The Morphology of Reduplication in Japanese Ideophones
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• Context: This paper addresses the structure and the morphological properties of mimetic reduplication in Japanese. Ideophonic words, which occupy a substantial part of the Japanese lexicon, are often used in reduplicated form, similar to English “zigzag”. Ideophonic word formation in Japanese is highly productive, and constitutes an open class (Dingemanse, 2019). In this talk, I will identify the internal morphotactic structure and the semantico-syntactic properties of the morphemic ingredients making up a class of ideophones in Japanese.

• Problem: Taking the work of Nishimura (2013) as a starting point, we note that he analyzes reduplicated words in Japanese as compound structures, treating the reduplicant morpheme (RED) as a root morpheme. I claim that RED does not have the morphological behavior of a root: RED does not have a lexical meaning, neither can it constitute the base for affixation without being itself applied to a root. Secondly, the scope of his discussion is by and large limited to words such as shiwa-shiwa “wrinkled”, where the reduplicated variant is derived from the noun shiwa “wrinkle”, a type that is not productive. I will, instead, focus the discussion on a productive pattern of mimetic reduplications, exemplified by fiwa-fiwa “fluffy/float”. In this pattern, the root morpheme fiwa itself is an ideophone and is not by itself, a possible word. The root must be attached to a suffix such as -ri or RED to stand as a word. Interestingly, whereas the base without RED is always affixed by a categorizing morpheme, the reduplicated form fiwa-fiwa can be used as a noun, an adjective, a verb, or an adverb without showing its inflection overtly.

• Proposal: I propose that RED makes a semantic contribution, which is a sort of plurality or iterative aspect in both shiwa-shiwa and fiwa-fiwa. However, their base structure is distinct. Assuming roots to be category neutral (Chomsky, 1970; Marantz, 1997), I affirm that a zero n derives the noun shiwa, but cannot productively apply to other roots, such as fiwa. As for fiwa-fiwa, noting distinct tonal patterns in two different adverbial uses; whereas (1a) is regarded as a manner adverb, (1b) is resultative adverb indicating a nominal category. I propose that fiwa-fiwa in (1a) (1b) is categorized by categorizing morphemes that have suprasegmental exponents (Goldsmith, 1976). In the case of reduplicated ideophonic words, I propose that the tonal pattern HL projects verbal/adverbial properties and the pattern LH projects nominal/adjunctive properties. Since fiwa (HL/LH) is not a word, I hypothesize the derivational order in (2), where RED applies to the category-neutral root, forming the base for the subsequent categorization.

(1) a. H L L L
Kuriimu-o fiwa-fiwa-(to) mazeru.
cream-ACC fluffy-RED-(QUOT) mix
“(someone) mixes cream fluffily.”

b. L H H H
Kuriimu-o fiwa-fiwa-ni mazeru.
cream-ACC fluffy-RED-DAT mix
“(someone) mixes cream (to make cream fluffily)

(2) a. ADV[[fiwa-RED]-HL]

b. N[[fiwa-RED]-LH]

• Conclusion: I provide a description and an articulated morphosyntactic analysis of a productive type of mimetic reduplication in Japanese, and an account of its categorial variation. This work further makes a contribution to our understanding of the precise function of RED in derivational words and of the integration of iconicity in spoken languages.
References


