

Sound symbolism and theoretical phonology*

Shigeto Kawahara
Keio University

Abstract

A received wisdom in modern linguistic theories is that the relationships between sounds and meanings are generally arbitrary. However, there is a growing body of evidence suggesting that in some cases sounds and meanings have systematic relationships—patterns known as “sound symbolism.” Yet most of these studies are conducted by psychologists, cognitive scientists or cognitive linguists, and currently, only a few theoretical phonologists pay serious attention to sound symbolism. This paper reviews major studies on sound symbolism and argues that sound symbolism can be an interesting topic of exploration for theoretical phonologists. This paper also demonstrates that insights gained by phonological research can shed light on some important issues in the studies of sound symbolism, and vice versa. Overall, I hope that this paper is informative for both theoretical phonologists and researchers who work on sound symbolism.

1 Introduction

One of the standard assumptions often taken for granted in modern linguistic theories is the arbitrariness of signs—the relationship between sounds and meaning is arbitrary. While this thesis was already known since the time of Plato’s *Cratylus*, Saussure (1916) perhaps played a key role in establishing this thesis at the center of modern linguistic theories. Also influential was Hockett (1959), who claimed that the arbitrariness of signs is one design feature that distinguishes human languages from other animal communication systems. Language is undoubtedly a system that is capable of associating sounds and meanings in arbitrary ways, which allows it to have strong expressive power (Lupyan & Winter 2018). Nevertheless, there are cases in which systematic associations between sounds and meanings hold; these patterns are known as “sound symbolism.”

*I am grateful to my research collaborators, especially Gakuji Kumagai and Kazuko Shinohara, for thinking with me about what it means to study sound symbolism as a theoretical linguist. I thank Mark Dingemanse, Donna Erickson, Kazuko Shinohara, the associate editor Jie Zhang and two anonymous reviewers for comments on previous versions of this paper. This project is supported by the JSPS grant #17K13448. Remaining errors are mine.

11 One well-known example is the observation that speakers of many languages feel nonce words
12 containing [a] (e.g. [mal]) to be larger than those containing [i] (e.g. [mil]) (Berlin 2006; Newman
13 1933; Sapir 1929; Shinohara & Kawahara 2016; Ultan 1978). Another well-known case is the
14 *takete-maluma* effect (Köhler 1947), in which names with voiceless obstruents tend to be asso-
15 ciated with angular shapes, while names with sonorants tend to be associated with round shapes
16 (Sidhu et al. 2019). These sound symbolic effects are observed in experimental settings as well as
17 in the form of statistical skews in the lexicon (see the overview papers cited below).

18 The rise of interests in sound symbolism is partly evidenced by the number of recent overview
19 articles on sound symbolism, each written from a slightly different perspective (Akita 2015;
20 Cuskley & Kirby 2013; Dingemanse et al. 2015; Lockwood & Dingemanse 2015; Nuckolls 1999;
21 Perniss et al. 2010; Schmidtke et al. 2014; Sidhu & Pexman 2018; Spence 2011; Svantesson 2017).
22 Given that so many overview papers already exist, one may wonder if there is a need for another
23 overview paper. I contend that the answer is positive, because none of these papers are directed at
24 theoretical phonologists. Nevertheless, I believe that studying sound symbolism can offer impor-
25 tant insights into the architecture of phonological knowledge, and also that phonological studies
26 have much to offer for the studies of sound symbolism.

27 It is helpful to start this discussion by considering why sound symbolism has generally been
28 considered as residing outside the realm of theoretical phonology. To the extent that phonologi-
29 cal knowledge is about what speakers know about the sound structure of their native language, if
30 systematic connections between sounds and meanings exist, then, exclusion of sound symbolism
31 from a topic of phonological inquiry does not seem to be clearly motivated.¹ But then why is sound
32 symbolism not actively studied in theoretical phonology?² Of course the influences by Saussure
33 and Hockett must have been non-negligible. Another possible reason may be that generative lin-
34 guistic theories do not, or did not, accept probabilistic tendencies as belonging to competence—it
35 is, or was, believed that grammars should only make a dichotomous, grammatical vs. ungrammat-
36 ical distinction (Schütze 1996). However, we now have an extended body of evidence showing
37 that phonological knowledge can be stochastic (Boersma & Hayes 2001; Hayes & Londe 2006;

¹I acknowledge that there are general disagreements regarding what the domain of phonological inquiry should include. de Lacy (2009), for example, excludes loanword adaptation patterns and diachronic changes from topics of phonological inquiry, while both of these receive extensive attention from other phonologists. Some researchers are more willing to accept “external evidence” (Churma 1979)—e.g. language game patterns or rhyming patterns—for phonological argumentation than others (Ohala 1986).

²I do not have quantitative evidence for this claim, but Alderete & Kochetov (2017: 731) state that “it is fair to say that sound symbolism has never found a natural place in generative grammar.” I note that there have been phonological analyses of alternations that are demonstrably driven by sound symbolic principles (see §2.1). There are also a few monumental studies in the 90s that examined sound symbolic connections from a linguistic point of view, which include Hinton et al. (1994) and Hamano (1998). Ideophones have long been considered as exceptional to the Saussuren theorem of arbitrariness; their linguistic behaviors have attracted attention from theoretical linguists in the 70s and 80s (Dingemanse 2018: §5.2), and recently, there have been renewed interests in the linguistic analyses of ideophones (Akita 2019; Akita & Dingemanse 2019).

38 Pierrehumbert 2001; Zuraw & Hayes 2017), and several grammatical models have made it possi-
39 ble to model stochastic phonological knowledge (Coetzee & Pater 2011). This rise of new stochas-
40 tic grammatical models removed one obstacle that prevented us from exploring stochastic sound
41 symbolic patterns (§2.3).

42 **2 Phonology and sound symbolism**

43 Some theoretical phonologists have started analyzing sound symbolism—in particular, alternation
44 patterns that are caused by sound symbolic principles—as a part of their phonological inquiry.
45 This section reviews some of these studies and presents other arguments that studies of sound
46 symbolism are not as irrelevant as broadly assumed in theoretical phonology.

47 **2.1 Some alternations are motivated by sound symbolic principles**

48 The first reason to study sound symbolism from the perspective of theoretical phonology is the
49 emerging observation that some alternations appear to be motivated by sound symbolic consid-
50 erations. In particular, Alderete & Kochetov (2017) have shown that for example, palatalization
51 in Japanese baby talk (what they call “expressive palatalization”) shows a number of properties
52 that are different from purely phonological palatalization processes. First, phonological palataliza-
53 tion is assimilatory in nature, usually caused by (high) front vowels or palatal glides; expressive
54 palatalization in Japanese, however, does not require such a trigger, changing all /s/ in a target
55 word into either [ʃ] or [tʃ] (e.g. /osakana-san/ → [oʃakana-ʃan] or [otʃakana-tʃan] ‘fish(-y)’). Sec-
56 ond, affrication of fricatives can occur in expressive palatalization, as in the previous example,
57 but never occurs in purely phonological palatalization (Bhat 1978). Third, expressive palataliza-
58 tion shows place and manner asymmetries that are not shared by purely phonological palataliza-
59 tion; for instance, the majority of expressive palatalization patterns targets coronal consonants,
60 and moreover, when non-coronals are targeted, so are coronals. Fourth, expressive palatalization
61 characteristically targets all relevant consonants within a word, which is rare at best for purely
62 phonological processes. Finally, expressive palatalization can create an otherwise phonotactically
63 illegal sequence; e.g. /sense:/ ‘teacher’ can become [tʃentʃe:], but [tʃe] is not a legal CV combina-
64 tion (Ito & Mester 1995). Expressive palatalization thus does not seem to be motivated by purely
65 phonological considerations; instead, they appear to occur to express sound symbolic meanings.

66 These alternations driven by sound symbolic principles can interact with other phonological
67 considerations within a single grammatical system. To illustrate, Kumagai (2019) shows that in
68 Japanese nickname formation, /h/ can be turned into [p] (e.g. /haruka/ → [paruru]). It is hard to
69 consider this alternation to be caused by a phonological constraint, since [p] is at best a marked

70 segment in the native phonology of Japanese (Ito & Mester 1995). Kumagai argues that this alter-
71 nation is instead caused by a sound symbolic principle to express cuteness; indeed his experiment
72 shows that [p] is judged to be “cuter” than any other consonants. Moreover, he has shown that
73 this alternation interacts with an independently motivated phonotactic constraint that prohibits the
74 [p...[+voice]] configuration (Kawahara 2018)—nicknames created by the [h]-[p] alternation are
75 judged to be less natural when they violate *[p...[+voice]]. See Jang (2019) for a similar case
76 found in Korean baby talk, *Aegyo*. These observations have led these authors to propose that sound
77 symbolic principles should be integrated with “core phonological grammar.”

78 **2.2 The role of distinctive features in sound symbolism**

79 Another aspect of sound symbolism that makes it interesting for theoretical phonologists is the ob-
80 servation that some sound symbolic patterns operate at the level of distinctive features rather than
81 individual segments. For example, secondary palatalization in Japanese mimetic words denotes,
82 among other expressive meanings, “uncontrolledness” (Hamano 1998). This pattern should be
83 characterized using a distinctive feature (e.g. [palatal] or [-back]), because consonants at all places
84 of articulation can be affected by it (although there is a preference toward targeting coronal conso-
85 nants). Indeed, this palatalization pattern, despite its sound symbolic nature, has been analyzed by
86 a number of theoretical phonologists (see Alderete & Kochetov 2017: 732).

87 To take an example from a sound-meaning association, Kumagai & Kawahara (2020) point out
88 that almost all diaper names in Japanese contain [p] and/or [m] (e.g. [mamiipoko]); when asked to
89 produce new diaper names, Japanese speakers tend to use *all* types of labial consonants ([p], [b],
90 [ɸ], [m], [w]) more often than when they are asked to come up with new names for adult cosmetics.
91 This result suggests that the sound symbolism at issue operates at the level of a distinctive feature—
92 [labial]—rather than at the level of individual segments. Considering that the existing diaper names
93 contain only [p] and [m] but not other labial consonants, the participants of their experiment seem
94 to have shown feature-based generalizations, just as “normal” phonological patterns do (Albright
95 2009; Finley & Bedecker 2009).³ This observation raises the possibility that phonological patterns
96 and sound symbolic patterns can use the same set of vocabularies, i.e. distinctive features. See also
97 D’Onofrio (2014), Jakobson (1960), McCarthy (1983) and Nobile (2015) for related discussion.

98 **2.3 Modeling sound symbolism with formal grammatical frameworks**

99 Mainstream generative models of grammar have long considered sound symbolism as residing
100 outside the purview of linguistic knowledge proper. However, the existence of sound symbolism

³This is not to say that all sound symbolic patterns can be defined based on distinctive features (Akita 2015). However, not all phonological alternations can be neatly captured in terms of distinctive features either (Mielke 2008). This complexity may instantiate a parallel between phonological alternations and sound symbolic patterns (see §3).

101 may require us to posit a mechanism that directly connects sounds and meanings, and some studies
102 propose to use a formal grammatical model to capture such connections. For instance, as discussed
103 above, Alderete & Kochetov (2017) demonstrate that expressive palatalization patterns are moti-
104 vated by sound symbolic principles. They propose an analysis of expressive palatalization using
105 Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 2004), with a set of violable constraints (EXPRESS(X))
106 specifying which sounds should be realized to express which meanings. Kawahara et al. (2019)
107 analyze sound symbolic connections themselves (rather than alternations triggered by sound sym-
108 bolic considerations), and argue that as long as generative phonology is a function that maps one
109 representation (e.g. underlying forms) to another (e.g. surface forms)—as it in fact has been—there
110 is nothing that prevents us from using the same formalism to model the mapping from represen-
111 tation in one modality (i.e. sound) to representation in another modality (i.e. meaning). In other
112 words, the grammatical device that phonologists have been using for decades can be applied to
113 formalize sound symbolic connections at no additional costs.

114 As stated in §1, sound symbolic connections are almost always stochastic—certain sounds *tend*
115 to be associated with certain meanings, but such associations are never deterministic (Dingemanse
116 2018). Likewise, recent studies have demonstrated that phonological knowledge can be stochas-
117 tic; e.g., some structures tend to be preferred over others, and some alternations are more likely
118 to occur in one environment than in other environments (Boersma & Hayes 2001; Hayes & Londe
119 2006; Pierrehumbert 2001; Zuraw & Hayes 2017). Focusing on this parallel between phonological
120 patterns and sound symbolic connections, Kawahara et al. (2019) propose to use MaxEnt model
121 with Optimality Theoretic constraints (Goldwater & Johnson 2003) to account for stochastic as-
122 pects of sound symbolic patterns. For example, in Japanese Takarazuka actress names, the more
123 sonorants are contained in their name, the more likely that name is used for a female name. Max-
124 Ent grammar with a constraint like *SONORANTINMALENAME accounts for the stochastic nature
125 of this sound symbolic pattern—this analysis is fundamentally the same as a MaxEnt analysis
126 of “normal” phonological patterns (e.g. Zuraw & Hayes 2017). In short, phonological patterns
127 and sound symbolic patterns share a non-trivial nature (stochasticity), and an analytical tool like
128 MaxEnt is able to capture that parallel.

129 **3 Common issues and shared interests**

130 There are common issues that are addressed both by theoretical phonologists and those who study
131 sound symbolism. My intention in this section is not to solve any of these issues, but to show that
132 we have shared interests. By making these shared interests clear, it is hoped that insights gained in
133 one domain of inquiry can shed light on questions that are addressed in the other. I also hope that
134 these parallels pique phonologists’ interests to study more about sound symbolism.

135 3.1 Phonetic naturalness

136 One continuing debate in phonological theory is to what extent phonological patterns are natural
137 with respect to phonetic considerations. On the one hand, there is a group of proposals arguing
138 that most if not all phonological patterns are phonetically motivated, and/or phonological repre-
139 sentations contain detailed phonetic information (Hayes et al. 2004). On the other hand, some
140 researchers argue that synchronic phonological systems should be completely void of phonetic
141 substance (Reiss 2018). See Kingston (2019) for the most recent review on this debate. At the
142 observational level, some phonological generalizations do seem to be motivated by phonetic con-
143 siderations. For instance, voiced stops are generally considered marked compared to voiceless
144 stops, because voiced stops present an aerodynamic challenge (Hayes & Steriade 2004). In order
145 to maintain glottal vibration, there must be a sufficient transglottal airpressure drop; however, stop
146 closure raises intraoral airpressure, and speakers need to expand their oral cavity to accommodate
147 this aerodynamic challenge (Ohala 1983a). Many languages thus avoid voiced stops in favor of
148 voiceless stops, which seems to have its roots in the aerodynamic challenge. Several questions still
149 remain actively debated: (1) whether the influence of phonetics on phonology should be directly
150 encoded in synchronic grammar, or it should be treated as the results of phonetically motivated
151 diachronic changes; (2) whether those phonological patterns that seem “crazy” from the perspec-
152 tive of phonetic naturalness (Bach & Harms 1972) can be productive; (3) and if so, how we should
153 model natural and unnatural aspects of phonological knowledge.

154 Just like some phonological generalizations, some sound symbolic connections seem to be
155 grounded in the articulatory or acoustic properties of the sounds at issue. This intuition was al-
156 ready expressed by Sapir (1929: 233), a pioneering work on modern studies of sound symbolism:
157 “the symbolic discriminations run encouragingly parallel to the objective ones based on phonetic
158 considerations.”⁴ Jespersen (1922) and Sapir (1929) found that speakers generally judge [a] to be
159 larger than [i], and attributed this observation to either the differences in the degrees of oral aper-
160 ture, or the differences in their resonance frequencies (most likely their F2). To provide another
161 example, voiced obstruents are often considered to be larger than voiceless obstruents by speakers
162 of different languages (Newman 1933; Hamano 1998; Shinohara & Kawahara 2016), and it is not
163 hard to imagine that this image of largeness is grounded in the expansion of the supralaryngeal cav-
164 ity that is necessitated by the aerodynamic requirement that voiced stops present (Ohala 1983a).
165 D’Onofrio (2014) shows that segments that involve lip gestures—such as [b] and [u]—tend to be
166 associated with round figures, in the context of studies of what is known as the *bouba-kiki* effect
167 (Ramachandran & Hubbard 2001). It is again likely that the lip rounding gesture of these sounds
168 leads to the image of roundedness. These sound symbolic patterns do not seem to arise from statis-

⁴This observation actually goes back to Socrates, who in *Cratylus* (427) discusses relationships between sound symbolic meanings and phonetic properties of the sounds at issue.

169 tical skews in the lexicon; neither is there a plausible diachronic story in which these relationships
170 arose—they instead appear to emerge in experimental settings using nonce words, suggesting that
171 the influence of phonetic considerations in sound symbolism is synchronically active.

172 On the other hand, some sound symbolic patterns do not appear to have such clear phonetic
173 motivations. For example, English *gl-* sequences occur in many words that are related to the notion
174 of “light” (e.g. *glitter*; *glow*, *gloaming*). However, there are no phonetic reasons to expect that the
175 sequence of *gl-* should be connected to the meaning of “light.” It has been shown moreover that
176 this sound-meaning connection is psychologically real; i.e., this sound-meaning correspondence
177 cannot be relegated as an accidental connection in the English lexicon (Bergen 2004).

178 We also observe cases that are akin to phonetically “crazy rules” (Bach & Harms 1972) in
179 sound symbolism. For example, in Korean, [ɑ] and [o] are symbolically smaller than [u] and
180 [ʌ] (Garrigues 1995; Kim 1977). This pattern flouts an otherwise cross-linguistically common
181 observation that high vowels are generally judged to be smaller than non-high vowels (Sapir 1929
182 *et seq*), and not only that, to the extent that this sound symbolism has its roots in the different
183 degrees of oral aperture, it runs counter to what we expect from phonetic considerations. In other
184 words, these sound symbolic connections in Korean are phonetically crazy (see also Diffloth 1994).

185 In the phonology literature, there is a debate regarding whether phonetically crazy rules can
186 be productive or not (Hayes et al. 2009; Kawahara 2008; Sanders 2003). Sometimes crazy rules
187 turn out to be non-productive (Sanders 2003), or there is a learning bias against them (Hayes et al.
188 2009; Hayes & White 2013; White 2014; Wilson 2006). In this connection it is interesting that
189 Shinohara & Kawahara (2016) found that given nonce words, Korean speakers judge high vowels
190 to be smaller than low vowels, contrary to what we expect from the lexical patterns. Similar results
191 in which grammatical naturalness, which is demonstrably grounded in phonetic considerations,
192 triumphs unnatural lexical skews are reported in some recent phonological studies (Jarosz 2017;
193 Guilherme 2019).

194 **3.2 Bases of representations—articulation or acoustics?**

195 Another major debate in phonological theory is the phonetic bases of distinctive features.⁵
196 Jakobson et al. (1952) first formalized distinctive features in terms of acoustic characteristics. On
197 the other hand, the feature set deployed by Chomsky & Halle (1968) was primarily based on artic-
198 ulation. Since then, there has been a heated debate as to whether distinctive features—or phono-
199 logical representations in general—should be defined based on articulation or acoustics/perception
200 (Kingston 2007).⁶

⁵A similar debate exists in the phonetics literature regarding whether phonetic targets should be defined articula-
torily or acoustically, and also regarding whether the object of speech perception is articulation or acoustics/audition
(Kingston 2007).

⁶Setting aside the view that phonological representations should completely lack phonetic substance (Reiss 2018).

201 A similar debate arises in the studies of sound symbolism. Take the case of [a] being perceived
202 as larger than [i]. Jespersen (1922: 558-559) entertains two hypotheses regarding why [i] is con-
203 sidered to be small, one based on acoustics and one based on articulation: “[t]he reason why the
204 sound [i] comes to be easily associated with small, and [u, o, a] with bigger things, may be to some
205 extent the high pitch of the vowel...; the perception of the small lip aperture in one case and the
206 more open mouth in the other may have also its share in the rise of the idea.” Ohala (1994) ad-
207 vocated a general theory of sound symbolic patterns, which is now known as the Frequency Code
208 Hypothesis. In this theory, sounds with high frequency energy (either f_0 or F_2) evoke images of
209 smallness, since these sounds are generated by a set of small vocal folds (in case of high f_0) or a
210 small resonating chamber (in case of high F_2).

211 One argument for the acoustics-based explanation is that in some languages such as Twi, H-
212 tone can represent something small (e.g. [kákrà] ‘small’ vs. [kàkrá] ‘large’), and there is nothing
213 plausible in the articulation of H-tone that can be connected to the image of smallness (Ohala
214 1983b). Another argument for the acoustics-based explanation is that speakers of different lan-
215 guages can order their vowels in terms of how big they sound (Newman 1933), and the inverse of
216 F_2 is almost a perfect predictor of this judgment pattern (Shinohara & Kawahara 2016).

217 On the other hand, there are arguments in favor of the articulation-based explanation as well.
218 First, deaf children can detect the sound symbolic values of their own speech and generally, these
219 patterns are similar to the patterns observed for hearing people (Eberhardt 1940). Second, the
220 acoustics-based explanation leaves it unclear why F_1 does not affect the images of size, at least not
221 as much as F_2 —[a] has higher F_1 than [i], and therefore, if listeners deduce the sound symbolic
222 values of vowels from their F_1 , [a] should be judged to be smaller than [i].⁷ Third, the connection
223 between labial segments and round shapes (D’Onofrio 2014) seems to be most straightforwardly
224 explained in terms of articulation, not in terms of acoustics—nothing in the acoustics of labials
225 appears to be “round.”

226 3.3 Universality and language-specificity

227 If sound symbolic patterns have their roots in their phonetic characteristics, one can imagine that
228 sound symbolism is universal, shared across all languages, as we use the same articulatory and
229 perceptual systems. Therefore, the universality of sound symbolic patterns is one topic that is
230 actively discussed. A parallel question—how universal is the phonological system—is one of the
231 central questions in modern linguistics. In both research domains, to the extent that there *are*
232 universals, a deeper question is what level of abstraction is necessary to establish those universals
233 (Akita 2015).

⁷Knoeferle et al. (2017) show that stimuli with higher F_1 can lead to higher size rating.

234 The universality of sound symbolism has been addressed in two ways. One is a cross-linguistic
235 comparison, often in the form of experimentation. Shinohara & Kawahara (2016), for example,
236 used nonce word stimuli to explore the judgment of size associated with five different vowels, [i],
237 [e], [a], [o], and [u], targeting speakers of Chinese, English, Japanese, and Korean. They found
238 that speakers of all languages judged [a] to be larger than [i], hinting at the universality of this
239 pattern (though see Diffloth 1994); on the other hand, Japanese speakers judged [o] to be larger
240 than [a], whereas Chinese and Korean speakers showed the opposite pattern, and English speakers
241 did not show a substantial difference between the two vowels. To take another example, the *takete-*
242 *maluma* effect (Köhler 1947) has been shown to hold across many languages (Styles & Gawne
243 2017), but it fails in Songe (Rogers & Ross 1975) and Syuba (Styles & Gawne 2017). Based on
244 a meta-analysis of the previous studies on the *takete-maluma* effect, Styles & Gawne tentatively
245 propose that it fails to hold if the stimuli violate phonotactic restrictions of the target language.
246 See Bremner et al. (2013), Dingemanse et al. (2016), Saji et al. (2019) and Shih et al. (2019) for
247 related discussion.

248 Another approach is to examine the behavior of pre-verbal infants. As reviewed in §4.2, there
249 is now a growing body of work showing that pre-verbal infants are sensitive to cross-linguistically
250 prevalent sound symbolic patterns (Imai et al. 2008; Kantartzis et al. 2011; Maurer et al. 2006;
251 Ozturk et al. 2013; Peña et al. 2011). On the other hand, some acquisition studies show that not
252 all sound symbolic patterns may be universal. Fort et al. (2013), for example, failed to find an oth-
253 erwise cross-linguistically robust *bouba-kiki* effect (Ramachandran & Hubbard 2001) in French
254 infants. Iwasaki et al. (2007) found that native speakers of English without any L2 background
255 on Japanese were able to guess the meanings of some sound symbolic, onomatopoeic words in
256 Japanese, but not others, arguing that some sound symbolic patterns are universal while others are
257 not.

258 Building on these results, Imai & Kita (2014) hypothesize that “young children are sensitive
259 to all possible sound symbolic correspondences that could appear in any language of the world,
260 but only a subset of these correspondences are compatible with the phonological inventory and the
261 existing words in the language the children are learning. As they grow up, the sensitivity to the
262 incompatible correspondences wanes, and adults maintain only the sensitivity to the compatible
263 correspondences.” This hypothesis may remind phonologists of Stamp’s (1973) proposal that ba-
264 bies are borne with a set of universal, phonetically-motivated processes, and as they grow up, they
265 unlearn some of them and acquire language-specific rules.

266 **3.4 Cumulativity**

267 Another common issue is the question of *cumulativity*. In phonology, this issue is most actively
268 discussed in the context of comparing Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 2004) with other

269 related constraint-based theories (Pater 2009; Zuraw & Hayes 2017): when a structure violates two
270 constraints, do the effects of these two constraints add up? Optimality Theory posits that only the
271 higher-ranked constraint matters, whereas other theories such as Harmonic Grammar, suggest that
272 the expected outcome should be cumulative.

273 A similar question arises when studying sound symbolism. For instance, some studies report
274 that two instances of the same segment can evoke a stronger image than one instance (Hamano
275 2013; Kawahara et al. 2019; Kawahara & Kumagai to appear; Martin 1962), which is akin to what
276 Jäger & Rosenbach (2006) refer to as *counting cumulativity*. Moreover, D’Onofrio (2014) shows
277 that in the *bouba-kiki* effect, several phonetic/phonological features matter in determining the per-
278 ceived roundness/angularity of visual images (e.g. vowel backness, voicing, and place of artic-
279 ulation), and that these effects are cumulative, which would remind phonologists of *ganging-up*
280 *cumulativity* (Jäger & Rosenbach 2006). Kumagai & Kawahara (2019) show that Japanese speak-
281 ers prefer to use low vowels and voiced obstruents for the names of evolved Pokémon characters;
282 while each of these effects is observed independently, when combined in one stimulus, their ef-
283 fects are cumulative. Based on these observations, they present an analysis using MaxEnt Grammar
284 (Goldwater & Johnson 2003), analogous to the phonological analyses presented in Zuraw & Hayes
285 (2017). See Ahlner & Zlatev (2010) and Thompson & Estes (2011) for other potential cases of
286 cumulative effects in sound symbolism. Kawahara (2020) offers MaxEnt analyses of these cumu-
287 lative patterns.

288 3.5 Positional asymmetry

289 Yet another common issue is positional asymmetry. It is well-known in the phonology literature
290 that some positions—e.g. onsets, stressed syllables, word-initial segments—are privileged in that
291 they can, for example, trigger phonological processes and license a wider range of segments (e.g.
292 Beckman 1998). Similarly, word-initial voiced obstruents cause stronger sound symbolic image
293 than word-internal voiced obstruents in Japanese (Kawahara et al. 2008) (see also Haynie et al.
294 2014; McGregor 1996).

295 Compared to the extensive body of research on positional effects in phonology, this issue is less
296 well examined in the studies of sound symbolism. Exploring positional effects in sound symbolism
297 may offer a novel perspective on this issue, since why and how some positions are privileged is
298 related to the issue of phonetic grounding of phonological patterns (§3.1)—positional privileges
299 are often considered as arising from phonetic/psycholinguistic prominence of these positions, but
300 whether this influence should be encoded synchronically or diachronically is much debated (e.g.
301 Barnes 2002 vs. Smith 2002). Also, for some positions, it is not clear whether that position is
302 phonologically privileged or not (e.g. word final position). Exploring the positional effects in
303 sound symbolism may help phonologists address this question as well; see e.g. McGregor (1996)

304 who explored the sound symbolic values of root-final consonants in Gooniyandi.

305 **4 Additional potential benefits**

306 There are additional benefits that phonologists can gain from studying sound symbolism. Due to
307 space limitation, the discussion in this section needs to be brief; see the other overview papers cited
308 in §1 as well as the reference cited in this section for further details.

309 **4.1 Addressing the origin of human languages**

310 First, some researchers propose that mimicking real world attributes with different types
311 of vocalization contributed to the origin of human languages (Berlin 2006; Cabrera
312 2012; Haiman 2018; Perlman & Lupyan 2018; Perniss & Vigiliocco 2014; Perniss et al. 2010;
313 Ramachandran & Hubbard 2001). A recent study by Perlman & Lupyan (2018), for example,
314 shows that speakers are able to communicate as many as 30 different meanings by way of iconic
315 vocalizations, well above the chance level; moreover, vocalizations which were judged to be more
316 iconic were learned faster. They conclude that “[t]his newly emerging understanding of iconicity
317 as a widespread property of spoken languages suggests iconicity may also have played an im-
318 portant role in their origin. An intriguing possibility is that many of the now arbitrary words in
319 modern spoken languages may have originated from the innovation of iconic vocalizations.” If this
320 hypothesis is on the right track, analyzing sound symbolic patterns might shed light on how human
321 languages may have emerged and evolved.

322 **4.2 The role of sound symbolism in language acquisition**

323 Some researchers argue that sound symbolism plays a non-trivial role in language acquisition
324 (Asano et al. 2015; Imai et al. 2008; Kantartzis 2011; Perry et al. 2018). In the context of first
325 language acquisition, Maurer et al. (2006) demonstrate that 2.5 year old children are sensitive to
326 sound symbolic associations. Even more strikingly, Peña et al. (2011) show that this sensitivity
327 is detectable in 4 month old neonates. These observations have led to the general hypothesis that
328 sound symbolism guides the first language acquisition process (Imai & Kita 2014; see §3.3).

329 A partial support of this theory comes from the observation that Japanese caretakers use more
330 sound symbolic, onomatopoeic words to infants and children than to adults (Fernald & Morikawa
331 1993). Sound symbolism may thus provide a partial answer to the question of why human children
332 acquire languages so quickly—a fundamental question that theoretical linguists attempt to answer.
333 In addition, it has been observed that, in the context of L2 acquisition too, those items that fol-
334 low sound symbolic principles are easier to learn and more frequently used by language learners

335 (Kunihara 1971; Nygaard et al. 2009).

336 **4.3 Tighter connections with cognitive science**

337 Sound symbolism is now considered as a specific instance of general cross-modal, synesthetic
338 correspondences, in which sensation in one modality has correspondences with sensation in an-
339 other modality (Bankieris & Simner 2015; Cuskley & Kirby 2013; Sidhu & Pexman 2018; Spence
340 2011). There has been a growing body of interest in these cross-modal perception patterns in
341 cognitive science, exploring not only the relationship between sounds and meanings, but also the
342 relationships between sounds and cognitive patterns in other modalities (such as vision and taste).
343 Therefore, engaging with linguistic analyses of sound symbolism has the potential to facilitate
344 more extensive interdisciplinary communication between phonologists and cognitive scientists.
345 Two questions addressed in this research that are of particular interest to theoretical linguists are:
346 (1) are sound symbolism/synesthetic connections innate or acquired, and (2) are sound symbolic
347 connections deducible to a domain-general synesthetic mechanism? (Akita 2015: §4.3)

348 **4.4 Sound symbolism and branding**

349 There is an increasing body of work that seeks to deploy sound symbolism in the context of market-
350 ing. Their general finding is that there are sounds that are “suitable” to convey particular images for
351 brand products; such names that make sound symbolic sense are judged to be better, and possibly
352 better remembered, by potential customers (Bolts et al. 2016; Coulter & Coulter 2010; Jurafsky
353 2014; Klink 2000; Peterson & Ross 1972; Yorkston & Menon 2004). This line of research has
354 opened up a new domain of interdisciplinary research.

355 **4.5 Popularizing linguistics and application to pedagogy**

356 Finally, studying sound symbolism may help us popularize linguistics, and relatedly, can be useful
357 for teaching. One example that instantiates these points is a study of sound symbolic patterns in
358 Pokémon names (Kawahara et al. 2018), which has shown, for example, that Pokémon characters’
359 weight positively correlates with the number of voiced obstruents contained in their names. This
360 result was featured in various popular magazines in Japan. Stephanie Shih, who followed up the
361 original study with a much wider range of languages (Shih et al. 2019), was featured in a radio
362 show to talk about this project. Being able to show to the general public that analytical tools
363 that phonologists use—such as voiced obstruents—help in the analysis of Pokémon names can be
364 appealing. This feature of sound symbolism also often attracts undergraduate students’ interests
365 as well, since the targets of the analyses include “fun materials” that they are already interested

366 in (e.g. Pokémon). See Kawahara (2019) and MacKenzie (2018) for reports of the usefulness of
367 using onomastics, including sound symbolism, in undergraduate education.

368 5 Conclusion

369 Studying sound symbolic patterns can be interesting for theoretical phonologists. To recap, there
370 are some alternation patterns that seem to be motivated by sound symbolic principles, which can
371 interact with other phonological considerations. There are many common interests shared by the-
372 oretical phonologists and those who work on sound symbolism, and we can mutually inform one
373 another. There are various additional benefits that phonologists can gain from working on sound
374 symbolism. Exploration of sound symbolism may contribute to the further development of the
375 field by attracting interests from students and researchers in other fields.

References

- Ahlner, Felix & Jordan Zlatev. 2010. Cross-modal iconicity: A cognitive semiotic approach to sound symbolism. *Sign Systems Studies* 38(1/4). 298–348.
- Akita, Kimi. 2015. Sound symbolism. In Jan-Ola Östman & Jef Verschueren (eds.), *Handbook of pragmatics, installment 2015*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Akita, Kimi. 2019. Ideophones. In Mark Aronoff (ed.), *Oxford bibliographies in linguistics*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Akita, Kimi & Mark Dingemanse. 2019. Ideophones (mimetics, expressives). In Mark Aronoff (ed.), *Oxford research encyclopedia of linguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Albright, Adam. 2009. Feature-based generalisation as a source of gradient acceptability. *Phonology* 26(1). 9–41.
- Alderete, John & Alexei Kochetov. 2017. Integrating sound symbolism with core grammar: The case of expressive palatalization. *Language* 93. 731–766.
- Asano, Michiko, Mutsumi Imai, Sotaro Kita, Keichi Kitaji, Hiroyuki Okada & Guillaume Thierry. 2015. Sound symbolism scaffolds language development in preverbal infants. *Cortex* 63. 196–205.
- Bach, Emmon & Robert Harms. 1972. How do languages get crazy rules? In R. Stockwell & R. Macaulay (eds.), *Linguistic change and generative theory*, 1–21. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bankieris, Kaitlyn & Julia Simner. 2015. What is the link between synaesthesia and sound symbolism? *Cognition* 136. 186–195.
- Barnes, Jonathan. 2002. *Positional neutralization: A phonologization approach to typological patterns*: University of California, Berkeley Doctoral dissertation.
- Beckman, Jill. 1998. *Positional faithfulness*: University of Massachusetts, Amherst Doctoral dissertation.
- Bergen, Benjamin K. 2004. The psychological reality of phonaesthemes. *Language* 80. 290–311.
- Berlin, Brent. 2006. The first congress of ethnozoological nomenclature. *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institution* 12. 23–44.

- Bhat, D. N. S. 1978. A general study of palatalization. In Joseph Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language*, vol. 2: *Phonology*, 47–92. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Boersma, Paul & Bruce Hayes. 2001. Empirical tests of the Gradual Learning Algorithm. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32. 45–86.
- Bolts, Marilyn G., Mangigian G. Mangigian & Molly B. Allen. 2016. Phonetic symbolism and memory for advertisement. *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 30. 1088–1092.
- Bremner, Andrew J., Serge Caparos, Jules Davidoff, Jan de Fockert, Karina J. Linnell & Charles Spence. 2013. “Bouba” and “Kiki” in Namibia? A remote culture make similar shape-sound matches, but different shape-taste matches to Westerners. *Cognition* 126. 165–172.
- Cabrera, Juan Carlos Moreno. 2012. The role of sound symbolism in protolanguage: Some linguistic and archaeological speculations. *Theoria et Historia Scientiarum* 9. 115–130.
- Chomsky, Noam & Morris Halle. 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Churma, Don. 1979. *Arguments from external evidence in phonology*: Ohio State University Doctoral dissertation. Published by Garland Press, New York, 1985.
- Coetsee, Andries W. & Joe Pater. 2011. The place of variation in phonological theory. In John A. Goldsmith, Jason Riggle & Alan Yu (eds.), *The handbook of phonological theory*, 2nd edition, 401–431. Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley.
- Coulter, S. Keith & Robin A. Coulter. 2010. Small sounds, big deals: Phonetic symbolism effects in pricing. *Journal of Consumer Research* 37(2). 315–328.
- Cuskley, Christine & Simon Kirby. 2013. Synesthesia, cross-modality, and language evolution. In Julia Simner & Edward Hubbard (eds.), *Oxford handbook of synesthesia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Lacy, Paul. 2009. Phonological evidence. In Steve Parker (ed.), *Phonological Argumentation: Essays on Evidence and Motivation*, 43–77. London: Equinox.
- Diffloth, Gérard. 1994. i: *big*, a: *small*. In Leane Hinton, Johanna Nichols & John J. Ohala (eds.), *Sound symbolism*, 107–114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dingemanse, Mark. 2018. Redrawing the margins of language: Lessons from research on ideophones. *Glossa* 3(1). 4, doi:org/10.5334/gjgl.444.
- Dingemanse, Mark, Damián E. Blasi, Gary Lupyan, Morten H. Christiansen & Padraic Monaghan. 2015. Arbitrariness, iconicity and systematicity in language. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 19(10). 603–615.
- Dingemanse, Mark, Will Schuerman, Eva Reinisch, Sylvia Tufvesson & Holger Mitterer. 2016. What sound symbolism can and cannot do: Testing the iconicity of ideophones from five languages. *Languange* 92(2). e117–e133.
- D’Onofrio, Annette. 2014. Phonetic detail and dimensionality in sound-shape correspondences: Refining the *bouba-kiki* paradigm. *Language and Speech* 57(3). 367–393.
- Eberhardt, Margarette. 1940. A study of phonetic symbolism of deaf children. *Psychological Monograph* 52. 23–42.
- Fernald, Anne & Hiromi Morikawa. 1993. Common themes and cultural variations in Japanese and American mothers’ speech to infants. *Child Development* 64. 637–656.
- Finley, Sara & William Bedecker. 2009. Artificial language learning and feature-based generalization. *Journal of Memory and Language* 61. 423–437.
- Fort, Mathilde, Alexa Weiß, Alexander Martin & Sharon Peperkamp. 2013. Looking for the bouba-kiki effect in prelexical infants. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Auditory-Visual Speech Processing* 71–76.

- Garrigues, Stephen L. 1995. Mimetic parallels in Korean and Japanese. *Studies in Language* 19. 359–398.
- Goldwater, Sharon & Mark Johnson. 2003. Learning OT constraint rankings using a maximum entropy model. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Variation within Optimality Theory* 111–120.
- Guilherme, Duarte Garcia. 2019. When lexical statistics and the grammar conflict: Learning and repairing weight effects on stress. *Language* 95(4). 612–641.
- Haiman, John. 2018. *Ideophones and the evolution of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamano, Shoko. 1998. *The sound-symbolic system of Japanese*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Hamano, Shoko. 2013. Hoogen-ni okeru giongo-gitaigo-no taiketeiki-kenkyuu-no igi. In Kazuko Shinohara & Ryoko Uno (eds.), *Chikazuku oto-to imi: Onomatope kenkyuu-no shatei*, Tokyo: Hitsuzi Syobo.
- Hayes, Bruce, Robert Kirchner & Donca Steriade (eds.). 2004. *Phonetically based phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hayes, Bruce & Zsuzsa Londe. 2006. Stochastic phonological knowledge: The case of Hungarian vowel harmony. *Phonology* 23. 59–104.
- Hayes, Bruce & Donca Steriade. 2004. Introduction: The phonetic bases of phonological markedness. In Bruce Hayes, Robert Kirchner & Donca Steriade (eds.), *Phonetically based phonology*, 1–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hayes, Bruce & James White. 2013. Phonological naturalness and phonotactic learning. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44. 45–75.
- Hayes, Bruce, Kie Zuraw, Péter Siptár & Zsuzsa Londe. 2009. Natural and unnatural constraints in Hungarian vowel harmony. *Language* 85(4). 822–863.
- Haynie, Hannah, Claire Bower & Hannah LaPalombara. 2014. Sound symbolism in the languages of Australia. *PLoS ONE* 9(4). doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0092852.
- Hinton, Leane, Johanna Nichols & John Ohala. 1994. *Sound symbolism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hockett, Charles. 1959. Animal “languages” and human language. *Human Biology* 31. 32–39.
- Imai, Mutsumi & Sotaro Kita. 2014. The sound symbolism bootstrapping hypothesis for language acquisition and language evolution. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 369(1651).
- Imai, Mutsumi, Sotaro Kita, Miho Nagumo & Hiroyuki Okada. 2008. Sound symbolism facilitates early verb learning. *Cognition* 109. 54–65.
- Ito, Junko & Armin Mester. 1995. Japanese phonology. In John Goldsmith (ed.), *The handbook of phonological theory*, 817–838. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Iwasaki, Noriko, David P. Vinson & Gabriella Vigiliocco. 2007. What do English speakers know about *gera-gera* and *yota-yota*? A cross-linguistic investigation of mimetic words for laughing and walking. *Japanese Language Education Around the Globe* 17. 53–78.
- Jäger, Gerhard & Anette Rosenbach. 2006. The winner takes it all—almost: Culminativity in grammatical variation. *Linguistics* 44(5). 937–971.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1960. *Language in literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Jakobson, Roman, Gunnar Fant & Morris Halle. 1952. Preliminaries to speech analysis. Tech. rep. MIT Acoustics Laboratory.
- Jang, Hayeun. 2019. How cute do I sound?: The iconic function of segmental alternation in Korean baby-talk register, *aegyo*. Ms. University of Southern California.

- Jarosz, Gaja. 2017. Defying the stimulus: Acquisition of complex onsets in Polish. *Phonology* 34(2). 269–298.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1922. Symbolic value of the vowel *i*. In *Linguistica: Selected papers in English, French and German*, vol. 1, 283–303. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard.
- Jurafsky, Dan. 2014. *The language of food: A linguist reads the menu*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Kantartzis, Katerina. 2011. *Children and adults' understanding and use of sound symbolism in novel words*: University of Birmingham Doctoral dissertation.
- Kantartzis, Katerina, Mutsumi Imai & Sotaro Kita. 2011. Japanese sound symbolism facilitates word learning in English-speaking children. *Cognitive Science* 35(3). 575–586.
- Kawahara, Shigeto. 2008. Phonetic naturalness and unnaturalness in Japanese loanword phonology. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 17(4). 317–330.
- Kawahara, Shigeto. 2018. Phonology and the orthography: The orthographic characterization of rendaku and Lyman's Law. *Glossa* 3(1). 10, doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.368.
- Kawahara, Shigeto. 2019. Teaching phonetics through sound symbolism. *Proceedings of ISAPh*.
- Kawahara, Shigeto. 2020. Cumulative effects in sound symbolism. Ms. Keio University.
- Kawahara, Shigeto, Hironori Katsuda & Gakuji Kumagai. 2019. Accounting for the stochastic nature of sound symbolism using Maximum Entropy model. *Open Linguistics* 5. 109–120.
- Kawahara, Shigeto & Gakuji Kumagai. to appear. What voiced obstruents symbolically represent in Japanese: Evidence from the Pokémon universe. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics*.
- Kawahara, Shigeto, Atsushi Noto & Gakuji Kumagai. 2018. Sound symbolic patterns in Pokémon names. *Phonetica* 75(3). 219–244.
- Kawahara, Shigeto, Kazuko Shinohara & Yumi Uchimoto. 2008. A positional effect in sound symbolism: An experimental study. In *Proceedings of the Japan Cognitive Linguistics Association* 8, 417–427. Tokyo: JCLA.
- Kim, Kong-On. 1977. Sound symbolism in Korean. *Journal of Linguistics* 13. 67–75.
- Kingston, John. 2007. The phonetics-phonology interface. In Paul de Lacy (ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of phonology*, 401–434. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kingston, John. 2019. The interface between phonetics and phonology. In William F. Katz & Peter F. Assmann (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of phonetics*, 359–400. London & New York: Routledge.
- Klink, Richard R. 2000. Creating brand names with meaning: The use of sound symbolism. *Marketing Letters* 11(1). 5–20.
- Knoeferle, Klemens, Jixing Li, Emanuela Maggioni & Charles Spence. 2017. What drives sound symbolism? Different acoustic cues underlie sound-size and sound-shape mappings. *Scientific Reports* 7.
- Köhler, Wolfgang. 1947. *Gestalt psychology: An introduction to new concepts in modern psychology*. New York: Liveright.
- Kumagai, Gakuji. 2019. A sound-symbolic alternation to express cuteness and the orthographic Lyman's Law in Japanese. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 35(1). 39–74.
- Kumagai, Gakuji & Shigeto Kawahara. 2019. Effects of vowels and voiced obstruents on Pokémon names: Experimental and theoretical approaches [in Japanese]. *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan* 155. 65–99.
- Kumagai, Gakuji & Shigeto Kawahara. 2020. How abstract is sound symbolism? Labiality and diaper names in Japanese [in Japanese]. *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan* 157.

- Kunihara, Shirou. 1971. Effects of the expressive force on phonetic symbolism. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 10. 427–429.
- Lockwood, Gwilym & Mark Dingemans. 2015. Iconicity in the lab: A review of behavioral, developmental, and neuroimaging research into sound-symbolism. *Frontiers in Psychology* doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01246.
- Lupyan, Gary & Bodo Winter. 2018. Language is more abstract than you think, or, why aren't languages more iconic? *Proceedings of Royal Society B*. 373. 20170137.
- MacKenzie, Laurel. 2018. What's in a name? Teaching linguistics using onomastic data. *Language [Teaching Linguistics]* 94. e1–e18.
- Martin, Samuel. 1962. Phonetic symbolism in Korean. In N. Poppe (ed.), *American studies in Uralic and Altaic linguistics*, Indiana University Press.
- Maurer, Daphne, Thanujeni Pathman & Catherine J. Mondloch. 2006. The shape of boubas: Sound-shape correspondences in toddlers and adults. *Developmental Science* 9. 316–322.
- McCarthy, John J. 1983. Phonological features and morphological structure. In J. Richardson, M. Marks & A. Chukerman (eds.), *Proceedings from the parasession on the interplay of phonology, morphology and syntax*, 135–161. Chicago: CLS.
- McGregor, William. 1996. Sound symbolism in Gooniyandi, a language of Western Australia. *Word* 47(3). 339–364.
- Mielke, Jeff. 2008. *The emergence of distinctive features*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newman, Stanley. 1933. Further experiments on phonetic symbolism. *American Journal of Psychology* 45. 53–75.
- Nobile, Luca. 2015. Phonemes as images: An experimental inquiry into shape-sound symbolism applied to the distinctive features of French. In Masako Hiraga, William Herlofsky, Kazuko Shinohara & Kimi Akita (eds.), *Iconicity: East meets west*, 71–91. John Benjamins.
- Nuckolls, Janis B. 1999. The case for sound symbolism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28. 225–252.
- Nygaard, Lynne C., Alison E. Cook & Laura L. Namy. 2009. Sound to meaning correspondance facilitates word learning. *Cognition* 112. 181–186.
- Ohala, John J. 1983a. The origin of sound patterns in vocal tract constraints. In Peter MacNeilage (ed.), *The production of speech*, 189–216. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Ohala, John J. 1983b. The phonological end justifies any means. In S. Hattori & K. Inoue (eds.), *Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Linguists*, 232–243. Tokyo: Sanseido.
- Ohala, John J. 1986. Consumer's guide to evidence in phonology. *Phonology* 3. 3–26.
- Ohala, John J. 1994. The frequency code underlies the sound symbolic use of voice pitch. In Leane Hinton, Johanna Nichols & John J. Ohala (eds.), *Sound symbolism*, 325–347. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ozturk, Ozge, Madelaine Krehm & Athena Vouloumanos. 2013. Sound symbolism in infancy: Evidence for sound-shape cross-modal correspondences in 4-month-olds. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 14(2). 173–186.
- Pater, Joe. 2009. Weighted constraints in generative linguistics. *Cognitive Science* 33. 999–1035.
- Peña, Marcela, Jacques Mehler & Marina Nespore. 2011. The role of audiovisual processing in early conceptual development. *Psychological Science* 22(11). 1419–1421.
- Perlman, Marcus & Gary Lupyan. 2018. People can create iconic vocalizations to communicate various meanings to naïve listeners. *Scientific Reports* 26–34.
- Perniss, Pamela, Robin L. Thompson & Gabriella Vigiliocco. 2010. Iconicity as a general

- property of language: Evidence from spoken and signed languages. *Frontiers in Psychology* doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2010.00227.
- Perniss, Pamela & Gabriella Vigiliocco. 2014. The bridge of iconicity: From a world of experience to the experiment of language. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 369. 20130300.
- Perry, Lynn K., Marcus Perlman, Bodo Winter, Dominic W. Massaro & Gary Lupyan. 2018. Iconicity in the speech of children and adults. *Developmental Science* 21(3). e12572.
- Peterson, Robert A. & Ivan Ross. 1972. How to name new brand names. *Journal of Advertising Research* 12(6). 29–34.
- Pierrehumbert, Janet B. 2001. Stochastic phonology. *GLOT* 5. 1–13.
- Prince, Alan & Paul Smolensky. 2004. *Optimality Theory: Constraint interaction in generative grammar*. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ramachandran, Vilayanur S. & Edward M. Hubbard. 2001. Synesthesia—a window into perception, thought, and language. *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 8(12). 3–34.
- Reiss, Charles. 2018. Substance free phonology. In S. J. Hannahs & Anna Bosch (eds.), *Routledge handbook of phonological theory*, 425–452. London & New York: Routledge.
- Rogers, Samuel Kirby & Abraham S. Ross. 1975. A cross-cultural test of the maluma-takete phenomenon. *Perception* 4. 105–106.
- Saji, Noburo, Kimi Akita, Katerina Kantartzis, Sotaro Kita & Mutsumi Imai. 2019. Cross-linguistically shared and language-specific sound symbolism in novel words elicited by locomotion videos in Japanese and English. *PloS ONE* 14(7). e0218707, doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0218707.
- Sanders, Nathan. 2003. *Opacity and sound change in the Polish lexicon*: University of California, Santa Cruz Doctoral dissertation.
- Sapir, Edward. 1929. A study in phonetic symbolism. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 12. 225–239.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. 1916. *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Payot.
- Schmidtke, David S., Markus Conrad & Arthur M. Jacobs. 2014. Phonological iconicity. *Frontiers in Psychology* 5(80). doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00080.
- Schütze, Carlson. 1996. *The empirical base of linguistics: Grammaticality judgments and linguistic methodology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shih, Stephanie S., Jordan Ackerman, Noah Hermalin, Sharon Inkelas, Hayeun Jang, Jessica Johnson, Darya Kavitskaya, Shigeto Kawahara, Miran Oh, Rebecca L Starr & Alan Yu. 2019. Cross-linguistic and language-specific sound symbolism: Pokémonastics. Ms. University of Southern California, University of California, Merced, University of California, Berkeley, Keio University, National University of Singapore and University of Chicago.
- Shinohara, Kazuko & Shigeto Kawahara. 2016. A cross-linguistic study of sound symbolism: The images of size. In *Proceedings of the Thirty Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.*, 396–410. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Sidhu, David & Penny M. Pexman. 2018. Five mechanisms of sound symbolic association. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 25(5). 1619–1643.
- Sidhu, David M., Kristen Deschamps, Joshua S. Bourdage & Penny M. Pexman. 2019. Does the name say it all? Investigating phoneme-personality sound symbolism in first names. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 148(9). 1595–1614.
- Smith, Jennifer. 2002. *Phonological augmentation in prominent positions*: University of Mas-

- sachusetts, Amherst Doctoral dissertation.
- Spence, Charles. 2011. Crossmodal correspondences: A tutorial review. *Attention, Perception & Psychophysics* 73(4). 971–995.
- Stampe, David. 1973. *A dissertation on natural phonology*: University of Chicago Doctoral dissertation. Published by Garland, New York, 1979.
- Styles, Suzy J. & Lauren Gawne. 2017. When does maluma/takete fail? Two key failures and a meta-analysis suggest that phonology and phonotactics matter. *i-Perception* 1–17.
- Svantesson, Jan-Olof. 2017. Sound symbolism: The role of word sound in meaning. *WIRE Cog Sci* e01441.
- Thompson, Patrick D. & Zachary Estes. 2011. Sound symbolic naming of novel objects is a graded function. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 64(12). 2392–2404.
- Ullian, Russell. 1978. Size-sound symbolism. In Joseph Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language II: Phonology*, 525–568. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- White, James. 2014. Evidence for a learning bias against saltatory phonological alternations. *Cognition* 130(1). 96–115.
- Wilson, Colin. 2006. Learning phonology with substantive bias: An experimental and computational study of velar palatalization. *Cognitive Science* 30(5). 945–982.
- Yorkston, Eric & Geeta Menon. 2004. A sound idea: Phonetic effects of brand names on consumer judgments. *Journal of Consumer Research* 31. 43–51.
- Zuraw, Kie & Bruce Hayes. 2017. Intersecting constraint families: An argument for Harmonic Grammar. *Language* 93. 497–548.