

NINJAL INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM 2016
MIMETICS IN JAPANESE AND OTHER LANGUAGES OF
THE WORLD

NINJAL 国際シンポジウム 2016

日本語と世界諸言語のオノマトペ

Dates: December 17–18, 2016

Venue: National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL), Tokyo

URL: <http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/mimetics>

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1. Aims

This symposium aims at establishing the **common ground for discussions of mimetics in theoretical-linguistic and typological perspectives**. Also known as “ideophones” (Doke 1935) and “expressives” (Diffloth 1972), MIMETICS refer to sound-symbolic lexemes, such as onomatopoeia. Actually, however, they comprise a far wider range of words that have characteristic sequences of sounds which subjectively represent such notions or images as are closely associated with auditory, visual, tactile, physiological, or other kinds of human perception. Japanese mimetics thus include not only words that imitate or mimic sounds (*giongo* ‘sound-imitating words, phonomimes’ in Japanese; e.g., *katakata* ‘clattering’) and voices (*giseigo* ‘voice-imitating words’; e.g., *piyopiyo* ‘tweeting’) but also those that are conceived of as representing manners of action and state (*gitaigo* ‘manner-imitating words, phenomimes’; e.g., *burabura* ‘strolling’) or private feelings and sensations (*gijōgo* ‘sensation-imitating words, psychomimes’;

1. 趣旨

この国際シンポジウムは、「オノマトペ」の研究に関して理論言語学からのアプローチと言語類型論からのアプローチをつなぐ共通の基盤を探ることを目的としています。英語では“mimetics”,あるいは“ideophones”(Doke 1935)や“expressives”(Diffloth 1972)と呼ばれるオノマトペは、擬声語・擬音語を代表とする音象徴の機能を持つ語彙素ですが、実際には、聴覚だけでなく視覚、触覚、生理的感覚など人間の様々な感覚と緊密に結びついた概念やイメージを主観的に表現する、特徴的な音声の連鎖からなる幅広い範囲の語彙を包括する概念です。とりわけ日本語では、「カタカタ（鳴る）」のように音を模倣した擬音語、「ピヨピヨ（鳴く）」のように生物の発する声を模した擬声語のほか、「ブラブラ（散歩する）」のように行為や状態の様態・様子を表現する擬態語や、「ワクワク（する）」のように話者の内的感覚や知覚を表現する擬情語などがあることが知られています (Martin 1975; 金田一 1978; Shibatani 1990)。

このように、言語の中で重要な役割を担うにも拘わらず、ソシユールの唱えた言語記

e.g., *wakuwaku* ‘excited’) (Martin 1975; Kindaichi 1978; Shibatani 1990).

Due to the influential Saussurean principle of the arbitrariness of linguistic signs, mimetics have long been viewed in modern linguistics as peripheral, negligible, immature, primitive, or extra-linguistic elements. Mimetics indeed do not appear to be abundant in most European languages, which have been the primary focus of theoretical linguistics. However, field linguistics in the past fifty years has revealed that every major continent has some languages with a large mimetic lexicon. Such languages include Korean, Tamil, Bangla, Semai (Asia), Jaminjung (Australia), Basque (Europe), Hausa, Siwu, Yoruba, Shona, Zulu, Sotho, G!ui (Africa), and Quechua (South America) (Hinton et al. 1994; Nuckolls 1996; Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2006; among others). Notably since Dingemanse’s (2011) comprehensive investigation of mimetics (“ideophones” in his terms) in Siwu (Niger-Congo), the linguistic significance of mimetics has been gaining increasingly wider recognition in theoretical and typological research (see Section 5 for a list of recent workshops on mimetics).

Among the languages that reportedly have mimetics as active vocabulary items, **Japanese presents perhaps one of the richest systems of mimetic expressions**, where phonological considerations (McCawley 1968; Itô and Mester 1995) strongly suggest that mimetics constitute a separate lexical stratum on a par with the native, Sino-Japanese, and foreign lexical strata. The literature on Japanese mimetics consists of a thousand papers and books and more than twenty dictionaries dedicated to this particular word class (Kakehi and Tamori 1993; Kakehi, Tamori and Schourup 1996; Tamori and Schourup 1999; Yamaguchi 2002; Shinohara and Uno 2013; see Akita 2005–2010 for an exhaustive bibliography of relevant studies). Although the vast majority of these studies limit themselves to the descriptions of the morphophonology, sound symbolism, and rhetorical effects of mimetics, the last two decades have seen the

号の恣意性の原則のため、現代言語学においては、オノマトペそのものは周縁的で、取るに足りないもの、未熟で原始的な表現、あるいは言語外の要素であると思われてきました。実際、現代の理論的言語学の発展の中心となった西洋のほとんどの言語ではオノマトペは豊富とは言えません。ところが過去半世紀ほどの間に、フィールド言語学の研究により、地球上のどの主要大陸にも豊富なオノマトペ語彙を備えた言語が存在することが明らかになってきました。代表的な言語名を挙げると、韓国語、タミル語、ベンガル語、セマイ語 (以上、アジア)、ジャミンjung語 (オーストラリア)、バスク語 (ヨーロッパ)、ハウサ語、シウ語、ヨルバ語、ショナ語、ズールー語、ソト語、グイ語 (以上、アフリカ)、ケチュア語 (南アメリカ) などがあります (Hinton et al. 1994; Nuckolls 1996; Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2006 など)。とりわけ、アフリカ (ニジェール=コンゴ語族) の言語であるシウ語におけるオノマトペを包括的に研究した Dingemanse (2011) の博士論文が出て以来、オノマトペの言語学的な意義についての認識が理論言語学と言語類型論の双方において徐々に高まっています (第 5 節に紹介するようにオノマトペに関するワークショップも近年増加しています)。

オノマトペを活発な語彙として用いる諸言語の中でも、日本語はおそらく最も豊かなオノマトペ体系を持つ言語のひとつです。日本語に関しては、少なくとも音論的考察 (McCawley 1968; Itô and Mester 1995) によって、オノマトペが和語、漢語、洋語と並び立つ 1 つの独立した語彙層 (lexical stratum) を形成するという考え方が定着しています。日本語のオノマトペ研究が盛んであることは、膨大な数の文献のほか、この語彙グループに特化した辞書が国内外で 20 種以上出版されていることから裏付けられるでしょう (筧・田守 1993; Kakehi, Tamori and Schourup 1996; 田守・スコウラップ 1999; 山口 2002; 篠原・宇野 2013; 関連する研究文献の網羅的な一覧としては Akita 2005–2010 を参照)。これらの研究の大半はオノマトペが持つ形態音韻的な特徴、音象徴の特質、修辭的な効果に限定されてきましたが、最近 20 年間においては、Kita (1997), Hamano (1998), 那須 (2002), Tsujimura (2005), Kageyama (2007),

emergence of theoretical approaches to mimetics (Kita 1997; Hamano 1998; Nasu 2002; Tsujimura 2005; Kageyama 2007; Toratani 2007; Akita 2009; Akita and Usuki 2015; Akita and Tsujimura 2016; Iwasaki et al., to appear). In this regard, Japanese, a language with a long research history and rich linguistic resources, has strong potential to play a leading role in the research on mimetics in the world's languages.

However, the actual contribution of Japanese studies in this research area has not been fully appreciated so far due to **their limited theoretical considerations** and to **the absence of typological investigations**. While it has become increasingly clear that mimetics are “manageable” using the apparatuses of existing theories such as Construction Grammar, Role and Reference Grammar, Lexical-Conceptual Semantics, Cognitive Semantics, and Optimality Theory, the question remains completely open as to whether mimetics call for any serious additions or modifications to these theories or in what way they contribute to the construction of new general theories. Furthermore, theoretical discussion must necessarily take into account the universality and language-particularity of mimetics in crosslinguistic or typological perspective.

The NINJAL international symposium, therefore, has two ultimate goals. First, we pursue theoretical explorations of mimetics, seeking **“bidirectional” contributions between description and theory-building**. Second, we aim to arrive at **crosslinguistic or typological generalizations** on the behavior of mimetic words. To achieve these goals, we invite leading linguists and psychologists studying mimetics in a wide variety of languages from both inside and outside Japan. We also **welcome the submission of English and Japanese posters that share these goals**.

Toratani (2007), Akita (2009), Akita and Usuki (2015), Akita and Tsujimura (2016), Iwasaki et al. (to appear) などに見られるように、理論言語学からのアプローチが台頭してきました。このように、オノマトペに関する長い研究の蓄積と豊かな言語的資源を持つ日本語は、世界諸言語におけるオノマトペ研究を本格的に先導する強い潜在性を持っていると言えるでしょう。

しかし残念ながら、この領域における日本語研究は**理論的考察の範囲が限られ**、また、**言語類型論的研究が乏しい**ことから、世界的にはその実質的な貢献が十分には認知されていないのが現実です。近年の理論的研究によって、一見特異なオノマトペの振る舞いが、構文文法、語彙概念意味論、役割指示文法、認知意味論、最適性理論といった既存の理論の装置を使うことで「対処できる」ということは次第に明らかになってきたわけですが、オノマトペがこれら既存の理論に対して何らかの実質的な修正や追加を必要としないのか、あるいは、オノマトペが全く新しい一般言語理論の構築にどのように貢献し得るのか、といった点はこれまでまともに論じられていません。さらに、これらの理論的考察を進めるためには、言語対照的あるいは言語類型的観点から見たオノマトペの普遍性と言語個別性という問題を避けて通ることはできません。

以上概略した研究状況に照らして、今回の NINJAL 国際シンポジウムは次の2つを目標とします。1つは、オノマトペの理論的な考察を開拓することですが、その際、**データ記述と理論構築において双方向的な貢献**を目指します。もう1つは、日本語及び諸外国語に基づき**オノマトペの言語学的特質について対照言語学的ないし言語類型論的な一般化を導き出す**ことを目指します。この2つの目標に向かって、本シンポジウムでは多様な言語についてオノマトペを研究している先端的な言語学者・心理学者を国内外から招聘するとともに、これらの目標を共有する**国内外の研究者からポスター発表（日本語による発表も可）を募集**します。

2. Basic properties of mimetics

There appears to be general agreement that no clear necessary and sufficient conditions are available for mimetics; they should rather be defined language-specifically (Newman 1968; Childs 1994; Tamori and Schourup 1999). The currently most widely accepted definition of mimetics as “marked words that depict sensory imagery” (Dingemanse 2011: 25) is thus kept highly abstract. Despite the difficulty of the categorical characterization of mimetics, previous studies have demonstrated a set of **prototypical characteristics** of mimetics, including the following (examples are cited from Japanese unless noted otherwise).

Phonology:

- Mimetics basically use the same inventory of phonemes as prosaic (i.e., non-mimetic) words, but often with different frequency and phonotactics (e.g., the frequent use of singleton [p], as in *pikapika* ‘shining brightly’, which is banned in non-mimetic native lexemes).
- Many mimetics involve phonological harmony, such as vowel harmony (e.g., *tūluk* ‘obese’ (Korean; Cho 1994)) and tonal harmony (e.g., *gbàngbàlàng* ‘long pole falling down’ (Dagaare; Bodomo 2006)).

Morphology:

- Mimetics often exhibit total or partial reduplication, which usually has iconic association with an iterative, continuative, or emphatic meaning (e.g., *kira-kira* ‘glittering continuously’). Non-reduplicated mimetics with closed syllables often have a momentary meaning (e.g., *kiran* ‘glistening once’).
- Mimetics often have emphatic morphology, such as vowel lengthening (e.g., *kiraan* ‘glistening long’) and element addition (e.g., *kirakkira* ‘very glittery’).

2. オノマトペの基本的性質

これまでのところ、オノマトペとは何かを明確に定義する必要かつ十分な普遍的条件はなく、むしろ、個別言語ごとに規定するのが妥当であると一般的に考えられています (Newman 1968; Childs 1994; Tamori and Schourup 1999)。実際、現在最も広く受け入れられている定義でも、「オノマトペとは感覚イメージを描写する形式的に有標な語」 (Dingemanse 2011: 25) のように、極めて抽象的な規定になっています。オノマトペを明確に規定することは困難であっても、少なくとも記述のレベルでは、世界のオノマトペが次のような**典型的特徴**を持つことが、過去の研究で明らかになっています。

音韻論

- 他の語類と基本的に同じ音素体系を用いるが、その用い方は頻度や音素配列の面で一般語としばしば異なる (例:和語で許されない単独[p]音がオノマトペでは「ピカピカ」のように頻繁)。
- 母音調和 (例: *tūluk* ‘太った’ (韓国語; Cho 1994)) や均一声調 (例: *gbàngbàlàng* ‘長い棒が落ちる音・様子’ (ダガリ語; Bodomo 2006)) といった音韻的な調和現象を見せる例が多い。

形態論

- 完全重複や部分重複を含む例が多く、それらは通常反復・継続・強調といった意味と類像的に結びつく (例:継続的事象を表す「キラキラ」)。閉音節で終わる非重複形が瞬間性と結びつく例も多い (例:「キラン」)。
- 母音延長 (例:「キラ^ーン」) や要素付加 (例:「キラ^ッキラ」) といった強調形態を取る例が多い。

Syntax:

- The most common function of mimetics is arguably adverbial (e.g., *kirakira to hikar-* ‘shine glitteringly’). Mimetics are often said to be syntactically “aloof” (Kunene 1965), as illustrated by their holophrastic and right/left-dislocated uses in some languages.
- More integrated uses of mimetics, especially predicative uses that involve verbs meaning ‘do’ and ‘say’ (e.g., *kirakira-su-* [MIM-do] ‘glitter’, *goto-goto-iw-* [MIM-say] ‘rattle’), are also common across languages.
- In some languages, such as Hausa and Kisi, the occurrence of mimetics is limited to affirmative-declarative sentences; they are incompatible with interrogative, negative, and imperative sentences (Newman 1968; Childs 1994).

Semantics:

- Mimetics are sound-symbolic. They exhibit systematic iconic links between phonetic/phonemic and conceptual features (e.g., the heaviness symbolism of voiced obstruents, illustrated by *gorogoro* ‘a heavy object rolling’ (Hamano 1998)).
- The imitative meanings of mimetics are highly specific and vivid. The semantic specificity of mimetics often results in their strong collocation with particular verbs (e.g., *tobotobo aruk-* ‘walk ploddingly’) (Akita 2012; Toratani 2012). Some researchers posit a separate semantic mode/dimension for mimetics (“the affecto-imagistic dimension” in Kita 1997; “depiction” in Dingemanse 2011; see also Diffloth 1972).
- Mimetics normally depict sensory imagery. Due to their auditorily iconic nature, some types of meanings (e.g., sound, manner of motion) are readily expressible by mimetics, but others (e.g., taste, cognitive state) are less so (Dingemanse 2012; Dingemanse et al. 2015).

統語論

- 副詞用法 (例:キラキラと光る) がおそらく最も一般的。文の残りの部分から統語的に「離れている」(Kunene 1965) と評されることが多く、一語文的用法や左方・右方転移用法はその典型例と考えられる。
- 特に「する」や「いう」を意味する動詞と述語を形成する例も通言語的に多い (例:「キラキラする」, 「ゴトゴトいう」)。
- ハウサ語やキン語など, 言語によっては, 生起が肯定平叙文に限られ, 疑問・否定・命令文には現れることができない (Newman 1968; Childs 1994)。

意味論

- 音象徴, すなわち構成音声・音素と概念の間の類像的關係が体系をなす (例:「ゴロゴロ」における有声阻害音による重さの音象徴 (Hamano 1998))。
- オノマトペの模倣的意味は非常に具体的で鮮明。その結果, しばしば特定の動詞と強い共起関係を見せる (例:「トボトボ歩く」) (Akita 2012; Toratani 2012)。オノマトペに別個の意味モード・次元を仮定する研究者もいる (「感情・イメージ次元」(Kita 1997), 「描写モード」(Dingemanse 2011); Diffloth 1972 も参照)。
- 通常, 感覚イメージを描写する。聴覚的類像という性質上, 表しやすい意味 (例:音, 移動様態) と表しにくい意味 (例:味, 認知状態) がある (Dingemanse 2012; Dingemanse et al. 2015)。

Pragmatics:

- Mimetics favor informal, child-directed, and poetic discourse, but this general tendency has some crosslinguistic differences (Nuckolls 1999).
- The use of mimetics is associated with high involvement (Nuckolls 1996), emotive intensity (Baba 2003), and epistemic authority (Dingemanse 2011).
- Mimetics may be more abundant in non-urban and animistic cultures (Childs 1996; Nuckolls 2004).

Paralanguage:

- Mimetics, especially those appearing in loose morphosyntactic constructions (e.g., holophrastic and adverbial uses), are often accompanied by marked intonation and phonation and by iconic gesture strokes (Kunene 1965; Kita 1997; Mihas 2012; Dingemanse 2013; Dingemanse and Akita 2015).

語用論

- 砕けた会話、対子ども発話、詩的文章に多く現れるが、この傾向には言語間で差が見られる (Nuckolls 1999)。
- オノマトペの使用は、会話への関与の強さ (Nuckolls 1996)、感情の強さ (Baba 2003)、認識的権威 (Dingemanse 2011) と相関する。
- 発展途上地域やアニミズム文化の言語に豊富とされることがある (Childs 1996; Nuckolls 2004)。

パラ言語

- 特に形態統語的な統合度の低い構文 (例：一語文的用法、副詞的用法) において、有標なイントネーションや発声法、さらには映像的ジェスチャーが付随することが多い (Kunene 1965; Kita 1997; Mihas 2012; Dingemanse 2013; Dingemanse and Akita 2015)。

3. Specific issues to be addressed in the symposium

All papers in this symposium are expected to approach these and other properties of mimetics from **theoretical and/or typological viewpoints**. Specific issues to be discussed will include the following.

- Mimetics and phonological theories
- Mimetics and Generative Syntax
- Mimetics and Role and Reference Grammar
- Mimetics and Cognitive Semantics
- Mimetics and Construction Grammar
- Mimetics and the typology of lexicalization patterns and event integration (Talmy 2000)
- Mimetics and conversation analysis
- A typological approach to the dialectology and diachrony of mimetics
- Mimetics and signed language
- A crosslinguistic approach to “the sound symbolism bootstrapping hypothesis” for the facilitatory function of mimetics in L1 lexical acquisition (Imai et al. 2008; Imai and Kita 2014)
- Theoretically based pedagogical implications for how to teach mimetics

3. 具体的課題

本シンポジウムにおける講演・発表は、いずれも以上あるいはそれ以外のオノマトペの特性に対し**理論的または類型論的観点**より迫ることを目指すものとします。シンポジウムで取り上げる具体的な課題には次のものが含まれます。

- オノマトペと音韻理論
- オノマトペと生成統語論
- オノマトペと役割指示文法
- オノマトペと認知意味論
- オノマトペと構文文法
- オノマトペと語彙化・事象統合の類型論 (Talmy 2000)
- オノマトペと会話分析
- オノマトペの方言論・通時論への類型論的アプローチ
- オノマトペと手話
- オノマトペによる L1 語意習得の促進機能に関する「音象徴ブーツストラッピング仮説」(Imai et al. 2008; Imai and Kita 2014) への通言語的アプローチ
- オノマトペの教授法に関する理論的提案

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5. Recent workshops on mimetics and sound symbolism

2015:

Dingemanse, Mark, and Sharon Rose (org.). African ideophones and their contribution to linguistics, 8th World Congress of African Linguistics, Kyoto University, 23 August 2015.

2014:

Hirata-Mogi, Sachiko (org.). Onomatopoeia to onshōchō 2 [Onomatopoeia and sound symbolism 2], the 31st Annual Meeting of the Japanese Cognitive Science Society, Nagoya University, Aichi, 20 September 2014.

Armoskaite, Solveiga (org.). Structuring sensory imagery: Ideophones across languages & cultures, University of Rochester, 2–3 May 2014.

Nobile, Luca (org.). Towards a history of sound-symbolic theories: Traditions of linguistic iconicity and Charles de Brosses' contribution, University of Burgundy, Dijon, 20–21 February 2014.

2013:

Imai, Mutsumi, Michiko Asano, Noburo Saji, and Kimi Akita (orgs.). Sound Symbolism Workshop 2013, Keio University, Mita Campus, Tokyo, 14 December 2013.

Iwasaki, Noriko, and Peter Sells (orgs.). Grammar of Mimetics Workshop, SOAS, University of London, 10 May 2013.

2012:

Akita, Kimi (org.). Onomatopoeia to gengo riron: Tōgo to imi no setten kara [Mimetics and linguistics theories: At the interface of syntax and semantics], the 145th Semiannual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan, Kyushu University, Hakozaki Campus, Fukuoka, 25 November 2012.

Imai, Mutsumi, Noburo Saji, Kimi Akita, Masato Ohba, Michiko Asano, and Hiroyuki Okada (orgs.). Sound Symbolism Workshop 2012, Keio University, Mita Campus, Tokyo, 6–7 August 2012.

Barrett, Rusty, Katherine Lahti, and Anthony Webster (org.). Ideophones: Sound Symbolism, Grammar, and Cultural Expression, 87th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Portland, Oregon, 7 January 2012.

2011:

Imai, Mutsumi, Kimi Akita, and Noburo Saji (orgs.). Keio–Tamagawa Mimetics & Sound Symbolism Workshop, Tamagawa University, Tokyo, 18–19 February 2011.

2010:

Hirata, Sachiko, and Kimi Akita (orgs.). Onomatopoeia to onshōchō [Mimetics and sound symbolism], the 27th Annual Meeting of the Japanese Cognitive Science Society, Kobe University, Hyogo, 19 September 2010.

Usuki, Takeshi (org.). Onomatopoeia kara miru gengo riron [Linguistic theories viewed from mimetics], the 8th Fukuoka University Linguistics Colloquium, Fukuoka University, Fukuoka, 13 September 2010.

Akita, Kimi, and Sachiko Hirata (org.). Universality and language-specificity of sound symbolism: The interplay of multimodality, embodiment, and iconicity, the 7th International Conference on Cognitive Science, China National Convention Center, Beijing, 18 August 2010.

Nygaard, Lynne C., and Laura L. Namy (orgs.). Sound symbolism: Challenging the arbitrariness of language, Emory Conference Center Hotel, 26–27 March 2010.

2009:

Majid, Asifa, Sylvia Tufvesson, and Mark Dingemanse (orgs.). Categories across language and cognition: Universals of sound-symbolism, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, 26–27 February 2009.