Pejorative derivation from spatiality: A comparative case study of Japanese burabura, daradara and German herum

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Keywords: pejoration, grammaticalization, reduplication, word formation, pragmatics

The object of this paper is the process of the semantic development of the Japanese local onomatopoetic adverbs *burabura* (swingingly), *daradara* (drippingly), and the German adverb of direction *herum* (around). Since these elements share pejorative meaning, my aim is to point out typological similarities between them as well as to identify salient differences. Therefore, I will focus on influences from onomatopoetic characteristics, original spatiality or spatial movements, lexical aspects and constructions. Moreover, based on a corpus analysis, I will discuss in which context and in which speech acts this pejorative meaning tends to appear.

There are numerous iconic reduplication adverbs in Japanese, which are typically combined with verbs (cf. Kakehi et al. 1996, Elsen 2016). According to previous studies, reduplications that begin with voiced consonants correlate with bigger/heavier, while those beginning with unvoiced consonants with smaller/lighter entities. *Burabura* and *daradara*, which have a reduplication property and include voiced consonants, are grammaticalized to the negative marker and carry pejorative meaning such as 'aimless' or 'senseless' productively as a verbal particle (as in (1) and (2)). In a similar way, the German verbal particle *herum* (abbreviated as *rum*), which stands for circular movement, is also used as a pejorative marker with the meaning of 'aimless' or 'senseless' as in (3) (Thurmair 2008, Dammel 2011).

- (1) Burabura-shi-te-nai de hatarake ba? Swingingly-do-AUX-not PTCL work PTCL? "Why don't you stop living idly and start working instead?"
- (2) Imōto-wa itsumo *daradara*-benkyōshi-teiru. Sister-TOP always drippingly-study-AUX "My sister is always lazy and slow at her study."
- (3) Was stehst du da (he)rum? What stand you there around? "Why are you just standing there idly?"

Thus, despite the genetic differences, both languages have a similar pejorative derivation from spatiality and each adverb can be productively combined with verbs.

It can be concluded that the Japanese adverbs acquired a negative meaning under influences of their reduplication and voiced consonants, while the pejorative meaning of the German *herum* arises from the causes of its original spatial movement and syntactic property as "not object focused". The common derivation point of both languages is the redundancy due to their iterative-durative aspect. From the perspective of pragmatics, it has become clear that they appear often as a reproach (e.g. rhetorical question) and work as indirect directives.

References

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