

## The Category of Reduplication in Japanese and The Classification Problems

Japoncada Yineleme Kategorisi ve Sınıflandırma Problemi

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#### ÖZ

Bir dilde genellikle anlatımı kuvvetlendirmek (pekiştirmek) ve çokluk yapmak amacıyla işletilen, sözcüğün veya sözcüğü oluşturan biçimbirimlerden, sesbirimlerden en az birinin tekrar edilmesi yoluyla elde edilen yapılara yineleme adı verilmektedir. Birçok dilde var olan bu kategori ana hatlarıyla tam yineleme (total reduplication) ve parçalı yineleme (partial reduplication) olmak üzere iki gruba ayrılır. WALS (The World Atlas of Language Structures) online veri tabanında yer alan Rubino (2005)'nin araştırmalarına göre Japonca sadece tam yineleme kategorisine sahip diller arasında sayılmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı birçok araştırmacının kaynak olarak başvurduğu söz konusu veri tabanı ile Kwon (2017), Sato (2013), Fujimura (2001) ve Shibusaki (2005) gibi araştırmacıların Japoncadaki yineleme türlerini kabulleri arasındaki farklılıkların sebeplerini bulmaya çalışmaktır. Yineleme kategorisi geniş bir alan olduğu için birtakım sınırlamalara gidilmiş, bu doğrultuda yansıma sözcüklerle oluşturulmuş yinelemeler (mimetics), yakın, eş ve zıt anlamlı kelimelerle oluşturulmuş yinelemeler (dvandvalar) çalışma kapsamı dışında tutulmuştur. İncelemede Japoncanın “tam yineleme” ve “parçalı yineleme” kategorisinde değerlendirilen yineleme bileşenleri ve sentaktik türleri parantezleme yöntemi ile analiz edilmiştir. Analiz sonucunda elde edilen bulgular aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Yineleme bileşenlerinde ötümlüleşme görülmesi yinelemenin türünün belirlenmesinde araştırmacılar arasında fikir ayrılığına sebep olmaktadır.
- Yineleme bileşenlerini oluşturan leksik birimlerde ötümlüleşme görülüyorsa ve son tahlilde yapı sentaktik kategori değişimine uğruyorsa yeni yapı parçalı yineleme olarak değerlendirilmelidir.
- Yineleme bileşenlerini oluşturan leksik birimlerde ötümlüleşme görülüyorsa ve son tahlilde semantik değişime uğruyorsa yeni yapı parçalı yineleme olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** yineleme, ikileme, tam yineleme, parçalı yineleme, rendaku

### ABSTRACT

Reduplication refers to the structures formed by repeating the word or at least one of the components that comprise the word, which are commonly used in languages to intensify the meaning or make plurality. This category, which exists in many languages, is broadly divided into two categories as total reduplication and partial reduplication. According to Rubino's (2005) research, which is in the database of WALS (The World Atlas of Language Structures), Japanese counts only among the languages with a category of total reduplication. The aim of this research is to figure out why there are inconsistencies between the mentioned database, which many academics use as a source, and the acceptance of reduplication type in Japanese by researchers as Kwon (2017), Sato (2013), Fujimura (2001), and Shibasaki (2005). Since the reduplication category is a large area, some limitations have been made, and accordingly, the reduplications formed with reflection words (mimetics) and the ones formed with close, synonyms and antonyms (dvandvas) have been excluded from the scope of the study. In the analysis, the reduplication components and syntactic types which are considered in the category of "total reduplication" and "partial reduplication" in Japanese both have been analysed by using bracketing method. The results of the analysis are as follows:

- a) The occurrence of sequent voicing (rendaku / 連濁) in the reduplication components leads to the disagreement among the researchers in determining the type of the reduplication.
- b) If there is a sequent voicing in the lexical units that make up the reduplication components and if the structure undergoes syntactic category change in the final analysis, the new structure should be considered as the partial reduplication.
- c) If there is a sequent voicing in the lexical units that make up the reduplication components and if the structure undergoes a change semantically, the new structure should be considered as the partial reduplication.

**Keywords:** reduplication, doubling, total reduplication, partial reduplication, rendaku

## 0. Introduction

Reduplications, observed in most of the world languages, is a type of word obtained by systematically repeating a phonological unit of a word for the semantic and grammatical purposes (Rubino, 2005, pp. 11). The new unit that emerges through the reduplication is considered under two headings as *total* and *partial* according to its components. While the reduplications in the structure where all the same word is repeated are called *total reduplication*, the structure obtained by the repetition of a certain unit in a word or by sound changes is called *partial reduplication*. However, the reduplications are not only used for the purpose of marking the plurality or intensification. The Indonesian language, in which the reduplication category is widely run, has both segmented and full iteration types. For example, the plural forms of noun-

type words such as *buku* “book” or *toko* “shop” are obtained by the total reduplication (*buku-buku* “books”, *buku buku sejarah* “history books”, *toko toko buku* “book shops”). Total reduplication in this language does not mark the plurality using only nouns. If the verb is repeated in the sentence (*duduk* “to sit-”, *duduk duduk* “just sitting, sitting still”), it is observed that it marks the categories such as durative aspect (Sneddon, Adelaar, Djenar, and Ewing, 2010, pp. 18-23). Partial reduplication in this language appears only in the words starting with the consonants. Accordingly, the consonant of the first syllable of the word to be repeated is taken, and the vowel is changed to /e/. The *laki* root word which means “husband, male partner” becomes *lelaki* forming a partial reduplication and the new meaning that outcomes are “a man”. *Tangga* means “ladder” and *tetangga* means “neighbour. Such structures are referred to as the partial reduplications in Indonesian (Sneddon et. al, 2010, pp. 25). As you can see, in this language, the reduplication category is used not only with the conjugation function but also with the formation function. In Turkish, it has been started to draw attention to the word-making function of the reduplications which are generally emphasized on the intensification function with the studies carried out in the recent years. Ağca (2017), traces the grammatical development process of Turkish reduplications from the old Turkish period to the present and has underlined that this category should be included among the ways of making Turkish words, and that the word derivation and grammatical marking function should be evaluated among the typological features of Turkish. (2017, pp. 102). In another article Ağca (2020) compares the reduplication category in Altaic languages. He gives examples from Korean, Japanese, Mongolian and Manchu languages. In his examples from Japanese for the words *tokorodokoro* 所々 (here and there), *kuchiguchi*<sup>1</sup> 口々 (every person (saying); every mouth; every entrance) Ağca, offers that these reduplications can also be classified in the same group of “m- initial reduplications” (e.g. *kitab mitap*, *sarı marı*, etc.). He says, “In Japanese the situation is a little different, usually the first consonant of the second element of the reduplication is replaced by one of the consonants /b/, /d/, /z/, /g/ that is not in the word. We also evaluated some of these examples in Japanese in total reduction. When looking at the examples, it becomes clear that this form is very similar to the total reduplication.” (2020, pp. 165). While we agree with Ağca's suggestions for the name and functional classification of the Turkish reduplication system, we are skeptical of his suggestions for the Japanese reduplication system. Actually, the obstruents /b/, /d/, /z/, /g/ are not newly replaced phonemes in the word, what we see here is voiceless stops such as /p, t, k/ become voiced fricatives /v, ð, z, ʒ/ or voiced obstruents /b, d, g, v, ð, z, ʒ, dʒ/. And in Japanese it is not a common view to accept the sequential voicing / *rendaku*<sup>2</sup> reduplications in total reduplication category. The words such as *yamayama* 山々 (many mountains, very much) *ieie* 家々 (each house; every house; many houses) are counted as the total reduplications. In analysis chapter we are going to give more detailed

<sup>1</sup> Ağca takes the examples from Martin (1988) and Martin uses *Kunrenshiki* for Romanization of Japanese not Hepburn. The word 口 “mouth” is transliterated as *kuchi* in Hepburn system, and as *kuti* in *Kunrenshiki*. We have the latest edition of the book published in 2003, but the romanization of Japanese is still in *Kunrenshiki*.

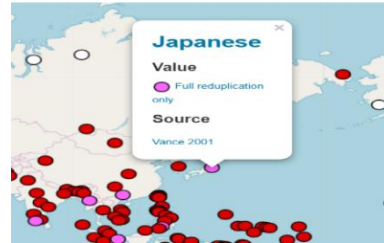
<sup>2</sup> *Rendaku* / sequential voicing an unvoiced sound becoming voiced when it is the initial consonant of the non-initial portion of a compound or prefixed word (Vance and Mark 2016, pp. 2)

examples about this. Çürük (2017), another scholar carries research on Turkish compounding system, argues that the aim in Turkish reduplications is not primarily derive new words, but to intensify the meaning in instant uses. According to the researcher, if the repetition is in a fixed form, that means the lexicalization process has been completed, and in this case, the lexicalized reduplications should be called "compounds with repetitions." (2017, pp. 28, 45, 110, 117). However, in the researcher's subsequent study, it was agreed that these structures have been used in word derivation since historical times, and it was emphasized once more that this function should be evaluated as a sub-title of the word combination method rather than being given a separate title as a word-formation method, and that it should be called "compounds with repetitions" (Çürük, 2018, pp. 501,503). Even though there are numerous studies on reduplications in Turkish, we chose these two because both researchers used the WALS (World Atlas of Language Structures) Online database in their research. In the section on the reduplications prepared by WALS based on the data of Rubino (2005), 278 of the world languages have the total and partial reduplications, 35 have only the total reduplication, and according to the same data, it is not used as a busy category in 55 languages. (<http://wals.info/chapter/27>). According to this data, Japanese, which is typologically among agglutinative languages like Turkish, is listed as one of the 35 languages with only total reduplication:

Figure 1. The reduplication categories in world languages

Values	
<span style="color: red;">●</span> Productive full and partial reduplication	278
<span style="color: purple;">●</span> Full reduplication only	35
<span style="color: grey;">○</span> No productive reduplication	55

Figure 2. The reduplication category in Japanese



Unlike WALS data, there are also researchers who say that Japanese has both reduplication categories. (Kwon 2017; Shibasaki 2005; Fujimura 2001). However, these studies mention the existence of two types and the only handle the total reduplication category. For this reason, it has been difficult for us to reach independent studies dealing with the category of Japanese partial reduplication. There are a large number of studies which handle the total reduplication category in Japanese and comparing it with the world languages. In Shibasaki's (2005) study of reduplications performed diachronically, the structure of verbal reduplications and historical development of verb reduplications in Japanese are systematically discussed. According to Shibasaki, the general acceptance in Japanese is that total and partial reduplication in this language has been used since the 8th century in forming 5-word types (verbs, adjectives, nouns, adverbs and idiophones) (2005, pp. 283). At the end of this research, Shibasaki revealed that the verbal reduplications, which went through an intensive process of grammaticalization, tend to evolve into adverb type of the words. Fujimura (2001) underlines those Japanese reduplications occur mainly in non-Chinese words, but also in words of at least three

syllables namely in Japanese origin, except for some onomatopoeic words in his study of the reduplication in standard Malay and Japanese. (2001, pp. 66).

Kageyama and Saito (2016) gave the following features without separating Japanese reduplications into two parts: total and partial.

a. Reduplication of wago<sup>3</sup> nouns to represent plurality. *ie-ie* 'houses', *hito-bito* 'people', *kuni-guni* 'countries', *yama-yama* 'mountains', *hana-bana* 'flowers'

b. Reduplication of wago or Sino-Japanese elements to produce adverbials. *iro-iro* 'variously', *tune-zune* 'always', *toki-doki* 'sometimes', *san-zan* 'thoroughly', *nen-nen* 'year by year'

c. Reduplication of native *ren'yō*<sup>4</sup> verbs to represent circumstantial activities. *naki-naki* 'while crying', (*huhei o*) *ii-ii* 'while expressing (complaints)', *yasumi-yasumi* 'while taking frequent rests'

d. Reduplication of native adjective or adjectival nouns stems to produce adverbials. *naga-naga (to)* 'at great length', *usu-usu (to)* 'vaguely', *tika-zika* 'in the near future', *iya-iya* 'reluctantly'

e. Reduplication of native adjective stems, verb infinitives, nouns, and mimetics to produce verbal nouns. *uki-uki (suru)* '(feel) buoyant', *samu-zamu (to suru)* 'be dreary', *gotu-gotu (suru)* 'be rugged', *noronoro (suru)* 'be sluggish', *kodomo-kodomo (suru)* has all the appearance of a small child' (Kageyama and Saito 2016: 40).

Ōsato (2013), who has stated that there are two categories of reduplications in Japanese, has handled these with examples unlike the researchers above and compared reduplications in Japanese, English, French, Indonesian and Tutuba languages on morphological and semantic levels in the study named Reduplication Research (*Jōgon kenkyū/ 畳語の研究*). According to this study, in Japanese reduplications change meaning and function according to the types of components. For example, while noun+noun type reduplications mark plurality, verb+verb type reduplications mark aspectual category. Moreover, the suffixes can be seen in the adjective+adjective type reduplications. Furthermore, while most studies describe reduplications formed by repeating the same kanji as total reduplication, Ōsato, (2013) underlines the importance of the change in the first sound of the second component (*dakuonka/ sequential voicing*) and she classifies reduplications, such as 様々 *samazama* in the partial reduplication type (pp. 1-6).

There is also an unpublished master's thesis in which Japanese and Turkish reduplications are compared. This is the first Turkish Japanese comparative study in the reduplication category. In his thesis, while examining the adjectival reduplications in Japanese, Çiftçi (2011) gave their structures and functions in comparison with the adjectival reduplication structures in Turkish. As a result of the study, Çiftçi has stated that these structures have functions such as a) grading b) emphasizing c) intensification of the meaning and d) plurality in Japanese; however, the structures and functions are more diverse than Japanese in Turkish.

<sup>3</sup> Wago are native Japanese words (as opposed to Chinese-derived words and other loanwords)

<sup>4</sup> conjunctive form

What distinguishes our study from the studies mentioned above is that it focuses only on the category of partial reduplication in Japanese. In this study, partial reduplication components were analyzed in terms of morpho-phonological and syntactic features.

## Objective-Method and Limitations

The aim of this qualitative study is to determine how the types of partial reduplication detected in Japanese and to reveal the reasons for the differences of opinions among the researchers. For this purpose, the study has sought answers to the following two questions:

- a) Which syntactic categories do total and partial reduplication components belong to in Japanese?
- b) Why should we accept reduplications seen in Rendaku (sequential voicing) as partial reduplication?

In order to arrive at the answers to our questions, the reduplication structures were analyzed by separating them into their components using the bracketing method. For the romanization of Japanese words, the Hepburn style was adopted. Mimetic reduplications, reduplications with one meaningful and one meaningless component, and reduplications with near synonyms and antonyms (dvandvas) have been excluded from the scope of the study.

## 1. Analysis

### 1.1. Total Reduplication in Japanese

The type of reduplication that occurs when a word repeats its root or body in the same way is called total reduplication (kanzen jōgo / 完全疊語). The total reduplications can be obtained by repeating words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and pronouns (when we repeat the pronoun “我 ware<sup>5</sup> / I, me” as “我々 wareware / we” it intensifies the meaning of “we”) in Japanese. It is observed that among these reduplications, especially those whose components are verb and adjective, have undergone a syntactic category change.

- **Total reduplications formed with nouns:**

(1)	<u>山々</u>	は	雲	に	包まれていた。
	<b>Yama-yama</b>	wa	kumo	ni	tsutsu-mare-tei-ta
	Mountains	TOP	cloud	DAT	wrap- PASS-ASP-PAST

“The mountains were covered with clouds.”<sup>6</sup>

[NP [R[C<sub>1n</sub>] [C<sub>2n</sub>]TOP] > [NP<sub>yamayama</sub>TOP [R[C<sub>1yama</sub>] [C<sub>2yama</sub>]wa]

<sup>5</sup> It is not common to use “ware” pronoun for the first person singular in contemporary Japanese. Instead of “ware” it is widely seen “watashi, watakushi, boku, ore” pronouns for the first person singular.

<sup>6</sup> 「山々」に関連した英語例文の一覧と使い方 - Weblio 英語例文検索 (Accessed on 28.02.2019)

When looking at the structural components in Example (1), it can be seen that the syntactic type does not change in the new structure that develops, and there are no phonetic changes. When the noun component of the reduplication is protected, it also preserves the noun category. The reduplication function appears as a plurality in this case.

- |     |          |     |              |     |                      |
|-----|----------|-----|--------------|-----|----------------------|
| (2) | 満月       | が   | <u>家々</u>    | を   | 照らしていた。 <sup>7</sup> |
|     | mangetsu | ga  | <b>ie-ie</b> | wo  | terashi-tei-ta       |
|     | Fullmoon | SBJ | houses       | ACC | illuminate-ASP-PAST  |

“The full moon was lighting the houses.”

[NP [R[c<sub>1n</sub>] [c<sub>2n</sub>]OBJ] > [NP<sub>ieie</sub> OBJ [R[c<sub>1ie</sub>] [c<sub>2ie</sub>]wo]

In Example (2), it is observed that the structural components and the reduplication type are both in the same syntactic category and do not have any phonetic change. When we examine its function, however, we can observe that the first component, referred to as "each house," is individualized and intensified.

• **Total reduplications formed with verbs:**

There are reduplications in Japanese that are formed by repeating the same verb. There are two sorts of reduplication components for these verbs: dictionary forms (forms (jishokei / 辞書形) and conjugation forms (renyoukei / 連用形), both of which are ready to be combined without any other elements. It is observed that the same verb can make reduplications both in dictionary form and in conjugation form. On the other hand, there are verb reduplications, which are formed by the insertion of the preposition "ni" between two verbs and serve to intensify the meaning.

- |     |                  |          |     |                   |
|-----|------------------|----------|-----|-------------------|
| (3) | <u>泣く泣く</u>      | 故郷       | を   | 離れた。 <sup>8</sup> |
|     | <b>Naku-naku</b> | furusato | wo  | hanare-ta         |
|     | crying           | hometown | ACC | leave-PAST        |

“I left my country crying, crying”

[AdvP [R[c<sub>1v</sub>] [c<sub>2v</sub>]VP] > [AdvP<sub>nakunakuhanareru</sub> [R[c<sub>1naku</sub>] [c<sub>2naku</sub>]VP hanareru]

- |     |                  |      |       |     |                   |
|-----|------------------|------|-------|-----|-------------------|
| (4) | <u>泣き泣き</u>      | その   | 金     | を   | 払った。 <sup>9</sup> |
|     | <b>Naki naki</b> | sono | kane  | wo  | harat-ta          |
|     | crying           | that | money | ACC | pay-PAST          |

“I paid that money reluctantly.”

[AdvP [R[c<sub>1v</sub>] [c<sub>2v</sub>]VP] > [AdvP<sub>nakinakiharau</sub> [R[c<sub>1naki</sub>] [c<sub>2naki</sub>]VP harau]

In example (3), naku "to cry" keeps its original meaning in the reduplication formed by the dictionary form; it is possible to translate this as "in tears" because it comprises an adverb. It is feasible to create two types of readings in Example (4). While the first

<sup>7</sup> 「家々」に関連した英語例文の一覧と使い方 – Weblio 英語例文検索 (Accessed on 08.09.2019)

<sup>8</sup> 「泣く泣く」に関連した英語例文の一覧と使い方 – Weblio 英語例文検索 (Accessed on 02.03.2022)

<sup>9</sup> 「泣き泣き」に関連した英語例文の一覧と使い方 – Weblio 英語例文検索 (Accessed on 02.03.2022)

reading expresses the desire to pay the money in tears, the second reading obtains a sense of hesitation and has a more metaphorical meaning. The term is no longer a verb but an adverb in both readings.

In the following examples, the examples of reduplications constructed by repeating the verb and adding the “ni” preposition to the conjugation form are given. In the construction of reduplication, the preposition “ni” has taken on the role of forming a fixed word phrase and predicating the entire reduplication phrase. It is also seen that the structure marked the “imperfective / progressive aspect” category. We did not use the bracketing method to assess these examples. The purpose of giving examples is to show how another unit can be inserted between two components in Japanese to form reduplication.

(5)	私	は	先生	に	<u>ほめ</u>	に	<u>ほめられた</u> <sup>10</sup>
	watashi	wa	sensi	ni	<b>home-</b>	ni	<b>homer-</b> are-ta
	I	TOP	teacher	by	Praise-	part	Praise-PASS-PAST
					conj.form		

"I was praised by the teacher again and again" "The teacher praised and praised me".

(6)	... 人々	は	<u>泣き</u>	に	<u>泣いた</u> <sup>11</sup>
	Hito-bito	wa	<b>naki</b>	ni	<b>nai-ta</b>
	People	TOP	Cry-conj.form	part	Cry-PAST

"The people cried and cried" "The people cried a lot"

- **Total reduplications formed with adjectives:**

In Japanese, adjectives are generally classified under two headings as “na adjectives” and “i adjectives”. When forming a reduplication, the **i** or **na** syllable (can also be called adjectival suffixes) disappears and the adjective attaches to the verb with the **to** suffix. Thus, a reduplication of the adverb type, whose components are adjectives, is revealed. However, the category change is not seen when it is attached to the nouns by taking the **-shii** suffix or when it is used as a predictor.

(7)	電車	は	<u>のろのろと</u>	動いた。 <sup>12</sup>
	Densha	wa	noronoro-to	ugoi-ta
	train	TOP	Slowly-adv	move-PAST

"The train moved slowly."

[AdvP [R[C<sub>1adj</sub>] [C<sub>2adj</sub>] to][VP]] > [AdvP<sub>noronoro to ugoku</sub> [R[C<sub>1noroi</sub>] [C<sub>2noroi</sub>]**to**][VP ugoku]]

In Example (7) when we look at the word *noroi* “slow”, the adjective marker **i** disappears and the “**to**” adverb marker attaches the word after second component of the reduplication. So, it is not “\*noroinoroi ugoku: \*to move slowly slowly” but “noronoro

<sup>10</sup> 「ほめにほめられた」に関連した英語例文の一覧と使い方 - Weblio 英語例文検索 (Accessed on 15.04.2022)

<sup>11</sup> NBJ, pp. 423.

<sup>12</sup> 「のろのろと」の用例・例文集 - 用例.jp (yourei.jp) (Accessed on 16.03.2022)



to ugoku: to move slowly” When we look at the function, it is understood that it has the task of intensifying the meaning of the adverb.

(8)	それ	は	<u>ばかばかしい</u>	話だ。 <sup>13</sup>
	sore	wa	bakabakashii	hanashi-da
	That	TOP	ridiculous	speech-PRED.

"This is a nonsense speech."

[AP [R[c<sub>1adj</sub>] [c<sub>2adj</sub>]**shii**][NP]] > [AP<sub>bakabakashii hanashi</sub> [R[c<sub>1baka</sub>] [c<sub>2baka</sub>]**shii**][NP hanashi]]

In example (8), word *bakana* “stupid” drops the **na** adjective marker and takes –**shii** suffix in order to make it a stronger adjective. It is seen that the syntactic category of reduplication has been preserved and functionally it intensify the meaning.

When we generalize only from the examples given here, if the structural components are adjectives in the total reduplication and the second component receives the suffix –**shii**, the syntactic type of the reduplication does not change, it still performs as an adjective phrase: [AP[R[c<sub>1adj</sub>] [c<sub>2adj</sub>]**shii**][NP]]

On the other hand, if the second component of the reduplication, whose components are adjectives, connects to a verb with the suffix **to**, the type of reduplication changes and it becomes an adverb phrase: [AdvP [R[c<sub>1adj</sub>] [c<sub>2adj</sub>]**to**][VP]]

In verb+verb reduplications, the tendency of becoming an adverb has been observed: [AdvP [R[c<sub>1v</sub>] [c<sub>2v</sub>]**VP**]]

In reduplications where structure components are nouns, [NP [R[c<sub>1n</sub>] [c<sub>2n</sub>]**TOP/OBJ/PRED**], syntactic type change hasn't been observed in the total reduplication category. As it can be seen from the examples, there are no phonetic changing such as vocalization, sequential voicing etc. in the total reduplications.

## 1.2. Partial Reduplication in Japanese

The partial reduplications can be obtained by repeating only a part of the words. The new structure obtained by repeating or changing (*rendaku* / 連濁 / sequential voicing) of a morphology or sound unit of one of the words that make up the structure components is called a partial reduplication (*bubun jōgo* / 部分豊語). In the sources we examined, it has been observed that the researchers (Kwon 2017; Shibasaki 2005; Fujimura 2001) who agree that the partial reduplications are more commonly seen in mimetic words in Japanese, generally have carried out research on the total reduplication category. Ōsato (2013), in her study, divided Japanese reduplications into three groups. The first of them is the partial reduplication which has been formed by the words changing syntactic category and sequent voicing *dakuonka* / 濁音化 has been observed in the first sound of the second component as it happens in the word 様々 *samazama*<sup>14</sup> " various " while the second is reduplications of words that contain both the vowel derivative and change the syntactic category with the **-shii** suffix as in the example of 図々しい *zuuzuushii*<sup>15</sup> "

<sup>13</sup> 「ばかばかしい」の用例・例文集 - 用例.jp (yourei.jp) (Accessed on 16.03.2022)

<sup>14</sup> 様 sama: state; situation; appearance; manner. 様々 samazama: various; varied; diverse; all sorts of

<sup>15</sup> 図 zu: figure; illustration; chart. 図々しい zuuzuushii: impudent; shameless

impudent; shameless ". By giving the example of 空々しい *sorazorashii*<sup>16</sup> "hypocritical" as the third type of reduplication, she has defined that both the words with sequent voicing and the words taking **-shii** suffix can be added to this category (Ōsato, 2013, pp. 4-5). For example, if the component is repeated with a single kanji word, the repeat mark 々 is inserted immediately after the kanji: 人 *hito* "person" and 人々 *hitobito* "people/human" the reduplication is obtained. In the same way, when the noun 時 *toki* "time; hour; moment" forms a reduplication as 時々 *tokidoki* "from time to time" it becomes an adverb. And the sequent voicing has been seen in the first syllable of the second component. While the sequent voicing is seen in the reduplication of *hitobito*, there is no syntactic change in the category. On the other hand, it is observed that there is both sequent voicing and syntactic category change in *tokidoki*. The adjective 寒い *samui* "cold" goes into the forms of 寒々 *samuzamu* and 寒々しい *samuzamushii* with the reduplications.

Besides Ōsato's findings, /ma/ voice which is operated as prefix and intensifies the meaning of the word should also be mentioned as we observe that it creates partial reduplication in Japanese. For example, while the word 白い *shiroi* "white" is being reduplicated, it becomes 真っ白 *mash-shiro* "snow white / exactly the white"<sup>17</sup>, and 中 *naka* word which means "internal, center" becomes 真ん中 *man-naka* "midst" in order to form the reduplication. When we look at the structure of the components, the /ma/ syllable is added initially to the root and the first consonant of the word is doubled as it happens in the words of *naka* > **ma-n**-naka; *shiro* > **ma-sh**-shiro. However, instead of the long vowels appearing in the root words starting with vowels, after /ma/ /ss/, /kk/ sounds are derived and it has been observed that /i/ sound which is at the end drops (*aoi* > **ma-ss-ao**<sup>18</sup> "blue / deep blue", *akai* > **ma-kk-a** "red / cherry red". We will not discuss this morpho-phonological issue in this work because it requires more comprehensive investigation and analysis.

#### • Partial reduplications formed with nouns:

(9)	人々	は	海岸	を	歩いている。
	<b>Hitobito</b>	wa	kaigan	wo	arui-teiru
	people	TOP	coast	ACC.	walk. Contin.

"People are walking on the coast"

[NP [R[c<sub>1n</sub>] [c<sub>2n</sub>]] > [NP<sub>hitobitoTOP</sub> [R[c<sub>1</sub>**hito**] [c<sub>2</sub>**bito**]wa]

In Example (9) the second component of the reduplication has sequential voicing (*rendaku*), and the repetition belongs to the same syntactic category (noun phrase) with the component in the final analysis. When we examine its function, we can see that it marks plurality.

<sup>16</sup> 空 *sora*: sky; the air • 空々しい *sorazorashii*: false; hypocritical

<sup>17</sup> In Turkish "bembeyaz"

<sup>18</sup> In Turkish "masmavi"

(10)	天気	は	刻々と	変わる。 <sup>19</sup>
	tenki	wa	<u>kokkoku-to</u>	kawaru
	weather	TOP	moment moment- adverbial	change

“The weather changes moment by moment”

[AdvP [R[c<sub>1n</sub>] [c<sub>2n</sub>] to][VP]] > [AdvP kokkoku to kawaru [R[c<sub>1</sub>~~koku~~] [c<sub>2</sub>koku] to][VP kawaru]]

In example (10), components of the reduplication are nouns but the reduplication itself is and adverb. When we look at the phonetic features, it is seen that the last sound of the root word is dropped in the first component: koku koku > kok~~u~~ koku: kokkoku. Thus, reduplication, which is "kokkoku", attaches to a verb by taking the adverbial suffix "to" and becomes an adverb and changes the syntactic category (becomes an adverb). The function of the reduplication here is seen as intensification.

(11)	彼女	の	口振り	は	いかにも	そらぞらしい。
	kanojo	no	kuchiburi	wa	ikanimo	<u>sorazorashii</u>
	She	GEN.	way	of	very	false
			speaking			

“She talks too aloofly”<sup>20</sup>

[AP [R[c<sub>1n</sub>] [c<sub>2n</sub>]shii][NP]] > [AP sorazorashii kuchiburi [R[c<sub>1</sub>sora] [c<sub>2</sub>zora]shii][NP ø]]

In Example (11), the structural components are nouns, and the sequential voicing has been seen in the first syllable of the second component. It takes the **-shii** suffix at the end of the reduplication and changes the syntactic category and becomes an adjective. Although the noun "kuchiburi" is syntactically two units before the reduplication "sorazorashii," it is an adjective phrase component modified by the sorazorashii reduplication in the deep structure. When considered from a functional standpoint, it is clear that it works as a metaphor.

- **Partial reduplications formed with adjectives:**

(12)	音楽の	好み	は	人によって	好きずきです。 <sup>21</sup>
	Ongaku-no	konomi	wa	hito-niyotte	<u>sukizuki</u> desu
	music	preference	TOP	person-due to	taste-PRED

“Music preference is a matter of taste that vary from person to person”

[NP [R[c<sub>1adj</sub>] [c<sub>2adj</sub>]] > [NP sukizuki da [R[c<sub>1</sub>suki] [c<sub>2</sub>zuki] PRED]]

In Example (12), where the structural components are adjectives, the adjective suffix **na** has been dropped, and the first syllable of the second component has undergone a change. The word that has taken the predicative suffix and changed its syntactic category (became noun). From a functional point of view, it has been seen that reduplication metaphorizes the word.

<sup>19</sup> 「刻々」を使った英語表現・例文・フレーズ | Cheer up! English (Accessed on 03.09.2021)

<sup>20</sup> 「そらぞらしい」 Jisho.org: Japanese Dictionary (Accessed on 02.03.2022)

<sup>21</sup> <https://jisho.org/search/好き好き> (Accessed on 15.03.2022)

- (13) (先生は)...小原の 細々とした 体を 見ていられました。<sup>22</sup>  
 ...Obara-no **hosoboso**-toshita karada-wo mi-tei-rare-mashita  
 Obara-gen very thin – verbal body- watch-ASP –RESP.-  
 adjective ACC. PAST

“(The teacher) was staring at Obara’s slender body

[AP [R[c<sub>1</sub>adj] [c<sub>2</sub>adj]toshita][NP]] > [AP hosoboso to shita karada[R[c<sub>1</sub>hoso] [c<sub>2</sub>boso]to shita][NP karada]]

In Example (13), where the structural components and the reduplication itself are in the same syntactic category (adjective phrase), the adjective suffix *i* at the end of word has been dropped (*hosoi* > *hoso*) and the sequential voicing has occurred in the first syllable of the second component. By taking the verbal adjective suffix **toshita**, the reduplication became an adjective which modifies the word “karada / body”. The function of the reduplication here is intensification.

- (14) 踊り手たち は 舞台を ... 軽々と 踊っていった<sup>23</sup>.  
 Odorite tachi wa buyō-wo ... **karugaru**-to odo-tte-it-ta  
 Dancers TOP stage-ACC ... light-adverbial dance-conj.go-PAST

“The dancers tripped lightly across the stage.”

[AdvP [R[c<sub>1</sub>adj] [c<sub>2</sub>adj] to][VP]] > [AdvP karugaru to odoru [R[c<sub>1</sub>karu] [c<sub>2</sub>garu] to][VP odoru]]

In Example (14), where the structural components are adjectives, we see the sequential voicing in the first syllable of the second component. It has been connected to the verb by taking the suffix “to”. Thus, the syntactic category has been changed and the reduplication has become an adverb. When the function is examined, it is understood that it undertakes the task of intensification.

- **Partial reduplications formed with verbs:**

- (15) 戦争 で 一家が 離れ離れ に なった。<sup>24</sup>  
 sensō de ikka-ga hanare-banare ni nat-ta  
 war by a family- SBJ separate be become-PAST

“Because of the war a family become scattered”

[NP [R[c<sub>1</sub>v] [c<sub>2</sub>v] VP]] > [NP hanarebanare [R[c<sub>1</sub>hanare] [c<sub>2</sub>banare] VP ni naru]]

In Example (15), where the structural components are verbs, we see the sequential voicing. The reduplication “hanarebanare” is a noun phrase in surface structure and it modifies the phrase “ikka/ family” in deep structure, but the sequence of the sentence does not allow the noun phrase to become an adjective phrase. We cannot get the NP >

<sup>22</sup> “細々 (ほそぼそ)” の例文 | ふりがな文庫 (furigana.info) (Accessed on 15.03.2022)

<sup>23</sup> <https://jisho.org/search/軽々> (Accessed on 05.03.2022)

<sup>24</sup> “「はなればなれに」に関連した英語例文の一覧と使い方 - Weblio 英語例文検索 (Accessed on 17.03.2022)

AP changing grammatically. It has been observed that reduplication metaphorizes the word from a functional standpoint.

(16)	馴れ馴れしい	人	は	嫌い
	<b>narenareshii</b>	hito	wa	kirai
	overfamiliar	person	TOP	disliked

“I dont like people who are too intimate”

[AP [R[c<sub>1v</sub>] [c<sub>2v</sub>] shii][NP]] > [AP narenareshii hito [R[c<sub>1</sub>~~nare~~ru] [c<sub>2v</sub>~~nare~~ru]shii][NP hito]]

While sequential voicing is not seen in Example (16), it is understood that the structure, where the components are verbs, becomes an adjective phrase with the suffix **-shii** and modifies the noun hito "person". From a functional standpoint, reduplication has been seen to metaphorize the verb.

(17)	みんな	晴れ晴れしい	顔つき	だった。 <sup>25</sup>
	Minna	<b>harebareshii</b>	kao tsuki	dat-ta
	everybody	happy	expression	PRED-PAST

“Everybody’s expression was happy”

[AP [R[c<sub>1v</sub>] [c<sub>2v</sub>] shii][NP]] > [AP harebareshii kaotsuki [R[c<sub>1</sub>~~hare~~ru] [c<sub>2v</sub>~~bare~~ru]shii][NP kaotsuki]]

In contrast to Example (16), sequential voicing is seen in the initial sound of the second component in Example (17). By adding the **-shii** suffix, this reduplication becomes an adjective phrase. It is seen that the reduplication has been used to metaphorize the verb from a functional aspect.

## 2. Findings

According to the structural and functional analysis of Japanese reduplications we can summary our findings as below:

- There are two kinds of reduplications in Japanese: total reduplication and partial reduplication. They have multiple functions such as plurality, intensification, progressive / imperfect aspect, individualization of the component, and metaphoricalization.
- The second component of the structure in both types of reduplication has the potential to shift syntactic categories by taking “-shii” and “to” suffixes.
- While phonetic alterations such as sequential voicing, consonant derivation and vowel derivation are not observed in the total reduplication category, all three phonetic changes are encountered in partial reduplication.

<sup>25</sup> 「晴れ晴れしい」の用例・例文集 - 用例.jp (yourei.jp) (Accessed on 17.03.2022)

- If the sequential voicing is seen in the first syllable of the second component of the reduplication components, and the structure undergoes a syntactic category change as a result, the new structure should be considered as partial reduplication.
- If there is sequential voicing in reduplication components and, if it undergoes a semantic category change such as metaphoricalization, the new structure should be considered as partial reduplication.
- Reduplications that formed with the /ma/ syllable only serve as intensification. If the word begins with a consonant following /ma/, we see the initial constant is doubled. However, in cases where word begins with a vowel, long vowel occurrence has not been observed. Instead, / ss / and / kk / consonant pairs emerge.

Table 1. The Total and Partial Reduplication Components and Their Functions in Japanese

Components of the Reduplication	Reduplication			
	Syntactic Category (word class)	Total Reduplication	Partial Reduplication	Function
Noun+Noun	noun	İeie (each house)	hitobito	İeie: individualization hitobito: Plurality
	adjective	x	sorazora( <b>shii</b> )	metaphoricalization
	adverb	x	kokkoku	intensification
	verb	x	x	-
Adj.+Adj.	noun	x	sukizuki	metaphoricalization
	adjective	bakabaka ( <b>shii</b> )	hosoboso ( <b>to shita</b> )	intensification
	adverb	noronoro <b>to</b>	karugaru ( <b>to</b> )	intensification
	verb	kechikechi <b>suru</b>	x	intensification
Verb+Verb	noun	x	hanare <b>banare</b>	metaphoricalization
	adjective	x	narenare ( <b>shii</b> ) hare <b>bare</b> ( <b>shii</b> )	metaphoricalization metaphoricalization
	adverb	nakinaki nakunaku	x	imperfective / progressive aspect Imperfective / progressive aspect
	verb	x	x	-

### 3. Conclusion

We conduct this research because of the discrepancies we discovered between the information in the WALS database concerning the reduplication category in Japanese and the data given by reduplication researchers in Japanese. During the literature review, it became clear that there were very few studies comparing the reduplication category in Japanese and Turkish and some of them have suspicious proposals. It is observed that the studies on the partial reduplication category in Japanese are limited too. In our study, we used the bracketing method to analyze the components of both categories, assuming that there is a partial reduplication category in Japanese, contrary to the WALS data. We attempted to figure out what syntactic categories the components belong to and what morpho-phonological transitions they go through. We discovered that the partial reduplication category words must either undergo a sound change or possess a suffix that changes a syntactic category. Based on these findings, it has been determined that Japanese reduplications are frequently actively utilized in word formation, and that many researchers have studied them within the compound word category. In this respect, it has been observed that the naming and functions proposed by Ağca (2017, 2020) and Çürük (2017, 2018) for the Turkish reduplication category overlap with Japanese. It has also been understood that the / ma / reduplications should be considered separately. In this small preliminary study, reduplications formed with reflection words (the mimetics), reduplications formed with a meaningful one and a meaningless component, and reduplications formed with synonyms and antonyms (dvandva compounds) have been excluded from the scope of the study. However, it is thought that these types should be handled with a larger corpus and as a team. As a result, it is expected to benefit not just Japanese educators, but also linguistics and Altaistics scholars.

### Abbreviations

Adj: Adjective	NBJ: Nihongo Bunkei Jiten (Japanese Grammar Dictionary)
Adv: Adverb(ial)	OBJ: Object Marker
AdvP: Adverb Phrase	pp.: page
AP: Adjective Phrase	PRED: Predicative
ASP: aspect	R: Reduplication
c1: 1st component	RESP.: Respective
c2: 2nd component	SBJ: Subject Marker
NP: Noun Phrase	TOP: Topic Marker

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**Japanese sentences retrieved from the online dictionaries are as below:**

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<https://yourei.jp/>  
<https://furigana.info/>  
<https://ejje.weblio.jp/>  
<http://english.cheerup.jp/corpus/>