Typology of reduplication in Russian: constructions within and beyond a single clause

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Abstract

We analyze repetition in Russian from the perspective of the Russian Constructicon which represents over 2200 grammatical constructions described in terms of anchors (fixed elements) and slots (for various filler elements) and fully annotated for their syntactic and semantic characteristics. The Russian Constructicon facilitates the first large-scale investigation of reduplication across a representative sample of an entire language, enabling us to map out a typology invoking these and other factors in the context of Construction Grammar. Our data on repetitions includes 118 constructions tagged the Russian Constructicon for Reduplication, meaning that repetition occurs within a clause, and 28 entries tagged as Discourse "Echo" Constructions because they require the repetition of a word or phrase from a previous clause (often provided by an interlocutor). Five constructions carry both tags. We propose a theoretical expansion of the definition of reduplication to include the Discourse "Echo" type, arguing that constructions are not limited to a single clause or even to a single speaker. Our typology further explores the distribution of various formal and semantic factors observed in constructions with repetition and compares them with both previous typological research on reduplication and their distribution across the entire Russian Constructicon. Despite the fact that Russian does not use reduplication as a productive grammatical marker, we argue that reduplication is widespread and systematic in Russian.

1. Introduction

Reduplicative constructions are usually studied in one of two ways: either from a micro-perspective or from a typological perspective. Micro-perspective studies investigate a single construction or a small group of closely related constructions in a single language, providing in-depth fine-grained detail, as in Iomdin 2013 and Janda et al. 2020. From a typological perspective we get a bird's eye view of reduplication phenomena, providing an overview of the range of form and function characteristics observed across a variety of languages, as in the Graz Database on Reduplication (Hurch and Mattes 2007). While both types of studies are valuable, they also have their limits in terms of what they tell us about how reduplicative constructions fit into the larger picture of a

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language. More specifically, neither micro-studies nor typological studies tell us how reduplicative constructions are connected to the network of constructions of a given language, nor do they usually indicate how frequent such constructions are in a language. Furthermore, typological studies tend to focus exclusively on languages like Georgian and Nez Perce that make systematic use of reduplication as grammatical markers. For example, the Graz Database on Reduplication eschews languages that do not make use of what they term "reduplication proper", namely systematic grammaticalized reduplication. This narrow view of reduplication means that typological studies usually leave aside "reduplication avoiders" like Russian, despite the fact that "even in these reduplication-unfriendly languages there are, in fact, niches of productive total reduplication" (Freywald and Finkbeiner 2018: 5). Our study aims to fill this gap by showing how a large representative sample of reduplication in a reduplication-avoider language connects to the overall system of constructions.

The data examined in this chapter are a subset of a larger database, the Russian Constructicon (RusCon; see Section 2), that aims to represent the Russian language as a whole. Our data therefore did not result from an attempt to identify only reduplicative constructions (while ignoring others), but rather from an attempt to collect and discover the connections among as many constructions as possible. The reduplicative constructions we present in this chapter comprise only about 6% of the total database, but these constructions are tightly connected to the overall system of constructions in RusCon. Our "whole language" approach makes it possible to investigate the role of reduplication in the context of an entire language. We can show how reduplicative constructions fit into Russian grammar across a variety of parameters of frequency, form, and function (see Section 4).

The main theoretical framework for our study is Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006), a branch of Cognitive Linguistics (Langacker 2008). Cognitive Linguistics makes the minimal assumptions that a) language phenomena do not have any a priori special status, but rather result from general human cognitive mechanisms, b) all linguistic units can be described as an association between a form (phonological pole) and a meaning or function (semantic pole), c) meaning emerges dynamically through the active negotiation of interlocutors (Langacker 2008: 28, 41), and d) linguistic structure is usage-based, meaning that "usage events are the source of all linguistic units" and "large numbers of complex expressions are learned and stored as units, including many that conform to regular patterns" (Langacker 2008: 220, 238). Construction Grammar further identifies all learned form-function associations as constructions, at all levels of complexity. Thus constructions are not limited to multi-word grammatical constructions such as the reduplicative NP

est′ NP, as in *fakt est' fakt* 'a fact is a fact'. There are also constructions of smaller units, such as single words, morphemes, and even phonemes. Moving toward the opposite extreme, there are constructions that are larger than a single clause, or even larger than an utterance, on up to entire discourse structures (such as an interview or a sonnet). Constructions are not merely a dictionary-like inventory, but comprise a system of connections through relationships of form and meaning. Construction Grammar asserts that it is possible to understand an entire language as a system of constructions, namely a "constructicon". In other words, a language *is* its constructions.

In keeping with Cognitive Linguistics, the present study describes reduplication in terms of form, function, and associations among constructions. Furthermore, this study is usage-based in that it builds on corpus data of authentic utterances. One subset of our data is the Discourse "Echo" type (see Section 3.2) in which a speaker embeds a repetition of an interlocutor's word(s) in a construction, as in (1):

(1) ID1926 **Skažeš′ tože – XP**

– On	takoj	horoš-ij!	– Skaž-eš'	tože –	″horoš-ij″!
[he	such	nice-NOM.SG.M	say-FUT.2SG	also	nice-NOM.SG.M]

'–He's so nice! –Hah, sure he's "nice"!'.

This type particularly highlights the negotiation of meaning among interlocutors, an otherwise understudied area of linguistics (with notable exceptions, e.g., Hopper 1988, Schegloff 1991, Ono and Thompson 1995, Helasvuo 2001, Mesch, Raanes and Ferrara 2015).

We analyze Russian reduplicative constructions from the perspective of Construction Grammar, with particular emphasis on how the entire system of constructions is structured in Russian, and with the benefits of terminological conventions that have been developed for the Russian Constructicon (Janda et al. 2023).

Our typology of Russian reduplicative constructions is furthermore informed by typological scholarship on reduplication, which is largely compatible with the framework of Construction Grammar and Cognitive Linguistics. In her landmark article on reduplicative constructions, Moravcsik (1978) explores observed form and meaning variations. She finds that: a) reiteration can involve a whole unit or only a part, in which case any part (initial, middle, or end) can be repeated; b) the repeated unit can be modified (termed "divergent morphology" in Inkelas and Zoll 2005);

and c) repeated units can be contiguous or non-contiguous or even overlap with each other in various ways. The "phonological properties determining which part of a string be reduplicated in cases of partial reduplication are restricted to 'canonical form'-type properties; e.g. consonantality, vowelhood, and linear precedence among the segments and boundaries" (Moravcsik 1978: 330). In terms of semantics, Moravcsik notes tendencies for reduplicative patterns to signal "meanings that have something to do with the quantity of referents" and "to express a more specific meaning than their unreduplicated counterparts" (Moravcsik 1978: 330). Moravcsik finds all of the following meanings associated with reduplication: augmentation (quantity of referents or emphasis), attenuation (diminution and endearment), similarity (falseness and contempt), habitualness and continuity, plus derivations (transitive to and from intransitive, perfectivity, adverbs from verbs and adjectives).

Moravcsik (1978) defined reduplication broadly as a whole or partial replication of linguistic form accompanied by a meaning that is not the same as for the unreplicated form. Subsequently there have been attempts to draw a clear distinction between reduplication on the one hand as opposed to repetition on the other. Gil (2005: 33; see also Schwaiger 2018) offers a set of diagnostic criteria according to which reduplication involves a single contiguous copy of a unit equal to or smaller than a word with an arbitrary or iconic interpretation, whereas repetition involves one or more contiguous or disjoint copies of a unit larger than a word that might or might not have an iconic or communicative reinforcement meaning. Hurch and Mattes (2007: 192) intend to restrict their Graz Database on Reduplication to "morphological reduplication" (reduplication within a word), but find that a crisp definition of reduplication leaks: "We are fully aware that other repetitive phenomena, which we exclude from our definition, can be related to reduplication, or that the categorization of repetitive and reduplicative structures can in some cases be continuous rather than dichotomic." Freywald and Finkbeiner (2018: 21) point out that the observation of borderline cases straddling reduplication and repetition motivate the recognition of reduplication beyond the boundaries of a single word, and of repetition within a word.

We present clear cases of structures with replication both within and beyond word boundaries, supporting the idea that there is no crisp boundary between reduplication and repetition. We therefore cleave to Moravcsik's relatively broad definition of reduplication as pertaining to the repetition of any unit (not limited to morphemes), and to Freywald and Finkbeiner's recognition of a continuum.

A very simple type of reduplication is the tautology, which has attracted special attention due to its content, which seems redundant from the perspective of logical form. Philosophical polemics concerning the supposed vacuity of tautological statements suggest resolution by recourse to violations of Gricean maxims (cf. Bulhof and Gimbel 2001). Wierzbicka (1987) counters these arguments by showing that replications such as 'boys will be boys' exist in many languages and that their meanings are to a large extent language-specific. Our data includes tautologies and confirms language-specific interpretations of the type suggested by Wierzbicka. Tautologies constitute a small though distinct subset of our data, and we analyze them in the context of both other types of reduplicative constructions as well as the larger system of Russian constructions.

There is vast and constantly growing body of literature devoted to case studies of individual Russian reduplicative constructions, their uses and sub-uses, and their families (Paillard and Plungian 1993, Israeli 1997, Plungian and Rakhilina 1996, Kopotev 2005, Sannikov 2008, Gilyarova 2010, 2013; Iomdin 2013, Apresjan 2015, 2018, Feldstein 2016, Cotta Ramusino 2019, Janda et al. 2020, Uryson 2020, Ievleva 2000, Mel'čuk 2020, 2021, Vilinbakhova 2021, to name a few). Pioneering scholarly works on such constructions appeared already in the 1960s (Shvedova 1960, Shmelev 1960). In recent years various types of Russian tautological constructions have received special attention in Vilinbakhova 2016, Vilinbakhova and Kopotev 2017, Escandell Vidal and Vilinbakhova 2018; see also the database RepLeCon (The Replecon Database 2023 presented in Borisova and Babaina 2021). Note also works that are specifically devoted to various temporal expressions in Russian that, among other constructions, feature reduplicative structures (Boguslavskaya 2019; Apresjan 2011), as well as reduplicative repetitions of temporal adverbials functioning as conjunctions (Rakhilina and Ladygina 2016 on ID 1585 *inogda XP, inogda XP* and ID 1586 *kogda XP, (a) kogda XP*). The detailed review of all these works on reduplicative constructions in Russian is however not the purpose of our study, nor can such a list be exhaustive due to the continuing appearance of new works. We provide references to relevant works for each specific construction cited in the References section in the Russian Constructicon.

This chapter is structured as follows. After introducing RusCon in Section 2, we briefly describe the Reduplication and Discourse "Echo" data in Section 3. Section 4 is an analysis of the formal and functional characteristics of our reduplication data as compared with the entirety of RusCon. Conclusions are offered in Section 5.

2. The Russian Constructicon (RusCon)

The present study of Russian reduplicative constructions emerges organically from a multi-year multi-national project that has collected a large-scale sample of the constructions that constitute the grammar of Russian (Janda et al. 2020 and 2023). While it is probably impossible to compile an entirely comprehensive inventory of the constructions of a given language, our aim has been to gather enough constructions to realistically represent the repertoire of the Russian language as a whole. This project underwent continuous revision until a stable pattern of semantic and syntactic types emerged such that the addition of further constructions became a matter of filling out existing types rather than identifying new ones. The conventions devised and systems observed in this project thus relate to the Russian language in its entirety, giving us a macroscopic view on the place of reduplicative constructions in the language.

RusCon (Bast et al. 2021) is a free open-source resource containing at present over 2200 multiword constructions such as in (2):

(2) ID79 **NP-Nom Cop vsë bez NP-Gen i bez ~NP-Gen**

A	*my*	*vsë*	*bez*	*molok-a*	*i*	*bez*	*molok-a.*
[and	we.NOM	still	without	milk-GEN.SG	and	without	milk-GEN.SG]

'And here we are constantly without milk'

This construction emphasizes that an [object]$_{Theme}$ has been out of the [participant's]$_{Participant}$ use for a long time. At the same time, it is understood that this object is necessary or useful to the participant.
CEFR LEVEL B1

Each construction is supplied with the following basic description:
- a unique ID number (here: 79)
- a Name which shows the schematic structure of the construction indicating both the anchor (fixed part(s)) and the slot(s) (here: **NP-Nom Cop vsë bez NP-Gen i bez ~NP-Gen**)[2]

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[2] Standard linguistic abbreviations are used to indicate grammatical features of slots, and all abbreviations are explained on the website, including the "~" which indicates reduplication in accordance with Leipzig Glossing Rules. Abbreviations used in this chapter are explained in the Foreword of this volume.

- a short example called the Illustration (here: *A my vsë bez moloka i bez moloka* 'And here we are constantly without milk')
- a definition in Russian, Norwegian, and English (here only the English definition is shown)
- five corpus-based example sentences (not shown here)
- semantic roles of the slot(s) marked in both the definition and example sentences
- a Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR, see COE 2023) level (here: B1)

Users can click a button below the basic description to reveal additional information. Alongside CEFR level, semantic roles, and morphology, the following types of additional information can be used as filters in the Advanced Search function (all terms are defined in both English and Russian on the Instructions tab):

- semantic type (here: "Caritive", "Degree of intensity", and subtype "Booster")
- syntactic type of construction (here: Copula Construction)
- syntactic function of anchor (here: Praedicative Expression)
- syntactic structure of anchor (here: Reduplication)
- part of speech of the anchor (here: Preposition, Pronoun, Conjunction)

Other types of additional information for each entry include:

- common fillers (here: *voda* 'water', *hleb* 'bread')
- dependency structure of Name and Illustration (available on site but not shown here)
- communicative type (here: Declarative)
- usage label (here: Colloquial)
- comments (here: none)
- scholarly references (here: none)

RusCon is emphatically not a list. It is an intensely structured multi-layered system. Constructions are related to each other across all the formal and semantic parameters listed above. The most important of these is semantic types, informed by typological studies and our own research on Russian constructions. All entries in RusCon are associated with at least one semantic tag, and over 40% have multiple semantic tags. Semantic tags range in scope from general to specific and yield 182 semantic subtypes of constructions connected to each other through relationships of overlap and similarity.

The system of semantic and syntactic tags reveals a multi-tiered hierarchy of groups of related constructions. At the most local level are "families", usually of 2–9 constructions that are nearly synonymous and often also share other similarities (syntactic structure, shared anchor and/or common fillers). Families further group into "clusters" with a radial category structure. Clusters group into "networks" and ultimately "superordinate classes" (see Endresen and Janda 2020).

The construction in our example (2) above illustrates the vertical and horizontal interconnectedness of Russian constructions. This construction belongs among the three families of Caritive constructions that indicate the absence of a secondary agent or of an object possessed by the main participant of the situation. The Caritive cluster belongs to the Major Roles Subclass, containing constructions that indicate various ways of interaction between the participants of a situation or different types of situations (e.g., possession, absence of a participant, etc.). Major Roles is in turn a part of the Qualia superordinate class of constructions that describe the properties of the given objective physical world, external to the speaker. This specific construction simultaneously belongs to the Parameters superordinate semantic class. Parameters imply a certain scale (intensity scale or accuracy scale) that serves as a point of reference for a property or a situation characterized by a construction. Within the Parameters superordinate class, this construction is located in a large cluster of Degree of intensity constructions, more specifically in the Booster family denoting a high degree of intensity.

The size and comprehensive intention of RusCon makes it possible to discover systematic relationships among constructions that might otherwise be missed in a study limited to a single construction or single type of constructions. RusCon provides an optimal perspective for investigating reduplication as an organic part of Russian grammar as a whole.

3. Two major types of reduplication

There are two overlapping types of constructions that we recognize as reduplicative in RusCon: 118 Reduplication constructions where repetition is observed within an utterance, as in example (2) above; and 28 Discourse "Echo" constructions like the one in (3). Like example (2), example (3) belongs both to the Caritive semantic type and to another type, namely the Agreement family within the Reaction to Previous Discourse cluster which is part of the Discourse superordinate class.

(3) ID1814 **A kak že bez NP-Gen!**

– Druz'-*â*	est'?	– A	kak	že	bez	druz-ej*!*
[friend-NOM.PL	be.PRS.3SG	and	how	PART	without	friend-GEN.PL]

'– Do you have any friends? – Of course I have friends, how could I exist without them!'

Note that example (3) is a construction used when a speaker reacts to something the interlocutor has just said by inserting into the construction a repetition of a noun phrase uttered by the interlocutor in a previous utterance, in this example: *druz'â*, modified to the Genitive case form *druzej* 'friends'.

While some researchers might eschew the Discourse "Echo" type as not reduplication in the strict sense of the word, we argue that the two types cannot be clearly distinguished due to the existence of five constructions like (4) where the constructions both contain a reduplication and an "echo" of something said in a previous utterance. In (4) the speaker is both echoing a noun provided in a previous utterance (here: *boloto* 'swamp') and then reduplicating that noun with a modification on the copy (here: addition of the augmentative and derogatory suffix *-iŝ-*).

(4) ID210 **ne Noun, a ~Noun-iŝe**

Èt-o	*by-l-o*	*ne*	*bolot-o,*	*a*	*bolot-iŝ-e.*
[this-NOM.SG.N	be-PST-N	NEG	swamp-NOM.SG	but	swamp-AUG-NOM.SG]

'It wasn't just a swamp, it was a monster [huge] swamp.'

The presence of overlapping constructions tagged as both Reduplication and Discourse "Echo" motivates our inclusion of Discourse "Echo" constructions in this study. The three types of constructions illustrated in examples (2)–(4) are presented in more detail in the following three subsections.

The data in this study is available via the Advanced Search functions of RusCon, and the specific subset of Reduplicative and Discourse "Echo" constructions with additional information referred to in this chapter is available at our TROLLing post (Endresen, Janda, and Zhukova 2023, https://doi.org/10.18710/CYLJCD).

3.1 Within an utterance: Reduplication constructions
Constructions tagged as Reduplication in RusCon can be accessed from the Syntactic Structure of Anchor menu in the Advanced Search tab, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure1: The Advanced Search page of the Russian Constructicon with the results for the query "Reduplication"

With 118 Reduplication constructions, the RusCon presents a more comprehensive sample than that available in either the RepLeCon database (Borisova & Babaina 2021) with 14 Russian constructions with lexical repetitions, or in Mel'čuk's (2021) list of 29 "syntactic idioms" (most, but not all of which illustrate reduplication).

The 118 reduplicative constructions in RusCon are a diverse group, with variation along nearly all of the formal and functional dimensions identified by Moravcsik (1978), along with other observations described in more detail in Section 4 (for discussion see also the Introductory chapter of this volume, Kopotev & Kwon).
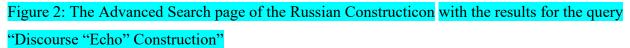
The number and variety of construction types give only one indication of the ubiquity of reduplication in Russian. Ideally one would also investigate the token frequency of all such constructions in a corpus. However, the constructions are also diverse in searchability. For many constructions where the item reduplicated is the slot, there is no feasible way to search for them.

Constructions that reduplicate an anchor word or phrase are more accessible to search. The easiest to search for are constructions that can be searched as strings, as in ID73 **vremâ ot vremeni Cl** *Vremâ ot vremeni â perestaû čto-libo uspevat'* 'From time to time I am unable to get anything done'; 9,676 attestations. Others can be collected by using search functions in the Russian National Corpus, as in ID576 **NP-Nom ~NP-Dat rozn'** *Učenik učeniku rozn'* 'No two students are alike' using more complex search parameters. Still others are somewhat more challenging, since a search yields both the target construction and some noise that must be removed manually, such as the type in example (3). Altogether, there are 49 Reduplication constructions for which we were able to devise search queries. Collectively these searchable constructions yield 83,013 attestations in the Russian National Corpus (RNC main corpus, 374,949,715 words, accessed Oct. 2022), which means that the items per million occurrence of these constructions is 221.4, comparable to the frequency of some fairly frequent words, like *avtor* 'author' (218.4 ipm). This estimate necessarily underrepresents the actual frequency of Reduplication in Russian because it is based on less than half the constructions and because such constructions are more typical of a spoken register rather than the primarily written register of the RNC. Even so, this token frequency indicates that Reduplication is pervasive in Russian.

3.2 Beyond an utterance: Discourse "Echo" constructions

There are 28 Discourse "Echo" constructions in RusCon, and these can be accessed through the Syntactic type of construction menu on the Advanced Search tab, as shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2: The Advanced Search page of the Russian Constructicon with the results for the query "Discourse "Echo" Construction"

As a group, the Discourse "Echo" constructions are mostly difficult or impossible to search since the repeated part is the slot and the repetition is non-contiguous, usually occurring across the utterances of two speakers, as in example 2), where the speaker is reacting to the use of the word *boloto* 'swamp' by the interlocutor in a previous sentence. The Discourse "Echo" constructions are furthermore less diverse in terms of both form and function. Example 2), where a noun is modified, is unusual in this group; more usual is a change in the form of a verb, as in ID1771 **eŝë by PronPers-Nom ne Verb-Pst, Cl!** – *A on dast lodku? – Eŝë by on ne dal, ja že ego lûbimčik!* '– Will he give you the boat? – Why wouldn't he give it to me, I'm his favorite!' Most Discourse "Echo" constructions express Agreement, Disagreement, or Surprise, though there is some variation here too. Discourse "Echo" constructions are almost uniformly colloquial and exclamatory.

3.3 Both within and beyond a clause: Constructions with both characteristics

Five constructions are tagged for both Reduplication and Discourse "Echo" in our data. In addition to ID210 in example (3), these are:

- ID1014 **Esli NP-Nom skazal XP – značit, Cl/~XP** *Esli Petâ skazal krasivaâ, – značit, krasivaâ* 'If Petya says she's beautiful, then she's beautiful'
- ID2022 **Vot-vot, Cl** *Vot-vot, mne tože fil'm ponravilsâ!* 'Right, I liked that movie too!' (frequency: 747 attestations)
- plus two constructions with the same form but very different function:
  - ID1442 **(nu) XP i ~XP** *Byl u tëti Maši kot. Nu kot i kot. Ničego osobennogo.* 'Aunt Masha had a cat. Well, it was just a cat. Nothing special.' (Semantic tags: Assessment Positive or Negative, Attitude, Unconcern)
  - ID1443 **(nu) XP i ~XP** *Včera â poterâl kol'co. Nu poterâl i poterâl, ne nado dumat' o plohom.* 'Yesterday I lost my ring. Oh well, what's lost is lost, no point worrying about it.' (Semantic tags: Attitude, Acceptance of the situation, Concession)

4. Variations on the theme of repetition: Form and Function

Our data is a subset of that found in RusCon, which has been previously tagged and annotated with respect to observations of many other constructions. In this analysis we use Moravcsik's (1978) inventory of characteristics of reduplication as a guide, which we supplement with finer-grained findings for Russian. The following two subsections therefore focus on the form and function of reduplication. This analysis includes both Reduplication and Discourse "Echo" constructions, with differences noted where relevant.

4.1 Form

Repetition of form can vary along several parameters, here gathered in groups. In the first group we examine what is repeated in terms of both the structure of the construction as comprised of anchor and slot(s) and the part of speech. In the second group we examine how the repetition is carried out, whether there is an exact repetition or some modification of the repeated element, and whether the repetition is of an entire word or phrase or just a part thereof. A third perspective on the relevant constructions comes from the Syntactic type annotations in RusCon.

4.1.1 What gets repeated

Anchor vs. slot. Both the anchor and slot parts of constructions are candidates for repetition in Russian. In most cases either only the anchor or only the slot is repeated, but we find four constructions in which both the anchor and the slot are repeated. An example of repetition of the anchor only is ID73 **vremâ ot vremeni Cl** (see Section 3.1), where *vremâ ot vremeni* 'from time to time' is the anchor, and the slot is filled by a clause. Constructions ID1442 and ID1443 **(nu) XP i**

~**XP** (see Section 3.3) illustrate repetition of the slot XP only. Example (2) ID79 **NP-Nom Cop vsë bez NP-Gen i bez ~NP-Gen** entails repetition both of the anchor word *bez* 'without' and the slot NP-Gen.[3] The Reduplication constructions are fairly evenly divided, with 56 involving repetition only of the anchor (like ID73 **vremâ ot vremeni Cl**), 59 involving repetition only of the slot (like ID1688 **Verb- ~Verb, no tak i ne VP**, as in *On pisal-pisal svoj roman, no tak i ne zakončil ego* 'He kept writing his novel, but never finished it'), and three with repetition of both parts.[4] Discourse "Echo" constructions all involve repetition of the slot by definition.[5]

Part of speech. With Discourse "Echo" constructions, the repeated part is not only a slot, but some kind of phrasal unit, be it a noun or Noun phrase, a verb or Verb phrase, a Clause, or XP (meaning that all of the above are possible slot fillers); and XP is the most common, serving as the slot for 15 of 28 constructions. The repeated part of speech is more varied for the Reduplication. While a noun is the most common repeated part, found in 45 constructions (like ID73 **vremâ ot vremeni Cl**), all parts of speech as well as other types of units are represented, as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Sample of various types of repeated units in Reduplication constructions

Type of Unit Repeated	Example
noun	ID73 **vremâ ot vremeni Cl** *Vremâ ot vremeni â perestaû čto-libo uspevat'.* 'From time to time I am unable to get anything done.'
verb	ID598 **VP-Pst - ~VP-Pst i nakonec(-to) VP-Pst** *On šël-šël i nakonec uvidel krasivyj dom.* 'He walked and walked and finally he saw a beautiful house.'

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[3] In the Russian Constructicon resource, this construction has two "sister" constructions that are represented at approximately the same level of granularity: ID 82 **NP-Nom Cop vsë Adj-Cmp i ~Adj-Cmp/ VP Adv-Cmp i ~Adv-Cmp**, as in *Sportsmen bežal vsë bystree i bystree* 'The athlete ran faster and faster' and ID 86 **vsë VP-Ipfv da/i ~VP-Ipfv**, as in *Mal'čik vsë šël da šël* 'The boy kept walking'. Together they are related to a more abstract construction ID 1440 **(vsë) XP da ~XP** (where the slot XP can be any phrasal unit) that can be considered their "mother" construction. The more granular constructions ID 82 and ID 86 are included in the Russian Constructicon as distinct entries due to their semantic differences.

[4] The opposition of anchor vs. slot repetition may be related to the syntactic type of the construction.

[5] For some reduplicative constructions in the database, repetition of slots can be optional. Frequently encountered repetition in these constructions, however, justifies considering them to be reduplicative in the nature.

adjective	ID968 **Adj-pre~Adj Noun** *Dlinnyj-predlinnyj hvost* 'a super-long tail'
adverb	ID1603 **VP-Ipfv snova i snova** *On prihodil k našemu domu snova i snova.* 'He kept coming to our house again and again.'
pronoun[6]	ID341 **(už/nu) PronInt-~PronInt, a Cl** *Už komu-komu, a emu â točno ne nužna.* 'Maybe for someone else, but I am of no use for him.'
prefix	ID2245 **VP postolʹku-poskolʹku** *Ego interesuet èto postol'ku-poskol'ku.* 'He is interested up to a point.'
XP	ID668 **XP ne ~XP, Cl** *Èkzameny ne èkzameny, emu sejčas ne do ètogo.* 'Exams or not, he doesn't care right now.'
preposition	ID982 **do pory do vremeni VP** *Veselo žili my do pory do vremeni.* 'For a while we were happy.'
conjunction	ID2026 **ili VP, ili VP** *Ili ty èto sdelaeš', ili tebe ne pozdorovitsâ!* 'Either you get it done, or you will be in trouble!'
particle	ID72 **NP-Nom vot-vot VP-Pfv.Fut** *Vot-vot priletit samolët.* 'The plane is just about to arrive.'
onomatopoeic	ID1243 **(čtoby) (PronPers-2.Nom) ((ni) NP-Dat/nikto-Dat) ni gu-gu/ gugu** *O tom, čto videl, nikomu ni gugu!* 'Don't breathe a word to anybody about what you saw!'

There are furthermore repetitions that include multiple types of units, and these involve modifications, as detailed in Section 4.1.2.

4.1.2 What kind of repetition

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[6] This type of constructions is also discussed in Apresjan this volume.

Repetition can simply replicate a unit or can involve modification, usually by means of morphological affixes. Repetition can furthermore reproduce an entire string or just a part of a string.

Exact vs. modified. Among Reduplication constructions, exact repetitions are somewhat more common, appearing in 67 constructions, while 51 constructions entail some modification of the repeated unit. Aside from IDs 73, 968, and 2245, all other examples in Table 1 illustrate exact repetitions. However, even exact repetitions often insert one or more words between the repeated units, as we see in ID1603 **VP-Ipfv snova i snova**, which has an intervening conjunction. Even more common is an intervening negation marker, as in ID668 **XP ne ~XP, Cl**; nine constructions have an intervening negation, and many others include negation elsewhere in the anchor. Other common intervening words in exact repetitions are *tak, kak, est'*, as in ID52 **(èto Cop) Noun-Nom kak ~Noun-Nom** *Hleb kak hleb* 'Just ordinary bread'. Table 2 gives an indication of the types of modifications observed among Reduplication constructions.

Table 2: Sample of types of modification of repeated units in Reduplication constructions

Type of Modification	Example
case	ID437 **Noun-Nom ~Noun-Ins, a/no Cl** *Družba družboj, no â vlûbilsâ v neë.* 'Friendship is one thing, but I have fallen in love with her.'
case and number	ID449 **Noun iz ~Noun-Gen.Pl** *Sejčas pokažu vam čudo iz čudes, moj novyj fotoapparat!* 'Now I will show you a real miracle, my new camera!'
verb form	ID595 **VP-Inf(-to) ~VP, a/no Cl** *Sprosit' sprošu, no on možet ne znat'.* 'I can ask all you want, but maybe he doesn't know.'
part of speech derivation	ID1338 **VP/NP na veki večnye** *Nina predložila svoû družbu na veki večnye.* 'Nina offered eternal friendship.'
prefix	ID1448 **Adj-ras~Adj Noun** *On byl prekrasnyj-rasprekrasnyj.* 'He was incredibly good-looking.'

stem	ID2245 **VP postol′ku-poskol′ku**
	Ego interesuet èto postol'ku-poskol'ku.
	'He is interested up to a point.'
suffix	ID1990 **malo-mal′ski VP/Adj**
	V každom malo-mal'ski krupnom gorode byla svoâ gazeta.
	'Every city that was somewhat large had its own newspaper.'
circumfix	ID1508 **malo-pomalu VP**
	On malo-pomalu privykal k novym pravilam.
	'He gradually got used to the new rules.'
adjective	ID2353 **S odnoj storony, XP/Cl. S drugoj (storony), XP/Cl**
	S odnoj storony, moi znaniâ byli glubokimi, s drugoj storony, odnostoronnimi.
	'On the one hand my knowledge was deep, but on the other hand it was narrow.'

We find 23 constructions where a noun or Noun phrase is repeated with a different grammatical case, and another five constructions that entail a modification of both the case and the number (all changing from singular to plural). The remaining modifications are relatively infrequent, and we have only one construction each for modification by circumfix and intervening adjective. Two constructions with modification by prefix involve negation markers.

Among Discourse "Echo" constructions modifications are less usual, though possible, as in ID1771 **ešë by PronPers-Nom ne Verb-Pst, Cl!** – *A on dast lodku? – Ešë by on ne dal, ja že ego lûbimčik!* '– Will he give you the boat? – Why wouldn't he give it to me, I'm his favorite!' where the verb is changed to a past (conditional) form.

Whole vs. partial. Reduplication constructions uniformly repeat an entire unit, though often with modifications as noted above. In Discourse "Echo" constructions the speaker usually extracts only a single word or (part of a) phrase from a previous utterance, as in ID2348 **kakoj/kakoe tam XP!** – *Dumala, čto na pensii ty uspokoiš'sâ... – Kakoe tam "uspokoiš'sâ"!* '– I thought that you would calm down when you retired… – What do you mean "calm down"!'

4.1.3

RusCon classifies all constructions according to twelve Syntactic types (defined), ten of which are relevant for Russian constructions containing repetitions, as shown in Table 3. Leaving aside the Discourse "Echo" type, the remaining nine Syntactic types are otherwise well represented in the grammar of Russian, indicating that reduplication is well integrated into the overall system of Russian constructions. Some constructions have multiple tags for syntactic type, showing how the types are linked to each other.

In Table 3, the rightmost column indicates Syntactic types, followed by the number of constructions with that as their primary type, an illustrative example, and any other Syntactic types that constructions are also tagged for.

Table 3: Syntactic types of Reduplication and Discourse "Echo" constructions

Syntactic type	Freq. in our[7] data vs. in RusCon	Example	Other associations
Head and Modifier Construction	42 vs. 855	ID1571 **NP i ničego krome ~NP** *Pravda i ničego krome pravdy!* 'Truth and nothing but the truth!'	
Clause	30 vs. 339	ID1512 **VP-Pst i ne ~VP-Pst** *Ja veril i ne veril.* 'Sometimes I believed it and at the same time I didn't.'	Biclausal Construction, Connection Construction, Discourse "Echo" Construction
Clause or XP with parentheticals	5 vs. 208	**ID411 Cl, (no/nu) net tak net** *Ty ne poedeš'? Net tak net.* 'You're not going? Well then, no is no.'	Discourse "Echo" Construction

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Clause and Modifier construction	1 vs. 83	ID73 **vremja ot vremeni Cl** *Vremâ ot vremeni ja perestaû čto-libo uspevat'.* 'From time to time I become unable to get anything done.'	
Discourse "Echo" Construction	25 vs. 28	ID1000 **PronPers Verb-Fut.2.Sg!** *– Ty dolžen ego ugovorit'. – Ego ugovoriš'!* '– You have to convince him. – You go and convince him!'	
Copula Construction	12 vs. 242	ID1513 **NP-Nom Cop Adj-Short i ne ~Adj-Short** *On rad i ne rad.* 'He has mixed feelings.'	Head and Modifier Construction, Discourse "Echo" Construction
Connection Construction	10 vs. 128	ID328 **to li XP, to li XP** *Segodnâ idët to li dožd', to li sneg.* 'It is unclear whether it is raining or snowing today.'	
Biclausal Construction	8 vs. 141	ID597 **VP - ~VP a ne Cl** *Ja ego prosil-prosil, a on ne soglašalsâ.* 'I begged and begged him, but he wouldn't agree.'	
Matrix and Sentential Complement Construction	1 vs. 88	ID528 **NP-Nom na to i NP-Nom, čtoby VP-Inf** *Muž na to i muž, čtoby rabotat'.* 'That's what a husband is for, to go to work.'	
Predicate Argument Construction	1 vs. 146	ID674 **NP-Nom (edva) svodit′ koncy s koncami** *Posle smerti muža ona edva svodila koncy s koncami.* 'After her husband died, she was barely able to make ends meet.'	

In terms of syntax, the constructions included in this study present something like a microcosm of the entire RusCon, in which the Head and Modifier type is by far the most common (with 855

constructions), followed by Clause (339), and then Copula (242). The only two Syntactic types missing from our reduplication constructions are among those that are least common in RusCon: the Morphological type (8) and the Matrix and Infinitival Complement type (44).

4.2 Function

We examine both the meanings and the stylistic contexts in which repetitions appear. Rather than devising ad hoc categories to describe repetitions, we rely on the Semantic and Usage type classifications that have been developed for constructions in general in RusCon, and these in turn are based on typological and lexicographical traditions (see Janda et al. 2023). Like the Syntactic types, the Semantic types reveal not only the most common types, but also show how those types are related to each other.

4.2.1 What repetition means

RusCon tags all constructions for at least one of 55 Semantic types (defined at Bast et al. 2021, see the Instructions page: 4.4.1. Semantic types; see Janda et al. 2023 for details). Most Semantic types are further distinguished by Semantic subtypes, and a given construction can receive up to four Semantic types, plus four Semantic subtypes, for a total of eight semantic tags. Russian constructions containing repetitions are semantically quite diverse, including 28 Semantic types, plus numerous subtypes. Table 4 displays the type frequency of the primary Semantic types, plus the associations across types observed because most constructions instantiate multiple Semantic types.

Table 4: Type frequency of Semantic types observed among Reduplication and Discourse "Echo" constructions, illustrated with examples and showing relationships among types

Semantic type	Freq. in our data vs. in RusCon	Example	Subtypes	Other associations
Reaction to the previous discourse	24 vs. 170	ID411 **Cl, (no/nu) net tak net** *Ty ne poedeš'? Net tak net.* 'You're not going? Well then, no is no.'	Agreement, Disagreement, Surprise, Evidence	Routine: Conversation support, Discourse structure:

				Sequence / Emphasis, Degree of intensity: Booster, Mirative, Attitude: No choice / Skepticism, Caritive, Epistemic modality: High degree of certainty
Attitude	<mark>11 vs. 249</mark>	ID671 **XP tak ~XP** *Sup tak sup.* 'If we get soup, then that's what we get.'	Support, Emotional attitude, Unconcern, Acceptance of the situation, Dissatisfaction, Skepticism	Permission, Temporary characteristics, Condition, Reaction to the previous discourse: Disagreement, Degree of intensity: Diminisher, Intensive: Booster, Salient property: Repeatedly the same, Concession
Comparison	<mark>11 vs. 169</mark>	ID89 **NP-Nom Cop vsem Noun-Dat.Pl** ~Noun-Nom *Vsem boršam borš.*	Inequality, Contrast,	Degree of intensity: Booster / Diminisher,

		'The best borshch of all.'	Similarity, Equality	Salient property: Characteristics through specification / Paragon / Essence, Temporary characteristics: Availability, Concession, Assessment: positive / Negative
Degree of Intensity	10 vs. 287	ID1457 **ele-ele VP** *On ele-ele dotânulsâ do telefona.* 'He barely reached the phone.'	Booster, Maximizer, Minimizer: Low degree, Diminisher	Caritive, Quantification: Exclusive, Concession: Failed expectation
Pluractionality	10 vs. 52	ID329 **to VP, to VP** [8] *On to plakal, to ugrožal.* 'He cried and threatened by turns.'	Raritive, Alternation, Iterative	Comparison: Contrast, Degree of intensity: Booster, Quantification: Existential

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[8]It is legitimate to extend the notion of reduplication to "double" (repeated) conjunctions that consist of two identical parts, like ID 328 **to li XP/Cl to li XP/Cl**, as in *Segodnâ idet to li dožd', to li sneg* 'It is unclear whether it is raining or snowing today'; ID 351 **hot′ NP, hot′ NP**, as in *Pokupaj hot' motocikl, hot' mašinu* 'You can buy whatever you want, a motorcycle or a car, it does not matter', ID 2025 **ili VP, ili VP**, as in *Ili ty èto sdelaeš', ili tebe ne pozdorovitsâ!* 'Either you do this, or you will be in trouble!' and others. Similarly, the researchers working on the RepLeCon database of reduplicative constructions (The Replecon Database 2023) identify a distinct type of constructions with "grammaticalized repetitions" like ni X ni Y, as in *ni dožd' ni sneg* 'neither rain nor snow' (see also research on constructions with double or repeated conjunctions in Israeli 2007).

Assessment	9 vs. 248	ID1510 **NP-Nom Cop Noun-Nom ~Noun-Ins** *On takoj glupyj, durak durakom.* 'He's so stupid, a real idiot.'	Positive, Negative	Salient property: Paragon / Unspecified, Comparison: Equality, Degree of intensity: Booster / Maximizer / Minimizer, Attitude: Unconcern, Reaction to the previous discourse: Disagreement
Temporal Expression	8 vs. 107	ID962 **VP Noun-Acc za ~Noun-Ins** *Den' za dnëm oni rabotali na zavode.* 'Day after day they worked at the factory.'	Time period, Temporal boundary	Phase of action: Continuative
Concession	7 vs. 81	ID653 **VP-Imp ne ~VP-Imp, a Cl** *Plač'-ne plač', a prošlogo ne vernut'.* 'Whether you cry or not, you can't bring back the past.'	Failed expectation	Discourse structure: Topic change, Condition: Reaction to the previous discourse
Phase of action	7 vs. 109	ID28 **NP-Nom po-Verb-po-~Verb i VP** *Pospit-pospit i prosnëtsâ.* 'He'll sleep a bit and then wake up.'	Continuative	Degree of intensity: Maximizer / Booster, Time: Time period

Manner	6 vs. 135	ID1078 **VP iz ugla v ugol** *On hodil iz ugla v ugol.* 'He paced from one corner to the other.'		Condition, Pluractionality: Iterative
Salient property	5 vs. 172	ID1445 **takoj Noun-Nom - ~Noun-Nom** *Ona takaâ devočka-devočka.* 'She's such a girly girl.'	Essence / Paragon	Comparison: Equality, Purpose, Intensive: Maximizer
Other Semantic types: Epistemic modality (3), Measure (3), Options (3), Spatial expression (3), Timeline (3), Actionality (2), Discourse structure (3), Non-existence (2), Prohibitive (2), Result (2), Condition (1), Degree of accuracy (1), Mirative (1), Temporary characteristics (1), Threat (1)					

Perhaps the most notable observation about Russian constructions with repetitions is how unremarkable they are from the perspective of RusCon. All of the top 12 most frequent semantic tags in RusCon are also found among the constructions in our data, as well as many of the less frequent ones; altogether over half of the Semantic types found in RusCon are also found in our data. Consistent with previous scholarship (e.g., Moravcsik 1978), the majority of meanings refer to various extremes such as very high or low intensity or actions that are repeated or continued (Pluractionality, Continuative). However, there are also many meanings that are not predictable from typological research and may be language specific. Numerous constructions present two items, let's call them X and X', and show a relationship between them, such as: Concession[9] (one can do X or X' and it doesn't make a difference); Comparison (X is like X'); Alternation (repeated sequence of X then X'); Spatial expression (movement from X to X' and back); presentation of Options (one can choose X or X'); Epistemic modality (one could believe either X or X'); Discourse structure (let's move the conversation on from X to X'); a Condition, Result, Threat, or Prohibitive statement (if X then X'). Repetitions in Russian are strongly connected to expression of Disagreement (and less frequently Agreement) with an interlocutor. The constructions in our dataset are intensely interconnected both with each other and with the entire system of constructions represented in RusCon.

4.2.2 Repetition in what stylistic context

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[9]However, see (Apresjan, this volume) for a detailed discussion.

Where appropriate, RusCon tags constructions for Usage Type. Russian constructions with repetitions tend to be associated with the Colloquial register; this is the case for nearly half of Reduplication constructions (68), and for all Discourse "Echo" constructions except one (ID1103). Only three Reduplication constructions have received a difference Usage Type tag, namely Obsolete (e.g., ID1357 **VP ot temna do temna** *Letom ot temna do temna â ogorodom zanimalas'* 'In the summer I was working in the garden from dawn to dusk').

5. Conclusion

Even though Russian does not use reduplication as a grammatical marker and is therefore not recognized as a language that makes much use of reduplication, Russian shows a great number and variety of repetition constructions that represent nearly all types identified for reduplication-friendly languages. Repetition can involve the anchor or the slot or both at once. All parts of speech as well as entire clauses or phrases can be repeated. Repetition can be whole, partial, or entail modification. Nearly all Syntactic types and all of the most frequent Semantic types found in RusCon are also found among our data. In addition to expression of intensity and multiple or continued actions, repetitions in Russian often refer to a relationship between two items. Repetition is particularly prominent in colloquial register, and often used by speakers to express disagreement with an interlocutor. Discourse "Echo" constructions are understudied but are very important from the theoretical perspective of Construction Grammar. On the one hand, the Discourse "Echo" constructions illustrate the co-creation of language. On the other hand, most research on Construction Grammar focuses on constructions that are smaller than a clause. Discourse "Echo" constructions expand the scope of study beyond clause boundaries. Most remarkable is that from the perspective of RusCon, which aims to represent the entire system of Russian constructions, constructions with repetition are very well integrated into that system and fairly representative of the system as a whole.

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