Identity Avoidance in Korean Reduplication

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INTRODUCTION

A type of total reduplication in Korean:
Base is V-initial and Reduplicant has an **inserted C**.

(1) a. als'oŋ-talsʼoŋ 'confusing'
b. ulʰuŋ-pulʰuŋ 'bumpy'
c. opul-kopul 'meanderingly'
d. olmaŋ-ʧolmaŋ 'all sorts of little things (in a cluster)'

Argument
Although the choice is not completely predictable:
(i) The inserted C (CI) is chosen from a subset of possible onset Cs.
(ii) The quality of the CI depends on the qualities of the base Cs.
(iii) The CI is not identical to the neighboring Cs, and this reflects an Identity Avoidance effect.

DATA

Corpus:* 150 entries containing an inserted consonant in the reduplicant
**Essence Korean Dictionary* [eysseyns kwuke sacen]. 2006. Phacwu, Korea: Mincwungselim Co.

(2) **alveolar stops (29.33%)**
a. oson-toson 'on good terms'
b. otol-tʰotol 'hard and lumpy'
(3) **bilabial stops (28.67%)**
a. ʌtʃʌŋ-pʌtʃʌŋ 'rambling'
b. otoŋ-pʰotoŋ 'chubby'
(4) **palatal affricates (25.33%)**
a. oŋki-ʧoŋki 'densely'
b. umul-ʧʻumul 'hesitantly'
(5) **velar stops (6%)**
a. upul-kupul 'windingly'
b. allali-kʼallali 'bantering'
(6) **alveolar fricatives (5.33%)**
a. altʻil-saltʻil 'extremely frugal'
b. ʌlki-sʌlki 'entangled'
(7) **bilabial nasals (2.67%)**
a. oŋsoŋ-maŋsoŋ 'hazy'
b. ʌli-mali 'drowsily'
(8) **palatal approximants(2.67%)**
a. illʌŋ-jallaŋ 'rocking'
b. iltʃʻuk-jaltʃʻuk 'from side to side'

Consonants in Korean:
/p, pʰ, pʼ, t, tʰ, tʼ, k, kʰ, kʼ, ʧ, ʧʰ, ʧʼ, m, n, ŋ, s, sʼ, h, (w), l, (j)/
*/ŋ/ prevented from occurring in the onset in Korean

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: Identity Avoidance

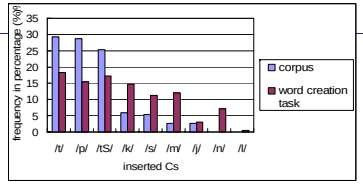
Arabic verbal roots

(9) Homorganic consonant pairs like CiVCi not allowed:
a. */bamaha/
b. */tadaha/
c. /katama/ 'to conceal; to hide'
d. /bahata/ 'to be baffled'
(10) Similarity-based co-occurrence restriction:
a. /babaθa/ (identical) *worst*
b. /θabama/ (similar adjacent)
c. /baʃafa/ (similar nonadjacent)
d. /baʔada/ (nonhomorganic) *best*

More examples: Cantonese language game "La-Mi" (Yip 1997), Javanese Habitual-Repetitive Reduplication (Yip 1997), Turkish emphatic adjectives (Wedel 1999), etc.

FREQUENCY OF INSERTED CONSONANTS

(11) Figure 1. CI frequency in corpus (150 entries) vs. word creation (1352 stimuli)



➢**Finding**: No favorite or default CI

IDENTITY AVOIDANCE EFFECT

The results are based on:
◆ Corpus study;
◆ Word Creation Experiment (WC)
(a) Participants: 55 native speakers of Korean, ages 20s-50s
(b) Methodology: Nonsense base morphemes were presented to the participants. The participants were asked to add a reduplicant with a CI to make the most natural reduplicated form with a given base.

The analysis:
◆ The contexts for three major CIs, /t, p, ʧ/ were measured in terms of Place (P) and Manner (M).
◆ Focus was limited to V**C**V**C**-bases (51 for corpus; 472 for WC), in order to investigate the exhaustive contextual effect for the choice of CI.

Left-hand effect

(12) Table 1. VCV**C**-bases, **corpus**

CI vs. CL	%
CI≠CL in P	43/51=84.31
CI≠CL in M	39/51=76.47
CI≠CL in P&M	31/51=60.78
CI=CL in P&M	0/51=0

(13) Table 2. VCV**C**-bases, **WC**

CI vs. CL	%
CI≠CL in P	415/472=87.92
CI≠CL in M	399/472=84.53
CI≠CL in P&M	342/472=72.46
CI=CL in P&M	0/472=0

Right-hand effect

(14) Table 3. V**C**VC-bases, **corpus**

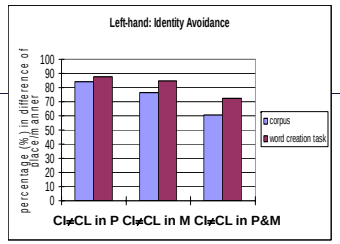
CI vs. CR	%
CI≠CR in P	33/51=64.71
CI≠CR in M	34/51=66.67
CI≠CR in P&M	21/51=41.18
CI=CR in P&M	5/51=9.80

(15) Table 4. V**C**VC-bases, **WC**

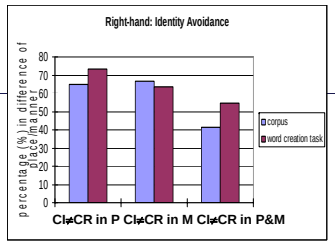
CI vs. CR	%
CI≠CR in P	346/472=73.31
CI≠CR in M	300/472=63.56
CI≠CR in P&M	257/472=54.45
CI=CR in P&M	83/472=17.58

Left-hand effect vs. Right-hand effect

(16) Figure 2. CI vs. CL



(17) Figure 3. CI vs. CR



GENERAL DISCUSSION

The finding from Korean reduplication supports the idea of an Identity Avoidance Effect found in the other languages.

Turkish emphatic reduplication vs. Korean reduplication: In both, the epenthetic consonant in the reduplicant tends to be distinct from the base consonants. However,

◆ Identity avoidance is attested at segmental level in Turkish, but at featural level in Korean;
◆ Turkish: set of CIs in corpus ⊃ set of CIs in WC
Korean: set of CIs in corpus ⊂ set of CIs in WC

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

◆**Native speakers' knowledge does not simply mirror the statistics of the lexicon.**
◆**Identity Avoidance effects are even stronger in word creation than in corpus.**
◆ **The OCP is not categorical, but gradient.**

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

(i) Why does place seem to play a greater role than manner?
(ii) Are there interactions between Cs and Vs?
(iii) Are there distance effects?
(iv) What other factors participate in the Identity Avoidance effect?
(v) Are there any similar patterns in other cases of C-insertion in Korean?

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