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A Study in Flim-Flam: Reduplicative Ablaut Ideophones in English

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Abstract

In this study I analysed reduplicative ablaut ideophones in English for their morphosyntactical properties, as ideophones in other languages have been found to have several marked characteristics in this respect. Informed by the typology of ideophones in other languages, my research questions were whether the reduplicatives would appear integrated into or outside of sentences, if they would fill functions associated with traditional word classes, whether they would inflect and derive like other words, and if they would be limited to declarative type sentences and resist negation. I collected data from the iWeb corpus on the six reduplicatives *flim-flam*, *zig-zag*, *knick-knack*, *dilly-dally*, *shilly-shally* and *wishy-washy*, gathering 30 samples of usage on the bare reduplicative and 10 samples of any inflected/derived forms. My results showed all samples to be highly integrated syntactically and morphologically. The answer to my research questions was thus that the reduplicatives would not seem to exhibit the marked properties noted for ideophones in other languages. This could in part be due to their being found in writing and having been in the language for long enough to become de-ideophonized and more integrated. Overall, the scope of the study was very limited and did not encourage any generalisations on ideophones in English.

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1. Introduction

Ideophones in English have long been overlooked, and this study seeks to remedy that issue by analysing English reduplicative ideophones in writing, and comparing them to what has been said about ideophones in other languages.

What are ideophones then? Dingemanse (2012) define them as "marked words that depict sensory imagery" (p. 655). They are also known as *expressives*, *imitatives* or *mimetics*¹. They differ from other words in being depictions rather than descriptions; they invite the hearer to experience an event as it happened rather than getting an indirect description of it. Being depictions also mean that they evoke meaning by virtue of their form rather than by convention; the sentences 'He zig-zagged across the field' and 'He moved across the field, making turns in alternate directions' may have roughly the same semantic content but are not equivalent. *Zig-zag* is an ideophone that through its alternating vowels paint a picture of the movement; it shows rather than tells. Onomatopoeia are another example of ideophones; they depict sound in a conventionalised way, as in *crash* and *bang*. The difference between onomatopoeia and ideophones is that the former only depict sound, while ideophones can depict multiple sensory perceptions, as well as feelings (Dingemanse, 2012). That makes onomatopoeia a subset of ideophones. Both are examples of iconicity in language; the notion of a part of language having a non-arbitrary connection to what it signifies.

Ideophones have long been neglected as a field of study and early work on ideophones was met with scepticism from linguistic authorities. Racial bias meant that when European linguists were confronted with the large ideophonic inventories of African languages, they were seen as exotic and primitive forms of speech (Dingemanse, 2018). However, a growing body of work on ideophones and iconicity has yielded interesting results and motivated further study. Suggestions of universality have arisen following studies that have shown participants able to guess the meanings of foreign ideophones to some extent, underlining their iconic aspect (Imai et al., 2008). As evidence of iconic use of language continues to grow, the once central idea of the arbitrariness of the sign must be reconsidered. Ideophone research, thus, is redefining our understanding of the very nature of language.

This essay, while making no grand claims about changing our understanding of language, hopefully can help our understanding of ideophones by filling in the gap of research on English ideophones, for even though increasing amounts of work on ideophones and iconicity in language has appeared in the last few decades, ideophones in English have remained relatively unexplored. This essay seeks to remedy that problem by looking at reduplicative ideophones in a corpus-based study of contemporary English. More precisely, I will focus on six different ablaut reduplicatives of

¹ This essay will use *ideophone* to cover all these terms, following Akita & Dingemanse (2019) in regarding them as "largely equivalent" (p. 2).

the type *flim-flam*, and their morphosyntactical features. I will be looking at whether they appear integrated into sentences, what functions they fill and whether and how they are inflected. This data can hopefully help define ideophones in relation to other word classes; do they behave like nouns, adverbs, or as their own word class? Additionally, I will look at whether the ideophones are restricted to certain sentence types or by not taking negation, as this has been noted in other languages. In doing so, I aim to lay the groundwork for some typological comparisons with prototypical characteristics of ideophones that have been identified in other languages where they have been more thoroughly researched.

This study will due to its small scope carry several limitations. The biggest one being that as a corpus study it will focus on written language, while ideophones are mostly prevalent in oral discourse, as will be discussed below. Another one being that with a very limited number of ideophones being studied, this study cannot hope to say anything definitive on the matter. Instead, it will be exploratory in nature, and highlight areas where further study is needed.

The essay is outlined as follows. In section 2 an overview is made of iconicity, ideophones and finally reduplicative ideophones. Section 3 provides an overview of the reduplicative ablaut ideophones that are studied and outlines the method for data collection and analysis. Section 4 presents the results, a discussion of which follow in section 5. A conclusion is given in section 6.

2. Background

Ever since de Saussure, language has been understood as being a system of symbols signifying concepts through an arbitrary connection. This was based on Saussure's idea of semiotic arbitrariness; the connection between a symbol, like a word, and its meaning was a social convention and not motivated by any inherent meaning of the symbol's form. The idea of the symbol would soon be expanded with that of the index, which signifies meaning through a direct factual connection, and the icon, which signify meaning by likeness between the form and meaning, but the assumption of linguistic arbitrariness remained dominant. The iconic links of language, such as onomatopoeia, were deemed insignificant exceptions to the rule. However, evidence of iconicity in language has continued to grow and has been observed in different forms in many languages. In this section I will discuss iconicity in general under subsection 2.1 then move on to ideophones in subsection 2.2 and finally reduplication and reduplicative ideophones in English in section 2.3.

2.1 Iconicity and sound symbolism

Iconicity in language is when the form of language resembles the meaning it signifies. The most obvious example of this is sound imitating words, onomatopoeia, like *crash* or *bang*. Often, the terms sound symbolism and iconicity are used synonymously, as most apparent or discussed cases of

iconicity are to do with the sounds of language. Here, I will reserve the term sound symbolism for such cases when iconicity is produced through a link between specific sounds and meaning, while recognizing that iconicity can work on a higher level, for example through syntax. In the essay, however, the term iconicity will be used most frequently, as a cover term for all types of non-arbitrary links between language and meaning.

Sound symbolism, then, is probably what first comes to mind and perhaps what has been most thoroughly researched within iconicity. A classic example is that of *bouba* and *kiki*, where subjects to experiments have to choose the appropriate name for two figures with rounder or sharper edges; more often than not they will name the sharp-edged figure *kiki* and the rounder one *bouba* (e.g. Maurer et al., 2006). Similar patterns have been found for the contrast between front high vowels and low back vowels relating to size, where high front vowels like [i] would be associated with smallness and low vowels like [a] or back vowels like [u] with largeness, a tendency that is “widespread among the world’s languages”, although not universal (Svantesson, 2017, p.4). Iconic language can also be more obvious, as when using intonation, articulation, pauses or other prosodic means for effect, for example emphasising largeness by saying *a huuuge house*, or silence by whispering.

Claims of sound symbolism have not been without critique, however. Counterexamples abound, for example in *big* with a high front vowel and *small* with a low vowel. Yet, as Feist (2013) points out these contradictions are insignificant when one recognises the fact that “the phonic [iconic] significance of vowels is a possible meaning, not a necessary one” (p. 113). Every [i] will not signify smallness, but it can, especially if foregrounded through articulation, which Feist stresses. There is not always a one-to-one relationship between a linguistic form and meaning, which polysemy is another example of. We will return to this discussion below as we will see how reduplication can signify many different iconic concepts.

As mentioned, iconicity can also be expressed through syntax, for example by the means of the linguistic distance between a verb and its arguments (Fischer, 1999, p.346f). As in the classic example of the difference between 1) and 2) below:

- 1) He sprayed the door with green paint.
- 2) He sprayed green paint on the door.

Here iconicity is engendered through the distance between the verb and its objects; the door is the focus of 1), and green paint in 2). This type of iconicity appears more abstract than the onomatopoeic connection between the tick-tock sound of a clock and its linguistic representation, for example. It can be understood through what Dingemanse (2015) calls “diagrammatic iconicity”, which is the mapping of non-linguistic concepts and relations onto linguistic forms (p. 952). The linguistic forms

(phonology, syntax, prosody, etc.) available will be limited in any language, more so than the relations of the world or the concepts of the mind which one might want to describe with them, and so iconicity will be limited and conventionalised according to the rules of a given language. Even so, although an English pig goes *oink* and a Swedish pig goes *nöff*, we understand that both expressions are iconic, even though these depictions of the same sound are realized very differently phonetically. Iconicity and conventionalised form are thus not contradictory.

This also shows that since different languages have different syntactical and phonetical means of expression, iconicity can look different in different languages, and iconicity does not have to equal universality, even if universal tendencies sometimes can be found. High front vowels will hardly play an iconic role in a language without high front vowels.

We must also ask ourselves about the reasons for iconic language use. Iconicity is prevalent in the mistakes of children's language and in pidgin grammar as shown by Slobin (1985) and Givón (1995, p. 406), respectively. This indicates iconic language use as something more basic, fundamental or primitive. Primitiveness is one reason why it has been disparaged by linguists that would rather see language as an idealised system detached from the world. However, language cannot be separated from those who produce it and the context of its production. As pointed out by Feist (2013), hearing and even reading language has been shown to activate articular motor function similar to when speaking it. This articular feedback enables words such as *crash* or *zing*² to be interpreted as iconic, even in writing. Language is thus not an abstract ideological system but instead always a motoric and biological process; it cannot be separated from the very flesh and blood humans who produce it, and this will have effect on it, sometimes iconical.

2.2 Ideophones

This section is subdivided into a definition of ideophones (2.2.1), a review of what has been said about their morphosyntactical properties (2.2.2), an overview of their relation to traditional word classes (2.2.3) and finally a short section on ideophones in English (2.2.4).

2.2.1 Definition

In this essay, ideophones are defined following Dingemanse (2012) as “marked words that depict sensory imagery” (p.655). As we touched on in the introduction, depiction is where ideophones get their iconic quality; in contrast to words that describe, ideophones enact. In the previous section, we discussed iconicity and mentioned onomatopoeia as an example of this. Ideophones differ from

²*Zing* could be interpreted as onomatopoeic, as a humming noise, or more ideophonically, as described by Feist (2013): “[...] zing as “energy”, it is decisive, energetic or fast movement of the jaws, tongue and so on that is used as an analogy for decisiveness, energy, speed of movement and so on; there does not seem to be anything in the acoustics of those words that can be iconic.” (p. 108)

onomatopoeia in being able to depict more types of sensory imagery than just sound, although sound is one of them. Onomatopoeia, thus, is a subset of ideophones. Ideophones can be seen as levelling the speech- and extra linguistic event levels by simulating the events talked about through their form (Kilian-Hatz, 2001). For example, an ideophone like Japanese *nyoro-nyoro* 'to wriggle' would seem to dramatize the action rather than just be an arbitrary label for it. The claims of iconicity are also supported by studies suggesting some level of universality, such as experiments showing ideophones being easier to learn and that non-speakers being able to guess their meaning better than chance (Imai et al., 2008). Depiction, thus, is key to the definition of ideophones.

Ideophones depict, then, but what is the sensory imagery they depict, according to the above definition? Ideophones can depict sound, movement, movement patterns, visual patterns and the like, but also feelings and cognitive states. The literature is filled with similar, rather broad definitions. Kilian-Hatz (2001) gives the following summary: "They denote the manner how an event is heard, seen, touched, smelled and felt psychologically" (p. 157). What ideophones can depict seems to vary greatly from language to language, and though all languages will have ideophones for sound (onomatopoeia), not all will have them for more abstract inner feelings. This has led Dingemanse to propose the following implicational hierarchy:

SOUND < MOVEMENT < VISUAL PATTERNS < OTHER SENSORY PERCEPTIONS < INNER
FEELINGS AND COGNITIVE STATES (Dingemanse, 2012, p.663)

All languages would seem to have ideophones for sound, but not all for cognitive states. And if a language has ideophones for inner feelings, it will also have them for visual patterns and sound.

The hierarchy seems logical considering how sound will obviously be the easiest, most basic form of sensory imagery to depict, as language is also sound. The further along the hierarchy to the right, the more abstract the concepts become in relation to sound, meaning that the diagrammatic iconicity discussed in section 2.1 comes into play. The implicational hierarchy could also have relevance for the morphosyntactical integration of ideophones, which we will discuss below.

Ideophones are also defined as marked, partly semantically (by being depictions), partly through phonological and prosodical means (Akita & Dingemanse, 2019; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2017). In Japanese, for example, ideophones can use the phoneme /p/, which is absent in native words, and English phonotactical rules are broken in the onset of the onomatopoeic *vroom* (examples from Akita & Dingemanse, 2019, p. 3). Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2017) reports similar findings for Basque, where ideophones will use "unusual phonology" such as the voiced alveolar affricate [dz] (which is not phonemic in Basque) and phonotactically un-allowed consonant clusters (p. 199). In contrast, Newman (2001) is critical of the generally accepted idea of ideophone "weirdness" and shows that

ideophones in Hausa use the same phonemes as the rest of the language but with slightly different phonotactics. He concludes that although ideophones have "distinctive phonological characteristics" they are "to a great extent [...] part and parcel of whatever language they belong to" (Newman, 2001, p. 257). In summary, ideophones stretch the grammar of their language but not too much; in the words of Tucker Childs they have to "reconcile the twin dicta of 'be different' and 'be recognizably language'" (Childs, 2014, as cited in Akita & Dingemanse, 2019, p. 4)

Part of their being different is achieved through prosodical framing, by intonation and stress for example (e.g. Dingemanse, 2012). Indeed, even though ideophones appear to vary a lot between languages they seem to have this in common: "what seems to be clear is that these microlinguistic units stand out in their respective languages: they are foregrounded" (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2017, p. 210). They are also often accompanied by gestures (ibid, p. 206). The importance of prosodical foregrounding means that ideophones are a very oral phenomenon, and they are commonly described as part of an informal, spoken register (e.g. Kilian-Hatz, 2001). This oral aspect of ideophones obviously poses a problem for a corpus study such as this one and is something that has to be taken into account when discussing any results. Their informal nature could be one reason for them not being very well studied in English, in addition to their relation to onomatopoeia, which as mentioned have a history of being spurned by Western linguistics.

2.2.2 Syntactical and morphological integration of ideophones

Ideophones are very commonly described as being "free" both morphologically and syntactically. An ideophonic word "doesn't participate in the morphology of other word classes like verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc." (Kilian-Hatz, 2001, p. 157). They have been described as syntactically independent (e.g. Akita & Dingemanse, 2019), and "marked by lack of inflectional and derivational morphology" (Feist, 2013, p. 109). Syntactical independence can be ideophones appearing outside of sentences, appearing as omissible, non-integrated parts of them, or taking the place of sentences entirely as complete utterances. This syntactical aloofness could have a connection to their semantical difference from other words, according to Kita (1997). Kita proposes that ideophones occupy an "affecto-imagistic dimension" in contrast to the "analytic dimension" of regular words (p. 4). Evidence of this would be that adverbial ideophones (or mimetics in the Japanese linguistic tradition) in Japanese do not cause wordiness when combined with regular words of similar meaning; they are omissible because they work on another semantic level, depicting instead of describing. Syntactical freedom is also highlighted by Kilian-Hatz (2001) with examples from Baka, where ideophones dramatize entire events and thus can take the place of whole sentences, to the point where several ideophones can be used sequentially to tell a story (p. 157).

However, Akita (2017) questions the established view on ideophone independence by

showing the varying degrees of syntactical integration of ideophones in Japanese. While Japanese ideophones have some restrictions, they can often appear both as morphosyntactically integrated parts of sentences, and as acategorial and omissible at the side of sentences (Akita, 2017). In a similar vein, Dingemane (2017) uses a corpus of conversations in Siwu to show that the same ideophones can appear in both syntactically bound and free constructions. Bound ideophones, for example, would follow sentence intonation patterns instead of being foregrounded in the way described above, and could take inflectional and derivational morphology. While free ideophones were most common, it was the more frequent ideophones overall that would also appear as bound (Dingemane, 2017). Dingemane proposes a scalar continuum where ideophones can be either more expressive or more morphosyntactically integrated and raises the question of "de-ideophonization" through frequent use of ideophones, in a way similar to grammaticalization (2017, p. 373). Oswalt (1994) shows how this can happen through semantic expansion with the example of onomatopoeic *whack* in English giving rise to *whacker*, *whacky* etc. The question of de-ideophonization is an interesting one for a study on ideophones in writing; if ideophones are partly defined by their marked form, what happens if that form conventionalises? The line between ideophones and other words appears hard to delineate.

The contrasting accounts on ideophone integration can be conjoined into an understanding that ideophones in different languages seem to abide by different morphosyntactical rules. Newman (1968) was early to point this out: "[t]he question, 'How do ideophones function?', must be answered separately for each language" (p. 108). Newman rejects the idea of any inter-linguistic morphosyntactical analysis of ideophones; on the inter-linguistic level they as a class must be defined phono-semantically, because on a functional level they will differ between languages (ibid). Indeed, even within the same language different subclasses of ideophones may have their own grammatical properties (Dingemane, 2017, p. 381; Newman, 1968, p. 108). That notion is relevant to the present study, as reduplicative ablaut ideophones would be a subclass of ideophones in English, and not necessarily representative of any other types.

Dingemane (2017) draws a similar conclusion as Newman in his study of Siwu and proposes that different languages will occupy different places on the scale between morphological integration and expressiveness. Kilian-Hatz's (2001) essay on the differences between ideophones in Kxoe and Baka illustrates this well. Interestingly, she finds that Kxoe, despite its relatively free word order, only allows ideophones in rather restricted positions, as complements of direct speech quotations. Ideophones in Baka, however, enjoy much greater syntactical freedom, despite Baka's stricter word order (ibid). These counterintuitive findings are explained by Kilian-Hatz as a result of the semantic differences between the ideophones in each language; Kxoe's ideophones are mostly onomatopoeic, while Baka's have a wider range of more abstract semantics. Ideophone abstractness might thus relate to their syntactical features, an interesting concept as that would mean Dingemane's implicational

hierarchy (2012, as cited above) could be used to predict such patterns.

Though language-specific grammatical classification would seem to be necessary for ideophones, some universal tendencies might still be possible to find. Several studies report sentence-type restrictions on ideophones. While showing the relatively broad distribution of ideophone placement in Japanese, Akita (2017) notes the same strong preference for affirmative-declarative sentences that has been shown for many other languages, but as a statistical preference rather than an absolute rule. Kilian-Hatz (2001) also emphasizes the preference for affirmatives: "Ideophones in general are never negated and rarely found in negated sentences" (p. 158). Sentence-type restrictions, thus, seem to be a universal tendency, though not a rule. Overall it seems that the definition of ideophones cannot be too sharply delimited, or in the words of Akita & Dingemans (2019): "Because of the fuzzy and heterogeneous nature of the ideophone category, it has been common to view it as a prototype category" (p. 4). This is an important distinction; prototypical features are not necessary ones. And since ideophone qualities such as integration seem to be better expressed on a scale from expressive to integrated rather than is/is not, it would seem better to talk about degrees of ideophoncity rather than about a fixed ideophone class to which words either belong or not.

2.2.3 Ideophones and word class

A related question that needs to be addressed, then, is that of ideophones in relation to grammatical word classes. Whether ideophones constitute their own word class or form part of others has been a subject of discussion, "perhaps one of the most controversial issues among ideophone scholars", according to Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2017, p. 203). Ibarretxe notes that in Basque ideophones can be found within several of the traditional word classes, and that they can appear "multicategorical" in some instances, where they could be interpreted as belonging to more than one class (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, p. 204). That ideophones are not a grammatical word class of their own, like nouns or verbs is also the conclusion of Newman (1968), who, as we saw above, stressed that ideophones across languages can only be compared on the phonetic and semantic levels. Newman rejects the idea that ideophones would form a grammatical class: "grammatically there are no ideophones as such, but only ideophonic nouns, ideophonic verbs, ideophonic adverbs, etc" (1968, p. 108). While they may in fact be their own class in some languages, they can also be found as a subcategory of other grammatical classes. This perspective will form the basis for our analysis of how ideophones behave vis-à-vis word classes in English.

2.2.4 Ideophones in English

Finally, we arrive at the topic of ideophones in English. Unfortunately, there is little work on the topic, and what there is tends to focus on onomatopoeia. Ideophones "have generally been ignored in the

linguistics of English” (Feist, 2013, p. 109). Early ideophone research in African languages met with resistance from authoritative European linguists who dismissed ideophones as being marginal and not real language, based on their knowledge of European languages (Dingemanse, 2018). This dismissal could be interpreted as a result of there being a low number of ideophones in English, leading to them not being considered worthy of study. On the other hand, it may be that the negative attitude of authoritative institutions in itself has led to ideophones being under-studied in English and thus rendered invisible. The lack of work on English ideophones is an important reason for the current study.

Feist (2013), however, does see iconicity and sound symbolism as prevalent in English, and mentions ideophones such as “helter-skelter”, “phut” and “doolally”. Feist notes that ideophones in English “follow the cross-linguistic pattern of being marked by lack of inflectional and derivational morphology” (2013, p. 109), which is one claim that will be examined in the present study. Further, Feist describes English ideophones as most often being marked by a double trochaic rhythm, such as in *namby-pamby* and the pattern of reduplication with variation of one sound, such as in *flim-flam*, which are the patterns of the ideophones I will be studying this essay.

2.3 Reduplication and reduplicative ideophones in English

Reduplication has been observed to be one of the most prototypical features of ideophones across languages (Dingemanse, 2015; Kilian-Hatz, 2001). However, reduplication also occurs outside of ideophones, filling many different grammatical roles in different languages. Before we explore the topic further, we should define the term.

Reduplication is the repetition of a word or part of a word with or without some change to it. Examples include full reduplications like *tick-tick* and partial reduplication like in *flim-flam* or the rhyming *razzle-dazzle*. Reduplication must be kept separate from just repeating a word. As noted by Thun (1963) there is a difference between *pretty*, *pretty* and *pretty-pretty* (p. 26f). The first one could be imagined as someone just repeating their opinion of an object's prettiness, while the second one occurs as an adjective meaning “in an overly pretty manner”. The second example of *pretty-pretty* forms a unit, a new whole, marked by a different prosody than the mere repetition. When *pretty-pretty* occurs as a noun, it can also take inflection: *pretty-pretties*, thus signalling it working as a unit or as a single word (Thun, 1963, p. 26f). Kita (1997) describes the same phenomenon with the Japanese ideophone *goro* ('heavy object rolling') which can be repeated as *goro goro* to signal rolling twice or reduplicated as *goro-goro* to signify continuous rolling. The difference is prosodical: in tone, and in the fact that a pause can be inserted between *goro goro* but not in *goro-goro* (Kita, 1997, p. 32).

This naturally leads us to the question of whether a reduplicative constitutes a “word”. So far, we have settled for using the term *reduplicative* to avoid the discussion. Reduplicatives have been

called compounds or “pseudo-compounds”, the latter due to their stress pattern not fitting the mould for compounds (Minkova, 2002, p.134). The definition of the word is notoriously tricky, and not something within in the scope of this essay. Thus, we will follow Thun’s (1963) example, motivated as seen above, and treat reduplicatives as being words for all intents and purposes in that they are isolable, prosodically marked different than repetitions, and signify a specific semantic concept. We keep an open mind, however, as our study of their syntactical and morphological behaviour might provide some clues to this question.

In English, reduplication is hardly a very productive grammatical process; exceptions would be contrastive reduplication (*do you LIKE HIM-like him?*) and shm-reduplication³ (*book-shmook*), as well as full and rhyming reduplicatives like those found in many ideophones. As for the ablaut reduplications that is the focus of this essay, Minkova (2002) reports that their productivity “decreased dramatically after the end of the nineteenth century“ (p.166). Indeed, that these ideophones appear in the dictionary in their reduplicated form⁴ seems to indicate their being frozen reduplications. It would also seem to support our above definition of them as words, as opposed to, say, phrases. As reduplication would appear to be marked in English, it is of course one thing that helps signify ideophonicity.

Reduplication can carry many different meanings. Typically, these meanings relate to quantity: plurality, iterativity, degree, intensity, etc. (Rozhanskiy, 2015; Dingemanse, 2015). In these cases, they are clearly iconic: more form equals more meaning. However, as noted by Rozhanskiy (2015), reduplication is used for a much broader spectrum of meaning than commonly attributed to it, including changes of lexical class. Rozhanskiy explains this by using two semantic patterns of reduplication, one being the typical quantity pattern, the other one he calls the similarity pattern (2015). A reduplicative thus has the property of being ‘similar’ to its base form. The similarity pattern opens up a broad array of meanings. The following relations of “similarity” between a base form A and its reduplicative AA are suggested by Rozhanskiy:

- AA is something of the same type as A
- AA demonstrates incomplete similarity with A
- AA is a non-prototypical, abnormal A
- AA is a marked (or “specific”) variant of A
- AA is a transformed or distorted A
- AA is something in opposition to A

(Rozhanskiy, 2015, p. 996)

³Shm-reduplication is explained by Rozhanskiy (2015) as a function of the similarity pattern reviewed below, producing a pejorative meaning by being a distorted version of the base form.

⁴ See section 3.1. The six reduplicatives studied here were all found in different dictionaries.

He cites an example from Kanuri: *kwânga* means 'male' but *kwangakwangâ* means 'woman who behaves like a man' (ibid). Here, the reduplication cannot be seen as signifying more or less quantity than the base form, but instead is related through incomplete similarity, or as a non-prototypical form of it. This pattern also explains the reduplicative derivation of word class changes through incomplete similarity; the new word is 'same but different'. This relates to Dingemans's diagrammatic iconicity that we talked about earlier; the mapping of complex semantic concepts onto iconic forms means a more abstract, less obvious form of iconicity.

Thun (1963) makes an important point on the iconicity of vowel-alternating (ablaut) reduplications: “What is implied in reduplication is the *contrast*, if any, between phonemes, not the expressiveness of the sounds themselves” (p. 244). Contrast between the different vowels in ablaut reduplication signifies different meanings relating to alternation, variability, irregularity, vacillation etc. (Svantesson, 2017, p. 7). This, in part, motivates our choice of using ablaut reduplicatives for this study: it allows us to assume some level of iconicity. Variability, for example, would seem to be inherent to the form of *knick-knack*, which we could define as ‘various items’. While it is possible that the consonant sounds in *shilly-shally* or *wishy-washy* might have some iconic connection to their meaning, I aim to avoid that distinction, as this paper does not seek to study the semantics of our chosen ideophones, but their syntax and morphology.

In choosing reduplicative ablaut ideophones for study, we can assume their ideophonic status: “It is the rhythmic and varied reduplication pattern that signal their being ideophones; that abstract pattern is crucial to the interpretation, and thus is a signifier” (Feist, 2013, p. 109). Finally, then, let us have a closer look at the words chosen for this study.

3. Materials and Method

3.1 Materials

As it is not possible to search a corpus for ideophones as a class, and there is not a lot of work done on categorising them in English, I have had to perform my analysis on a few well-established ideophones in English, a regrettable but necessary convenience sample. I chose the ablaut reduplicative for my analysis as it had been described as typical of ideophones in English (Feist, 2013, as cited above), and because of their inherent iconicity as outlined in the previous section. The six reduplicatives were *flim-flam*, *zig-zag*, *knick-knack*, *dilly-dally*, *shilly-shally*, and *wishy-washy*. They could all be found in the Oxford English (OED) and Merriam-Webster (MW) dictionaries, which provided us with some background on their derivative forms and inflections, as is discussed briefly below. The iconic nature of the words would sometimes be mentioned in their etymologies, as with *zigzag* in the OED: “partly symbolic, the two different vowels suggesting the two different directions”

(OED: zigzag).

A note on form: we have three bisyllabic and three four-syllable reduplicatives (*zig-zag* vs *shilly-shally*), whether this is something that would have bearing on inflection or function is something we will look for in our results. All the words follow the aforementioned ablaut pattern, but the second vowel in the alternation can differ, for example between American and British English. So, while the first vowel is always [ɪ] for all words, the alternated form can vary, for example between [æ] [ɒ] [ɔ] depending on regional variety and word. This is assumed to be inconsequential here, following Thun (1963, p. 244) among others in seeing the *contrast* between the high/front and low/back as the defining (and iconic) feature of the ablaut reduplicatives (but see Minkova, 2002, for a more thorough account of ablaut reduplicative restrictions).

Oxford English Dictionary	Listed word classes	Listed derivatives
Flim-flam	Noun, adjective, verb	Flim-flammer (n.), flim-flammery (n.)
Zigzag	Noun, adjective, adverb, verb (intransitive)	Zigzagged (adj.), zigzaggy (adj.), zigzaggery (n.), zigzagging (n., adj.)
Knick-knack	Noun	Knick-knacked (adj.), knick-knackatory (n.), knick-knackery (n.), knick-knackish (adj.), knick-knacky (adj.)
Dilly-dally	Verb (intransitive), adjective (dialectal), adverb (nonce)	Dilly-dallying (n., adj.), dilly-dallier (n.)
Shilly-shally	Verb (intransitive), adverb, adjective, noun	Shilly-shallying (n., adj.), shilly-shallyer (n.)
Wishy-washy	Adjective	Wishy-washiness (n.)

Table 1. Word classes and derivatives given for *flim-flam*, *zigzag*, *knick-knack*, *dilly-dally*, *shilly-shally* and *wishy-washy* in the Oxford English Dictionary. See References for list of entries consulted.

Below follows an outline of the reduplicative ablaut ideophones studied in this essay and their dictionary entries in the OED and MW dictionaries (in order to account for any differences between British and American English). I will take note of word classes, and listed derivatives, which will allow some predictions for the research questions. The MW also lists inflections, which complements the OED:s listing of derivatives.

The OED entries are given in table 1, and as can be seen all reduplicatives vary in word class. We might have expected more of them to appear in the adverb class, as ideophones traditionally often have been described as adverbs (Dingemanse, 2018). Whether more of them will appear to fill adverb functions is something I will be looking for in the analysis. Ibarretxe-Antuñano mentions that many

Basque ideophones are “multicategorical” and that the same form can be interpreted as belonging to several word classes (2017, p. 204). While it is not unusual for the same form of a word in English appear in different classes, *shilly-shally*, *dilly-dally* and *zigzag* do seem able to fill many functions, although those listed as dialectal and nonce uses might be less likely to appear in the data. Whether the ones listed within just one or two word classes will be found to fill functions associated with other and thus be multicategorical in the way Ibarretxe-Antuñano describes for Basque is one thing I will be looking for. Minkova (2002) described the reduplicative as no longer being productive, and the OED will tell us that the words in this study are from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Their having been in the language for so long could affect their level of integration.

The Merriam-Webster entries are given in table 2; it is noticeable that the MW is more conservative in their listed word classes. This could be due to the more historical character of the OED, although any use not listed as obsolete should be possible to find. The MW lists fewer derivatives (no *shilly-shallyer*; for example), presumably for the same reason. It does however list several inflections, and together with the derivatives of the OED, it would seem our reduplicatives inflect and derive like normal words as far as the dictionaries are concerned.

Merriam-Webster	Listed word class	Listed inflections and derivatives
Flimflam	Noun, verb	Flimflammed, flimflamming, flimflammer (n.), flimflammery (n.)
Zigzag	Noun, adjective, adverb, verb (intransitive)	Zigzagged, zigzagging, zigzaggy (adj.)
Knickknack	Noun	Knickknacks (n.)
Dillydally	Verb (intransitive)	Dillydallied, dillydallying, dillydallies
Shilly-shally	Verb (intransitive), adverb, adjective, noun	Shilly-shallied, shilly-shallying.
Wishy-washy	Adjective	Wishy-washiness (n.)

Table 2. Word classes, inflections and derivatives given for *flim-flam*, *zig-zag*, *knick-knack*, *dilly-dally*, *shilly-shally* and *wishy-washy* in the Merriam Webster Dictionary. Word class is given for derivatives when stated in the dictionary. See References for list of entries consulted.

Overall, the dictionaries listings are quite specific when it comes to word class, and this together with listed inflections provide us with some hypotheses for the research questions given in the next section.

3.2 Method

The study was carried out by collecting 30 samples of all bare reduplicatives (e.g. *flim-flam*) and 10 samples of all inflected and derived forms (e.g. *flim-flammed*, *flim-flammers* etc.) from a corpus. All

samples were analysed in terms of syntactical independence (whether they occurred as integrated within the sentence or not), sentence type and negation. The reduplicatives would then be determined according to word class belonging by looking at their functions and syntactical environment. Below follows a more detailed outlining of the method and the corpus used.

The study was carried out by analysing samples from the iWeb corpus (Davies, 2018, cited as iWeb onwards). The iWeb corpus is a 14-billion-word corpus drawn from 22 million web pages from roughly 94,000 websites (iWeb). The iWeb was chosen to get as informal and contemporary language use as possible from as large a source as possible, due to the informal nature of ideophones, and their spoken nature leading them to be unlikely to appear much in written corpora. The iWeb corpus has the advantage over some other Internet corpora of having been screened rather than just being a random selection. The iWeb uses websites with a high number of words and has been sifted to avoid duplicates (although some would still appear). It also has the advantage of using websites with visitors primarily from English-speaking countries, hopefully giving us data from mostly native speakers (iWeb).

The corpus was chosen to give contemporary and informal usage data, which to a high degree it did. Many examples would be from blogs or forum discussions about TV-shows and gaming, for example. Even so, given the random nature of the Internet, the data would include uploaded literature, including the Bible, as well as TV-show transcripts. While the Bible would hardly classify as contemporary language, the passage was included as it was impossible to exclude literature or really any genre given the often unclear context of data. Leaving out more obvious cases while including unclear ones would thus skew the data. In some cases, TV-show transcripts and dialogue in literature could also be interesting examples of a more oral type of discourse.

Thirty samples of each bare usage of an ideophone were collected from the first thirty examples where they formed part of a coherent stretch of discourse. Searches were made in the iWeb using the wild card asterisk * to provide results that allowed inflection and derivation on both the base and reduplicated parts of the word. The searched for items were *flim*flam**, *zig*zag**, *knick*knack**, *dill*dall**, *shill*shall** and *wish*wash**. This gave all inflections and derivations and allowed results with the reduplicatives written both as one word (*flimflam*) and in the hyphenated version (*flim-flam*), while excluding the separated form (*flim flam*). Different conventions of writing the reduplicatives were deemed irrelevant, though it should be noted that some would appear more common in one form or the other. The most common form was used primarily. In the case of *shilly-shally*, the frequency was low and samples of the separated form *shilly shally* were included.

Additionally, ten samples were drawn from any inflected or derived form that would have a frequency of at least ten, after exclusions had been made on the same grounds as for the bare reduplicatives (see below). In these cases, hyphenated and written-together reduplicatives would be

counted together if needed to reach the threshold of the ten samples needed to be included.

Exclusions were made for duplicates, for metalinguistic use, or for the same ideophone being used several times in the same stretch of text. Names, nicknames (usernames on forums was a common use), product names etc. were also excluded. Titles were excluded insofar that they could be determined; although they could have been interpreted as an example of syntactically non-integrated use, they were hard to identify in the material. Overall, more parenthetical uses could be hard to identify in the material given our coherency-criteria; exclusions of reduplicatives were made when they did not seem to be a part of the current discourse. This excluded some computer-generated sample text, for example. Finally, samples that formed part of another pattern such as the rhyming *knickety knackety* were excluded.

Analysis was kept simple; for all samples, syntactical integration was determined. Non-integrated uses were defined as reduplicatives that did not appear in full sentences or did not fill typical grammatical functions. The reduplicatives would then be classified according to word class, by looking at function and syntactical environment. Unclear cases provide basis for analysis in section 4. Sentence type was then determined on all cases where reduplicatives appeared in full sentences. I classified them according to the sentence types declarative, imperative, interrogative and exclamative. It should be noted that the exclamative as a sentence type is a controversial use, and that the term exclamative is perhaps better used for speech acts and unfit for syntactical categorisation (Beijer, 2002). For my purposes, however, I saw the use of exclamative for sentence type motivated, especially since it was not so much the exact type of sentence or its properties I took interest in but rather the type being different from the declarative, which has been described as typical for ideophones.

Negation was then determined, on all samples of bare and inflected/derived reduplicatives, irrespective of syntactical integration. A wide definition of negation was employed, where negation would be determined on the immediate clause level, or if applicable, phrase level for the reduplicative. Both would count as a negated environment. If a reduplicative appeared within an affirmative sub-clause of a negative sentence, it would be classified as affirmative, and vice versa. The analysis was carried out to answer the below research questions:

Are the reduplicative ablaut ideophones syntactically free or integrated? Do they appear to fill functions associated with traditional word classes?

Hypothesis: Ideophone integration can vary between languages. The reduplicatives appearing in writing at all, and in dictionaries, would point to them being further towards the integrated side of the spectrum. They are listed as normal nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, which indicates that they would function as such.

Do the reduplicative ablaut ideophones take inflection and derivation like other words?

Hypothesis: While ideophones typically do not, languages differ in this respect, and our reduplicatives are listed in dictionaries with inflected forms, making it likely that they would.

Having defined the reduplicatives as working as one word, we make the prediction that they will inflect only at the end.

Are reduplicative ablaut ideophones in English subject to sentence type restrictions as found for other ideophones in other languages?

Hypothesis: A strong preference for declarative sentences and resistance to negation has been observed for ideophones as a universal tendency, so we might expect to find this in English as well. Syntactical integration and type of discourse (written vs oral) could affect this, however.

4. Results

My findings found almost all samples to be integrated syntactically in sentences and non-omissible, which prompted a closer look at word class belonging. This section is outlined as follows. Subsections 4.1 - 4.6 offer an in depth look at each reduplicative, with respect to word class and syntactical integration. This is summarized in section 4.7. Finally, section 4.8 covers sentence type restriction and negation. All samples of both bare usage and inflected/derived forms can be found in Appendix A – F, which reflect the order in which they are presented below.

4.1 Flim-flam

Flim-flam was found to be highly syntactically integrated, with all samples filling positions typical of the traditional word classes it has been listed as in the dictionary. It also took inflection and derivation as would be expected from a normal word, and these inflected/derived forms in turn would appear integrated into their sentences.

Used as:	No.	Example:
Modifier in noun phrase	15	<i>Tribal shamans are flim-flam artists [...]</i>
Noun (head of noun phrase)	14	<i>It's that moment fools discover everything they believe is based on flim-flam [...]</i>
Verb, transitive	1	<i>[...] if people flim-flam us, they should expect the consequences [...]</i>

Table 3. Functions and word classes of *flim-flam*. Examples found in Appendix A.

Based on our review of dictionaries in section 3.1, we expected *flim-flam* to appear as a noun,

verb and adjective. The results would seem to support this: *flim-flam* would appear overwhelmingly as a modifier or head of a noun phrase (table 3)⁵, which in turn would be spotted in typical and varying syntactical environments such as subject, object and complements.

However, while the modifying position could indicate *flim-flam* working as an adjective, it might as well be working as a premodifying noun. Indeed, it does not appear in any other typical adjectival positions and does not seem to be compared (which of course might be for semantic reasons) as one, indicating that the Merriam-Webster dictionary might be right in not listing it as an adjective.

Inflections and derivatives	Primary usage:	Example:
<i>Flim-flamming</i>	Present participle (progressive)	<i>And now, last night, we had Obama flim-flamming the whole world.</i>
<i>Flim-flammed</i>	Past participle	<i>ah, and I'm sort of being flimflammed, you know....</i>
<i>Flim-flammery</i>	Noun	<i>Chock full of free flowing flim-flammery that is topical yet timeless, hilarious yet heartfelt and character driven yet utterly driverless</i>
<i>Flim-flammers</i>	Noun	<i>One would do better with a dart board then listening to these FlimFlammers.</i>
<i>Flim-flams</i>	Noun	<i>They create " visual records of decades of fraud, cons, flimflams and gullibility.</i>

Table 4. Inflected and derived forms of *flim-flam* with their most common uses. Examples from Appendix A

All derivations and inflections listed in the dictionary were found (table 4). In addition to these, the inflection *flim-flams* appeared, interestingly enough as a plural noun, despite the bare form mostly being used as an uncountable noun. It occurs but once as a verb: 'Foghorn flimflams, bamboozles, bluffs, and otherwise foils Henerys efforts'. While verbal uses were limited to one in the bare form *flim-flam*, the verbal inflections *flim-flamming* and *flim-flammed* were common (examples in table 4). While these could appear as participles in adjectival and nominal functions, they were most common in verbal constructions as present and past participles. Additionally, the derivatives *flim-flammery* and *flim-flammers* were found, both of which were both listed in the dictionaries as derivatives of the verb (the latter was listed in singular form, but only found in plural). The verbal use of *flim-flam* would thus seem common, although mostly in inflected and derived forms.

4.2 Zig-zag

Zig-zag appeared to be syntactically integrated in almost all cases, with some borderline cases

⁵ Note that table 3 mixes form and function, stating word class when I interpreted this as clear, and function in those cases that could be interpreted differently. Analysis of the other reduplicatives will follow the same pattern.

reviewed below. Overall, it fit the mould of traditional grammar, filling functions associated with the word classes it had been listed as in the dictionaries.

The dictionaries listed *zig-zag* as a noun, adjective, adverb, and verb. The results show it appearing mostly as a modifier of a noun phrase, and as an intransitive verb (table 5). With *zig-zag* usually working as a modifier, and only once as a clear-cut noun, it would at first appear to be used primarily as an adjective. However, as with *flim-flam*, it is not found in any other typical adjectival positions, which might indicate it working as a modifying noun. That might explain the need for the derivatives *zig-zaggy* and *zig-zagged* (table 6). Conversely, if it is nominal, we might expect it to head noun phrases more than was found in the bare usage, although the complementary data of the inflected form –s form did in fact show several such uses (table 6). The strong preference for the modifier position could be explained by collocational use; *zig-zag stitch* and *zig-zag pattern* accounted for a lot of the samples. Ruling out *zig-zag* as an adjective, on the other hand, seems premature; the ‘unclear’ sample found in table 5, for example, would perhaps best be interpreted as an adjective. In sum, both the nominal and adjectival uses would seem possible.

Used as:	No.	Example:
Modifier in noun phrase	23	<i>Set your machine to a small zigzag stitch</i>
Noun (head of noun phrase)	1	<i>I use something like a french seam, sew the outside, then turn inside out and sew another; then a zigzag.</i>
Intransitive verb	5	<i>This is the fourth and final time you will zigzag past the Baneblade's path on your way north</i>
Non-defined/unclear	1	<i>Raise your hand if you know a pathway we used? Straight, Zigzag and Curved.</i>

Table 5. Word class or functions of *zig-zag*. Examples found in Appendix B.

Zig-zag as a verb was always intransitive in my findings, in line with what is stated in the OED, and in contradiction to the Merriam-Webster dictionary which also listed it as transitive. No examples of it being used as an adverb were found, despite it being listed as such in both the OED and MW.

Four inflections and derivatives were found, three that were listed in the dictionaries as well as *zig-zags*, which occurred as a plural noun and once as the present tense verb (Table 6). Overall, verbal inflections and derivatives were most common, with *zig-zagging* appearing as an adjectival and nominal participle and *zig-zagged* being common both as an adjectival participle and past tense verb. This is in line with the bare form uses as a noun and intransitive verb.

A few samples appeared outside of sentences and could be seen as less syntactically integrated and more typically ideophonic. The bare use showed only one such example (table 5). Somewhat

unexpectedly, more non-integrated uses were found in the inflected forms. They would supply additional information, but still occur within phrases:

- 3) Its a non-straight edge kind of thing. Crooked edge, possibly zig-zaggy edge [Appendix B]
- 4) "Fohat hisses as he glides hither and thither " (in zigzags) [Appendix B]

However, only three of these parenthetical uses were counted, making them exceptions more than anything else. Syntactically integrated uses thus dominated the inflected and derived forms as well as the bare reduplicative, and the reduplicative appeared morphologically integrated by inflecting as expected.

Inflections/derivatives	Primary usage:	Example:
Zig-zagging	Adjectival, nominal	<i>Think red vinyl booths, an old-school jukebox and walls covered in zigzagging geometric cutouts</i>
Zig-zagged	Verbal, adjectival	<i>Then it zigzagged in the sky and descended as though to fall into the crowd.</i>
Zig-zaggy	Adjective	<i>This is why gulls usually fly in a more zig-zaggy pattern than many other birds</i>
Zig-zags	Noun, verb	<i>Then cut the hearts in half using curvy cuts or zigzags.</i>

Table 6. Inflections and derivatives of *zig-zag*. Examples found in Appendix B.

4.3 Knick-knack

Knick-knack follows the pattern of the previous two reduplicatives by being highly integrated syntactically and morphologically. It appeared only as a noun, acting as head or modifier in a noun phrase:

- 5) The host shows everyone a little knick-knack in the room [Appendix C]
- 6) Knick-knack embellishments like charms, shells, and beads also adorn many fabric art journal pages. [Appendix C]

This is in accordance with the dictionaries in which it was only listed as a noun, and it also inflected as expected of one. Three inflected and derived forms were found: *knick-knacks*, *knick-knackery* and *knick-knacky*, with *knick-knacks* working exclusively as the plural of the noun (and in fact being more common than the base form). The derivatives *knick-knackery* and *knick-knacky* filled positions as

would be expected of a noun and adjective, respectively. Some derivatives that had been listed in the OED, such as *knick-knacked* and the perhaps archaic *knick-knackatory* did not appear, but overall the reduplicative would seem to be well integrated morphologically.

Non-integrated syntactical uses were absent in the bare form, and mostly absent in the inflected/derived forms, with only one case of *knick-knackery* being classified as non-integrated due to being outside of a sentence. This sample, too, would seem to be more a case of our conservative definition of a sentence than due to any real syntactical independence.

4.4 Dilly-dally

All samples of *dilly-dally* were syntactically integrated and classifiable within traditional word classes. It had been listed primarily as an intransitive verb, which is what it was found to act as, although with some exceptions (table 7). Interestingly, two uses of it as a noun were observed, despite the OED having described the nominal use as obsolete. While transitive verbal use was observed, one solitary sample must be considered marginal.

Used as:	No.	Example:
Verb, intransitive	27	<i>So don't dilly-dally!</i>
Verb, transitive	1	<i>[...] he and his men did not dilly-dally peppering their target with javelins [...]</i>
Noun	2	<i>There's no dilly-dally in his game.</i>

Table 7 Word classes of *dilly-dally*. Examples found in Appendix D.

Only two inflected/derived forms were found, both from the verb: *dilly-dallying*, appearing primarily as a nominal participle, and *dilly-dallied*, as the simple past tense of the verb as well as a past participle in perfect tense constructions. While the inflected forms that did appear are in line with *dilly-dally* working as a verb, other typical verbal inflections like *dilly-dallies*, which was listed in the MW-dictionary, or the derivative *dilly-dallier*, listed by the OED, were somewhat surprisingly not found. This probably has little to do with any inherent ideophonic resistance to inflection, however, and more likely is a result of *dilly-dally* generating low frequency numbers in the corpus overall, perhaps being considered archaic.

4.5 Shilly-shally

Much like *dilly-dally*, *shilly-shally* seems to be archaic and was low in frequency; only 26 viable samples could be collected. Interestingly, despite the low number of samples, *shilly-shally* had the most varying distribution seen to phrase type and function; these mostly seemed to correspond to the word classes seen in the dictionary entries, where it had been listed as an intransitive verb, noun,

adjective and adverb. All of these except the adverb use were found (table 8). While the modifier position was seen as ambiguous in the case of some of the previous reduplicatives, they seemed best analysed as adjectives in this case, and the adjective could also be found in predicative positions.

Used as:	No.	Example:
Verb, intransitive	14	<i>You don't shilly-shally or' sit on the fence'.</i>
Noun (head of noun phrase)	3	<i>So, after a little shilly shally I cancelled the deal within the cooling off period.</i>
Modifier of noun phrase	4	<i>In Paris he had told Moore that he meant next session to bring forward a plan of reform', being displeased with the shilly-shally conduct of his party [...]</i>
Adjective, predicative	4	<i>Don't be shilly-shally, boy!</i>
Non-defined/unclear	1	<i>In my copy she says " dilly-dally shilly-shally " like " you're just stalling and making excuses ".</i>

Table 8. Functions and word classes of *shilly-shally*. Examples in Appendix E.

One unclear case of word class was noted, listed as non-defined in table 8. It was the only non-integrated example, and probably referenced some type of fiction, showing an example of a more typically ideophonic use in dialogue. This is also seen in another sample that seems to be literary:

- 7) 'He and Papa are great friends; but he really is too SHILLY-SHALLY, -- So unlike George!
[Appendix E]

This example from literature of the oral foregrounding typically associated with ideophones, and perhaps something we would have expected to see more of in our other samples. As it is now, these two examples from the world of fiction amount to little more than exceptions to the rule.

Only *shilly-shallying* was found of the inflected/derived forms; it was in fact more common than the base form, working almost exclusively as a nominal participle:

- 8) Just noticed this bit of shilly-shallying from the original post. [Appendix E]

Other forms from the dictionaries like *shilly-shallied*, and *shilly-shallyer* not showing up in the corpus is hardly surprising considering the low numbers of the base form. Although morphological integration would seem hard to judge given the limited material, *shilly-shally* would appear integrated syntactically with only one exception, all others fitting within listed word classes and their associated grammatical functions.

4.6 Wishy-washy

Finally, we turn to *wishy-washy*, which had been classified as an adjective by both dictionaries and was found to work as one in all my samples; appearing just as much as a modifier as in predicative positions:

- 9) And who's responsible for cleaning up that bloody bus station?! PLUS: Several wishy-washy Donald Pleasence impressions! [Appendix F]
- 10) To be kind, calm under pressure, trustworthy, not wishy-washy or divisive. [Appendix F]

The examples above also show the only samples outside of a sentence, and although they were counted as non-integrated syntactically (see next section), they would hardly seem very syntactically independent. Even though *wishy-washy* was our most adjectival reduplicative, it followed the others in never being subject to comparison.

The only derivative found was *wishy-washiness*, as we would expect, and as had been listed in the OED and MW. The derivative, too, was always integrated syntactically but for one exception that, like many of those seen with the other reduplicatives, occurred in a type of listing:

- 11) Who Is He? Son of Sarah, by Seth. # Major Crimes: Moping. Wishy-washiness. [...] [Appendix F]

In sum, *wishy-washy* functioned and inflected as we had expected, showing no real signs of syntactical or morphological independence.

4.7 Summary on syntactical and morphological integration

Cases of syntactical independence were found to be few, even given our relatively generous definition of the phenomenon as being outside of sentences. While I have shown some examples for each reduplicative where applicable, it seems appropriate to take stock. Out of 336 total samples of all bare and inflected/derived uses, only 11 were found outside of sentences, evenly distributed between the bare and inflected forms. Additionally, these roughly three percent of non-sentence use would often seem unfit to classify as truly syntactically independent, sometimes appearing in a question-and-answer format or in listings:

- 12) We will crawl through the terrain. A) Underneath ropes b) in zigzags through a rope labyrinth c) over a tree trunk [...] [Appendix B]

In summary, all reduplicatives were thus found to be highly integrated syntactically. They would fit with given word classes and would also inflect and derive as expected of their word classes, proving them to be morphologically integrated as well. Differences in number of syllables between the different reduplicatives did not seem to play a role in inflection or syntactical integration. Inflection, as expected, occurred at the end of the reduplicative, not both on the base and reduplicated parts: never **flimmer-flammer* but *flim-flammer*.

4.8 Sentence type restriction and negation

As was noted in the background, sentence type restrictions of mood and negation has been noted as a universal tendency for ideophones, with affirmative and declarative sentences being the preferred environment. One of my research questions was whether this was true for reduplicative ablaut ideophones in English.

Sentence type	No in total	Percentage of total
Declarative	275	82%
Imperative	35	10%
Interrogative	10	3%
Exclamative	5	2%
Undefined	11	3%

Table 9 Sentence type classification, percentages are rounded.

The sentence distribution is given in table 9 (undefined covers cases of non-sentence use). While the declarative accounted for a vast majority of sentences, this is not unexpected with any type of word considering that it is the unmarked mood/sentence type. Thus, the remaining 15% which were distributed over the other three types in my classification (not counting the undefined cases) must be considered significant. In conclusion, sentence type restrictions would not seem to hold true for ablaut reduplicatives in English, likely due to their overall level of integration, which will be discussed further in section 5.

Negation has been described as even more atypical of ideophones, in the background we quoted Kilian-Hatz's (2001) statement that ideophones "in general are never negated and rarely found in negated sentences" (p. 158). Our findings show that the ablaut reduplicatives did appear negated, although with some variation between the different words (table 10).

Negation was most common with the verbal reduplicatives *shilly-shally* and *dilly-dally*, and especially the latter. There would seem to be a semantic aspect at play, where the negatively loaded activities in question are something often advised against, typically in clauses like *don't shilly-*

shally/dilly-dally, as a majority of samples (of the bare reduplicative) were of the type ‘don’t/doesn’t/didn’t dilly-dally’, as in example 13 below:

- 1) If you haven't gotten these forms yet because you are still thinking it over..... don't dilly-dally!
[Appendix D]

Even though negation was most frequent with verbs, it was found in significant numbers on most reduplicatives. It would occur both on the clausal level and on a phrasal level as in *no flim-flam*. In conclusion, the ablaut reduplicatives ideophones would not appear resistant to negation.

	Total	Flim-flam	Zig-zag	Knick-knack	Shilly-shally	Dilly-dally	Wishy-washy
Affirmative	280	75	69	55	26	21	34
Negative	56	5	1	5	10	29	6

Table 10. Distribution of negative and affirmative environments for the reduplicatives. Note that the inflected/derived forms are counted together with the bare reduplicative here.

5. Discussion

The reduplicative ideophones in this study were observed to be highly integrated syntactically, by appearing to work as traditional nouns, verbs, and adjectives integrated into sentences. As one research question posed was about ideophones in relation to word classes and syntactical freedom, we would seem to have our answer; the reduplicative ideophones would appear to work very much as normal words, as opposed to some exotic syntactical wild cards. They fill functions within sentences, instead of appearing outside of them or as complete utterances on their own. This was in line with the hypothesis. As was reviewed in the background, ideophone word class has been debated, but I concluded that this is something that can vary between languages. For the subset of reduplicative ablaut ideophones of in English, it would seem they are easily sorted with existing word classes.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2017) described Basque ideophones as multicategorical, in that ideophones in the same form could often be interpreted as belonging to different word classes. As I noted some of the reduplicatives being listed with many word classes, this was one thing I looked for in the analysis, perhaps expecting the reduplicatives to show traits of more word classes than the ones they were listed with in the dictionaries. On the contrary, they were found to be distributed among fewer classes than those listed, notably with no clear-cut examples of adverb use in the cases were this had been expected. This was somewhat surprising, as the adverb class is where we might expect to find more syntactical flexibility, and ideophones have been described as being “in the same

business as adjectives and adverbs” (Dingemanse, 2018, p.15). Indeed, in the beginning of ideophone research in African languages, they were often classified as adverbs, for a lack of better terms (ibid). This could be related to the question of ideophone integration; Akita (2017) showed that in Japanese, more syntactically free and optional ideophones could appear as adverbials, and the more integrated ones verbal and nominal. As we have seen, the reduplicatives in this study would definitely classify as integrated and non-omissible, and would indeed seem confined to the verbal and nominal word classes. Adverb use might have been more common in the past, for as was mentioned earlier, the ablaut reduplicatives in this study are old and the pattern does not seem productive anymore (Minkova, 2002). With time, they may have gone from typically expressive and free ideophones to more integrated ones and lost the adverb use along the way.

The second research question was whether the reduplicative ideophones would take inflection and derivation like other words, which they were found to do, although in varying degrees depending on the word. Of course, as English is not a heavily inflecting language, the possible forms were limited in the first place, but those that we could expect were mostly found. Lack of inflected forms could often be explained by some of the bare reduplicatives (notably *shilly-shally*, *dilly-dally*) being rare in the corpus to begin with, thus making inflected forms less likely to appear in relevant numbers. My findings are in contrast to what Feist said about ideophones in English, namely that they “follow the cross-linguistic pattern of being marked by lack of inflectional and derivational morphology” (2013, p. 109). As we saw in the background, however, Dingemanse (2017) showed that ideophones in Siwu, when used in more integrated syntactical positions, would take inflectional and derivational morphology like other words. The same situation would seem to apply the reduplicative ideophones in this study as well, bearing in mind of course that with written material as our data more integrated use would be expected than might be the case in oral discourse. However, morphological integration of ideophones in English in the form of onomatopoeia has been shown before by Oswalt (1994), as discussed above, with the case of *whack* giving rise to *whacky*, *whacker*; etc. and would thus seem to be possible with other types of ideophones as well.

The third research question was regarding sentence type restriction and negation. In the literature, ideophones would be described as not typically appearing in other sentences than declarative ones, and not being negated. In my data, however, this was not the case. The reduplicatives would occur with other sentence types, for example in the imperative, and negation was found in significant numbers with most reduplicatives. As mentioned in the previous section, negation was most common with the primarily verbal *dilly-dally* and *shilly-shally*, and the reasons for this might be semantic and collocational, as imperatives of the type ‘don’t dilly-dally’ were common. Overall, there would seem to be no resistance to negation for ablaut reduplicatives. This, and their compatibility with different sentence types, is likely due to their overall morphosyntactical

integration; the ideophones Kilian-Hatz (2001) talked about as never being negated were more prototypical and syntactically independent in nature. She discusses African ideophones that are dramatizing, that replace sentences by enacting entire events in one utterance. Such ideophones cannot be negative because they enact events or sensations, and it does not make sense to enact the absence of sensations or events, she reasons (Kilian-Hatz, 2001, p. 158). Our reduplicatives, on the other hand, do not seem to carry the same dramatic function or potential of appearing as complete utterances, instead they are part of sentences and negate together with them on a clausal level or on their own on a phrasal level.

As we have seen, the reduplicatives studied in this essay do not seem to share the typical marked nature of ideophones. In the background we raised the question of what happens to an ideophone if it loses its marked form, given that they are in part defined by that marked form. Based on Dingemanse (2017) we talked about a scale between expressivity and integration for ideophones, and raised the question of de-ideophonization, the idea that ideophones can become more descriptive/abstract language through frequency of use. Given our results showing such high levels of integration we must ask ourselves: are the ablaut reduplicatives in this study even ideophones, as we have assumed? The question is one we cannot answer with certainty. Our reduplicatives having been in the language for so long might mean they have undergone such a process of de-ideophonization.

Ideophones are defined phonologically and semantically, while this study has focused on morphology and syntax. Ideophones being depictive of sensory imagery mean that their meaning is very dependent on how they are perceived by listeners/readers. This would have to be studied by more experimental means, as it means their meaning would not be static but dependant on every reader and situation. As we discussed in the background, reading is similar to speaking and hearing in how it activates motor function, and this biological part of language can be one part of what enables iconicity. Comparing how ideophones are processed in oral versus written discourse on the motoric level would thus be a relevant topic for further study.

We also concluded that ideophones are better described in terms of prototypicality and scalar ideophonicity; even if our reduplicatives are not prototype ideophones, they would still appear to have some level of ideophonicity in their form being related to their meaning (this iconicity even being described in dictionaries, as we saw in 3.1). We have focused on syntax and morphology, but on a more semantic level, they did often appear to fill a more expressive role, for example when listed with several synonyms for effect:

- 2) Hercine (in this example) has been bilked. Duped. Tricked, swindled, bamboozled and flimflammed.! [Appendix A]

Further study would do well to outline the semantic and phonological characteristics of ideophones in English. This study, as stated in the introduction, is exploratory and too limited in scope to say anything definite on the matter of ideophones in English, or even on the subset of ablaut reduplicative ideophones in the language. Ideophones in writing would by their very nature be very atypical and ill-fitted for any generalisations. Instead, this study would do well to be set in contrast to studies on English ideophones in oral language, where we would primarily expect to find them. An exception might be literature, as some of the more typically ideophonic examples in this study were found in literary environments. Further study is needed to take stock of the ideophone inventory in the language, both on the reduplicative types and others, before anything can be assumed of their status in the language or of their characteristics.

6. Conclusion

My study set out to answer the questions of whether English reduplicative ablaut ideophones followed the marked morphosyntactical traits observed for ideophones in many other languages. More specifically, I looked at whether they appeared outside of or integrated into sentences, if they took inflection and derivation like other words, and whether they showed the same type of restrictions of sentence type and negation that has been noted for ideophones in other languages. My findings found all the reduplicatives to be highly integrated both syntactically and morphologically. They would fill functions associated with traditional word classes and inflect as expected most of the time. Further, they showed no resistance to appearing in different sentence types, or to taking negation. As the study was a corpus study on written language, the results are likely to be skewed towards more integrated use, and further study on the reduplicatives and other English ideophones in oral language is needed to put these findings into context.

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Appendix A

FLIM-FLAM

1. Students would question all unfounded opinions, cherished myths, political **flim-flam**, religions, prejudices of parents and society, and generally cause social upheaval in the community.
2. Homoeopaths pull the same **flim-flam** reversal; they claim double-blind trials can't disprove their fake medicine, yet talk in circles when asked why actual medicine can.
3. Oh, eaters of Lotus flower, pitiful, bewitched men, victims of the god of whimsy and chicanery, abandon your quest now or be forever damned by the spirit of the **flim-flam** made incarnate .
4. News flash: the **flim-flam** policy of sending condolences and doing a stump speech after each tragedy hasn't worked.
5. It is still government by **flim-flam**.
6. I'm not saying that people who are good at sales are **flim-flam** artists
7. McConaughey has rarely sounded this in touch with the slick-talking **flim-flam** man inside him, and it goes a long way toward boosting the energy levels of the movie.
8. Again, the NewSpace **flim-flam**: the " launch industry " is about satellites.
9. Spare me your bland prosaic **flim-flam**, and address my accusation.
10. Some people have been expressing dismay over the music in Curse of Darkness thus far, and I'm wondering that maybe they have heard some kind of **flim-flam** music masquerading as Castlevania, because 90% of this stuff is awesome.
11. It's that moment fools discover everything they believe is based on **flim-flam** and false assumptions that's so delicious.
12. The Sprite is a little **flim-flam** artist in the making.
13. Jane and Duke (alias Capt. Blake) accidentally meet in Vera Cruz while chasing **flim-flam** man Fiske.
14. But peel back **flim-flam** and the humbug, he's just another con man.
15. Memo to Sean: focus your efforts on exposing the **flim-flam** Russian allegations against POTUS and highlighting his remarkable achievements!
16. It seems Scotty was a **flim-flam** man of sorts.
17. I wonder how long it will be before the poor schmoe who voted for Trump finally realize that they were sold a bill of goods by one of the greatest **flim-flam** artists in American history
18. Tribal shamans are **flim-flam** artists who supplement their practical knowledge (herbal medicine and such) with cheap stage magic, and enjoy great prestige and all its perquisites.
19. But the **flim-flam** sites aren't in it to grow a company.
20. But once you know how the trick works, then anyone seriously trying to foist it off on you begins to look like a two-bit **flim-flam** man
21. Its fun, but no **flim-flam** flummox thatll fool and fracture em.
22. This could have been assumed to be **flim-flam** on the part of Cambridge, imitating product from a much higher league
23. The BBC failed to mention the sale at all, instead focusing on the usual distractionary **flim-flam**.
24. Attorney General Reno was rightfully outraged: "... if people **flim-flam** us, they should expect the consequences... "

25. That's the **flim-flam**. If you say "civil war" enough times, you create the illusion that America doesn't have a dog in the fight, and staying would be the only morally-right thing to do.
26. It was the final **flim-flam**.
27. I'm about to reveal shocking news which strikes to the heart of those using prescription drugs and **flim-flam** products pushed as "natural cures."
28. I honestly never thought the game would actually be released due to the **flim-flam** that then on via Kickstarter, so a BIG thank you to Cryptozoic Games for making this become a reality for backers and the designers alike.
29. Can I really be expected to believe that RIM would be able to have "synergies" or what-have-you through acquisitions, or would that just be a load of management **flim-flam**?
30. Are the critics-some of whom are engineers-also saying that engineers engage in marketing **flim-flam** when they endorse healthcare standards not grounded on rigorous RCTs showing impacts on clinical outcomes and costs?

FLIM-FLAMMERY

1. This was Tati expressing a distrust of technological "advancement," and you can see some of that in Brazil, especially in the early scene in Sams apartment, which is full of malfunctioning breakfast-making **flim-flammery**.
2. The overstated celebrations and commemorations of the centennial of Ronald Reagans birth, with their razzle-dazzle of Super Bowl tributes and marathon deifying in Simi Valley, are fitting tributes to a president whose public relations guru, Michael Deaver, was a pioneer of this same kind of **flim-flammery**.
3. Chock full of free flowing **flim-flammery** that is topical yet timeless, hilarious yet heartfelt and character driven yet utterly driverless.
4. The real story points toward not-so-astute business practices and some downright **flim-flammery**.
5. Perhaps you were involved in similar situations in previous lives so instead of noting the **flim-flammery** of it, you revert to the fear and pain created by the actions of yourself or others
6. Human beings "including smarty-pants humans like you and me" turn out to be incredibly susceptible to trickery, deceit, and **flim-flammery**.
7. Then maybe those tricked by Trumps **flim-flammery** would throw themselves abjectly at the feet of those who tol ya so.
8. Of course I'm not someone to be fobbed off by such **flim-flammery**.
9. Let us raise a cri de coeur against this **flim-flammery**, and then get on with the business of actually creating websites.
10. Was the last flim-flam so outrageous that there was to be a complete cessation of all **flim-flammery**?

FLIMFLAMMED

1. I still think they may have **flimflammed** me.
2. I just believe that I got **flimflammed** after reading the meaning of it in this article.
3. Your more you personally discover how to Battle rogue collection Companies back taxes scampers phishing scampers and other **flimflammed** the more you will learn how simple it is for do.

4. Rocky's intelligence bears nothing on his ability to be conned and **flimflammed** by simple minded crooks with weak costumes.
5. I really don't like being **flimflammed**.
6. We are going to spend the next few years in a dystumpian world with more of what we've come to expect robbed by the fake-money system **flimflammed** by the insiders and frequently mistweeted by our own president
7. See, Newt's Contract with America was a success, it did accomplish its one and only real goal it **flimflammed** the American voters long enough to give Republicans control of Congress in 1994.
8. Ah, and I'm sort of being **flimflammed**, you know....
9. Don't be **flimflammed**.
10. Hercine (in this example) has been bilked. Duped. Tricked, swindled, bamboozled and **flimflammed**.

FLIMFLAMS

1. Henry trying to capture a chicken and Foghorn **flimflams**, bamboozles, bluffs, and otherwise foils Henry's efforts.
2. That's just the start of the **flimflams**.
3. You see ten billion million miracles a day, yet you want your conjuring tricks, your pretty **flimflams**.
4. While making these **flimflams** among evading billions of taxes, he calls himself " smart " for doing it.
5. They let Ralph parade around as the boss and often fed him bogus information about what they were doing, about the scams, the **flimflams** and, more important, about the hits and misses that left a half dozen wiseguys dead or wounded.
6. They create " visual records of decades of fraud, cons, **flimflams** and gullibility.
7. Extra robotic tools include a bat-shaped grip, two indescribable **flimflams** that seem like they'd just get in everyone's way in a real disaster, and... a Bat Axe?
8. During the 26 years that have elapsed since Lind exposed the baneful behaviour of the oligarchy, all these cunning corporate **flimflams** have become even more pervasive.
9. There are a number of scams and **flim-flams** out there that prey on the desire a lot of people have to get something for nothing.
10. A " grifter, " simply put, is a con artist, a swindler, a petty criminal who runs scams, schemes and **flim-flams** on unsuspecting " marks " (con artist lingo for victims).

FLIM-FLAMMING

1. If were **flim-flamming** all over the place, Saturn will whip our butts!
2. And now, last night, we had Obama **flim-flamming** the whole world.
3. On top of the management issue we've had the ridiculous **flim-flamming** over the DoF role.
4. So can we stop complaining about THAAD, wimping out in front of the Chinese, and **flim-flamming** on North Korea?
5. To me if this is how Aamco make their money by **flim-flamming** innocent customers to make as much money as they can I think it's poor business.
6. By reputation, it's an activity (not a profession) centred on branding, flipping and **flim-flamming** [...]
7. And I don't mean Howling Commando tech from the fifties, I mean Skye, unable to go near an electronic de-

vice, **flimflamming** her way into a CEOs computer on pure Bluff checks to find Coulsons location, and Simmons, quarantined in her laboratory to create a cure for the impossible disease that could kill the whole crew.

8. a bit OT but this thing is just fucking unbelievable gad what a flaming **flimflamming** paranoid of the first water!
9. Briefly, Julie has been accused of **flimflamming** her way through the Whistler Ironman and the Half Ironman in Vancouver: but other race results are under question as well.
10. This is an effort at **flimflamming**.

FLIMFLAMMERS

1. These **flimflammers** actually want us rubes to believe that " freeing " banksters to return to casino-style speculation and consumer scams will give them more money, which they " can " invest in American jobs.
2. One would do better with a dart board then listening to these **FlimFlammers**.
3. The desire to compare notes and share their theories -- and to weed out the con men and **flimflammers** -- were among the reasons the young geologists met at the Hotel Tulsa that cold February morning to launch their new organization.
4. Like the cops in Joseph Wambaughs 1970 novel " The New Centurions " they are soldiers amid, in Mr. Wambaughs roll call, " whores, **flimflammers**, paddy hustlers, hugger muggers, ex-cons of all descriptions, and anybody else with a kink of some kind or other.
5. Cut back to the campsite, where Katara is remonstrating with the cash-flush **flimflammers**.
6. We expected that one or two of the ministers besides Marjoe might turn out to be crooked, but to our surprise all four were conspicuous **flimflammers**.
7. Con men, scammers, bunco artists, **flimflammers**, hustlers, smoothies, Ponzi schemers, weisenheimers, and sharpies of all kinds, you'll find them all, and worse, online.
8. In a world full of **flimflammers**, I am undoubtedly the most.
9. Fraud has been around as long as human culture, but the advent of technology has made it easier for modern-day **flimflammers** to prey on victims.
10. A cast of Broadway regulars (to be announced!) portray the dames, palookas, grifters, chiselers, flatfoots and **flim-flammers** that populate this black and white world, leading Samantha to solve the case and find her own voice at last.

Appendix B

ZIGZAG

1. Captain Charles Butler McVay, III, who was rescued with the other survivors, was court-martialed for suffering a vessel to be hazarded through negligence" by failing to zigzag (a naval tactic employed to help evade submarine attacks) [...]
2. [...] openings are cut through the jungle, and the convenience of zigzag paths in surmounting steep mountain sides is well understood.
3. Sew the two ends together lengthwise with a zigzag stitch.
4. A flat zigzag torch movement pulling the torch seems to work well with flux cored wire
5. The zigzag pattern of the branch growth is unusual and looks bizarre in the winter on leafless branches [...]
6. Let us suppose the zigzag diagram not drawn upon a plane, but projected in space of three dimensions.
7. The links create a beautiful woven zigzag pattern that is visible on both sides and secured by a sturdy lobster clasp.
8. Create a really wild design with lots of scribbles and dots and zigzag patterns.
9. Next, cut a zigzag line near the top of one of the eggs.
10. Bright stars shone down, and the cool breeze swept by; but the Shape heeded them not, walking swiftly on in zigzag directions, apparently without any particular point of destination.
11. Creating the character through light and shadow, some of the pieces come with the zigzag pattern.
12. The first image shows a flat, which is a fancy term for a zigzag corrective wave that received a lot of trend resistance.
13. The rubber outsole of the Saucony Omni 14 differs greatly from that of the Saucony Hurricane ISO 2, which has a zigzag pattern going on in its forefoot.
14. This is the fourth and final time you will zigzag past the Baneblade's path on your way north.
15. Raise your hand if you know a pathway we used? Straight, Zigzag and Curved.
16. Especially good position if market has been quiet, then starts to zigzag sharply, signaling potential eruption .
17. I will say that I have forgotten to switch the plate out before zigzag stitching, and oops, broken needle
18. The temple of Wiracocha is said to be specifically built so that people had to walk in a zigzag motion through it.
19. A closer look at the chart will explain the triangle or zigzag pattern that gold has been demonstrating since last time gold dipped at 1122.
20. Cells quadrangular forming zigzag or straight filaments.
21. If your fabric is too thick for a serger, you can use a zigzag stitch for the seams and hem by hand.
22. Cruickshanks ability to single out a seemingly pedestrian detail an unusual open hearth fire or decorative bust, for example and contextualise it allows him to zigzag between history, architecture and aesthetic delights with ease.
23. Ramps may zigzag.
24. Set your machine to a small zigzag stitch.
25. I use something like a french seam, sew the outside, then turn inside out and sew another, then a zigzag.
26. . Using a sewing machine, she stitches zigzag seams into the body of the blouse to change its shape and make it tighter fitting.

27. [...] all of the little things, like their use of 100%, high thread count, combed cotton, contrast **zigzag** stitching and baby-friendly construction for ease of dressing and changing, adding up to huge value, convenience and baby-fresh style.
28. The Messenger Pillow is a wool and cotton pillow that features a **zigzag** pattern.
29. Sew the **zigzag** color stop around the stocking body.
30. Before you resume sewing, fold the ribbon in half, and place the ends so that they will be stitched over by the **zigzag** stitches

ZIGZAGS

1. Simultaneously, there are shrieks and exclamations all around her-- OFF CAMERA-- and the view through the glasses **zigzags** in search of Frou-Frou, impeded by horses jumping the fence.
2. A line that **zigzags** downward to reveal // A cracked jug will last longer than a whole.
3. . Then cut the hearts in half using curvy cuts or **zigzags**.
4. "Fohat hisses as he glides hither and thither " (in **zigzags**)
5. The path heads up a rocky valley then **zigzags** steeply upwards.
6. Continuing on, the trail **zigzags** down an open, grassy ridge with views of Signal Peak.
7. A great arc of cloth depends from the neck like a yoke and, in so doing, knits the flat, square face into a larger system of **zigzags** and masses [...]
8. Migraies may include a stage called aura, which is marked by visual disturbances (flashes, splotches, **zigzags**, or shimmering colored lights surrounding a blind spot)
9. Traditional fair isle circular knitted yokes, Missoni style **zigzags** or Argyle patterns make an interesting change from plain and textured knits.
10. We will crawl through the terrain. A) Underneath ropes b) in **zigzags** through a rope labyrinth c) over a tree trunk d) crawling over a bench which is laid across a stream etc.

ZIGZAGGING

1. Visitors to the Bom Jesus do Monte sanctuary in Ten+es, Portugal, must climb 381 feet of **zigzagging** steps on this Baroque stairway up to the church.
2. A scarily strong wind catches the sails and we zoom along, feet in briny water, head in the spray, not directly to the island but at **zigzagging** parallels [...]
3. Think red vinyl booths, an old-school jukebox and " walls covered in **zigzagging** geometric cutouts
4. For the first three miles you'll follow the Tonsina point trail that uses the remnants of an old wagon track before **zigzagging** down the hillside through an ancient rainforest hanging with moss and ferns.
5. They might deepen their search by visiting a showroom or using a brand's app, or they might go in another direction and consult a trusted third-party source, **zigzagging** through tiers and channels during their purchase journey.
6. Then the song of the thrush is like lightnings **zigzagging** - which thrust downwards again.
7. The head quickly disappeared; there was a violent swaying of the bushes, and an ungainly figure ran up through the apple orchard in the direction of the house, **zigzagging** among the trees.
8. Finish the raw edge of the hem allowance with serging or **zigzagging**, or clean-finish it [...]
9. Portos historic heart is a UNESCO site of winding lanes, **zigzagging** staircases and tiled churches.

10. Its design pays homage to the **zigzagging** mountain paths of the Western Norwegian fjords [...]

ZIGZAGGED

1. I rejoice, yea, I shout with gladness! till, as the mingling blushes of day and night, my song weaveth the joys of life into a gold and purple Crown, for **zigzagged** effulgence of the burning stars [...]
2. Then it **zigzagged** in the sky and descended as though to fall into the crowd.
3. The so-called line **zigzagged** to and fro in a pattern that would have been quite unintelligible if every position had not flown a flag.
4. The **zigzagged** topstich is okay [...]
5. Beginning in the early morning, students formed a line that **zigzagged** up the mountain.
6. If you serged or **zigzagged** the edge, position the stitching along the inner edge of the finishing stitches.
7. I had posted below about successfully using fishline both around the perimeter and **zigzagged**.
8. Intentionally Route 66 was not a straight highway but **zigzagged** across the Midwest, the Plains and the Southwest on its way to Santa Monica on the Pacific Coast,
9. Two of the young men rowed while the third endeavored to steer the boat, which **zigzagged** across the stream wherever there was a promise of smooth water.
10. The trope is **zigzagged** due to not all demon possessing this misanthropic attitude prior to the war.

ZIG-ZAGGY

1. This is why gulls usually fly in a more **zig-zaggy** pattern than many other birds.
2. There's gon na be a **zig-zaggy** stairwell catacomb thingy in order to hold all the coffins...
3. Those zig-zaggy lines on the street... what do they do/mean/indicate?
4. - Its a non-straight edge kind of thing. Crooked edge, possibly zig-zaggy edge.
5. [...] the famously **zig-zaggy** Lombard Street is one of San Francisco's favorite sights to see.
6. You wind up sc-ing into a dc, and vice versa, and it adds up to a **zig-zaggy** stripe that I find strangely satisfying.
7. Known worldwide for the Golden Gate Bridge, Alcatraz, that **zig-zaggy** road (Lombard Street if you need to know) [...]
8. Resistors contain an awkward **zig-zaggy** path for the current to flow through [...]
9. That little dude consistently shoots off hysterical dialogue that feels like an unofficial commentary to Martens up-and-down, **zig-zaggy** love life.
10. It was a **zig-zaggy** kind of thing that got put on the back burner for moves, sicknesses, etc...

Appendix C

KNICK-KNACK

1. The reality is that most couples nowadays have lived together for a while prior to the wedding and have already accrued all the detritus that traditional wedding gifting was meant to provide " such as a toaster, bedding and your first ugly **knick-knack**.
2. **Knick-knack** embellishments like charms, shells, and beads also adorn many fabric art journal pages.
3. . People tend to go to garage sales for low value **knick-knack** items [...]
4. . They sold their bodies in the back of a **knick-knack** shop in Vancouver's Gastown tourist district.
5. Most of us don't store 7018 properly, but then again we're just making yard decorations, garden carts, **knick-knack** shelf brackets, and that sort of thing.
6. They appear to be good quality and can be played with as well as used as **knick-knack**
7. If you're going to get stoned and walk around " this is the place to do it, " Sanders said, gesturing out the window to Manitou Ave nue, with its eclectic collection of restaurants, bars, and crafts and **knick-knack** shops.
8. Wandering through the space and taking time with each historical **knick-knack** and piece of art is one of my favorite ways to spend a peaceful, stress-free afternoon.
9. The host shows everyone a little **knick-knack** in the room.
10. It is fine if there is various **knick-knack** around, that is useful for the client to look at as a grounding process.
11. Of course you do, weve all seen these type of **knick-knack** bric-a-brac County Fair type toys before .
12. I think in this economy, many people who would have bought display shelves, **knick-knack** cabinets or throne room reading material racks are instead, making them themselves [...]
13. Yet the Meenakshi Coffee Bar which he runs with his two brothers in S.S.Colony is popular. Not for the **knick-knack** items it sells.
14. You have a pair of Kroehler dressers, thousands of miscellaneous **knick-knack** items in collectibles, holiday items, toys, books [...]
15. As well as having delicious food and drinks, Gallery Walk is a shoppers paradise, boasting over 60 art, craft, gift and **knick-knack** stores.
16. I started with going through my clothes closet and then made a commitment to get rid on at least one thing a day whether it be a big **knick-knack** or small bobby pin.
17. Inside the store you will find every **knick-knack** and cutesy item you can imagine.
18. When most people speak of a niche, they are referring to a small hole or recess, perhaps a place to place a **knick-knack** or statue.
19. There's always another **knick-knack** or doodad that may be helpful in addition to the equipment you have on hand.
20. . I was re-creating my childhood with every antique **knick-knack** that found its way into our home.
21. [...], how could a good homemaker transport her **knick-knack** filled household across the prairie?
22. You can probably buy little figurines from the Franklin Mint carved out of kryptonite for your **knick-knack** shelf.
23. These linen fabric and trim were from a tiny independent **knick-knack** shop in Bras Basah Complex.
24. [...]and on the **knick-knack** end, old-school Deals variety shop sells all sorts of goods out of an old Wool-worths that retains the original wood floor and tin roof.

25. As long as he still snags the occasional shoe, **knick-knack**, or other off-limits possession for a mid-day gnaw, its too soon to give your dog unfettered freedom.
26. Me, I like villages. I collect them, and fill my **knick-knack** shelves with little houses.
27. Housed above Brewton Newton (convenient for those who enjoy their morning coffee), every merchant is able to showcase their **knick-knack** goodness and compliment their online presence with a tactile, beautiful retail atmosphere.
28. Second a souvenir doesn't have to be some overpriced **knick-knack**.
29. It is a true (giant) local market, where locals trade gold, paper, food, copper and the odd **knick-knack**.
30. If you like to keep your work place clean, clear and **knick-knack** free, how about creating a playlist that's tailored to the theme of the project you're working on?

KNICK-KNACKS

1. [...] it's now a bustling tourist mecca where painters sell their work, **knick-knacks** are in abundance and tango dancers charm the crowds.
2. [...]they've exploded in frequency to where there's simply no dismissing them as merely stylized, symbolic **knick-knacks** anymore.
3. . [...] I then followed the girl up the stairs to the second floor where the ceilings were an additional two feet higher and the **knick-knacks** twice as expensive looking.
4. There are plenty of great little shops for you to browse at the promenade, including a \$10 and Under \$10 shop for those little pens, magnets and other **knick-knacks** that are an essential part of the souvenir experience.
5. These are also extra storage units for coasters, remotes and other **knick-knacks** that you do not want out while entertaining guests
6. . It also has a lot to do with the fact that I want to reduce clutter and **knick-knacks** and stuff on the prime real estate of my kitchen countertop.
7. On the weekends, one of my favourite pastimes is strolling through markets discovering cute and quirky little **knick-knacks**...
8. Maps along the roads will prevent one from getting lost in the maze of inviting shopping centers that range from high-end fashion to **knick-knacks**.
9. Every object in the kitchen that could be moved - such as cutlery, dishes, pots & pans, bread bins, **knick-knacks**, whatever - were taken by " someone " and all dumped in the middle of the living room floor.
10. They found them to contain diaries, all kinds or **knick-knacks** and ribbons.

KNICK-KNACKERY

1. Here at our establishment, though, we do have a great big uproarious gang of servants, and **knick-knackery** and jewellery and clothes and silver plate lying about.
2. I'm someone who has had the good fortune to survive my adult life thus far as a creative in business: made and retailed high end **knick-knackery** (we call it art to keep the punters happy.)
3. At any rate it has helped us to get rid of much unnecessary and tasteless **knick-knackery** with which the nineteenth-century ideas of Art had cluttered up our cities and our rooms.
4. Add to that his school projects and boy **knick-knackery** and voila! Plasma Green we all actually liked (because we could barely see large swaths of it).

5. Gruff, professional staff to tolerate the eccentric and manage or eject the rowdy. # Layers of **knick-knackery** and other garbage on the walls and ceilings, preferably dated. Might include Christmas lights, dollar bills, ticket stubs, bras, polaroids and calendars left untouched from previous decades.
6. All the ones I've met harbor a pretty healthy "inner-child", usually expressed via a love of kiddie movies/cartoons, toys, video games, skateboarding, gadgets and other **knick-knackery**.
7. I'll tell you guys what, as an antiques collector, my tiny winter cottages are packed to the ceilings with **knick-knackery** and trinkets galore!
8. Ukrainian women are children, only with bigger needs, that's why in any case you will make up a puzzle if you give her something like jewels or a **knick-knackery** with precious stones.
9. And it shows, with detailed descriptions of extensive **knick-knackery** in the conservatory of Quay House in Clifden, Co Galway, for example, to the precise names of paint [...]
10. The place is full of regulars nosing among the **knick-knackery**.

KNICK-KNACKY

1. I have some stones, a mini buddha, incense and essential oils and other **knick-knacky** things that make me feel good.
2. The rope bowls are the perfect gift for my **knick-knacky** mother.
3. I am not a **knick-knacky** type of decorator, but I still like a little interest, even in my bathrooms.
4. Bec likes to look at the perfumes and **knick-knacky** things that she will add to her growing number of treasures!
5. I'm not big on knick knacks, but I have a few **knick-knacky** things that I have sentimental attachment to.
6. We have a few **knick-knacky** type things that the girls have purchased on our various vacations.
7. I loathe anything **knick-knacky**. What do you do with that stuff?!
8. Of course, this being a pre-production model means certain things like the all-plastic front seatbacks (no pockets to speak of) and other fairly **knick-knacky** things may be gone by the time the car reaches production [...]
9. To finish off the look, scour your house (or the op shop if you're not very **knick-knacky**) for small statues and feature pieces, wooden carvings or even just mysterious wooden boxes.
10. I know, this one seems like a tough one, yet your blender, sugar bowl, coffee maker, and other **knick-knacky** things not only take up space on your counter, but they also actually make it impossible to clean.

Appendix D

DILLY-DALLY

1. They would have been on time, if they didn't **dilly-dally**.
2. But the technician Luke was great... flexible with schedule and once here did not **dilly-dally**.
3. i'm also guessing that i can do the whole windshield at once if i don't **dilly-dally**.,
4. If you're writing a vampire story, you know they're probably going to come to see vampires - so don't **dilly-dally** with stuff that isn't actually that important to the plot before showing a vampire or few
5. There's no **dilly-dally** in his game.
6. The shorter the class, the less time there is to **dilly-dally**.
7. Sometimes, I **dilly-dally** and take forever.
8. At one point their evil leader says ' Don't **dilly-dally**' which makes me suspect that the actor playing him may not actually be russian
9. My old man said? Follow the van, and don't **dilly-dally** on the way?
10. You cant relate to people who seem content to **dilly-dally** and procrastinate in the workplace.
11. [...] he and his men did not **dilly-dally** peppering their target with javelins [...]
12. The longer you leave it, the harder it is to come off, so don't **dilly-dally**, if you are serious, you should start now!
13. I did not **dilly-dally** around organizing KISS tours, or blitzing the media.
14. There's no time to **dilly-dally** at the intestines, as the gasses that are present will suffocate you if you wait around long enough.
15. Jack Bauer doesn't **dilly-dally**: if you're standing between him and his goal, you'd better either step aside or hope he leaves enough of you left for an open casket funeral.
16. You might find you're far more productive than when you sit for extended periods of time only to let your mind wander and **dilly-dally** on things like, oh you know, Instagram.
17. Or if you don't have time to **dilly-dally**, just- check out our portfolio and see some of the clients we've worked for to date.
18. Once the decision has been made to pull the plug and start over, don't **dilly-dally** in the misguided hope that somehow things may still work out.
19. You go right for the throat, no **dilly-dally**.
20. Man, if I were in a town like that, I would walk slow and **dilly-dally** too!
21. Camtasia offers a 30 day trial so you could use it for free assuming you don't **dilly-dally**.
22. So don't **dilly-dally**!
23. If you are intrigued by some or all of the above, don't **dilly-dally**; just go to Franz von Hahn [...]
24. As long as we don't **dilly-dally** (and the storm does!), well be fine.
25. seems to me he was a very quick thinker (relative to other generals of the day) and did not **dilly-dally** about after a thought occurred to him
26. If you haven't gotten these forms yet because you are still thinking it over..... don't **dilly-dally**!
27. Having laid your hands on a kilo of desert truffles, brown, black, pink or whiteit won't matter, reallyand having paid the price, don't **dilly-dally**. Get busy, for your truffles will only last a day or so [...]
28. I don't **dilly-dally** around the whole day avoiding the plan.
29. Why should we **dilly-dally** with the finiky world of politics when we can change peoples lives instead?

30. Let's not **dilly-dally** around!

DILLY-DALLYING

1. This **dilly-dallying** can have expensive consequences.
2. . **Dilly-dallying** no further let's hop to it and get into the data (and closer to our sneak peek).
3. Okay, enough **dilly-dallying**. Time to lay down the law.
4. With such a short timeframe, there was no room for **dilly-dallying** despite some fellow nuRVer friends Bill & Debby staying in the same RV park.
5. This **dilly-dallying** can have expensive consequences.
6. Flat conditions produced telltale wakes **dilly-dallying** across the skinny, dark-bottomed flat.
7. Contemplated hitting the morning matinee of Logan, but decided to just HIT THE ROAD. (Phrase used for just getting into the vehicle and start driving vs. **dilly-dallying** or movie-seeing.)
8. They just happen to do absolutely no **dilly-dallying** and will take a weekend or two to work from sunup to sundown [...]
9. When I'm pressed for time or don't feel like **dilly-dallying** in the kitchen, one of my go-to quick dinner recipes is homemade chili.
10. You cant get rich by **dilly-dallying** around.

DILLY-DALLIED

1. I've ruined rolls because I **dilly-dallied** regarding running them.
2. Make sure that you haven't **dilly-dallied** too long at the lunch stop
3. In the original Gaiden, Rigel could also send squads after you on the world map if you **dilly-dallied** too long as well [...]
4. [...] I got on social media while Link slowly **dilly-dallied**.
5. Once Seven had decided on everything they were quick. But Nine **dilly-dallied** and were distracted by The Voice and Bake-off.
6. They have **dilly-dallied** with the Ukrainians for two years, grabbing a bunch of rotted industrial towns that were of no value to either [...]
7. It certainly isn't Ancestrys fault if we and our families lose genetic evidence because we **dilly-dallied** around and didn't get the testing done when it could have been done.
8. Honestly, I **dilly-dallied** before following my heart and pursuing my path in interior design.
9. General Campbell had not **dilly-dallied** in Lucknow.
10. We humans have already **dilly-dallied** too long on global warming.

Appendix E

SHILLY-SHALLY

1. You don't **shilly-shally** or 'sit on the fence'.
2. While Indian procurement officials have been known to **shilly-shally** for that long, their special forces probably have the need level and clout required to push the C-130J sale through.
3. Practically every recent hymnal has a different version of the refrain, apparently fearful of the treading on the corns of liberal theologians and those who **shilly-shally** with an essential part of the Christian doctrine.
4. I would not **shilly-shally** about the business, for fear my making a fuss should cause my father to harbor some suspicion.
5. ; He and Papa are great friends; but he really is too **SHILLY-SHALLY**, -- So unlike George!
6. Expect to feel a little side to side **shilly-shally** at cruising speed as the wheels normally do wobble a little bit [...]
7. You'll be a day-man at seven shillings a day till the end of your life - and you'll be satisfied, so long as you can **shilly-shally** through.
8. Not until 6th June will your Me Agenda stop being a talking point for you, but you may need all that time to **shilly-shally** around questions of image, name, reputation, personal appearance and brand.
9. He's frivolous, **shilly-shally**, cruel, egoistic, he has low habits.
10. In my copy she says " dilly-dally **shilly-shally** " like " you're just stalling and making excuses ".
11. Thou shalt not **shilly-shally**!
12. In Paris he had told Moore that he meant next session to bring forward a plan of reform', being displeased with the **shilly-shally** conduct of his party [...]
13. Not surprisingly, Chelsea Houses Guidelines for Writers are even more **shilly-shally** when it comes to outing celebrities.
14. I suppose he'll **shilly-shally** till someone else will cry snap, and take her.
15. Don't be **shilly-shally**, boy!
16. Philosophers **shilly-shally**, but it's true: you are me; I am you .
17. He just recently came across an account though that trumped most of the **shilly-shally** he has put up here in the pa st.
18. Woe to the cabinet which, with a **shilly-shally** policy, and a routine-ridden military system, meets with an adversary who, like the rude element, knows no other law than that of his intrinsic force.
19. His approach to government reminds me of what Sergeant Derek said in The Thin Blue Line: a lot namby-pamby, artsy-fartsy, **shilly-shally**, hoity-toity, phony-baloney faffing about!
20. Along with the right not to concentrate goes a corollary: the right to vacillate, to wobble, to **shillyshally**, be indecisive in one's labors, and still not suffer from a sense of being irresponsible, indolent, or weak.
21. To speak more plainly, the socialist leaders could no longer hide from their adherents the possibility of revolutions and could not prevent them from comparing their **shilly shally** attitude to Malatesta's and others' lifelong work for the revolution [...]
22. So, after a little **shilly shally** I cancelled the deal within the cooling off period.
23. But don't **shilly shally**, the compilation is only available as a lossless download (. wav or. flac) for a limited time.
24. Same thing could happen to Dawkins at some point, but he has to get off his duff and **shilly shally** around.

25. Do not meander or **shilly shally** aim for what it is you truly mean and say that.
26. Don't **shilly shally** and shoot from the hip.

SHILLY-SHALLYING

1. Better than **shilly-shallying** around on the issue like you feel that your religious views are embarrassing that behaviour is denigrating homosexuals and christians both at once.
2. There's no use in **shilly-shallying**.... But you don't get married, you keep waiting for something!
3. No **shilly-shallying**, but fire, powder, and noise!
4. This **shilly-shallying** with the question is absurd.
5. Finally, after endless **shilly-shallying** and waiting around for nothing, I got a call.
6. Quit **shilly-shallying**, you two, and get back to shagging already!
7. And it is the case that the Government are laying themselves open to the charge of **shilly-shallying** and procrastination in failing to make up their mind as to how this very complicated problem is to be tackled.
8. After twenty generations of **shilly-shallying** and " well cross that bridge when we come to it, " genus homo had bred himself into an impasse.
9. They have a breadth of vision that brings diverse factors into a whole, and can see both sides of an argument without **shilly-shallying** as to which side to take.
10. Just noticed this bit of **shilly-shallying** from the originalpost.

Appendix F

WISHY-WASHY

1. Ask any twenty-something if they feel totally secure about where they're going in life and prepared to get a **wishy-washy** answer.
2. Aries' hate **wishy-washy** people with no spine.
3. [...] avoid **wishy-washy** names like " data " or " information " [...]
4. [...] it feels to me that the single-biggest motivator for such **wishy-washy** language about our feelings has nothing to do with our accomplishments [...]
5. Not sure why he was so **wishy-washy** about it.
6. Why, WHY do you continue to take a perfectly cute looking design idea for food, & dump it into a cheap, **wishy-washy** blue looking SALAD BOWL?!
7. People don't follow **wishy-washy** leaders " at least not for very long
8. Being **wishy-washy** will frustrate them, and you'll lose their respect.
9. To understand where this might have occurred, we need to turn to archaeological evidence, supplemented by genetics (and not **wishy-washy** " river names ")
10. To be kind, calm under pressure, trustworthy, not **wishy-washy** or divisive.
11. Senator Jeff Sessions' response to questions about marijuana & federalism during his Attorney General confirmation hearing today was **wishy-washy** at best.
12. An extra layer that's easy to remove is essential for the **wishy-washy** spring seasons of the midwest and the northeast!
13. In my humble opinion, I thought he was rather **wishy-washy** and wasn't very clear on how he was going to handle things.
14. So you can't be **wishy-washy** with a guy if you realize he's interested in more than friendship and you don't want to reciprocate those feelings.
15. They try way too hard to avoid offending anyone but just come off as trivial and **wishy-washy**.
16. This is about as **wishy-washy** as a report gets, suggesting Green's status is truly up in the air.
17. (Author's Note: it always happens, the heroic music sets in, and suddenly I get all **wishy-washy** and can't write without going all hell for leather with the " let's save the world " style of writing.)
18. This isn't the typical **wishy-washy** herbivore Japanese MC, or the bullied-turned-bitter MC.
19. [...] Incarnation has been a bit **wishy-washy** here and there when it comes to keeping the viewers interested.
20. From a **wishy-washy** appr. 700 words (" Stories are effective. Go tell some. Good luck. ") I worked it into 2,468 words of a crisp instruction manual on storytelling [...]
21. Reasons for not being respected included, that our " niceness " came off as being " too " nice, **wishy-washy**, soft, having no backbone, pushovers, weak, and of no opinion.
22. Likewise, the Skye Terrier can be dominant with family members who are **wishy-washy**.
23. If marketers want customers to be comfortable enough to have an honest conversation with us, we should stop using fuzzy, **wishy-washy** words and start speaking the same language that people actually use.
24. The trick is to find a balance between being a **wishy-washy** " nice girl " and a woman who's too headstrong.
25. Because who wants to read **wishy-washy** advice?

26. Thesis statement is partial, non-analytical, or **wishy-washy**; there is some supporting evidence, and some attempt to lead the reader through the argument.
27. Honestly, he has put up great stats, but his fundamentals are still very **wishy-washy**.
28. Is Michael Myers the only movie monster that can drive a van? And who's responsible for cleaning up that bloody bus station?! PLUS: Several **wishy-washy** Donald Pleasence impressions!
29. If you were to read a query from someone who was tentatively suggesting - a piece, you might wonder why they were so **wishy-washy** about it.
30. It sounds a little **wishy-washy** and a lot of this soul searching, but in the same vein as our meditation, its introspection.

WISHY-WASHINESS

1. Who Is He? Son of Sarah, by Seth. # Major Crimes: Moping. **Wishy-washiness**. Oh, and getting his high school girlfriend pregnant.
2. In our field of pseudo-determinism and "measurables", people avoid getting caught up in the **wishy-washiness** of psychological momentum, but it is everything.
3. I suppose this disconnect just highlights my confusion and **wishy-washiness**
4. However, **wishy-washiness** can actually be a trigger for ODD behavior.
5. Not about this being a 1-star episode, but its **wishy-washiness** reduces it to a 2.5 for me.
6. The **wishy-washiness** of "Sacred Ground" left me unavoidably perturbed and not very entertained.
7. Tenchi's **wishy-washiness** is brought to an all-time high, and even Sasami's sympathy and kindness comes off hollow.
8. [...] given the long-term perspective of earnest Christians and the prevalence of debate about circumcision in both Galatians and Titus "but the lists rangy, rationalizing **wishy-washiness** leads me to believe the marriage never coalesced.
9. Of course, Etsy-watchers know, this is not a sign of advertising **wishy-washiness**, but a reflection of their practice to move the spotlight around on their featured items.
10. If we are being really honest, the Hillary thing last summer got him hated by my party, then his **wishy-washiness** in between followed by the last-minute jab at Clinton caused, I think, most people to lose trust in him, "said Ellen [...]