

A constructional approach to borrowed bound morphemes in Japanese: With an emphasis on cultural frames

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Among the many English borrowings in Japanese, there is a subset of abstract elements that are used primarily as bound morphemes. Intriguingly, these morphemes (Booij 2010) can invoke frames that have their roots in Japanese culture (Fillmore 1982). This paper discusses how cultural frames contribute to the constructional networks of borrowed bound morphemes in Japanese. We will discuss three such constructions, *x-jakku* 'jack', *x-taimu* 'time', and *x-rosu* 'loss'.

The *x-jakku* construction (Hamlitsch & Horie 2017) invokes the Japanese_train frame as in (1).

(1) *Jisha kookoku de umetsukusu kookoku jakku o tenkai.* (2005, Chunichi/Tokyo) (Partially modified)

'[They] will start their campaign by occupying (somewhere, e.g., a subway station) with their own ads (lit. ad-jack).'

The *x-jakku* construction has two subtypes. The first construction ($[[x]_{Ni-jakku}]_{VNj} \leftrightarrow$ [occupying SEM_i w/ SEM_{kj}]) has two sub-nodes: 1. [occupying **vehicle**_i w/ arms_{kj}], e.g., *ressha-jakku* 'train hijacking' and 2. [occupying **space**_i w/ instrument_{kj}], e.g., *densha-jakku* '(legally) occupying a train (with posters)'. The second construction ($[[x]_{Nk-jakku}]_{VNj} \leftrightarrow$ occupying space_i w/ instrument_{kj}); e.g., *kookoku-jakku* '(legally) occupying somewhere (e.g., a train/station) with ads') is linked paradigmatically with (i.e., alternates with) the second sub-node of the first construction. Here, the Japanese_train frame mediates the two major branches through metaphorical and metonymical semantic extension. Interestingly, this frame emerged in Japanese society, where trains are ubiquitous and filled with ads.

"x" of the *x-taimu* construction may be instantiated by core, peripheral, or even extrathematic elements of a frame (Fillmore & Baker 2010) such as Theme (e.g., *koohii-taimu* 'a fun time for drinking coffee while doing something'), Place (e.g., *kafe-taimu* 'a fun time at a café doing something'), Positive Emotion (e.g., *otanoshimi-taimu* 'time for doing something that causes joy'), etc. These subtypes can alternate as in (2). The Family_activity frame, rooted in normative Japanese social interactions, is a representative facilitator of the alternations.

(2) *Mama-tachi no oshaberi-taimu* ('chat-time; a fun chat time')! *Ko-sodate no koto ya jibun no koto nado jiyuu ni oshaberi shi, rifuresshu shimashoo.* (2008, BCCWJ) \leftrightarrow *mama-tachi-taimu* ('mothers-time; a fun time for mothers to do something together') \leftrightarrow *rifuresshu-taimu* ('refresh-time; a time to do something that brings one's energy back')

'It's time for the moms to have a fun chat (lit. chat-time)! Let's refresh and talk freely about things like child-rearing or something personal, etc.'

The *x-rosu* construction evokes the House_pet frame, Marriage frame, and Entertainment frame in the constructional network (e.g., *petto-rosu* 'losing one's pet and missing it'; *Tamaki-rosu* "'losing" Tamaki, a popular soap opera actor, because of his marriage'). Here again, the construction is closely linked to Japanese cultural norms where celebrities, along with pets and certain beloved family members, are admired and viewed as pure, ideal, and unblemished, and therefore can become an object of attachment.

In all these cases, culture-specific frames play a central role in the construction of the morphological networks. Japanese not only borrows these morphemes but also gives them a set of functions that are culturally dependent. In order to understand the meanings of these borrowings, one must also understand how they fit in and relate to Japanese culture.

Selected References

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