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Abstract

Contrastive focus reduplication (CR) is one of many types of reduplication. CR constructions can be interpreted in a number of different ways and often occur in specific co-texts. The present paper presents a quantitative investigation into CR in Dutch, taking data from a questionnaire containing constructed examples of CR in which participants were asked to share how they interpret the examples and whether they would use them themselves. Specifically, the following aspects are investigated: interpretation, co-text, age of the participant, and gender of the participant. Furthermore, the concept of receptivity (from multilingualism studies) is introduced, which helps explain why participants understand constructions they would not use themselves. It emerges that there are correlations between certain characteristic types of co-texts and CR interpretations, i.e. certain co-texts tend to result in certain readings. In terms of interpreting CRs, age does not turn out to play a role. It does play a role, however, in the likelihood of participants using these constructions, as older participants tend to consider it less likely that they would. Finally, gender does not play a role in the interpretation nor in the likelihood of participants using the CR examples.

Keywords: contrastive focus reduplication, morphology, sociolinguistics, receptivity

Contents

1. Introduction

Hello hello, choo-choo, and *Duran Duran* are examples of reduplication, a process in which certain sounds are repeated (Rastall, 2004, p. 39). Among the many types of reduplication is one called "contrastive focus reduplication" (henceforth CR). Examples of this process are given in (1) below, taken from Ghomeshi et al.'s (2004) influential "salad-salad paper". The CRs are italicised:

(1) a. I'll make the tuna salad and you make the *salad-salad*.

b. Look at all the yellow vans on the road. Not vans like ours [i.e. minivans], but *van-vans*.

c. She wasn't a fancy cow, a Hereford of Black Angus or something, just a *cow-cow*.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 311)

As these examples show, the repetition of the word results in a construction with a meaning that is different from the singular item. For example, whereas a *salad* in (1a) can be any kind of salad, *salad-salad* means a green salad specifically.

These CR formations can be interpreted in different ways, depending on their co-text (Widlitzki, 2016, pp. 133-4). Using data collected from a questionnaire, the present research aims to discover the correlations between these possible interpretations and different co-texts. Moreover, it investigates the influence of these interpretations and co-texts on the willingness of the participants to use the constructed examples presented. Additionally, it aims to define the roles age and gender play in both the interpretation and potential use of CRs. I also introduce a concept from multilingualism studies, "receptivity", which explains the ability to correctly interpret expressions one does not (or would not) use. While the majority of research done on CR is on CR in English, the present study investigates CR in Dutch.

The organisation of the thesis is as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature on reduplication in general, on CR specifically, and on receptivity. Next, the methodology is explained (Section 3). Section 4 then presents the results from the questionnaire. I will analyse these results for the four variables 1) interpretation, 2) co-text, 3) age, and 4) gender, as well as their effect on the likelihood of participants using these examples. Based on these analyses, conclusions are drawn in Section 5, where I also discuss some of the shortcomings of the method used.

2. Literature Review

The present chapter discusses relevant concepts and findings from the literature (occasionally with additional personal observations). First, reduplication in English and other languages are examined to get an idea of where the relevant type of reduplication (i.e. CR) fits within the array of repetitive word formation processes. Second, CR is explored thoroughly, discussing formal characteristics like "word classes" and "size of the reduplicant" as well as features associated with its usage. Finally, the concept of receptivity is introduced.

2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is an echoic process, meaning that the expressions it produces contain a certain repetition of sounds (Rastall, 2004, p. 39). Other echoic expressions include primary onomatopoeia[1] (*chug-chug*, *ding-dong*), secondary onomatopoeia[2] (also known as "phonaesthesia") (*dilly-dally, mumbo-jumbo*), and repetition for aesthetic or expressive effect (*a long, long way; very, very bad*) (Rastall, 2004, p. 39). Other sources (e.g. Ghomeshi et al., 2004) use the term "reduplication" for all echoic processes, considering

[1] In primary onomatopoeia, naturally occurring sounds are imitated through reduplication (Jespersen, 1922, p. 398).

[2] In secondary onomatopoeia, the reduplications contain sounds that are considered appropriate to the meaning of the reduplication (Ullmann, 1962, p. 84).

expressions like primary onomatopoeia a form of reduplication (p. 308-9). Yet another source labels constructions that contain two elements that are the same "Identical Constituent Compounds" (ICCs) (Hohenhaus, 2004, pp. 298-9). For clarity, the present article follows the terminology of Ghomeshi et al. (2004), thus including any form of sound repetition under the reduplication umbrella.

Reduplication can be used for grammatical, semantic, and/or expressive effect, depending on the language (Rastall, 2004, p. 39). Rubino (2013) claims that (some form of) reduplication is a productive process in 313 out of the 368 languages he researched, i.e. a percentage of 85. Interestingly, English (and most other West-European languages) belong to the remaining 15% in which reduplication is considered unproductive (Rubino, 2013).

2.1.1 English

Despite reduplication being considered unproductive in English, there are at least seven such repetitive patterns in English, most of them associated with informal, humorous or even "children's English" (Rastall, 2004, p. 39). The following types of reduplication and their examples are taken from Ghomeshi et al. (2004, p. 308-9):

1. Baby-talk reduplication, e.g. *choo-choo, wee-wee.*
2. Multiple partial reduplications, e.g. *hap-hap-happy*.
3. Deprecative reduplication, e.g. *table-shmable.*
4. Rhyme variations, e.g. *super-duper, willy-nilly, pall-mall, okey-dokey, hanky-panky,* etc.
5. Ablaut combinations, e.g. *flim-flam, zig-zag, sing-song, pitter-patter, riff-raff, mish-mash,* etc.
6. Intensive reduplication, e.g. *You are sick sick sick!*
7. Contrastive reduplication, e.g. *Is he French or French-French?*

Another source lists an additional type of reduplication in English, namely:

8. Reduplication involving more extensive word groups, often with a conjunction, preposition or indefinite article - e.g. *dribs and drabs, head-over-heels, kit and kaboodle, kith and kin, rack and ruin, doom and gloom, fair and square, high and dry, hither and thither,* etc. (Rastall, 2004, p. 39).

A number of reduplicated forms I have personally encountered require their own categories, which I have defined as follows:

9. Reduplication in loanwords, subdivided into:
    a. Latinate scientific reduplication, e.g. Norwegian lemming (*Lemmus lemmus*), American bison (*Bison bison*), western gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla*), Eurasian lynx (*Lynx lynx*), and even the Great Plains bison (*Bison bison bison*) and the northern European lynx (*Lynx lynx lynx*).
    b. Borrowed simplex words, e.g. *bonbon, dodo*, etc.
10. Proper noun reduplication, subdivided into:
    a. reduplication in first names and surnames, e.g. Alexandra Hall Hall (British diplomat), John Scott-Scott (British engineer), Jar Jar Binks (Star Wars), Jack-Jack Parr (The Incredibles), etc.
    b. reduplication in nicknames or stage names, e.g. Bebe Rexha (American singer), Dudley Dudley (American professional wrestler), etc.
    c. reduplication in combinations of personal names and surnames, e.g. Abraham Abraham (American businessman), Grace Grace (Australian politician), Neville Neville (British cricketer), etc.
    d. band names, e.g. *Duran Duran, Talk Talk, The The*, etc.
    e. product names, e.g. *TomTom*.
11. Song titles/lyrics, e.g. ABBA songs like *Honey Honey, Money Money Money, Ring Ring,* and *Gimme Gimme Gimme*.

Reduplication can be used for stylistic effect. We can, for example, find ablaut combinations in product names like *Tic Tac, TikTok,* and *KitKat*. Such creative coinages tend to draw attention to themselves, which is helpful when you want your band, product or song to stand out (Hohenhaus, 2007, p. 16).

2.1.2 Other Languages

In addition to the semantic functions discussed in the previous section, reduplication can have a grammatical function in other languages. Reduplicated forms can express plurality, distributivity (*each X*), perfective aspect, continuous/progressive/habitual aspect (*keeps V-ing, is V-ing, Vs habitually*), diminutives (*little X*), augmentatives (*big X*), intensification (*really X*), variety and similarity (*all different kinds of X, X and such*), and other derivational meanings (Moravcsik, 1978; Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 309-10). In Malay, for example, the reduplicated form of *anak* ('child'), *anak-anak* ('children') indicates plurality (Rastall, 2004, p. 39). Since these grammatical functions are irrelevant for the present investigation, I will not discuss them in further detail.

2.2 Contrastive Focus Reduplication

One of the types of reduplication is CR, which has the effect of "focus[ing] the denotation of the reduplicated element on a more sharply delimited, more speciali[s]ed range" (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 308). In other words, *boyfriend-boyfriend* focuses on a more limited definition of the reduplicated element *boyfriend*; whereas *boyfriend* can in theory be any platonic or romantic male friend, *boyfriend-boyfriend* is used to talk about a more specific (kind of) boyfriend.

The present section discusses a number of characteristics and tendencies of CR (in English specifically).

2.2.1 Word Classes

CR can take a variety of lexical items as its input, including nouns (*salad-salad*), verbs (and pronominal objects to their right) (*like-'em-like-'em*), adjectives (*French-French*), verb particles (*up-up*), pronouns (*mine-mine*), and lexicalized expressions (*living-together-living-together*) (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 308). The majority, however, consists of noun reduplication (Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 302). Additionally, most reduplicated elements are Germanic in origin, rather than Latinate (Hohenhaus, 2004, pp. 311-2).

Since CR makes the meaning of the base it reduplicates more specific, the base must allow for some semantic variation. Since functional items have a fixed meaning, they should not be able to enter CR processes (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 313). The ungrammatical example in (2) illustrates that this is indeed the case :

(2) *I didn't just read the book, I read *the-the* book!

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 313)

Since proper names lack semantic variation as well, being used to label specific locations or entities, we would not expect them to occur in CR formations (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 313). There are, however, three situations in which CR is used to clarify potential ambiguity (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 313). In the first context, a proper noun may be understood as a common noun, as the example in (3) illustrates:

(3) A: So then who's coming through the Stargate?

B: Gods.

A: Huh?

B: Not as in *God-God*. Ra played a god, the sun god.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 313)

In the second context, one proper noun may refer to multiple individuals or locations with that same name, thus requiring CR to clarify which one is meant by the speaker, which would be the one the speaker considers most important or well-known. (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 314). This is illustrated in (4) below:

(4) So did you go to the movie with *Dave-Dave*, or with Dave?

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 314)

Finally, proper nouns may enter CR processes when the individual who the proper noun refers to behaves in a way that is atypical and uncharacteristic (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 314). This also includes contexts in film and TV in which characters get cloned, replaced by a robot, or get their identity taken in any other way (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 314). In these cases, as the following example in (5) shows, the product of CR refers to the individual as the speaker knows them:

(5) A: That doesn't sound like Murray.
B: Remember that he joined that cult the Spiritologists.
A: *Murray-Murray*!?

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 314)

These word class restrictions will be taken into account when constructing the CR examples in the questionnaire. However, no proper names will be used, as this would require using names of people every participant knows, which cannot be guaranteed.

2.2.2 Size of the Reduplicant

CR is the process of constructing X'X from X, in which X' is the reduplicant and X is the base (Rubino, 2013). As the examples in (1) illustrate, the size of reduplicant X' varies: it can either be identical to X (*salad-salad*) or nearly identical (*van-vans*).

Ghomeshi et al. (2004) argue that there appear to be prosodic preferences that influence the acceptability of the outputs of CR (p. 334). These preferences, however, vary among individual speakers (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 334). For one group of speakers including inflectional affixes in the reduplicant is preferred when an inflectional affix requires the addition of an extra syllable, making them consider *peaches-peaches* to be more acceptable than *?peach-peaches* (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 334). Likewise, they prefer *talking-talking* over *talk-talking* (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 334). The same group considers the inclusion of inflectional affixes in the reduplicant completely optional whenever the affix does not require an additional syllable, thus making *apples-apples* and *apple-apples* equally acceptable (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 334).

By allowing the copying of the stem only, CR allows the reduplication of a base smaller than the (phonological) word it copies from (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 321-2). Ghomeshi et al. (2004) argue that there may be a phonotactic motivation behind the deletion of inflection in the reduplicant in certain cases, e.g. in order to avoid a problematic consonant cluster (*?talked-talked*) (p. 323). This is, however, not the motivation behind examples like *guy-guys*, indicating there might be other motivations that are not phonotactic (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 323). For examples like *guy-guys*, Ghomeshi et al. (2004) propose the possibility of a morphological motivation (p. 323).

There are, however, certain elements that always have to be copied. For example, irregular inflectional morphology cannot be deleted from the reduplicant, as **teach-taught* illustrates (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 323). Similarly, derivational morphology has to be included in the reduplicant as well, which is why **relation-relationship* is considered unacceptable. Finally, repeating one part of a lexicalized compound is also considered unacceptable, making **boy-boyfriend* and **boyfriend-friend* unacceptable examples of CR

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 324). These are all characteristics that will be considered when constructing the CR examples in the questionnaire.

As previously mentioned, the reduplicant of CR can also contain more than one word. This happens when the objects to the right-hand side of the verb are part of the reduplicant, which is the case in (6):

(6) a. Object pronouns copied: I don't *know-him-know-him*.
b. PP containing object pronoun: I didn't *sleep-with-her-sleep-with-her*.
c. Larger combinations copied: He didn't *give-it-to-me-give-it-to-me*.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, pp. 325-6)

In the present research, however, the size of the reduplicant is not a variable. Therefore, I will only construct examples of CR that do not contain any objects. The restrictions of reduplicating more than one word will therefore not be discussed in further detail.

2.2.3 Semantics

Ghomeshi et al. (2004) argue that CR is used for clarification in situations where "the use of a word or phrase [otherwise] leaves open some vagueness, lack of precision, or ambiguity" (p. 311). Put differently, the CR process is used to clarify (potential) misunderstandings (Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 302). Generally, reduplications show "semantic enhancement of the dominant feature of a reduplicated [element]" (Fischer, 2011, p. 55). However, it is unclear what this dominant feature is, as one CR can lead to different interpretations. The CR *drink-drink* alone, for example, can have at least five different readings, including "an alcoholic drink", "hard liquor as opposed to other alcoholic drinks", and even "a nonalcoholic drink" (Whitton, 2006, pp. 17-21, as cited in Widlitzki, 2016, p. 123).

The present section discusses the four semantic categories of CR constructions proposed by Horn (1993, p. 50).

Prototype Meaning. The first possible meaning is described by Horn (1993) as representing "a true, real, default, or prototype instance" (p. 48). When nouns partake in CR, Hohenhaus (2004) states that their meaning can be formalised as illustrated in (7):

(7) an XX is a proper/prototypical X

(Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 301)

As such, a *boyfriend-boyfriend* is a proper or prototypical *boyfriend*. This prototype-interpretation is problematic when it is difficult to isolate a single prototypical representation of the doubled lexical item (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 123). For example, is a *doctor-doctor* a medical professional (as opposed to someone with the highest university degree), a general practitioner (as opposed to a specialist like a dentist) or any other member of its category (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 123)? These interpretations must depend on the context as well (Whitton, 2006, pp. 17-21, as cited in Widlitzki, 2016, p. 123).

Literal Meaning. When CR refers to the literal meaning of the lexical item it doubles, it is often to contrast a euphemistic interpretation (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 314). An example of this is given in (8):

(8) [Dialogue between a married couple, recently separated and now living apart.]
A: Maybe you'd like to come in and have some coffee?
B: Yeah, I'd like that.
A: Just *coffee-coffee*, no double meanings.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 315)

Intensified Meaning. Consider (9), in which an example of an intensified interpretation is given:

(9) A [to B, who is about to give a recital]: Are you nervous?

B: Yeah, but you know, not *nervous-nervous*.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 315)

Here, *nervous-nervous* is an alternative way of saying "very nervous" or "extremely nervous". Interestingly, Hohenhaus (2004) does not distinguish between different interpretations and instead distinguishes between categories. Hohenhaus (2004) distinguishes between CR with nouns, to which he attributes the prototype meaning in (7), and CR with adjectives, adverbs, and verbs (p. 301). The latter, despite not being labelled by Hohenhaus (2004) as such, is more in line with the intensified interpretation proposed by Horn (1993). Hohenhaus's (2004) word choice in his formula, shown in (10) below, illustrates why it suits the intensified interpretation:

(10) XX = really/properly/extremely X

(Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 301)

'Value-Added' Meaning. As the label indicates, a 'value-added' meaning adds meaning. An example of a value-added meaning is given in (11):

(11) A: I hear you guys are, um, living together now.

B: Well, we're not *living together-living together*.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 315)

In this case, reduplicating *living together* (i.e. living together as roommates) to become *living together-living together* (i.e. living together as lovers) adds a romantic element (Ghomeshi et al., 2004), p. 315). Interestingly, these readings appear to contrast one another. For example, CR can add a euphemistic meaning (in a 'value-added' reading) or contrast a euphemistic meaning (in a literal reading). Similarly, CR can represent the standard version of the base (in the prototypical reading) or represent an intensive or special version of the base (in the intensified reading).

Finally, Ghomeshi et al. (2004) propose a fifth possible reading, which they call "the obvious one" (p. 316). In these rare cases, there is no ambiguity and nothing to contrast with, which is illustrated in (12):

(12) A: Did you check out the leak in the bathroom?
B: What leak?
A: The *leak-leak*. [drags her into the bathroom]

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 316)

Note that the interpretation of CR is influenced by its context. This is illustrated in (13), in which changing one word in the reply by B to A's remark in (11) changes the interpretation of the CR from value-added to a literal meaning:

(13) B: Well, we're only *living together-living together*.

(Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 315)

Whereas the CR adds the meaning of "living together as lovers" in the value-added reading, it takes the interpretation of "living together as roommates" in the literal reading.

This variation in interpretations raises the question how the reading of CR formations is determined by their co-text (Ghomeshi et al., 2014, p. 316).

Scalar Analysis. Another way to categorise the meaning of reduplications was proposed by Whitton (2006) (cited in Song & Lee, 2011, p. 446). In her analysis, the context provides a number of dimensions that determine the order of possible contrast sets (Whitton, 2016, cited in Song & Lee, 2011, p. 446). As an example, five instances of *drink-drink* are given in (14), each with its own interpretation:

(14) a. You said in an earlier article that if you must have a "*drink drink*" go with the hard liquor. Why is hard liquor better than beer?

b. "Do you want a bottle of wine?" Mac asks. "I think I'll have a *drink-drink*," I say and when the waiter comes I order a martini.

c. (around 3 euros a shot and 8 euros a *drink-drink*).

d. [Two people at fast food restaurant sharing a meal deal]
A: What do you want?
B: I'll probably just get water so if you want a *drink-drink* get whatever you want.

e. A: I am on my own with the BBQ! Come on girls I need some drink ideas. Please- Celeste.
B: Are you looking for alcohol? Or just a *drink-drink*.

(Whitton, 2006, pp. 19-21, cited in Song & Lee, 2011, p. 445)

The corresponding contrast sets for *drink-drink* in (14) are {(alcoholic drink, ~nonalcoholic drink)} in (a), {(martini, ~wine)} in (b), {(mixed drink in a glass, ~shot)} in (c), {(soda, ~water)} in (d), and {(nonalcoholic drink, ~alcoholic drink)} in (e) (Song & Lee, 2011, p. 445).

This scalar analysis, albeit helpful in distinguishing more specific interpretations, is not used in the present research for practical reasons. Therefore, the topic will not be discussed in more detail.

2.2.4 Co-Text

The previous section has shown that the co-text of a CR influences its interpretation. Therefore, the present section looks into the different characteristic co-texts of CR in more detail.

Because of its contrastive nature, the duplicated item often co-occurs with its non-duplicated counterpart (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 317). Additionally, one of the items is often negated, which results in the semantic formula in (15):

(15) not XX/X but rather X/XX

(Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 301)

Similarly, the non-reduplicated simplex word may occur with a modifier in the co-text of the reduplication. For example, we would expect *Mom and Dad home*, in which *Mom and Dad* modifies *home*, to occur in the co-text of the synonymous *home-home* (Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 301). Modifiers can also be used to contrast the CR; examples include *talk talk - small talk* and *like him-like him - like him as a friend* (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 120).

Occasionally, combinations of these co-text characteristics can be found, for example in the sample taken from a corpus containing blog posts (i.e., the Blog Corpus, henceforth BC) in (16):

(16) [I] am constantly there instead of here (but only not *here here* at this site and at the puter, i mean at my home) […].

(BC, file no. 1835882, cited in Widlitzki, 2016, p. 132)

In (16), the interpretation of *here here* is influenced by a) the paraphrase *at this site and at the* [com]*puter*, b) the contrasting non-reduplicated *here*, and c) the contrasting paraphrase *at my home* (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 132). This extensive clarification of the CR *here here* might be due to it being written online, where readers lack "extralinguistic contextual information" (Widlitzki, 2016, pp. 132-3).

Widlitzki (2016) categorises the different types of contrasts, paraphrases, and synonyms that help specify the interpretation of CR into five different classes: 1) lexicalized compounds containing the non-reduplicated base; 2) ad-hoc compounds, which are often phrasal and contain the non-reduplicated base; 3) the non-reduplicated base as a free lexeme; 4) explanatory phrases and clauses; and 5) cases that lack overt synonyms or contrasts (pp. 133-4). For each category, Widlitzki (2016) provides examples, taken from the BC (pp. 133-4). These examples are displayed in (17) below, in which the contrasts and synonymous expressions are underlined (pp. 133-4):

(17) **Lexicalised Compound** (here used as a contrast to CR):
I thought this was *school-school*, not <u>vocational school</u>. I was ready to read. Not so eager to write cover letters. (BC, 780903)

Ad-hoc compound (here used as synonymous expression for CR):
the webcam was *cheap-cheap* - <u>15 bucks cheap</u>. (BC, 72355)

Base of CR (here used as a contrast to CR):
And I'm angry. Not *Angry-angry*, just <u>angry</u>. I don't want to like him. It's not fair that I should decide not to like him and then he treats me like he does and I can't help liking him. (BC, 718851)

Phrase/clause (here used as a synonymous expression for CR):
I worked tonight [...] word was that the boss wanted to have a word with me about my availability. I'm talking *boss-boss*, the store director, the headiest honcho in the building (BC, 1939766)

Lack of overt synonyms or contrasts:
Other scary thing: Jon kind of coughed some thing about will you go out with me or some thing and I'm quite scared! Why is it that if you get close to someone they think that you like them like them? (BC, 1784456)

(Widlitzki, 2016, pp. 133-4)

Widlitzki (2016) concludes that co-texts "provide clues to the interpretation of CR", but does not make any predictions about specific interpretations being boosted by specific co-texts (p. 138). This relation between co-text and interpretation is a central question in the present investigation.

2.2.5 Productivity

Making statements about the productivity of CR is difficult and perhaps even problematic. After all, the literature discussed so far has shown that a large number of different examples of English CR can be found, despite reduplication being considered unproductive in English. The present section discusses what we do know about CR productivity in English.

In English, reduplication is associated with colloquial, informal, conversational spoken English (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 307; Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 302). This claim is supported by the low number of CR occurrences in written corpora compared to the number of occurrences in spoken corpora (Ghomeshi et al., 2004, p. 308). Even written examples of

CR are often representations of spoken language, e.g. in film and television transcripts or informal online conversations (Hohenhaus, 2004, p. 302).

The low number of occurrences in big corpora like the BNC could indicate that CR is indeed irrelevant and marginal in English, thus justifying the statement that CR is unproductive in English (Hohenhaus, 2004, pp. 309-11). Alternatively, Hohenhaus (2004) argues, these low numbers could be the result of CR being underrepresented in the big corpora (the BNC, for example, only consists of only 10% of spoken language) (p. 311). Looking at spoken corpora only, CR *can* be considered productive, Hohenhaus (2004) states (p. 311). That being said, however, all occurences of CR in the corpora used in Hohenhaus's (2004) research are hapax legomena, i.e. none of them occur more than once (p. 311).

In short, CR is almost exclusively a feature of spoken language, thus making it unproductive in written language. In spoken English, however, the relatively high number of hapax legomena indicate that CR is a productive process that forms ad-hoc constructions.

2.2.6 Sociolinguistics

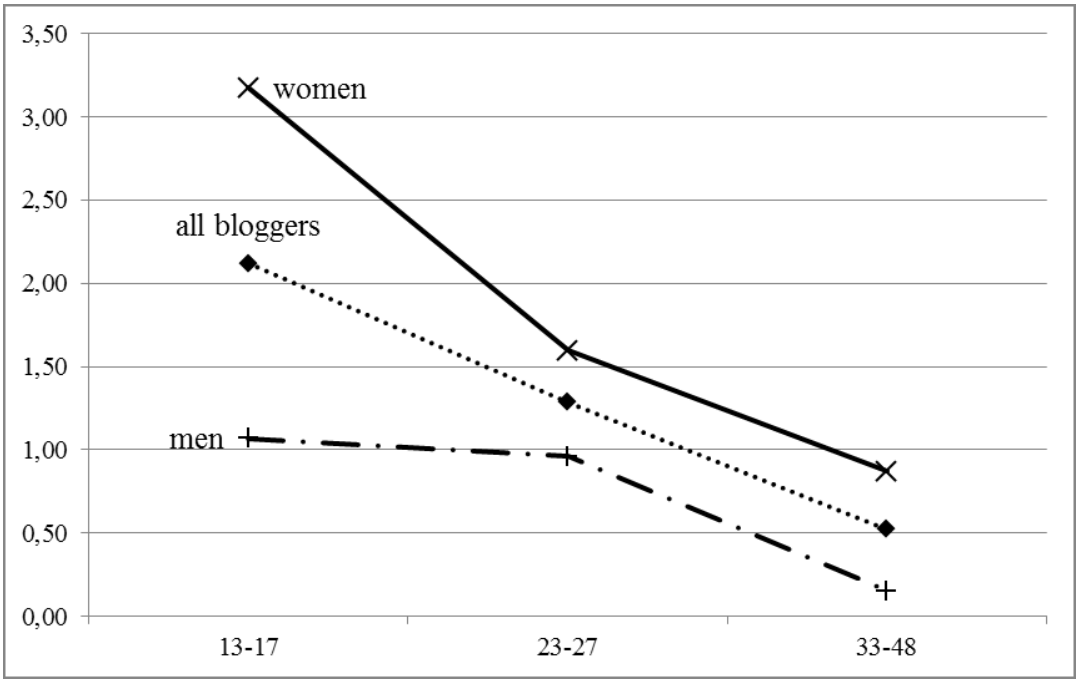
Research by Widlitzki (2016), which concerned the use of CR by bloggers, has shown that more instances of CR are reported among younger bloggers than older bloggers (p. 136). She expects that this might be the case because older speakers tend to be hesitant to use informal features in written language (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 137).

Additionally, the use of CR is significantly more persistent among female bloggers (in all age ranges) (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 137). This could be a tendency of female speakers, but it could also be explained by the likelihood of women's blogs containing more "personal content", which lends itself more to informal language (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 137).

Both tendencies are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1

CRs per Million Words in the BC by Gender and Age (Widlitzki, 2016, p. 136)



In the present research, I am going to check for the effect of age and gender myself.

2.3 Receptivity

The concept of productivity is widely accepted among linguists, but its definition is not exactly clear-cut. One of the common definitions of productivity among morphologists is: "the property of a [morpheme or word-formation process] to be used to coin new complex words" (Plag, 2018, p. 44). The productivity of reduplication, then, is the likelihood of the CR process coining new complex words. As discussed, the productivity of CR is negligible in written language but considerably more relevant in spoken language. As such, CR constructions may be considered rare. Nonetheless, we are exposed to them in real-life conversations.

In multilingualism studies, the concept of "receptive multilingualism" has been introduced, which refers to "the communicative mode by which interlocutors use different languages and still understand each other on the basis of the passive language competencies

of each interlocutor" (Ten Thije, 2019, p. 329). This has been a crucial communication technique ever since the Middle Ages, when travellers encountered speakers of other (varieties of their) languages that had yet to be standardised (Ten Thije, 2019, p. 329). They were able to communicate with speakers of languages that were more or less closely related to their own (Braunmüller, 2008, p. 2).

The intention of this research tradition, Ten Thije (2019) states, is not "to explain processes of *real* understanding of speakers and hearers in multilingual interaction … , but rather seeks to account for *potential* understanding" (p. 334). Exposure to the other language is conducive to mutual intelligibility (Ten Thije, 2019, p. 335).

This concept of receptivity is relevant for the present study, as it is used to investigate whether constructed examples can still be understood the way they were intended. Moreover, the present study tests whether these constructions can be understood by both participants who would consider using the given examples and those who would not.

Importantly, the present study is not focused around multilingualism, as speakers are asked to rate constructions in their native language. However, reduplication being a (relatively) rare process means that it could be considered "foreign" to many participants. Here too, exposure proves to be an important factor in terms of intelligibility.

3. Methodology

This study uses an online questionnaire that was distributed to my friends and family. In addition to the request to fill the form out themselves, they were told that sharing the link among their friends would be greatly appreciated, which a number of them did.

The questionnaire provides participants with constructed examples of CR and asks for their interpretation of each example and whether they would use them themselves. For convenience, a number of interpretation options were given. These options are adapted from the semantic categories proposed by Horn (1993): "Prototype meaning" and "Literal meaning" are now combined under the label "Standard interpretation"; "Intensified meaning" is relabelled as "Intensive interpretation"; and "Value-added meaning" is

relabelled as “Alternative interpretation”. These new categorizations should make the dividing lines between them clearer. Their exact definitions are discussed in section 3.1.

3.1 Design

This being an investigation based on a questionnaire, choices were made to help acquire a sufficient number of participants. First, it was decided to present the questionnaire online to make it more accessible and easier to share. Second, the choice was made to present the form fully in Dutch. As the researcher is based in the Netherlands, it was easier to find native speakers of Dutch than native speakers of English. The constructed Dutch CRs adhere to the formal restrictions of English CR. Assuming these restrictions apply to both languages, however, is a big leap. Therefore, only examples were chosen that would also be acceptable when translated to English. The questionnaire is included in the appendix (in Dutch) but is discussed briefly in the present section as well.

The introduction of the questionnaire informs the participants of the fact that they remain anonymous, as all personal information (e.g. age and place of residency) is only used to compare participants.

The first section of the form collects the following personal information of the participants: age, gender, place of residency, and current or most recent level of education. For convenience, options were given for gender and education (based on the Dutch education system).

The second section introduces the topic of reduplication in layman’s terms, using *meisje-meisje* [girl-girl] as an example. This example was chosen, as I consider it the CR that is used most often in Dutch. Using this as an example, I expect it to make the interpretation options clearer. Then, the five different interpretation options are explained, again using *meisje-meisje* [girl-girl] as an example. The English translations of these options, their definitions and examples are given below:

1. **Standard**

   G*irl-girl* means a standard/common/everyday girl.

2. **Intensive**

   Girl-girl means “girlier than a standard girl”.

3. **Alternative**

   Girl-girl means a specific (kind of) girl or something completely different than a girl.

4. **Other**

   When you interpret *girl-girl* in a way that does not fit with any of the given options.

5. **Unclear**

   When you do not understand or cannot interpret *girl-girl*.

For the examples that are to come, the participants are instructed to choose the interpretation that they think suits them best. In order to acquire spontaneous answers, the participants are told that there are no incorrect answers. For every example, only one interpretation can be selected, as allowing multiple answers per question would overcomplicate the analysis and might make participants hesitant to choose.

Sections 3-17 of the questionnaire each focus on one constructed example of CR. These examples all adhere to the characteristics discussed in the literature on CR. Each example is given in the context of a constructed dialogue that is designed in such a way that it aims to steer the interpretation into the direction of either standard, intensive or alternative. There were 15 examples, 5 for each of the three interpretations. These examples are presented in random order. This information is not disclosed to the participants.

The five examples for each interpretation were each put in dialogues containing one of the five different co-texts proposed by Widlitzki (2016). This information, too, is not disclosed to the participants. The 15 unique combinations and their corresponding answers are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of Combinations of Co-Texts and Intended Interpretations in Questionnaire (with examples and translations)

Intended interpretation	Co-text					Results per section
	Lexicalised compound	Ad-hoc compound	Base of CR	Phrase or clause	No overt synonymous expressions or contrasts	
Standard	Section 3: *lopen-lopen* [walk-walk]	Section 14: *bang-bang* [afraid-afraid]	Section 10: *buiten-buiten* [outside-outside]	Section 17: *mayo-mayo* [mayonnaise-mayonnaise]	Section 7: *alcohol-alcohol* [alcohol-alcohol]	Table 3
Intensive	Section 8: *lief-lief* [sweet-sweet]	Section 4: *geel-geel* [yellow-yellow]	Section 15: *juffen-juffen* [teachers-teachers]	Section 6: *kandidaat-kandidaat* [candidate-candidate]	Section 12: *gestudeerd-gestudeerd* [studied-studied]	Table 4
Alternative	Section 13: *kisten-kisten* [coffins-coffins]	Section 9: *chillen-chillen* [chill-chill]	Section 5: *thuisgebracht-thuisgebracht* [brought-...-home-brought-...-home]	Section 11: *stoel-stoel* [chair-chair]	Section 16: *ramen-ramen* [windows-windows]	Table 5
Results per section	Table 6	Table 7	Table 8	Table 9	Table 10	

Sections 3-17 of the questionnaire are all structured in the same way. Each section is titled after the relevant constructed CR and followed by the dialogue in which it is used. Then, two questions are asked: one asking for the participant's interpretation of the CR and one asking whether they would use this CR themselves. For convenience, the possible interpretations are not only labelled *standard, intensive,* and *alternative*, but they also include short explanations relevant for the CR at hand. For the question about the likelihood of the participants using the CR themselves, only two possible options are given: *likely* and *unlikely*. A Likert scale would not have worked here as well (as "likelihood" is difficult to rate), so having two options suffices.

Thus, sections 3-17 all have the structure in (18), in which *X* represents the base that gets reduplicated:

(18) **Section #**

XX

Dialogue containing *XX*

1. How do you interpret *XX*?
    - Standard: a standard/common/everyday X or the classical example of an X.
    - Intensive: more X than a standard X.
    - Alternative: a specific (kind of) X or something completely different than an X.
    - Other
    - Unclear
2. Is it likely that you would use *XX* yourself?
    - Likely
    - Unlikely

Finally, the participants were asked to leave a comment or question about the questionnaire if they had any. Answering this question was optional.

A table containing all answers to sections 3-17 of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. Section 4 “Results and Analysis” contains the results divided by variable.

3.2 Participants

Out of the 73 participants, 55 (75.3%) identify as female and 18 (24.7%) identify as male. None of the participants chose the option “Other/I would rather not say”. The age profile of the participants is as follows: 50 (68.5%) 18-24 years old (i.e. students); 15 (20.5%) 25-40 years old (i.e. young professionals); and 8 (11.0%) 40-65 years old (i.e. experienced professionals).

The replies given when asked about one’s current or most recent level of education are shown in Table 2. The places of residency of the participants are displayed in Figure 2. With the exception of 2 (2.7%) Belgian participants, who are presumably speakers of Flemish Dutch, all participants live in the Netherlands. The data on places of residence and level of education will not be taken into consideration in the present investigation.

On average, it took participants 7:50 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

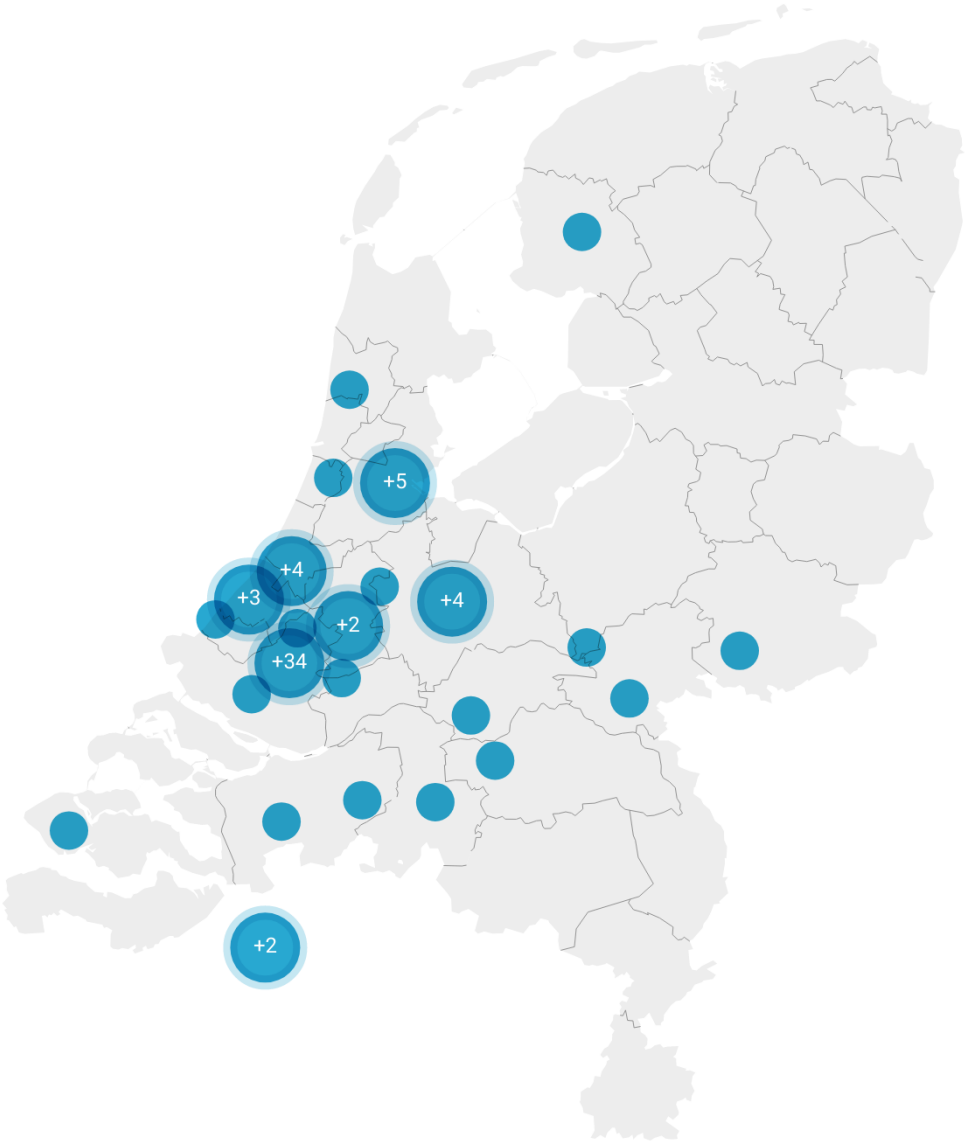
Table 2

Percentages of the Current of Most Recent Level of Education of the Participants

Level of Education	Percentage
Primary school	0 (0.0)
Secondary school	4 (5.5)
MBO	6 (8.2)
HBO	31 (42.5)
University	32 (43.8)
Other	0 (0.0)
Total	73 (100)

Figure 2

Places of Residency of the Participants



4. Results and Analysis

This section provides an overview of the answers given by the participants to the questions in sections 3-17 of the questionnaire. The results have been divided in the following categories (one for each variable): interpretation, co-text, age, and gender. The results are given per section rather than in an aggregated manner, as this makes comparing the values of the expected answers to the other options easier. Additionally, there is a section

focusing on the effect of the four variables on the likelihood of using the CR examples. The tables in this section contain both the raw data and calculated averages, which are then analysed.

4.1 Interpretation

Tables 3-5 below illustrate the results divided by intended interpretation. Table 3 displays the results for the sections that contain dialogues covertly suggesting the "standard" interpretation, Table 4 for the dialogues covertly suggesting the "intensive" interpretation, and Table 5 for the dialogues covertly suggesting the "alternative" interpretation.

As Table 3 illustrates, the examples with the intended standard interpretation get interpreted as "standard" (39.5%) the most often indeed. Despite this, the "intensive" and "alternative" interpretations were also chosen often at 24.4% and 21.1% respectively. Moreover, 2.5% interpreted these constructions in ways that do not fit the three interpretation options given and 12.6% could not interpret these constructions at all.

Table 3

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; Intended Standard Interpretation Only.

Answer given	Section					Average
	3	7	10	14	17	
	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	59 (**80.8**)	15 (**20.5**)	10 (**13.7**)	29 (**40.0**)	31 (**42.5**)	28.8 (**39.5**)
Intensive	8 (11.0)	7 (9.6)	30 (**41.1**)	18 (24.7)	26 (**35.6**)	17.8 (24.4)
Alternative	4 (5.5)	28 (**38.4**)	19 (**26.0**)	18 (24.7)	8 (11.0)	15.4 (21.1)
Other	1 (1.4)	3 (4.1)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	1 (1.4)	1.8 (2.5)
Unclear	1 (1.4)	20 (**27.4**)	12 (16.4)	6 (8.2)	7 (9.6)	9.2 (12.6)

Note. Percentages in black boldface represent the intended interpretation; percentages in grey boldface represent high numbers of non-intended interpretations.

Table 4 demonstrates that 72.3% of the participants interpreted the relevant examples as the intended "intensive" option, with only 5.2% and 15.4% interpreting the examples as "standard" and "alternative" respectively. The remaining participants interpreted the examples differently (3.6%) or could not understand them (3.6%).

Finally, Table 5 displays the results for the examples with an intended alternative interpretation. As this table illustrates, 64.6% of the participants chose this "alternative" interpretation as their answer indeed, whereas 7.4% and 9.0% participants chose the "standard" and "intensive" options respectively. Interestingly, 15.9% of the participants were unable to interpret the examples. The remaining 3.0% interpreted the examples in ways other than the options given.

Comparing the three tables, it is evident that the "standard" interpretation is the most difficult to interpret as intended.

Table 4

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; Intended Intensive Interpretation Only.

Answer given	Section					Average
	4	6	8	12	15	
	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	2 (2.7)	10 (13.7)	3 (4.1)	1 (1.4)	3 (4.1)	3.8 (5.2)
Intensive	67 (**91.8**)	26 (**35.6**)	61 (**83.6**)	59 (**80.8**)	51 (**69.9**)	52.8 (**72.3**)
Alternative	4 (5.5)	24 (**32.9**)	7 (9.6)	4 (5.5)	17 (23.3)	11.2 (15.4)
Other	0 (0.0)	3 (4.1)	2 (2.7)	8 (11.0)	0 (0.0)	2.6 (3.6)
Unclear	0 (0.0)	10 (13.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	2 (2.7)	2.6 (3.6)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation; percentages in grey boldface represent high numbers of non-intended interpretations.

Table 5

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; Intended Alternative Interpretation Only.

Answer given	Section					Average
	5	9	11	13	16	
	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	4 (5.5)	6 (8.2)	2 (2.7)	13 (17.8)	2 (2.7)	5.4 (7.4)
Intensive	13 (17.8)	7 (9.6)	5 (6.8)	4 (5.5)	4 (5.5)	6.6 (9.0)
Alternative	43 (**58.9**)	55 (**75.3**)	47 (**64.4**)	39 (**53.4**)	52 (**71.2**)	47.2 (**64.6**)
Other	3 (4.1)	1 (1.4)	3 (4.1)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	2.2 (3.0)
Unclear	10 (13.7)	4 (5.5)	16 (21.9)	15 (20.5)	13 (17.8)	11.6 (15.9)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation.

4.2 Co-Text

Tables 6-10 below illustrate the results divided by co-text, i.e. co-texts containing a lexicalized compound (Table 6), an ad-hoc compound (Table 7), the base of CR (Table 8), a phrase or clause (Table 9), and no overt synonymous expression or contrast (Table 10).

As table 6 illustrates, the presence of a lexicalized compound in the co-text results in a balanced division of “standard”, “intensive”, and “alternative” answers, with the “alternative” option being chosen slightly less than the other two. The remaining options, “other” and “unclear” were chosen by 2.3% and 7.3% respectively.

Table 7 demonstrates that the presence of an ad-hoc compound in the co-text results in higher percentages for “intensive” and “alternative” interpretations. In comparison with the interpretations of the CRs with a “lexicalized compound” co-text, CRs with an “ad-hoc compound” co-text get interpreted as “other” or “unclear” less often: by 1.4% and 4.6% of the participants respectively.

Table 6

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; "Lexicalized Compound" Co-Text Only.

Answer given	Section			Average
	3 n = 73 (%)	8 n = 73 (%)	13 n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	59 **(80.8)**	3 (4.1)	13 (17.8)	25 (34.2)
Intensive	8 (11.0)	61 **(83.6)**	4 (5.5)	24.3 (33.4)
Alternative	4 (5.5)	7 (9.6)	39 **(53.4)**	16.7 (22.8)
Other	1 (1.4)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	1.7 (2.3)
Unclear	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	15 (20.5)	5.3 (7.3)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation.

Table 7

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; "Ad-Hoc Compound" Co-Text Only.

Answer given	Section			Average
	4 n = 73 (%)	9 n = 73 (%)	14 n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	2 (2.7)	6 (8.2)	29 **(40.0)**	12.3 (17.0)
Intensive	67 **(91.8)**	7 (9.6)	18 (**24.7**)	30.7 (42.0)
Alternative	4 (5.5)	55 **(75.3)**	18 (**24.7**)	25.7 (35.2)
Other	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	2 (2.7)	1 (1.4)
Unclear	0 (0.0)	4 (5.5)	6 (8.2)	3.3 (4.6)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation; percentages in grey boldface represent high numbers of non-intended interpretations.

Table 8 makes it clear that examples containing the base of the CR in their co-text result in a preference for "intensive" and "alternative" interpretations to a greater extent than those containing an ad-hoc compound in their co-text. Additionally, it also leads to a higher percentage of participants who cannot interpret the CR (10.9%).

Table 9 shows that CRs in a co-text containing a phrase or clause that contrasts or is synonymous with the CR results in a preference for "intensive" and "alternative" interpretations. This is most evident when excluding the intended interpretations. Additionally, 15.1% of the participants are unable to interpret the relevant examples.

Finally, Table 10 demonstrates that there is also a preference for the "intensive" and "alternative" interpretations when there is no overt synonymous or contrasting expression in the co-text. The preference for the "alternative" interpretation is even more evident when excluding the results for the intended interpretation. The other options "other" and "unclear" were chosen by 5.9% and 15.5% of the respondents respectively.

Table 8

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; "Base of CR" Co-Text Only.

Answer given	Section			Average
	5 n = 73 (%)	10 n = 73 (%)	15 n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	4 (5.5)	10 **(13.7)**	3 (4.1)	5.7 (7.8)
Intensive	13 (17.8)	30 (**41.1**)	51 **(69.9)**	31.3 (42.9)
Alternative	43 **(58.9)**	19 (**26.0**)	17 (23.3)	26.3 (36.1)
Other	3 (4.1)	2 (2.7)	0 (0.0)	1.7 (2.3)
Unclear	10 (13.7)	12 (16.4)	2 (2.7)	8 (10.9)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation; percentages in grey boldface represent high numbers of non-intended interpretations.

Table 9

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation, Ordered by Section; "Phrase/Clause" Co-Text Only.

Answer given	Section			Average
	6 n = 73 (%)	11 n = 73 (%)	17 n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	10 (13.7)	2 (2.7)	31 **(42.5)**	14.3 (19.6)
Intensive	26 **(35.6)**	5 (6.8)	26 (**35.6**)	19 (26.0)
Alternative	24 (**32.9**)	47 **(64.4)**	8 (11.0)	26.3 (36.1)
Other	3 (4.1)	3 (4.1)	1 (1.4)	2.3 (3.2)
Unclear	10 (13.7)	16 (21.9)	7 (9.6)	11 (15.1)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation; percentages in grey boldface represent high numbers of non-intended interpretations.

Table 10

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Interpretation and Use, Ordered by Section; "No Overt Synonymous Expressions or Contrasts" Co-Text Only.

Answer given	Section			Average
	7 n = 73 (%)	12 n = 73 (%)	16 n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)
Standard	15 **(20.5)**	1 (1.4)	2 (2.7)	6.0 (8.2)
Intensive	7 (9.6)	59 **(80.8)**	4 (5.5)	23.4 (32.0)
Alternative	28 (**38.4**)	4 (5.5)	52 **(71.2)**	28 (38.4)
Other	3 (4.1)	8 (11.0)	2 (2.7)	4.3 (5.9)
Unclear	20 (**27.4**)	1 (1.4)	13 (17.8)	11.3 (15.5)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation; percentages in grey boldface represent high numbers of non-intended interpretations.

Comparing the percentages in these five tables, a number of patterns can be observed. First, it becomes clear that the "standard" interpretation was chosen the least in all co-texts except in the "lexicalized compound" co-text, where it was chosen most by a small

margin. Second, the “intensive” interpretation is chosen often in all co-texts, but it is the most popular answer in the “ad-hoc compound” and “base of CR” co-texts. These are also the co-texts that have the highest percentages for the “unclear” option. Third, the “alternative” interpretation is the most frequently selected option in co-texts containing the “phrase or clause” and “no overt synonymous expression or contrast”, but in all other co-texts it was proportionally chosen as well.

4.3 Age

Considering the variable “age”, the answers that correspond to the intended meaning were studied, e.g. choosing the option “standard” when the standard meaning was intended in the example dialogue. These answers were not divided into the interpretation categories, as I am investigating the effect of age globally. Instead, the average was calculated for the answers that reflect these intended interpretations for all 15 sections. These were then divided in the proposed age groups. These numbers are displayed in Table 11 below.

The percentages for these age groups, i.e. 59.5% for 18-24 year olds, 56.9% for 25-40 year olds, and 58.3% for 41-65 year olds, illustrate that the difference in correct interpretation by these groups is negligible. In other words, all age groups are able to interpret the CRs presented in the dialogues the way they were intended to an equal extent.

4.4 Gender

The variable “gender” was studied using a similar method as the variable “age”. The averages of the answers that correspond to the intended meaning were calculated and divided between female and male participants. These findings are displayed in Table 13 below. For interpretation, the average percentages for female and male participants are rather similar, at 60.1% and 55.6% respectively. As such, men and women appear to interpret the CRs the way they were intended to an equal extent.

Table 11

Percentages of Answers Given That Reflect the Intended Interpretation, Ordered by Age Group.

Age group	Section															Average
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
18-24 n = 50 (%)	43 (86.0)	45 (90.0)	29 (58.0)	18 (36.0)	8 (16.0)	41 (82.0)	41 (82.0)	8 (16.0)	33 (66.0)	40 (80.0)	28 (56.0)	20 (40.0)	35 (70.0)	35 (70.0)	22 (44.0)	29.7 (59.5)
25-40 n = 15 (%)	10 (66.7)	14 (93.3)	9 (60.0)	4 (26.7)	3 (20.0)	12 (80.0)	11 (73.3)	1 (6.7)	9 (60.0)	13 (86.7)	6 (40.0)	8 (53.3)	11 (73.3)	11 (73.3)	6 (40.0)	8.5 (56.9)
41-65 n = 8 (%)	6 (75.0)	8 (100.0)	5 (62.5)	4 (50.0)	4 (50.0)	8 (100.0)	3 (37.5)	1 (12.5)	5 (62.5)	6 (75.0)	5 (62.5)	1 (12.5)	5 (62.5)	6 (75.0)	3 (37.5)	4.7 (58.3)

Table 12

Percentages of Answers Given That Reflect the Intended Interpretation, Ordered by Gender.

Gender	Section															Average
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Female n = 55 (%)	43 (78.2)	53 (96.4)	34 (61.8)	21 (38.2)	13 (23.6)	44 (80.0)	42 (76.4)	8 (14.5)	40 (72.7)	44 (80.0)	30 (54.5)	23 (41.8)	39 (70.9)	38 (69.1)	24 (43.6)	33.1 (60.1)
Male n = 18 (%)	16 (88.9)	14 (77.8)	9 (50.0)	5 (27.8)	2 (11.1)	17 (94.4)	13 (72.2)	2 (11.1)	8 (44.4)	16 (88.9)	9 (50.0)	6 (33.3)	12 (66.7)	14 (77.8)	7 (38.9)	10.0 (55.6)

4.5 Likelihood of Usage

The present section will discuss the effect of the four variables on the likelihood of the participants using the CR examples. These results, too, are given in raw data and in percentages per variable, focusing only on the "likely" answers (as the number of and percentages for "unlikely" answers can be deduced from the "likely" answers).

4.5.1 Interpretation

Table 13 below displays the likelihood of participants using each CR construction, ordered by type of interpretation. For the constructions with the standard interpretation, only 19.5% of the participants could see themselves using the relevant examples, despite 39.5% of them being able to interpret the CRs as intended. Similarly, 30.1% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the examples with the intensive interpretation, while 72.3% of them are able to interpret them as intended. Only 8.0% consider using the examples with the alternative interpretation, despite 64.6% interpreting them as intended. These trends of participants being able to interpret CRs as intended without using the examples themselves can be explained by receptivity: exposure to "foreign" expressions allows speakers to understand these expressions without using them themselves.

Table 13

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Use, Ordered by Interpretation.

"Likely" answers	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	Average n = 73 (%)
Standard interpretation	Section 3 20 (27.4)	Section 7 7 (9.6)	Section 10 14 (19.2)	Section 14 21 (28.8)	Section 17 9 (12.3)	14.2 (19.5)
Intensive interpretation	Section 4 38 (52.1)	Section 6 8 (11.0)	Section 8 30 (41.1)	Section 12 9 (12.3)	Section 15 25 (34.2)	22 (30.1)
Alternative interpretation	Section 5 8 (11.0)	Section 9 19 (26.0)	Section 11 1 (1.4)	Section 13 0 (0.0)	Section 16 1 (1.4)	5.8 (8.0)

The general trend that can be observed here is that a high percentage of participants interpreting the examples as intended also means a (relatively) high percentage of participants considering it likely they would use these examples themselves.

4.5.2 Co-Text

Table 14 below displays the likelihood of participants using each CR construction, ordered by type of co-text. The likelihood of participants using the reduplications from specific co-texts can be divided in sections with similar percentages as follows: 1) only 7.8% and 8.2% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the CRs from the "no overt synonymous expression or contrast" and "phrase or clause" co-texts respectively, 2) 21.5% and 22.8% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the CRs from the "base of CR" and "lexicalized compound" co-texts, and 3) 35.6% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the CRs from the "ad-hoc compound" co-text. Here, too, the percentages representing the ability to interpret the constructions as intended are higher than the percentages representing the likelihood of participants using these constructions themselves.

Table 14

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions on Use, Ordered Co-Text.

"Likely" answers	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	n = 73 (%)	Average n = 73 (%)
Lexicalized compound	Section 3 20 (27.4)	Section 8 30 (41.1)	Section 13 0 (0.0)	16.7 (22.8)
Ad-hoc compound	Section 4 38 (52.1)	Section 9 19 (26.0)	Section 14 21 (28.8)	26 (35.6)
Base of CR	Section 5 8 (11.0)	Section 10 14 (19.2)	Section 15 25 (34.2)	15.7 (21.5)
Phrase/clause	Section 6 8 (11.0)	Section 11 1 (1.4)	Section 17 9 (12.3)	6 (8.2)
No overt synonymous expressions or contrasts	Section 7 7 (9.6)	Section 12 9 (12.3)	Section 16 1 (1.4)	5.7 (7.8)

4.5.3 Age

Section 4.3 has illustrated that all age groups are able to interpret the CRs as intended to a similar extent. However, there are differences between the age groups when looking at the likelihood of using these CRs. These averages were calculated for each age group as well and are displayed in Table 15. As this table illustrates, the age group of 41-65 year olds are significantly less likely to use the CRs given as examples with only 4.2% choosing “likely”, compared to 21.7% and 18.7% of the 18-24 year olds and 25-40 year olds choosing that same option respectively.

4.5.4 Gender

Section 4.4 has shown that gender does not seem to play a role in the interpretation of CRs. Similarly, Table 16 illustrates that the percentages representing the likelihood of using the examples are not dissimilar either, with 19.9% of the female participants and 17.0% of the male participants choosing the option “likely”.

Table 15

Percentages of "Likely" Answers for Question on Likelihood of Using CR Examples, Ordered by Age Group

Age group	Section															Average
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
18-24 n = 50 (%)	15 (30.0)	29 (58.0)	7 (14.0)	6 (12.0)	4 (8.0)	24 (48.0)	18 (36.0)	12 (24.0)	1 (2.0)	7 (14.0)	0 (0.0)	17 (34.0)	18 (36.0)	1 (2.0)	4 (8.0)	10.9 (21.7)
25-40 n = 15 (%)	4 (26.7)	9 (60)	1 (6.7)	2 (13.3)	3 (20.0)	5 (33.3)	1 (6.7)	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	2 (13.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (20.0)	6 (40.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (33.3)	2.8 (18.7)
41-65 n = 8 (%)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0.3 (4.2)

Table 16

Percentages of "Likely" Answers for Question on likelihood of Using CR Examples, Ordered by Gender

Gender	Section															Average
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Female n = 55 (%)	13 (23.6)	32 (58.2)	5 (9.1)	5 (9.1)	5 (9.1)	23 (41.8)	16 (29.1)	9 (16.4)	1 (1.8)	8 (14.5)	0 (0.0)	17 (30.9)	20 (36.4)	1 (1.8)	9 (16.4)	10.9 (19.9)
Male n = 18 (%)	7 (38.9)	6 (33.3)	3 (16.7)	3 (16.7)	2 (11.1)	7 (38.9)	3 (16.7)	5 (27.8)	0 (0.0)	1 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	4 (22.2)	5 (27.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3.1 (17.0)

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The present research has looked at the roles interpretation, co-text, age, and gender play in CR. Furthermore, I have investigated whether receptivity is relevant for this formation process in terms of participants being able to interpret constructions they would not consider using themselves. The findings are discussed in the present section, as well as the shortcomings of the research method.

A general conclusion can be drawn in terms of receptivity. Percentages of intended interpretation are always higher than percentages of usage likelihood. This indicates that, like speakers being able to understand speakers of a related language, the participants were able to understand expressions they would not use themselves. This is evident in one of the age groups especially, but this is discussed later.

Looking at the role of interpretation in likelihood of participants using the CRs, it was observed that interpreting a CR the way it was intended is conducive to being likely to use said construction yourself. This is to be expected, as one has to understand a word or construction in order to use it themselves. The “alternative” interpretation, despite being correctly interpreted by most participants, has the lowest likelihood-of-usage percentage. I propose that this might have to do with this interpretation being the most co-text dependent. Whereas the “standard” and “intensive” interpretations highlight one salient feature of the base of the CR, the “alternative” interpretation does the opposite, i.e. it contrasts the CR to the base. Therefore, the added meaning of CRs with an “alternative” interpretation is dependent on the co-text. As such, the participants might have considered the likelihood of them using the CRs in their given co-texts here, instead of the likelihood of them using the CRs in general. Additionally, the “alternative” interpretation examples had the highest percentage of participants not being able to interpret the examples. This indicates that constructions that are intended to be interpreted as “alternative” might be considered unnatural or forced. This is supported by the fact that some participants made comments

about some constructions being “difficult to understand”, “unnecessary” or “overused in these examples”.

There are some conclusions to be drawn based on the different co-texts. Firstly, the “standard” interpretation was chosen most in the “lexicalized compound” co-text, whereas in all other co-texts it was chosen the least. This indicates that the presence of a lexicalized compound in the context of the CR increases the possibility of it being interpreted as “standard”. Additionally, all other co-texts decrease this possibility. Secondly, the “intensive” interpretation is well-represented in all co-texts but especially in those containing an ad-hoc compound or the base of the CR. Hence, it can be concluded that these two co-texts increase the likelihood of CRs being interpreted as “intensive”. Interestingly, these two co-texts also have the highest percentages for the “unclear” option, indicating that the presence of an ad-hoc compound or the base of the CR in the co-text are not as beneficial for the interpretation as the other co-texts are. Thirdly, the “alternative” interpretation is well-represented in all co-texts as well but especially in the “phrase or clause” and “no overt synonymous expression or contrast” co-texts. Fourthly, the likelihood of participants using the reduplications from specific co-texts can be divided in the following sections (co-texts with similar percentages are grouped together): 1) only 7.8% and 8.2% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the CRs from the “no overt synonymous expression or contrast” and “phrase or clause” co-texts respectively, 2) 21.5% and 22.8% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the CRs from the “base of CR” and “lexicalized compound” co-texts, and 3) 35.6% of the participants consider it likely that they would use the CRs from the “ad-hoc compound” co-text. This again indicates that the examples in certain co-texts are considered more natural by the participants. Presumably, they are also more likely to use CRs in these co-texts themselves.

Age is irrelevant when it comes to interpreting CR, as all age groups score similarly in that respect. There is, however, a big difference when it comes to different age groups using these examples themselves. Whereas the 18-24 year olds and 25-40 year olds would consider using the CRs in 21.7% and 18.7% of the examples respectively, the 41-65 year olds only did

so in 4.2% of the examples. This is in line with research by Widlitzki (2016) on English CR, which finds that CR constructions are used by younger speakers more often than by older speakers. In terms of receptivity, this indicates that the 41-65 year olds were able to understand constructions they might consider “foreign” to the same extent as younger participants who use these constructions were.

The variable “gender" does not play a role in neither interpreting nor using CR, as both female and male participants score equally in both departments. This does not reflect the findings by Widlitzki (2016), who discovered that female bloggers use CR constructions more often than male bloggers. This is, as they noted themselves, probably due to the nature of female blogs.

In conclusion, the variables “intended interpretation”, “co-text”, and “age” play a role in CR in Dutch, whereas “gender” does not.

Finally, some remarks are in order regarding the method. In the section that collects some personal information about the participants, a question asking the participants about their native language should have been added, for Dutch not being one’s native language could make interpreting the examples more difficult.

In an effort to keep the questionnaire of a reasonable length, only one example per combination of intended interpretation and co-text was used. This means that semantics plays a role as well, especially when asking the participants about the likelihood of using the examples. For example, participants might be less likely to use the CR *kisten-kisten* [coffins-coffins] because of its specific use. Ideally, the questionnaire would have included more examples with consistent levels of everyday usability. Additionally, this would have meant that the percentages for interpretation and co-text were calculated based on more than five and three examples, respectively. Similarly, the results of the present methodology depend on my ability to construct the right kind of example strongly. This aspect of this type of research is very vulnerable, as the examples are (unintentionally) coloured by my perception of convincing examples of CR. The characteristics from the literature mostly focus on the formation of CR itself, rather than natural usage in conversation. This is also the

reason for reporting the results separately for each example, as this makes individual differences between examples visible.

The choice to only allow for one interpretation to be chosen per example has the benefits of not overcomplicating the analysis and forcing participants to choose. One of the potential drawbacks of this choice, however, is interpretations being underrepresented when other interpretations were considered better or more obvious.

Finally, the definitions given in the introduction of the questionnaire might not have been clear enough. In certain cases, I can imagine multiple options being logical. For example, a *juf-juf* [teacher-teacher (female)] who is excited to teach is the prototypical teacher for some people, whereas others might consider her more "teacher" than the prototypical teacher. Here, semantics play a role as well as the personal experiences of the participants. Additionally, the "standard" interpretation being chosen the least might be because of the given definition as well.

Nonetheless, the present research has illustrated that intended interpretation, co-text, and age play a role in the interpretation and usage of CR, whereas gender does not. Additionally, I have proven that exposure to CR leads to interpreting the constructions correctly, even when speakers do not actually use the formation process themselves.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Vragenlijst Scriptieonderzoek over Reduplicatie
[Questionnaire Thesis Investigation on Reduplication]

Scriptieonderzoek Reduplicatie
Fijn dat u/jij mij wil helpen door dit vragenformulier in te vullen. Dit is een anoniem onderzoek, wat betekent dat persoonlijke informatie (zoals leeftijd) alleen wordt gebruikt om deelnemers te kunnen vergelijken.
Het taalkundige onderwerp van dit onderzoek wordt op de volgende pagina uitgelegd.

Alvast bedankt voor uw/jouw deelname!

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Sectie 1
Informatie deelnemers

1. Leeftijd: _____
2. Gender:
    - Man
    - Vrouw
    - Anders/Wil ik niet zeggen
3. Woonplaats: _____
4. Huidige of meest recent afgeronde opleiding:
    - Basisschool
    - Middelbare school
    - MBO
    - HBO
    - Universiteit
    - Anders

Sectie 2
Reduplicatie
Deze vragenlijst gaat over woorden als *meisje-meisje*, waar het verdubbelen ("redupliceren") van *meisje* leidt tot een woord met een nieuwe betekenis.
Naar aanleiding van korte dialogen zal worden gevraagd naar uw/jouw interpretatie van vergelijkbare constructies. De 5 antwoordmogelijkheden staan hieronder uitgelegd met *meisje-meisje* als voorbeeld nemend:

1. **Standaard**

Met *meisje-meisje* wordt een standaard/gewoon/alledaags meisje of het schoolvoorbeeld van een meisje bedoeld.

2. **Intensief**
Met *meisje-meisje* wordt “meer meisje dan een standaard meisje” bedoeld.

3. **Alternatief**
Met *meisje-meisje* wordt een specifiek (soort) meisje of juist iets heel anders dan een meisje bedoeld.

4. **Anders**
Wanneer u/je *meisje-meisje* op een manier interpreteert die niet bij bovenstaande mogelijkheden past.

5. **Geen idee**
Wanneer u/je *meisje-meisje* niet begrijpt of niet kunt interpreteren.

Er is telkens sprake van een vrije keuze, dus er zijn geen foute antwoorden. Kies bij twijfel het antwoord waar u het meest naar neigt.

Sectie 3
Lopen-lopen
A: Ik denk dat ik vanmiddag na school een stukje ga lopen.
B: Dat je daar nog energie voor hebt!
A: Niet hardlopen, hoor, *lopen-lopen*.

5. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *lopen-lopen*?
    - Standaard: gewoon lopen/schoolvoorbeeld van lopen.
    - Intensief: meer lopen dan standaard lopen/heel erg (veel) lopen.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort lopen of juist iets heel anders dan lopen.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
6. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *lopen-lopen* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 4
Geel-geel
A: Waarom retourneer je die trui?
B: Online zag ‘ie er wel leuk uit, maar in het echt is ‘ie *geel-geel*, als in bijna Jumbo-geel.

7. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij geel-geel?
    - Standaard: gewoon geel/schoolvoorbeeld van geel.
    - Intensief: meer geel dan standaard geel/heel erg geel.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek gebruik van het woord *geel* of juist iets heel anders dan geel.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
8. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *geel-geel* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk

- Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 5
Thuisgebracht-thuisgebracht
A: Hoe ben je uiteindelijk thuisgekomen?
B: Robert heeft me even thuisgebracht, maar niet *thuisgebracht-thuisgebracht*, hoor.

9. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *thuisgebracht-thuisgebracht*?
    - Standaard: gewoon thuisgebracht/schoolvoorbeeld van thuisgebracht.
    - Intensief: thuisgebracht op een bijzondere/opvallende manier.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort thuisgebracht of juist iets heel anders dan thuisgebracht.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
10. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf thuisgebracht-thuisgebracht zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 6
Kandidaat-kandidaat
A: Wist jij dat hij zich kandidaat had gesteld?
B: Ja, maar ik dacht gewoon kandidaat voor de wijkraad ofzo, niet *kandidaat-kandidaat*.

11. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *kandidaat-kandidaat*?
    - Standaard: een gewone kandidaat/schoolvoorbeeld van een kandidaat.
    - Intensief: meer dan een standaard kandidaat.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort kandidaat of juist iets heel anders dan een kandidaat.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
12. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *kandidaat-kandidaat* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 7
Alcohol-alcohol
A: Weet jij hoe ik deze vlekken hieruit kan krijgen?
B: Volgens mij gewoon met *alcohol-alcohol*.

13. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *alcohol-alcohol*?
    - Standaard: standaard alcohol/het schoolvoorbeeld van alcohol.
    - Intensief: meer dan standaard alcohol.

    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort alcohol of juist iets heel anders dan alcohol.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
14. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *alcohol-alcohol* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 8
Lief-lief
A: Het leek wel alsof ze die hele ruzie compleet vergeten waren.
B: Het viel mij ook op hoe poeslief ze ineens deden, echt *lief-lief*.

15. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *lief-lief*?
    - Standaard: gewoon lief/het schoolvoorbeeld van lief.
    - Intensief: heel lief/meer lief dan gewoon lief
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort lief of juist iets heel anders dan lief.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
16. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *lief-lief* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 9
Chillen-chillen
A: Ze vroeg of ik binnenkort zin heb om te chillen.
B: Spannend!
A: Niet *chillen-chillen*, hoor – gewoon bankhang-chillen.

17. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *chillen-chillen*?
    - Standaard: gewoon chillen/het schoolvoorbeeld van chillen.
    - Intensief: veel chillen/heel erg chillen
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort chillen of juist iets heel anders dan chillen.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
18. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *chillen-chillen* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 10
Buiten-buiten
A: Volgens mij staan ze ergens buiten.
B: Daar heb ik net al gezocht.
A: Ook *buiten-buiten*?

19. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *buiten-buiten*?

- Standaard: standaard buiten/het schoolvoorbeeld van buiten.
- Intensief: heel erg buiten/meer dan standaard buiten.
- Alternatief: een specifiek soort buiten of juist iets heel anders dan buiten.
- Anders
- Geen idee

20. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *buiten-buiten* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 11
Stoel-stoel
A: Bizar dat ze daar nog steeds de doodstraf hebben!
B: Ja, daar eindigen wekelijks nog mensen op de *stoel-stoel*.

21. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *stoel-stoel*?
    - Standaard: een standaard stoel/het schoolvoorbeeld van een stoel.
    - Intensief: meer dan een standaard stoel.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort stoel of juist iets heel anders dan een stoel.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
22. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *stoel-stoel* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 12
Gestudeerd-gestudeerd
A: Waarschijnlijk haalt Robert weer het hoogste cijfer van de klas.
B: Als je jezelf met hem gaat vergelijken ga je nooit met een goed gevoel dat tentamen in. Hij heeft sowieso weer *gestudeerd-gestudeerd*.

23. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *gestudeerd-gestudeerd*?
    - Standaard: gewoon gestudeerd hebben.
    - Intensief: heel veel gestudeerd hebben.
    - Alternatief: gestudeerd hebben op een specifieke manier of juist iets heel anders hebben gedaan dan studeren.
    - Geen idee
    - Anders
24. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *gestudeerd-gestudeerd* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 13
Kisten-kisten

A: Van de jongste mocht ik het konijn absoluut niet in een bananenkist begraven.
B: En toen? Het lijkt me niet dat er *kisten-kisten* gemaakt worden voor konijnen.

25. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *kisten-kisten*?
    - Standaard: standaard/gewone kisten.
    - Intensief: meer dan standaard kisten.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort kisten of juist iets heel anders dan kisten.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
26. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *kisten-kisten* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 14
Bang-bang
A: Maar was je dan niet enorm geschrokken toen je dat geluid hoorde?
B: Ja, maar niet als in ik-zat-gelijk-rechtop-in-bed-bang, meer *bang-bang*.

27. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *bang-bang*?
    - Standaard: gewoon bang/schoolvoorbeeld van bang.
    - Intensief: meer dan gewoon bang/heel erg bang.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort bang of juist iets heel anders dan bang.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
28. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *bang-bang* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 15
Juffen-juffen
A: Je merkt aan alles dat ze niet kon wachten om voor de klas te staan.
B: Ja, je hebt juffen maar dan zijn er ook nog *juffen-juffen*.

29. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *juffen/juffen*?
    - Standaard: gewone juffen/schoolvoorbeeld van juffen.
    - Intensief: meer juf dan standaard juffen.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort juffen of juist iets heel anders dan juffen.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
30. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *juffen-juffen* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 16
Ramen-ramen

A: Ze hadden alweer een onvoldoende.
B: Als ze zo door gaan eindigen ze nog achter de *ramen-ramen*.

31. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *ramen-ramen*?
    - Standaard: gewone ramen/schoolvoorbeeld van ramen.
    - Intensief: meer dan standaard ramen.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort ramen of juist iets heel anders dan ramen.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
32. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *ramen-ramen* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 17
Mayo-mayo
A: Als ik een patatje met bestel wil ik wel gewoon een ongezond vet prutje.
B: Precies, gewoon lekker *mayo-mayo*.

33. Hoe interpreteert u/interpreteer jij *mayo-mayo*?
    - Standaard: gewone mayo/schoolvoorbeeld van mayo.
    - Intensief: meer dan standaard *mayo*.
    - Alternatief: een specifiek soort mayo of juist iets heel anders dan mayo.
    - Anders
    - Geen idee
34. Is het waarschijnlijk dat u/je ooit zelf *mayo-mayo* zou gebruiken?
    - Waarschijnlijk
    - Onwaarschijnlijk

Sectie 18
Opmerkingen
35. Als u/je eventueel nog opmerkingen of vragen heeft/hebt, kunnen deze hieronder achtergelaten worden.

    _____

Appendix B

Percentages of Answers Given by Participants to Questions On Interpretation and Use, Ordered by Section

Answer given	Section														
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Standard	**59 (80.8)**	2 (2.7)	4 (5.5)	10 (13.7)	**15 (20.5)**	3 (4.1)	6 (8.2)	**10 (13.7)**	2 (2.7)	1 (1.4)	13 (17.8)	**29 (40.0)**	3 (4.1)	2 (2.7)	**31 (42.5)**
Intensive	8 (11.0)	**67 (91.8)**	13 (17.8)	**26 (35.6)**	7 (9.6)	**61 (83.6)**	7 (9.6)	30 (41.1)	5 (6.8)	**59 (80.8)**	4 (5.5)	18 (24.7)	**51 (69.9)**	4 (5.5)	26 (35.6)
Alternative	4 (5.5)	4 (5.5)	**43 (58.9)**	24 (32.9)	28 (38.4)	7 (9.6)	**55 (75.3)**	19 (26.0)	**47 (64.4)**	4 (5.5)	**39 (53.4)**	18 (24.7)	17 (23.3)	**52 (71.2)**	8 (11.0)
Other	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (4.1)	3 (4.1)	3 (4.1)	2 (2.7)	1 (1.4)	2 (2.7)	3 (4.1)	8 (11.0)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	0 (0.0)	2 (2.7)	1 (1.4)
Unclear	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	10 (13.7)	10 (13.7)	20 (27.4)	0 (0.0)	4 (5.5)	12 (16.4)	16 (21.9)	1 (1.4)	15 (20.5)	6 (8.2)	2 (2.7)	13 (17.8)	7 (9.6)
Total	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)
Likely	20 (27.4)	38 (52.1)	8 (11.0)	8 (11.0)	7 (9.6)	30 (41.1)	19 (26.0)	14 (19.2)	1 (1.4)	9 (12.3)	0 (0.0)	21 (28.8)	25 (34.2)	1 (1.4)	9 (12.3)
Unlikely	53 (72.6)	35 (47.9)	65 (89.0)	65 (89.0)	66 (90.4)	43 (58.9)	54 (74.0)	59 (80.8)	72 (98.6)	64 (87.7)	73 (100)	52 (71.2)	48 (65.8)	72 (98.6)	64 (87.7)
Total	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)	73 (100)

Note. Percentages in bold represent the intended interpretation.