişecek

{-DI....-mADI}

çaldı çalmadı  
duydum duymadım

geçti geçmedi  
geldi gelmedi

kapandı kapanmadı  
yandı yanmadı

{- Ø ....-ıştır}

ara araştır  
böl bölüştür  
bul(up)buluştur  
büz büzüştür  
çek çekiştir

çek çekiştir  
çırp çırpıştır  
çiz çiziştir  
kar kariştir  
sav saviştir

sor soruştur  
sür sürüştür  
tak takiştir  
tık tikiştir  
ver veriştir

{-Ø ....-EIE}

bur burmala  
büz büzele  
çek çekele  
diz dizele  
dür dürmele

it itele  
kak kakala  
kar karmala  
kov kovala  
sar sarala

silik silkele  
sür sürmele  
tep tepele  
tep tepele

all tense and modality suffixes

okudu okudu  
okuduk okuduk  
okudun okudun  
okumadı okumadı  
okumalı okumalı  
okumayacak okumayacak  
okumaz okumaz  
okumuş okumuş  
okumuş okumuş  
okumuyor okumuyor  
okur okur

okuyacak okuyacak  
okuyacaksın okuyacaksın  
okuyalım okuyalım  
okuyalım okuyalım  
okuyor okuyor  
okuyor okuyor  
yapacakmış yapacakmış  
yapacaktı yapacaktı  
yapardı yapardı  
yaparmış yaparmış  
yapaydı yapaydı

yapdıydı yapdıydı  
yapıyordu yapıyordu  
yapıyormuş yapıyormuş  
yapmalıydı yapmalıydı  
yapmamış yapmamış  
yapmıştı yapmıştı  
yapsaydı yapsaydı  
yapsaymış yapsaymış  
yapsınmış yapsınmış  
yaptın yaptın  
yapmaz yapmaz

one negative and one positive verb

bulsun bulmasın  
gelsin gelmesin  
gitsin gitmesin  
oku okuma

okut okutma  
olsun olmasın  
sev sevme  
yaptır yaptırma

yazsın yazmasın  
ye yeme  
yesin yemesin  
yapmış yapmamış

### with focusing elements

atar mı atar	okumalı da okumalı	okuyayım da okuyayım
bırakmam da bırakmam	okumaz da okumaz	okuyor da okuyor
gelir mi gelir	okumuş da okumuş	vurdu mu vurur
güldü de güldü	okur da okur	yakar mı yakar
oku da oku	okusun da okusun	yapacağım da yapacağım
okudu da okudu	okuyacak da okuyacak	yapar mı yapar

### synonymous verbs

aksırmak öksürmek	dermek devşirmek	ölmek gebermek
bıkmak usanmak	ermek yetişmek	özenmek bezenmek
bitmek tükenmek	etmek eylemek	yalvarmak yakarmak
çalışmak çabalamak	giyinmek kuşanmak	yunmak yıkanmak

### antonymous verbs

#### simple antonyms (complementary pairs-binary pairs)

ayılıp bayılmak	yatıp kalmak
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### gradadbe antonyms

gelip gitmek-gelen giden-gidip gelmek-gidip gelip-git gel  
gelip geçmek-gelen geçen-gelip geçici

### reverses

alıp vermek	batıp çıkmak-bata çıka	inip çıkmak
atıp tutmak	düşüp kalkmak-düşe kalka	yazıp bozmak

## semantically or phonologically related verbs

açılıp saçılmak	düşünüp taşınmak	satıp savmak
anlamak dinlemek	ezilip büzülme	sayıp dökmek
aramak sormak	gezmek tozmak	sevip okşamak
asmak kesmek	görmek geçirmek	silip süpürmek
bağırarak çağırmak	ıkmak sıkılmak	soyunup dökünmek
çalmak söylemek	kırıp dökmek	sövüp saymak
çekmek çevirmek	konusup görüşmek	vurmak kırmak
çıkıp gitmek	okuyup üfleme	yağlayıp ballamak
dallandırıp budaklandırma	ölçüp biçme	yakıp yıkmak
dökülüp saçılmak	saçıp dökmek	yazıp çizmek
dönüp dolaşma	saçıp savurma	yemek içme
durma dinlenme	sararıp solma	yemek yutma

## ADJECTIVAL

without form distinction  
( simple adjectives)

aç aç	çiğ çiğ	katkı katkı
ağır ağır	dar dar	kesin kesin
aheste aheste	derin derin	kolaya kolay
aptal aptal	dik dik	kör kör
ayrı ayrı	diri diri	kötü kötü
az az	dobra dobra	kurnaz kurnaz
başka başka	dolu dolu	kuru kuru
biraz biraz	garip garip	küçük küçük
bol bol	geniş geniş	mini mini
boş boş	güzel güzel	minik minik
bön bön	ince ince	paytak paytak
bütün bütün	iri iri	pis pis
büyük büyük	iyi iyi	saçma saçma
cici cici	kaba kaba	saf saf
çift çift	kambur kambur	salak salak



serin serin

sıcak sıcak

sıkı sıkı

soğuk soğuk

şirin şirin

şiş şiş

tek tek

tombul tombul

top top

tuhaf tuhaf

ucuz ucuz

ufak ufak

uzun uzun

yavaş yavaş

yeni yeni

( noun-based adjectives)

akıllı akıllı

boyalı boyalı

dertli dertli

edepli edepli

edepsiz edepsiz

gizli gizli

görgüsüz görgüsüz

isteksiz isteksiz

iştahsız iştahsız

öfkeli öfkeli

pahalı pahalı

pullu pullu

renkli renkli

sesli sesli

sessiz sessiz

tatlı tatlı

terbiyeli terbiyeli

terli terli

türlü türlü

tüylü tüylü

uslu uslu

uykulu uykulu

yüzsüz yüzsüz

( verb-based adjectives)

açık açık

aygın baygın

dalgın dalgın

değişik değişik

donuk donuk

kesik kesik

kırık kırık

küskün küskün

şakın şaşkın

yılışık yılışık

yorgun yorgun

yumuk yumuk

with form distinction

{-cık....-cık}

daracık daracık

incecik incecik

küçücük küçücük

minicik minicik

ufacık ufacık

{-Er.....-Er}

azar azar

çifter çifter

teker teker

### consonantal and vocalic form distinctions

akça pakça	ekli püklü	şartlı şurtlu
alaca bulaca	eski püskü	tek tük
allı pullu	ezik büzük	ters türs
bölük pörçük	kaba saba	yamuk yumuk
cici bici	kambur kumbur	yarım yurum
çarpık çurpuk	kargacık burgacık	yırtık pırtık
eğri büğrü	süslü püslü	yumru yumru

### synonymous adjectives

akıllı uslu	güçlü kuvvetli	temiz pak
arsız yüzsüz	sesiz sedasız	uçsuz bucaksız
deli divane	şanlı şöretli	utanmaz arlanmaz
dertsiz gamsız	şen şakrak	yorgun argın
dertsiz tasasız	şen şatır	
gizli saklı	tam tekmil	

### antonymous adjectives

acı tatlı	er geç	iyi kötü-iyisi kötüsü
az çok	eski yeni-eskisi yenisi	sıralı sırasız
belli belirsiz	genç ihtiyar-genci ihtiyarı	ucuz pahalı
büyük küçük	gerekli gereksiz	uzun kısa-uzunu kısası
çürük sağlam	haklı haksız	varsıl yoksul
eğri doğru	ince kalın-inceli kalınlı	yerli yabancı
eksik fazla	iri ufak-irili ufaklı	zengin fakir

### semantically or phonologically related adjectives

aç susuz	akça pakça	anlı şanlı
açık saçık	alca bulca	ayrı gayrı
açık seçik	alık salık	belli başlı
ağır aksak	allı pullu	dinsiz imansız

{-IEr....-I}

büyükler büyüğü  
güzeller güzeli

kahramanlar kahramanı  
yüceler yücesi

ulular ulusu

{-In....-I}

aptalın aptalı  
beterin beteri

kabanın kabası  
kötünün kötüsü

sersemin sersemi

{-DEn....-(y)E}

açıktan açığa  
doğrudan doğruya

gizliden gizliye  
ineden inceye

iyiden iyiye  
uzaktan uzağa

{Ø.....-InA}

aç açına

boş boşuna

tam tamına

{-I.....-InA}

boşu boşuna  
dolusu dolusuna

kıtı kıtına  
körü körüne

sıcağı sıcağına  
tamı tamına

{-InA ...-InA}

dikine dikine

tersine tersine

zıddına zıddına

{-II ....- sIz}

düzenli düzensiz  
mevsimli mevsimsiz

saatli saatsiz  
sıralı sırasız

vakitli vakitsiz  
zamanlı zamansız

dökük saçık  
eğri büğrü  
eksik gedik  
etli butlu  
ezik büzük  
gizli kapaklı  
ipsiz sapsız

işsiz güçsüz  
kaba saba  
kanlı bıçaklı  
kanlı canlı  
kara kuru  
kayıtsız şartsız  
kırık dökük

şanlı şerefli  
tatsız tuzsuz  
telli duvaklı  
ufak tefek  
yağlı ballı  
yaşlı başlı  
yersiz yurtsuz

### with focusing elements

çok ama çok  
hiç mi hiç

tatlı mı tatlı  
yalnız ama yalnız

yalnız ve yalnız  
yeşil mi yeşil

### emphatic

apaçık  
apayrı  
bambaşka  
basbayağı  
bembeyaz  
besbelli  
bomboş  
büsbütün  
çarçabuk  
çipçirkin  
dapdar  
dimdik  
dipdinç  
dipdiri  
dopdolu  
dosdoğru

dupduru  
dümdüz  
epeksi  
gepgeşi  
ıpslak  
ıpissız  
ipince  
kapkalın  
kapkara  
kaskatı  
kıpırmızı  
kıpıkısa  
koskoca  
kupkuru  
masmavi  
mosmor

pespembe  
sapsarı  
sepserin  
sımsıcak  
sımsıkı  
simsiyah  
sopsoğuk  
taptaze  
tertemiz  
tostoparlak  
upucuz  
upuzun  
yemyeşil  
yepyeni  
yusyumuşak  
yusyularlak

## ADVERBIAL

### without form distinction

acele acele

bazı bazı

biraz biraz

böyle böyle

çabuk çabuk

çok çok

daha daha

erken erken

evet evet

hayır hayır

hemen hemen

önce önce

peki peki

sık sık

sonra sonra

şimdi şimdi

tekrar tekrar

ters ters

### by means of semantic coordination

arada sırada

bugün yarın

öyle böyle

sabah akşam

şöyle böyle

### with focusing elements

asla ama asla

asla ve asla

elbette ve elbette

mutlaka ve mutlaka

nihayet ve nihayet

sadece ve sadece

sakın ama sakın

yalnız ve yalnız

## PRONOMINAL

### demonstrative pronouns

o bu

ondan bundan

onu bunu

onun bunun

ora bura

orada burada

oradan buradan

ordan buraya

şu bu

şundan bundan

şunu bunu

şunun bunun

şunun şurasında

şura bura

şurada burada

şuralı buralı

şurdan şuraya

### personal pronouns

biz bize

senli benli

sizli bizli

### indefinite pronouns

falan filan

hepsi hepsi

kimi kimsesi

### interrogative pronouns

hangi hangi

kim kim

neler neler

hangisi hangisi

kimin kimin

neyin nesi

### INTERJECTIONAL

aah aah

haydi haydi (hadi hadi)

oh oh

ah vah

hele hele

öf öf

allah allah

hey hey

püf püf

aman aman

hop hop

tüh tüh

ay ay

hu hu

vah vah

eyvah eyvah

of of

ya ya

hay hap

of pof

yazık yazık

### CONJUNCTIONAL

ancak ve ancak

hem...hem(de)

ne...ne

gerek ....gerek(se)

ister ...ister

olsun.....olsun

hatta ve hatta

kah....kah

ya .... ya

### EMPTY WORD

(lexicalized)

eciş bücüş

süklüm püklüm

allak bullak

abuk sabuk

alık salık

abur cubur

abur cubur

abuk sabuk

hırtı pırtı

eciş bücüş