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THE INTENSIFYING FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATION IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH AND SLOVAK

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Abstract: In this paper, I present and discuss the ways of intensifying in Polish and Slovak language communication using reduplication, because one of the semantic properties of reduplication is intensification. Various linguists have pointed out that reduplication may perform many different functions. Reduplication is also associated with a large subset of semantic and syntactic operations, including intensity. Although it is heavily semantically limited to adjectives and adverbs, it applies to nearly all parts of speech. According to its intensifying function, it is common in contemporary Slovak, being mainly associated with compound adjectives, i.e. *širošíry*, *číročíry*, *dennodenný*. Reduplicative constructions are understood as independent language signs, formally and semantically different from their components. Reduplication means a reinforcement of a statement, so there are various semantic constraints on the reduplicant: it involves only gradable attributes and attributes denoting a higher degree of feature intensity (*in plus*). The reinforcement does not necessarily mean the increase of intensity of a state – the aim of reduplication is not only to modify but also to specify the meaning. Intensifying reduplication is one of the many ways of expressing the intensive degree or intensity of an action that is something above the assumed norm and it is a legitimate way of expanding the lexis.

Key words: intensification, reduplication, repetition

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to outline the types of reduplication in Polish and Slovak. It attempts to show the different varieties of reduplicated structures in two closely related languages. The proposed review may be considered a descriptive study that bridge the gap in the current Polish-Slovak contrastive studies literature, since it describes reduplication through the prism of phonological, morphological, syntactical, and semantic processes.

Reduplication is associated with a large subset of semantic and syntactic operations, including the concept of intensity, for as Moravcsik (1978, p. 317) wrote: "the most outstanding single concept that reduplicative constructions recurrently express in various languages is the concept of increased quantity." I study the kinds of intensification in contemporary Polish and Slovak using reduplication, because as Sapir (2010, p. 84) remarked, "there is nothing more

natural than the prevalence of reduplication", which can be said to appear (in various degrees) in all languages.

Although the Polish and Slovak linguistic literature on reduplication is not very rich[1], the topic is not a marginal phenomenon in either language. Reduplication takes internally diverse forms related to both systemic and stylistic issues and is thus not limited only to onomatopoeias.

2. A BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON REDUPLICATION IN POLISH AND SLOVAK

As far as Polish is concerned, reduplication and repetition had not been subject of a systematic monographic treatment until 2018. Before that, a paper by Stanisław Mikołajczak, *Reduplikacja leksykalna w języku polskim* [Lexical reduplication in Polish] pointed to other linguists who had noted the problem of reduplication in the Polish language (Bzdęga 1962, Bartmiński 1978); a wider treatment of reduplication in Polish was provided by Dobaczewski (2017) in his paper *Od regularnych powtórzeń do zleksykalizowanych reduplikacji. Propozycja klasyfikacji tekstowych zjawisk repetycyjnych* [From regular repetitions to lexicalised reduplications. A proposal for the classification of repetitive textual phenomena]. It was, as already mentioned, not until 2018 that (two) works entirely devoted to repetition, reduplication, and quasi-tautologies in Polish were published: the monograph *Powtórzenie jako zjawisko tekstowe i systemowe. Repetycje, reduplikacje i quasi-tautologie w języku polskim* [Repetition as a textual and systemic phenomenon. Repetitions, reduplications and quasi-tautologies in Polish] by Adam Dobaczewski (2018a), and a dictionary, *Słownik reduplikacji i powtórzeń polskich. Od zleksykalizowanych podwojeń do regularnych układów repetycyjnych* [Dictionary of Polish reduplication and repetitions. From lexicalized doublings to regular repeats], by Adam Dobaczewski, Piotr Sobotka and Sebastian Żurowski (2018b).[2]

Likewise, reduplication has never been the subject of a systematic description in Slovak linguistic studies. Apart from Jana Sokolová's papers *Lexikálna reduplikácia a slovenčina* [Lexical reduplication and Slovak language] (2016) and *Frazeologizované reduplikácie z pohľadu formy, obsahu a funkcie* [Phraseological reduplications from the point of view of form, content and function] (2017), no comprehensive study on reduplication exists in Slovak. Furthermore, this phenomenon has only been mentioned in isolated works, such as Körtvélyessy (2014) or Rácová – Samko (2015).

[1] Dobaczewski stated that the linguistic literature on reduplication was so rich that no attempt to synthesize it was possible. He cited a research project carried out at the University of Graz, where the bibliography on reduplication exceeded 2500 items. [cf. http://reduplication.uni-graz.at]

[2] As the authors claim, the main intention of the *Dictionary* was to record as exhaustively as possible lexicalised repetitions of the contemporary Polish language (2018, p. 11).

Whereas reduplication and repetition phenomena do not occur in Polish and Slovak to the extent that is characteristic of the languages of southern Europe (see the data in Stolz et al. 2011), it must be stated that these phenomena represent a certain unique feature of Slavic languages, which remains, however, largely unnoticed in linguistic studies abroad. This is perfectly demonstrated by researchers of the Russian language, who use the doubling phenomenon and repetition as an integral part of the description of grammar and lexis.

3. DEFINITIONS OF REDUPLICATION

Linguists point out that reduplication may exert many different functions in different languages, as well as within one language. As demonstrated by studies conducted on 368 world languages, as many as 85% of them have a form of productive reduplication, and in 277 of them there is partial and/or complete reduplication (Inkelas 2014, p. 169).

Reduplication (from Lat. *reduplicatio*) means 'doubling' and has different meanings due to the study's subject. In linguistics, it is broadly defined as "the repetition of part or all of one linguistic constituent to form a new constituent with a different function, which occurs at many points on a spectrum from phonologically defined partial reduplication to the repetition of syntactic phrases" (Inkelas 2014, p. 169). As Moravcsik (1999, pp. 323–324) points out, reduplication is "a pattern where the double or multiple occurrences of a sound string, syllable, morpheme, or word within a larger syntagmatic unit is in systematic contrast with its single occurrence, with the iterated elements taking up functionally non-distinct positions".

As a widespread phenomenon – seen primary as phonological, although most often treated as a morphological one – reduplication in some languages has been an object of linguists' interest for years. As far as morphology is concerned, in languages in which derivation is regarded as a part of morphology, "reduplication is a morphological process of forming new words, where entire, or parts of, free morphemes are copied and attached to the base by adding or changing a few syllables" (Aziz – Nolikasari 2020, p. 44). Moreover, the authors claim that "the process of forming a reduplication word is determined by the form of the base word" (Aziz – Nolikasari 2020, p. 44) and can change the meaning, but the derived meaning is still related to the meaning of the base word. As Kauffman notes, "reduplication in the language is a morphological type that – through doubling a word, element, root, or stem – enhances, emphasizes, amplifies, enlarges, diminishes, adds number or changes verb tense – to bring about significant meaning changes or shades of meaning" (Kauffman 2015, p. 1). Moreover, reduplication is one of the most widespread strategies of the pluractional marking on the verb (Magni 2017, p. 4). Newman explains that the phenomenon known as

pluractionality[3] involves: a) plurality in the verb per se, b) derivation rather than inflectional agreement, c) ergative relations with other arguments in the sentence, d) reduplication as a common means of formation, and e) the common appearance of suppletive forms (Newman 2012, p. 186).

As a morphological phenomenon, reduplication is often contrasted with repetition, which is considered to be a syntactic phenomenon. The border between these phenomena is syntactic reduplication, where a separate lexeme is repeated, but the formal and functional result of this operation resembles reduplication. A. Wierzbicka (1986) describes syntactic reduplication as a grammatical phenomenon functioning as a productive illocutionary device which illustrates the interdependence between pragmatics and semantics. The so-called "Italian reduplication" is represented by a syntactic structure that assumes a doubled word or group of words: *bella bella* [beautiful beautiful], *bianco bianco* [white white].

In the Polish work *Słownik terminologii językoznawczej* [A dictionary of linguistic terminology], reduplication is defined as repetition of either the whole lexeme or a part thereof, which is used for word-formation and emphatic purposes. This definition suggests that reduplication is not only a morphological but also a lexical phenomenon loaded with expressivity. That is why the concept of the broadly-understood term 'reduplication' is both lexical and lexical-stylistic.

As far as data sources are concerned, I refer to studies by Ološtiak – Michálková (2015), Sokolová (2016, 2017), Dobaczewski (2018) and Dobaczewski – Sobotka – Żurowski (2018) that illustrate reduplication in Polish and Slovak to point out some examples of reduplication in those languages. Other examples were provided by the National Corpus of Polish (*Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*, PELCRA Search Engine) and The Slovak National Corpus (*Slovenský národný korpus*, version prim-8.0-public-all).

4. THE FUNCTIONS AND USES OF REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is used to achieve various purposes: lexical, morphological, and grammatical (Dineen 1967, p. 228). Reduplication is an example of a radial category with a vast array of senses, repetition being a central one, as it is "directly iconically grounded in the repetition of the stem in the linguistic form" (Regier 1994, p. 4). Apart from repetition, the author mentions other senses of reduplication, i.e. plurality, intensity, and completion.

As Der-Houssikian (1999) observes, reduplication has conventionally been considered to serve the purpose of intensifying the semantic and syntactic function of the base form, i.e. *very very good*, in English. In some cultures, reduplication is

[3] In the forthcoming work, I discuss the phenomenon, unexplored in Slavic linguistic studies, of the pluractionality of verbs in contemporary Polish and Slovak.

a form of informal wordplay chosen over dry straightforward discourse in order to convey intensity, humor, and playfulness while employing cutesy, tongue-tickling, or whimsical sounds and words (Kauffmann 2015, p. 1). Moreover, reduplication expresses mostly the following meanings: dimunition, attenuation/limitation, intensification, distributivity, quantification, collectivity, out-of-control (Inkelas 2014, p. 176). Cross-linguistically, reduplication phenomena are thus used to express plurality, distributivity (*each X*), perfective aspect, continuous/progressive/habitual aspect (*keeps Ving*, *is Ving*, *Vs habitually*), diminutives (*little X*), augmentatives (*big X*), intensification (*really X*), variety and similarity (*all different kinds of X*, *X and such*), 'out of control' and various other kinds of derivational meaning (Ghomeshi et al. 2004, p. 309–310).

Some scholars claim that in reduplicative constructions, augmentation (an increase of quantity) and intensification (an increase of degree) are universally preferred over diminution (decrease of quantity) and attenuation (decrease of degree) (Uspensky 1972, p. 70), and that the "intensified meaning" represents just one of six other types of reduplication (Ghomeshi et al. 2004, p. 308). Here, the different functions of reduplication were introduced. The numerous theoretical studies on reduplication provide a wide scope of functions of reduplication in language.

5. TYPES OF REDUPLICATION

Reduplication processes are in linguistic literature generally divided into two categories. The first one is total reduplication – the doubling process of the whole base of a word, stem and root without changing either consonant or vowel. The second is partial reduplication, which is formed by copying part of the base word (the beginning, the medial or the end of a base) such as duplicating a consonant or lengthening a vowel (Aziz – Nolikasari 2020, p. 45).

Anna Wierzbicka (1986, p. 288) noted that it is very common in Italian to reduplicate adjectives, adverbs, and adverbial expressions. She distinguished between syntactic reduplication (*reduplikacja składniowa*) as in the pauseless expression *adagio adagio* ('slowly slowly') and intraclausal repetition (*powtórzenie wewnątrzzdaniowe*) in *adagio, adagio* ('slowly, slowly'), where the comma signals the presence of a pause. The intraclausal repetition means increased intensity and is also present in Polish, i.e., *dawno, dawno temu* ('a long, long time ago'). Dobaczewski (2018, pp. 45–46) equates this phenomenon with lexical repetitions, understood as an occurrence in close proximity of forms of the same unit within the same phrase, which is still formally very varied. There exist both repetitions of a given form of the lexeme in the same position (accurate repetitions – *powtórzenia dokładne*), and repetitions of the lexeme in different positions, which may be accompanied by a diversity of forms (inaccurate repetitions – *powtórzenia niedokładne*). Additionally, Dobaczewski (2018, p. 45) distinguished: a) simple

repetitions (*powtórzenia proste*) (without additional exponents, i.e. *dawno, dawno (temu)…*; *poczytał, poczytał (i zasnął)*; *(obiad był) całkiem całkiem* [‘a long, long time ago’; ‘he read, and read (and fell asleep)’; ‘(the dinner was) quite good’]; and b) complex repetition (*powtórzenie złożone*) (with additional exponents, called the repetition operators, i.e. *dziewczyna jak dziewczyna*; *ludzi a ludzi (było na stadionie)*; *co fachowiec, to fachowiec* [‘a girl like a girl’; ‘people and people (were in the stadium)’; ‘a specialist is a specialist’].

Stanisław Mikołajczak described four types of reduplication in Polish (1998, pp. 68–69): a) simple reduplication, complete (*prosta zupełna – całkowita*): the same lexemes are repeated: *tuż tuż* [‘almost here’][4]; *ani ani* [‘neither nor’]; *albo albo* [‘either or’], b) family reduplication (*wspólnordzenna*) where repeated are words from the same family: *jeden jedyny* [‘the one and only’]; *dwójka podwójna* [‘a double two’]; *różne różności* [‘various varieties’], c) paradigmatic reduplication (*paradygmatyczna*): repeated are different inflexional forms of the same word: *kto komu* [‘who to whom’]; *kto z kim* [‘who with whom’], and d) lexical and syntactic reduplication (*leksykalno-składniowa*): repeated are words concerned as indicators of complexity (conjunctions): *ani…ani* [‘neither…nor’]; *i…i* [‘both…and’]; *lub…lub* [‘either…or’]; *czy…czy* [‘whether…or…’]; *co będzie, to będzie* [‘what will be, will be’].

When taking into consideration the intensifying function of reduplication, the first type is interesting. Complete reduplications become separate lexical units (reduplicated juxtaposition) expressing the individual lexeme’s multiplied intensification. This typically motivated by stylistic purposes and mainly presented in folk poetry or songs: *daleko daleko* [‘far far’], *wysoko wysoko* [‘high high’], *powoli powoli* [‘slowly slowly’], *ledwo ledwo* [‘barely barely’]. In this group, there can also be distinguished juxtapositions linked by a coordinate conjunction, *a* or *i: nikt a nikt* [‘nobody and nobody’ – nobody at all, absolutely nobody, enhanced meaning of nobody], *nic a nic – zupełnie nic* [‘nothing at all’ – absolutely nothing].

In Slovak, assuming that reduplication is not a grammatical rule but a pragmatic means of expression, it can be treated as an additional device to express intensification, distinct from other devices (evaluating prefixes, prefixoids, suffixes, suffixoids, and adverbial intensifiers). The intensifying function means that the reduplication results in the intensification of the non-reduplicated component; reduplication means ‘very, really X’, i.e. *šíry* [‘vast’] – *šírošíry* [‘very vast’], *číry* [‘pure’] → *číročíry* [‘really pure’].

As Jana Sokolová noted, although reduplication is a marginal phenomenon in Slovak, it is an accepted and used means of pragmatic lexicalisation and phraseologisation (Sokolová 2016, p. 247). She understands reduplication in a metonymic way and distinguishes four different kinds: replication (reduplication

[4] It is also written with a comma, *tuż, tuż* or with a hyphen, *tuż-tuż*. See also: *ani-ani*, *albo-albo*, *aby-aby*.

of syllables and morphemes), reduplication (reduplication of lexemes inside composites, apposites and two-word phraseologised structures: phraseological reduplications), iteration (reduplication by a syntactic *ad hoc* repetition of words) and tautology (reduplication in structures like '*X je X*','X is X').

The reduplicative type applies to bilateral language units – morphemes and lexemes. The reduplication of morphemes applies only within a numerically limited affixal type. The composition type has a morphematic-lexical nature and is "composed" of two identical lexemes. Within this reduplicative type, affixal, compositional and appositional types can be distinguished.

The affixal type is present in words where the prefix and the beginning of the word base are identical: Sk. *prapravnuk*, *prapravnučka*, *praprarodičia*, Pl. *praprawnuk*, *praprawnuczka*, *praprarodzice* ['great-great-grandson', 'great-great-granddaughter', 'great-great-grandparents'].

The compositional type of lexical reduplication (not recorded in Polish) is motivated by the word-formation and represents a conjunction-modification type of isomorphism. Compounds such as *dennodenný*, *svätosvätý*, *číročíry*, *širošíry* are also called 'double (reduplicated) compounds' (*zdvojené zloženiny*) in Slovak (cf. Furdík 2004, p. 72) and represent a specific group of structures where the second component is identical with its motivator.

Reduplication in Slovak may exist as right-sided (progressive) or left-sided (regressive). Right-sided reduplication is when the replicated part occurs on the right of a motivated expression and is typical for apposites (items created by lexicalisation of two identical words in terms of part of speech, connected with a hyphen, with coordinative or determinative relation). Apposites are characterised by: a) a looser connection of components, allowing the second part to be modified (*cesta-necesta* 'long and winding road'), b) inflection of both components (*trmy-vrmy* 'helter-skelter'), c) pronouncing without a pause. Left-sided reduplication (when the replicated part is on the left side of its motivator, i.e. *prapravnuk*, *dennodenný* 'day-by-day-like', *číročíry*) is typical for compounds motivated by word formation, with the onomasiological base determined from the left side.

Structures that are the results of the appositional type of lexical reduplication are also interpreted in Slovak in the context of phraseology as "petrified phrases that arose by intensifying repetition with modification of the basic expression" (Mlacek 2001, p. 93). Among them, a specific group consists of apposites, which J. Mlacek evaluates as a bounded group of connections in which the adjective component is tautologically formed from a nominal component (Mlacek 2004). The same approach is presented by Ološtiak and Michálková (2015, p. 739), who write about intensifying phrases based on tautology of components (*intenzifikačné frazémy založené na tautologickosti komponentov*), i.e. *div divúci* ['wonder of wonders'], *hmla hmlúca* ['foggy fog'], *pravda pravdúca* ['too true'], *roky rokúce* ['year-long years'], *tma tmúca* ['pitch black'], *zima zimúca* ['wintry winter']:

(1) *Čo to za **div divúci**, ktorý z človeka urobí bytosť, akej ešte nikdy nebolo na zemi!?* [What **wonder of wonders** which out of a man will make a being like never before on Earth!?]
(2) *Na Chopku je momentálne **hmla hmlúca**, cez deň má byť pod mrakom a slabo snežiť, vietor sa má utíšiť* [The peak of Chopok is at the moment shrouded by a **foggy fog**, during the day, it is awaited overcast with light snow, and the wind should abate.]
(3) *Vonku **hmla hmlúca**, štart sa kvôli nej posúval, aby bolo aspoň trošku vidno* [There was **foggy fog** outside, and the start was shifted because of it, so there would be at least a little visibility.]
(4) *Všetko, čo sa v tejto mikropoviedke opisuje, je **pravda pravdúca**, nič vymyslené* [Everything described in this micro-story is **too true**, nothing was invented.]
(5) *Ak by bolo v tomto úplne jasné, čomu sa **roky rokúce** bránia mnohí politici, mnoho nešťastí v minulosti nemuselo byť* [If it had been clear what many politicians have fought against **for many years**, many misfortunes in the past might have been avoided.]
(6) *Pri tejto príležitosti sme sa s autorom, ktorý svoje karikatúry už **roky rokúce** publikuje na stránkach Záhoráka a pravidelne ilustruje naše vianočné a novoročné číslo, trochu porozprávali* [On this occasion, we talked a bit with the author, who has been publishing his caricatures on the Záhorák website **for many years**, and regularly illustrates our Christmas and New Year issue.]
(7) *Päť hodín – takmer úplná tma, **tma tmúca**, v ktorej nesvietia ani tie maličké životodárne svetielka ľudskej duše* [Five hours – almost complete darkness, **pitch black**, in which not even the tiny life-giving lights of the human soul shine.]
(8) *Mňa síce neteší, že ide zima, no potešilo ma, že keď už je tá **zima zimúca** za oblokmi, tak nech je aspoň nejako spestrená* [I am not happy that the winter is coming, but I was pleased that since this **wintry winter** already reigns out there, it should at least be somewhat varied.]

Such uses do not exist in Polish, while *prawda prawdziwa*, as in (9), is possible:
(9) *To, że poza drzwiami swojego kościoła nie dostrzegasz innego świata, nie znaczy, że twój pogląd i twoja prawda to jedyna **prawda prawdziwa*** [The fact that you don't see another world beyond the doors of your church, does not mean that your view and your truth are the only **truth proper**].

Reinforcement is expressed by the reduplicated formations reflected in the intensified adjectives: *šíry* → *šírošíry*, *číry* → *číročíry*, *denný* → *dennodenný* [day-by-day-like], *veľký* → *veľký-preveľký* [big-$_{\text{INTENS}}$big], intensified adverbs *málo* → *málo-pramálo* [little-$_{\text{INTENS}}$little], *veľa* → *veľa-preveľa* [a lot-$_{\text{INTENS}}$a lot], *dávno* → *dávno-pradávno* [long ago-$_{\text{INTENS}}$long ago: 'in the dim and distant past'], *múdro* →

múdro-premúdro [wisely-$_{INTENS}$wisely], or an adverbial usage of interjections: *beda → beda-prebeda* [woe-$_{INTENS}$woe: 'what a shame'], *škoda → škoda-preškoda* [pity-$_{INTENS}$pity: 'a great pity'], i.e.:

(10) *Takto mi recept povedal kolega kedysi* ***dávno-pradávno*** *a odvtedy patrí k obľúbeným v celej našej rodine* [This is how a colleague told me to make this recipe **a very long time ago** and it has since become one of the favorites in our whole family ever since.]

(11) *Udeje sa toho ešte* ***veľa-preveľa****, všetko sa ešte mnohonásobne skomplikuje a je na čitateľovi (...)* [There's **so, so much that is** going to happen, everything will get complicated in all kinds of ways and it's up to the reader (…).]

Examples of reduplication in Slovak can be divided into two groups: a) the first group are combined structures in which the second component is independent lexeme and the structure already has an intensive meaning: *pramálo*, *preveľa*, *preveľký*, *premúdro* ('very little, very much, very big, very wisely'; b) the second one contains structures which do not exist separately, as stand-alone lexemes (*prebeda*, *preškoda*, *zoči*) but were created as part of a new phrase within an intraphraseological word formation: *beda-prebeda*, *chtiac-nechtiac*, *škoda-preškoda*, *zoči-voči.* These examples represent a special type of phraseological units called "súslovia" (Ološtiak 2011, p. 62; Ološtiak – Ivanová 2013, p. 202) and show different perspectives applied to the same type of unit: as a product of an intra-phraseological word formation (Ološtiak 2011), as a type of compound (Sokolová – Ivanová – Vuzňáková 2005), or as a type of apposition (Sokolová 2002). These forms occur as affixal asymmetric additional reduplication by extending the lexeme in place of the onomasiological mark by the prefixes *pre-*, *pra-*:

(12) *Zatváril sa* ***múdro-premúdro*** *a povedal: (...)* [He looked **wisely-very wisely** and said: (…).]

(13) *Túto hrudku som robila na Veľkú noc a mala* ***veľký-preveľký*** *úspech* [I did this lump for Easter and it was **a great-great** success.]

Although we can also distinguish in Polish the prefix *prze-* with adjectives or adverbs to express intensity, i.e. *prześliczny* [PREF$_{beautiful}$ = very beautiful], *prześlicznie* [PREF$_{prettily}$= very lovely], *przedobry* [PREF$_{good}$ = very good], *przepyszny* [PREF$_{delicious}$ = very delicious]; such lexemes do not create asymmetric reduplicated appositions like *ślicznie-prześlicznie, piękny-przepiękny*, but create expressions indicating increased intensity, i.e.:

(14) *Alicja uśmiecha się, końce brwi idą jej w górę,* ***ślicznie, prześlicznie,*** *oczy marszczą się jak u kotki imieniem Li albo jak u Chinki, albo jak ... w każdym razie fajnie* [Alice smiles, the ends of her eyebrows go up, **prettily, very**

prettily, her eyes wrinkle like those of a cat named Li or a Chinese woman, or like ... anyway, nicely.]

(15) *Były to widoki:* ***piękne, bardzo piękne, przepiękne****, liczne, niesamowite, zachwycające* [These were the views: **beautiful, very beautiful, extra beautiful**, numerous, amazing, enchanting.]

Describing the phenomenon of reduplication from the perspective of intensity, it should be stated that the replicative type of lexical reduplication is interesting as well.

Replicative reduplication is considered to be an integral connection of homogeneous segments, that is, the lower plane units integrated to higher plane units, as replicating sounds or syllables within the boundaries of one lexeme. In Slovak, it does not have the status of a word-formation procedure. A phonetic and syllable replication, namely phonetic replication achieved by an elongation of sounds, produces expressive words with a non-traditional phonetic construction. Vocal replication has an emphatic function, both in Slovak (*táák* ['s-o-o-o'], *aháá* ['I s-e-e-e']) and Polish (*taaak* ['y-e-e-s'], *ahaaa* ['I s-e-e-e']). Consonant replication can express hesitation: *hmmm*, nodding: *mhm*, reckless action: *hŕŕ*, giving orders to stop: Sk. *pŕŕ*!, Pl. *prrr*! or different feelings or sounds: Sk. *bŕŕ*, *vŕŕ*, Pl. *brrr*. Syllabic replication is presented as an evaluative repetition in diminutives and hypocoristic words: Sk. *uzulilinký*, *málilinko*, *trošilinku* [narrow/small/a little + lilinký/lilinko/lilinku = 'very, very narrow, small, little'], Pl. *wąziuteńko*, *maleńko*, *maluteńko*, *malusieńko*, *troszeńkę*, *troszeczkę*.

Reduplication applies to nearly all parts of speech. Although it is heavily semantically limited to adjectives and adverbs, it also occurs frequently in the formation of interjections: *ha-ha*, *hi-hi*.

Following Mathesius (1947, p. 70), horizontal and vertical intensification can be distinguished in both Polish and Slovak. Horizontal intensification means the length, duration and frequency of the action as expressed by these adjectives and adverbs, including quantity, i.e.,

Sk.:

(16) *Kvôli tomu musím zostať ešte* ***dlho dlho*** *zaľúbená, asi aj až dovždy do Eda*. [Because of that, I have to remain in love with Ed for a **long long** time, probably even forever.]

(17) *Podobný tvar sa dosť* ***často často*** *objavuje aj v poľských prameňoch*. [**Often often** enough does a similar shape also appear in Polish sources.]

(18) *Zbehlo sa to všetko veľmi* ***rýchlo rýchlo***. [It all went down very **fast fast**.]

Pl.:

(19) *Wyjątkowo* ***szybko szybko*** *rozstrzygnęła się głośna sprawa studentek, których toruńska prokuratura oskarżyła o plagiat*. [The high-profile case of female students accused of plagiarism in Toruń was resolved exceptionally **quickly quickly**.]

The following examples refer to a measure and effort involved in performing an action, i.e.:

(20) *Už sa skutočne **veľmi veľmi** teším na to, že košeľu v ruksaku nebudem potrebovať.* [I'm **really really** looking forward to not needing to have a shirt in my backpack.]
(21) *Wiemy na co nas stać i **bardzo bardzo** chcemy wygrywać.* [We know what we can do and we want to win **very very much**.].

Repetition of the same form means '(twice) more / more intensely': *szybko, szybko* ['quickly, quickly'], *powoli, powoli* ['slowly, slowly'], i.e.:

(22) *Wreszcie dotarłaś! **Szybko, szybko** opowiadaj jak tam było!* [You have finally arrived. **Quickly, quickly** tell me how it was!]
(23) *Już to załatwiłem. **Powoli, powoli,** nie da się wszystkiego naraz* [I have already managed it. **Slowly, slowly,** you can't do everything at once.]

In Slovak, we can also note the doubling of adverbs with a hyphen: *vysoko-vysoko* ['high and far off'], *pomaly-pomaly* ['slowly-slowly']:

(24) *Bude ho to dusiť, môžbyť chvieť sa po celom tele, až kým **pomaly-pomaly** klesne v ňom napätie, alebo kým si nenájde objekt, na ktorého môže vyliať zlosť* [It will suffocate him, he may tremble all over his body until the tension in him **very slowly** drops, or until he finds an object on which he can pour out his anger.]
(25) *Nevidieť rozžiarených snopkov vznášať sa vo vzduchu **vysoko-vysoko**, čo vyniesla veľká horúčava* [One could not see the shining sheaves hovering in the air **high and far off**, which brought about a great heat.]

In both Polish and Slovak, there are also structures with a different inflectional form of the base word: Pl. *sąd sądem* [the court is the court$_{INST}$], *świat światem*, Sk. *svet svetom* [the world is the world$_{INST}$] (for details in Polish see: Dobaczewski 2018, pp. 179–185).

6. CONCLUSIONS

Reduplicants are structurally variable and represent a semantically heterogeneous and differentiated layer of lexis in Polish and Slovak. Reduplicated words create a new quality with their semantics and pragmatics. They express a pragmatic meaning, being within the boundaries of one-word and two-word lexical items when they create a new "value". As Kauffman has written, "[the] doubling of

entire words or stems enhances or significantly changes the quality of the idea intended by the word" (Kauffman 2015, p. 4).

The main goal of this study was to outline the types of reduplication in Polish and Slovak. Generally, reduplication processes are divided into two categories: total reduplication and partial reduplication. Polish linguists distinguished more types of this phenomenon: syntactic reduplication and intraclausal repetition (Wierzbicka 1986); lexical repetitions (accurate and inaccurate) (Dobaczewski 2018); simple reduplication, family reduplication, paradigmatic reduplication, lexical and syntactic reduplication (Mikołajczak 1998). In Slovak, Sokolová (2016) pointed out on replication, reduplication, iteration and tautology.

I agree with Sokolová (2016, p. 267) who points out that in texts and communication, lexical reduplicants can also function as a 'wild card', in the sense that their 'deployment' is fully within the competence of the producer, i.e.: *Snežilo tak husto, že som ledva dovidel na stromy okolo mňa. Snežilo tak husto, že som ledva-ledva dovidel na stromy okolo mňa*. [It was snowing so hard that I **barely-barely** could see the trees around me.] As far as restricted modifiers can be used to intensify degree with a limited number of words, emphatic reduplication may be freely used in spoken language.

It appears that in languages in which it is either grammatical or has the status of a standard word-formation procedure (from the semantic point of view), reduplication expresses quantifying. The use of duplication in expressing intensity is a semantic universal reflecting the intuition that what is semantically "more" should be represented by being structurally "larger" (Dolník 2013).

Concludingly, reduplication as a legitimate way of expanding the Polish and Slovak lexis is an interesting field of study, as the present contribution aimed to show.

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