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研究会基本情報：AA研との共催シンポジウム

1. 日時：平成28年7月2日（土曜日）～7月3日（日曜日）
2. 場所：東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所大会議室室（303）
3. 内容：以下の通り。

Japanese and Korean accent: diachrony, reconstruction, and typology

July 2 (Sat)		
9:20-9:50	(Registration)	
9:50-10:00	(Opening remarks)	
Session 1	Chair: Yosuke Igarashi	
10:00-10:25	Clemens Poppe (NINJAL)	"The role of word prosodic structure in the analysis of Japanese and Korean accent systems"
10:25-10:50	Tatsuya Hirako (Komazawa University)	"外輪式アクセントに関する幾つかの問題 (Issues on the Gairin type accent)"
10:50-11:05	(Break)	
Session 2	Chair: Clemens Poppe	
11:05-11:30	Hyun Kyung Hwang (NINJAL)	"Biased questions in Tokyo Japanese and South Kyeongsang Korean"
11:30-11:55	Munsuk Lee (Tokyo University of Science)	"韓国語方言のアクセントと頭子音 (Accent in Korean dialects and onset types)"
11:55-1:30	(Lunch)	
Session 3	Chair: John Whitman	
1:30-2:10	Haruo Kubozono (NINJAL)	"Mora and syllable in the pitch accent system of Koshikijima Japanese"
2:10-2:50	Elisabeth de Boer (Ruhr Universität Bochum)	"Universals of tone rules and Japanese"
2:50-3:20	(Coffee break)	
Session 4	Chair: Elisabeth de Boer	
3:20-4:00	Rei Fukui (The University of Tokyo)	"Accent shift in Korean and Japanese"
4:00-5:00	S. Robert Ramsey (University of Maryland)	"Naturalness and Parsimony in Historical Reconstruction"
5:30-7:30	Reception (TUFS Daigakukaikan 1F Dining Hall)	

July 3 (Sun)		
Session 5	Chair: Rei Fukui	
10:00-10:25	Jaehyun Son (Duksung Women's University)	"Accent Types and Their Correspondences in Korean"
10:25-10:50	Akira Utsugi (Nagoya University)	"Kyungsang Korean tonal system from the perspective of sentence prosody"
10:50-11:05	(Break)	
Session 6	Chair: Haruo Kubozono	
11:00-11:25	Young suk Kang (ILCAA)	"韓国語釜山方言における複合動詞のアクセント (Accents of compound verbs in the Busan dialect of Korean)"
11:25-12:05	Michael Kenstowicz & Hyangsook Sohn (MIT & Kyungpook National University)	"The Lexical Accent of Korean Surnames"
12:05-1:20	(Lunch)	
Session 7	Chair: Timothy J. Vance	
1:20-2:00	Thomas Pellard (French National Centre for Scientific Research)	"Typological and historical-comparative perspectives on tone and vowel length in Ryukyuan"
2:00-2:40	Akiko Matsumori (Japan Women's University)	"Reconstruction of the accentual system of Proto-Northern Ryukyuan"
2:40-3:10	(Coffee break)	
Session 8	Chair: Thomas Pellard	
3:10-3:50	Yosuke Igarashi (Hitotsubashi University)	"A unified list of cognate words in Japanese and Ryukyuan for the purpose of historical comparative linguistics"
3:50-4:30	Zendo Uwano (Professor emeritus, The University of Tokyo)	"長母音の短縮からアクセント核が生ずるか——服部仮説を巡って—— (On Hattori's hypothesis: Does shortening of long vowels produce an accent kernel?)"
4:30-4:40	(Closing remarks)	

詳細は http://www.chiyukit.sakura.ne.jp/JK_accent.html を参照されたい。

<Abstract>

Naturalness and Parsimony in Historical Reconstruction

S. Robert Ramsey
University of Maryland

In this presentation I argued first for a heightened emphasis on Internal Reconstruction in historical linguistic work, especially for studies of Korean accent and tone, where other methods are limited.

From that base I then stressed the principle of parsimony, that is, that the simplest solution to a historical problem should always be preferred. Moreover, I reasoned, results arising from internal reconstruction are often crucial in this process.

I presented facts in support of these arguments in two phases.

- (1) The first began with pointing out how dependent the reconstruction of any stage of Korean older than Middle Korean is on internal reconstruction. Precious few records of the language older than the alphabetic texts of the fifteenth century exist, and those that do survive are imprecise and do little more than tantalize. Moreover, it goes without saying that decades of attempted comparisons with Japanese or any other language have produced nothing more than speculation. And so it is fortunate indeed that the Middle Korean system is so rich and detailed. Its phonology, morphology, and lexicon contain distributional irregularities, especially in verb morphology, irregularities that indicate clearly dramatic phonological changes have taken place.

Those of us who have looked at this distributional evidence are convinced that the farther back in time we go, the fewer pitch and vowel length distinctions we find. Through this method—that is, through this kind of internal reconstruction applied to distributional irregularities—it is possible to see that the pitch accent (or tone) systems found in Middle Korean and the modern dialects were, for the most part, produced historically through syllable crasis and the elision of vowels through syncope and/or apocope. At the same time, those processes also produced the complex initial consonant clusters found in Middle Korean, as well as many of the heavily aspirated consonants still heard in Korean today. The proto-Korean system that emerges through this reconstruction process was thus markedly different in structure from both Middle Korean and all modern dialects.

Both the reasoning and the data underlying these conclusions can be found in many of my publications. But the framework has been used by a number of other scholars as well. Fukui Rei and Ito Chiyuki add new and compelling ideas about reconstructing earlier Korean, and both seem to be fundamentally in agreement that proto-Korean lacked most pitch accent or tonal distinctions.

That use of distributional irregularities is a case where internal reconstruction becomes the principle means of exploring the past. It's a relatively unusual kind of internal reconstruction, but it works well in this case because of the nature of the materials.

- (2) But what I focused particular attention on in my presentation was how and why internal reconstruction is important for establishing the accent system arrived at through the comparative method applied to Middle Korean and the modern dialects. It is here that the principle of parsimony guides our choices most clearly.

I presented in broad outline the accent systems found in the modern dialects of northeastern Korea (Hamkyeng) and southeastern Korea (Kyengsang). I then compared the two systems.

Here are some representative noun correspondences:

	<u>Hamkyeng</u>	<u>Kyengsang</u>
'water'	<i>múl</i>	<i>'mul</i>
'horse'	<i>mal</i>	<i>mal</i>
'mosquito'	<i>móki</i>	<i>'mokwu</i>
'head'	<i>meli</i>	<i>méli</i>
'barley'	<i>poli</i>	<i>poli</i>
'rainbow'	<i>múcikay</i>	<i>'mucikay</i>
'mullet'	<i>kamúlchi</i>	<i>kámulchi</i>
'raven'	<i>kamakwí</i>	<i>kkamákwu</i>
'ladder'	<i>saytali</i>	<i>saytali</i>

For the most part, the correspondences are straightforward and regular. The difference between Hamkyeng and Kyengsang is simply the accent locus, which historically must have moved one syllable. But did that change happen in Hamkyeng or in Kyengsang?

In 1974, and again in 1978, I argued that the change took place in Kyengsang, where the accent locus shifted one syllable to the left. In cases where an accent had, before the change, occurred on the first syllable, the shift left caused it to move to the front of the word, creating a morphophonemic distinction, a 'pre-accent', and its associated word tone.

Examples of historical changes in Kyengsang accent

'water'	<i>*múl</i>	>	<i>'mul</i> [shift creates a 'pre-accent']
'horse'	<i>*mal</i>	>	<i>mal</i>
'mosquito'	<i>*móki</i>	>	<i>'mokwu</i> [shift creates a 'pre-accent']
'head'	<i>*meli</i>	>	<i>méli</i>
'barley'	<i>*poli</i>	>	<i>poli</i>

But how can we know that the correspondences were not caused instead by a right-shift in Hamkyeng?

The value of Internal Reconstruction

A clear answer can be found in the principle of parsimony, which is often called Occam's razor. That principle means that when there are two or more possible solutions, the scientist should choose the simplest one.

And here, the basic methodology of internal reconstruction shows the way. That's because an elementary principle of internal reconstruction is that whenever there is a sound change in a language, it typically leaves behind irregularities. And then, as Robert Austerlitz once put it, 'internal reconstruction is making those irregularities regular.' In other words, by applying internal reconstruction to irregularities left by change the researcher is able to reconstruct what the language was like before the change. And so, in this particular case, we can see from the basic irregularities now found in the Kyengsang accent system that a change took place there. (In contrast, as we have seen, the Hamkyeng system is regular and relatively simple.)

The most glaring of the Kyengsang irregularities is the coexistence of two types of suprasegmentals in the system. One is what is normally termed an accent—that is, an element whose essence is the locus of a prominent, high pitch followed by a pitch fall. The other suprasegmental pattern has a completely different phonological realization, namely, the word tone (or phrase tone) I mentioned earlier that is associated with a morphophonemic 'pre-accent'.

It is important to remember that this 'pre-accent' is an accent only in a morphophonemic sense. What the morphophonemics do is produce a pitch fall of the kind associated with an accent locus, but the locus of the accent is found in front of the first mora of the lexical item, on the last syllable of a preceding element. It is in this sense that a word can have a lexical 'pre-accent'. We can see how such pre-accents behave, for example, in noun compounding.

To illustrate, here is a typical example involving the atonic noun *kasil* 'autumn' and the pre-accented noun *'mokwu* 'mosquito'. First, note that the two nouns have completely different kinds of suprasegmentals in isolation or when they occur in a phrase with a particle such as *mánkhum* 'as much as':

kasil + *mánkhum* → *kaSIL MANkhum* 'as much as autumn' [i.e., a typical accent pattern]

'mokwu + *mánkhum* → *MOKWU mankhum* 'as much as a mosquito' [an unvarying tone]

Now, when the two nouns are combined to form a compound, a pitch pattern emerges with an accent that is now located in front of the pre-accented noun, on the last syllable of the atonic noun:

kasil + 'mokwu → *kasil-mokwu* [*kaSIL-mokwu*] ‘an autumn mosquito’

In other words, the morphophonemics of compound formation transform one kind of suprasegmental into another. This same type of transformation occurs in other processes as well. But nothing resembling this structural oddity is found in either MK or Hamkyeng. The point here is that this ‘pre-accent’ and the morphophonemics of the Kyengsang suprasegmental system is a structural irregularity of just the kind we expect to see in the wake of a historical change in the phonological system.

Consider also what this irregularity means in more practical terms. What if the Kyengsang system had been original and the MK and Hamkyeng systems derived from it? What kinds of rules would have to be written? First, the morphophonemic ‘pre-accent’ would have to be converted into a normal, phonemic accent and moved onto the first syllable of a word, and then a blended, balanced accent system somehow created when the two types of suprasegmentals were combined.

An equally obvious irregularity is the overall distribution of lexical accents. Accents do not occur on the last syllables of lexical items in Kyengsang. Why would that be the case? It seems logical to assume that they once did, but that they were moved (or lost) through historical change. This structural asymmetry adds to the ample evidence that the accent locus has moved onto the previous syllable. Making such ‘irregularities regular’ in this way is another classic application of internal reconstruction.

Middle Korean confirmation

Can we be confident that this analysis is correct? The answer is an emphatic yes. The analysis was derived from the morphophonemics of the Kyengsang system of course, but it is also strongly supported by the data from Middle Korean. For there, in the MK suprasegmental system, the phonemic distinction in each word or phrase was demonstrably the locus of the first high pitch, and this locus corresponded regularly with the accent locus of the word’s Hamkyeng reflex. It is clear that the historical innovation separating Hamkyeng and Kyengsang took place in Kyengsang.

Moreover, additional support for this solution came in 1993 when Umeda Hiroyuki published his findings on the phonology of the Korean dialect spoken in Yanbian in northeastern China. Since the Koreans in those communities are largely the descendants of 19th-century immigrants from Hamkyeng, Umeda’s research confirmed my Hamkyeng research findings from twenty years earlier and added further useful data.

Now let us look once again at the dialect correspondences, this time together with their MK reflexes:

	<u>Hamkyeng</u>	<u>Kyengsang</u>	<u>Middle Korean</u>
‘water’	<i>múl</i>	<i>'mul</i>	<i>múl</i>
‘horse’	<i>mal</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>mol</i>
‘mosquito’	<i>móki</i>	<i>'mokwu</i>	<i>mwókoy</i>
‘head’	<i>melí</i>	<i>méli</i>	<i>melí</i>
‘barley’	<i>poli</i>	<i>poli</i>	<i>pwoli</i>

'rainbow'	<i>múcikay</i>	<i>'mucikay</i>	<i>múcikay</i>
'mullet'	<i>kamúlchi</i>	<i>kámulchi</i>	<i>kamwóthi</i>
'raven'	<i>kamakwí</i>	<i>kkamákwu</i>	<i>kamakwóy</i>
'ladder'	<i>saytali</i>	<i>saytali</i>	---

A glance at these correspondences shows that Kyengsang is the odd man out here. These various separate witnesses confirm the findings of internal reconstruction.

Mora and syllable in the pitch accent system of Koshikijima Japanese

Haruo Kubozono

(NINJAL)

Koshikijima Japanese (KJ) is an endangered language that belongs to the group of Japanese dialects with a two-pattern accent system widely distributed in the south-western part of Kyushu. However, its accent system is different in several crucial ways from those of its sister dialects such as Kagoshima and Nagasaki Japanese. Moreover, KJ's pitch accent system today is different from what it was eighty years and also exhibits a huge degree of regional variability within itself today. This talk discusses how the pitch accent system of KJ is different from those of its sister dialects and how it has developed over the years by analyzing how the roles of the syllable and the mora have changed in this endangered dialect.

「長母音の短縮から核が生ずるか——服部仮説を巡って——」

上野善道

服部四郎「日本祖語について」は、日本祖語に関する服部の考えの集大成とも言うべき壮大な論文で、その日琉比較研究は近年改めて注目されている。そのアクセントを扱った部分の根幹を成しているのが「長母音が短縮して短母音になることによりアクセント核が生じた」とする説で、ここではこれを「服部仮説」と呼ぶことにする。

本発表はこの考えを子細に検討した結果、(1)服部がその根拠として上げたアイヌ語と琉球方言の例は、短母音化する前の長母音段階で核が発生している(ないし、すでにある)か、短母音化で「式」は生じても「核」は生まれていないものであることを示し、(2)核の発生のためには「短縮」だけでは不十分であって、服部仮説を広く適用するには慎重に条件規定をする必要があることを述べた。関連して、アイヌ祖語アクセントについても修正案を示した。

A unified list of cognate words in Japanese and Ryukyuan for the purpose of historical comparative linguistics

Yosuke Igarashi

Abstract

A number of attempts have been made to reconstruct the tonal system of Proto-Japonic and the tonal changes that modern dialects have undergone. The reconstruction is made possible only through the cross-dialectal comparison of tonal patterns of those cognates that go back to Proto-Japonic. In this aim, researchers have proposed lists of cognates that are useful for comparative study of the tone systems of Japanese and Ryukyuan. However, the number of words in currently used lists of cognates is, in my view, not sufficient enough. We need to enlarge the inventory of the list of cognates in order to provide the conclusive answer to the questions that have been discussed in the historical study of tones in Japanese and Ryukyuan. The aim of the present talk is to propose a new list of cognates in Japanese and Ryukyuan for the purpose of the reconstruction of the tone system of proto-Japonic.

The currently used lists of cognates in historical comparative study of Japanese and Ryukyuan include Kindaichi's (1974) Vocabulary and Matsumori's (2012) Vocabulary. The two lists of cognates have contributed to the reconstruction of the tone system of proto-Japanese and Ryukyuan, serving as a guideline for data collection during fieldwork and for their analysis. In order to increase the accuracy of the reconstruction, however, we need to revise them, reexamining what words should be listed and what words should not.

Kindaichi's Vocabulary, containing approximately 770 nouns, has the following three major problems. Firstly, data from Ryukyuan dialects are not taken into account. Secondly, the list only consists of the words attested in Central Japanese. Finally, the words showing "irregular" correspondences are excluded from the list. Matsumori's Vocabulary, containing approximately 260 nouns, is specifically aimed at study of tones in Ryukyuan dialects, and therefore, it is free from such "bias towards central Japanese" as characteristic of Kindaichi's Vocabulary. However, words listed in Matsumori's Vocabulary are limited to what is widely attested in many modern Ryukyuan dialects, and thus it is small in size. We need to enlarge the inventory of a list of those cognates that are found both in Japanese and Ryukyuan dialects.

The list of cognates that I propose is "JR-COGNATES (List of Japanese-Ryukyuan cognates for the historical study of tones). It consists of 1145 Japanese-Ryukyuan cognates, which are provided their hypothetical tone classes. The selection of the words in JR-COGNATES obeys the following three principles. Firstly, the cognates must be attested both in Japanese and Ryukyuan. Secondly, the cognates must be collected regardless of whether they are attested in Central Japanese or not. Finally, the selection of cognates must be done regardless of regularity in tonal correspondences between

dialects.

Whatever lists of cognates are used, further data are obtained only by fieldwork. It is known that Ryukyuan dialects are seriously endangered. However, it may be traditional Japanese dialects that are much more seriously endangered. Traditional Japanese dialects may disappear within a decade or two. Still, there are a number of Japanese-Ryukyuan cognates, for which tonal information in Japanese dialects is not available, such as **tamasi* 'share of the profits', **jagoe* 'yell', **akasi* 'torch', **abosi* 'path between rice fields', and **katasi* 'camellia'. The next decade may be the last chance for us to collect tonal data from Japanese dialects. I hope that the present study encourage researchers to collect as many tonal data as possible so as to advance historical comparative study of Japonic languages.

Accent Types and Their Correspondences in Korean

SON Jaehyun

The present study introduces representative types of accent in the dialects of Korean, and examines both their distribution and their correspondences. By the comparison of the accent types among the Korean dialects, it is shown what kinds of correspondences there are, as well as what kind of process they underwent to reach the current stage. It concludes that the following six factors are relevant:

1. Short vowel-ization in multi-syllable units;
2. Delay of descent;
3. Delay of Ascent;
4. Shifting ahead of descent;
5. Establishment of the 'Phrase Type';
6. Integration of Types.

Accent shift in Korean and Japanese

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Abstract

In the historical study of Japanese and Korean accent systems, it has been assumed that a kind of accent shift took place in each language, based on regular accent correspondences among various dialects, including historical records, for each of these two languages. However, as to the direction of the accent shift, there have been opposite views. In the case of Japanese, Kindaichi (1954) and many others proposed a rightward (progressive) accent shift in a comparative study of Kyoto-type and Tokyo-type accent systems, whereas Ramsey (1979) and de Boer (2011) proposed an opposite view, a leftward shift. In the case of Korean, Ramsey (1974, 1978) proposed a leftward shift but Uwano (2012) an opposite view.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first it will be shown that in Japanese the traditional rightward shift is preferable in explaining various peculiar accentual behaviors found in a Nairin type accent system and it can be concluded that the rightward shift is actually occurring independently in geographically separate places. Secondly, in the case of Korean, it will be shown the the leftward shift is preferable in explaining accent correspondences and tones of Sino-Korean words.

The conclusion of this paper is that we have to admit opposite directions for these two languages: rightward shift for Japanese and leftward shift for Korean. The reason why we have opposite directions is still unclear. But the above discussion can serve as an empirical basis in considering the question of the direction of accent shift in many languages.

The Lexical Accent of Surnames in Kyengsang Korean: A Study in Analogy

Michael Kenstowicz and Hyangsook Sohn

Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Kyungpook National University

The canonical Korean personal name consists of a monosyllabic surname followed by a disyllabic given name: *Kim, Yuna*. Both the surname and the given name are drawn from the Sino-Korean sector of the lexicon. Unlike in Japanese, the Korean surname is not generally used alone and must be combined with a given name or title. This study examines the behavior of Kyengsang dialect speakers when they are asked to parse out the surname and inflect it on its own. In particular, we were interested to know which of the three inflectional accent types that are available for a monosyllable would be chosen for a particular surname: H-H, H-L, $R \approx L$ -H for the South Kyengsang dialect and H-H, H-L, H:-H for the North Kyengsang dialect. Our principal finding is that southern speakers merge the $R \approx L$ -H category of surnames with H-L while the northern speaker keeps the three classes distinct. The difference is attributed to the phrasal phonology of the two dialects. In particular, in South Kyengsang the Rise tone is decomposed into L-H and as a result the surname takes on the same surface tonal shape as the H-L category, which regularly takes an atonic low-tone allomorph in the phrase. When the speaker is asked to parse out the surname and assign it an inflectional accent, there is ambiguity as to whether the L should be assigned to the H-L or $R \approx L$ -H class. The choice of H-L is motivated by the fact that this class is larger than the $R \approx L$ -H class. The en mass merger of the $R \approx L$ -H class with H-L is not found outside of the class of surnames since other monosyllabic lexical items may appear on their own in a citation form. Because surnames are rarely used alone, the citation form is missing from their paradigm. When asked to fill this paradigm gap, speakers resolve the ambiguity in favor of the most frequent class comparable to the behavior found in several other cases of analogical leveling found in Korean nouns that have been reported in the recent literature.

Biased questions in Tokyo Japanese and South Kyeongsang Korean

Hyun Kyung Hwang
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

Hwang and Ito (2014) provided empirical evidence of the correlation between epistemic bias and prosodic patterns observed in Japanese negative polar interrogatives, with special attention given to the perceptual and functional aspects of the correlation. The primary purpose of the current study is to test if there are similar correlations in South Kyeongsang Korean, and to investigate similarities and differences between Japanese and South Kyeongsang Korean with respect to the correlation in question. The result of a naturalness rating test and a comprehension test demonstrate that South Kyeongsang Korean listeners perceive the matching interrogative-answer pairs more natural, compared to the conflicting pairs. Also, it is revealed that the prosodic patterns successfully guide listeners to identify the epistemic bias of negative polar interrogatives. However, the correlation observed in South Kyeongsang Korean turns out to be rather weak compared to Japanese. I attribute the weak correlation to a change-in-progress in South Kyeongsang Korean; the Single Phrasing pattern, which was originally associated with negative bias or lack of bias, is spreading over and the Double Phrasing pattern, which was only correlated with positive bias, is disappearing.

外輪式アクセントに関する幾つかの問題

Issues on the *Gairin* type accent

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Abstract

Traditionally, in Japanese historical accentology, "Tokyo type accent" has been divided into the three subtypes: the *Nairin*, *Churin* and *Gairin* type. The *Gairin* type accent has a wider geographical distribution. However, there have been few reports or research on the *Gairin* type accent, except for the Tohoku, Izumo and Kyushu dialects.

In this presentation, I reported on the merger patterns of the accent classes in the *Gairin* type accent distributed over the Enshu-Mikawa and Izumo areas, on which we have few previous detailed report. Based on these merger patterns and the correspondences between some of the *Gairin* type accent, I argued that the *Gairin* type accent should be divided into two subtypes; "*Soto-Gairin* type" and "*Uchi-Gairin* type". Finally, I argued that the class III-7 should be divided into two subclasses, based on the correspondences between the *Uchi-Gairin* type accent and the *Nairin* or *Churin* type accent.

要 旨

「外輪式アクセント」は、北海道・東北地域、遠州三河地域、出雲・西伯地域、九州北部地域に広く分布している。しかし、その分布の広さに拘わらず、外輪式アクセントの調査・研究は十分には進んでいない。従来、外輪式アクセントについての歴史的研究は、主に東北もしくは九州北部の外輪式アクセントの記述をもとにして議論がなされてきた。一方、特に遠州三河地域の外輪式アクセントについて言えば、その類別体系の詳細さえも明らかではない。史的研究に際しては、個々の外輪式アクセントの詳細な記述にもとづく議論が必要である。

本発表では、まず従来あまり報告のなかった遠州三河地域に分布する外輪式アクセントと出雲地域に分布する外輪式アクセントの類別体系について報告し、その三拍名詞における類別体系（類の統合パターン）が、従来外輪式アクセントの代表例として扱われてきた東北・九州北部の外輪式アクセントとは異なっていることを示した上で、遠州三河の外輪式アクセントと出雲の外輪式アクセントとの間に看過できない対応関係があることを述べた。そして、(1) 従来「外輪式アクセント」として一括りされてきたものは、その三拍名詞の類別体系と地理的分布にもとづいて、「内外輪式アクセント」と「外外輪式アクセント」とに二分すべきであること、(2) 「内外輪式アクセント」と「内輪・中輪式アクセント」との間に認められる対応関係から、それらの共通の祖体系において三拍名詞7類はさらに二つの「類」に分かれていたと考えられることなどを主張した。

The role of word prosodic structure in the analysis of Japanese and Korean accent systems

Clemens Poppe (NINJAL/JSPP)

Abstract

In this study I examine the evidence for foot structure playing a role in the accent/tone systems of Japanese and Korean dialects and how these dialects compare in terms of the interaction between accent/tone and foot structure.

Starting with Japanese, I compare the role of foot structure in the accent systems of the Tokyo and Maisaka dialect. Whereas in Tokyo Japanese the bimoraic trochee plays an important role in the distribution of different accent patterns (Kubozono 1995, 1997; Ito and Mester 2016), Maisaka Japanese prefers iambs (Poppe 2016). However, trochaic feet are also allowed in Maisaka Japanese in order to avoid an accent on the final mora of the phonological word. The Maisaka dialect thus provides us with evidence for the coexistence of right- and left-headed feet in a single system. Interesting similarities between Tokyo and Maisaka Japanese are the preference for a word-initial binary foot and the crucial role that unaccented feet play in the accent system.

Moving on to Korean, I show that although Seoul Korean is a non-accentual language, it does seem that foot structure plays a role in phrasing processes (Jung 2002; A. Kim 2016). Furthermore, as shown by Cho and Lee (to appear), the assignment of the LHLH tone melody (Jun 1996) makes sense if we posit iambic feet. Interestingly, iambic feet have also been proposed to account for phrasal tonal alternations in Middle Korean (Ito 2013). Building on Ito's (2013) work, I show that the lexical pitch accent of Middle Korean can also be analyzed in terms of iambic feet. Furthermore, I propose that the leftward 'Kyongsang accent shift' (Ramsey 1978) was a diachronic shift from iambic to trochaic feet which may have been triggered by the introduction of a final L boundary tone (Y-C Ceng 1971, W-C Kim 1973). Thus, whereas in Middle Korean the preferred foot was the iamb, the modern Kyongsang dialects are basically trochaic systems. I also show that the proposed analysis has interesting consequences for the synchronic analysis of Kyongsang Korean accent.

Summarizing, both trochaic and iambic systems can be found in Japanese and Korean. The iambic system of Maisaka Japanese seems to have developed from a Tokyo-type trochaic system. In Korean, on the other hand, the preference for trochees in the Kyongsang dialects is the result of a change from iambic to trochaic feet. An interesting conclusion that seems to hold for all Japanese and Korean varieties examined in this study is that feet do not necessarily contain an accent or high tone.

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Universals of tone rules and diachronic change in Japanese

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The most striking difference in the tone systems of the modern Japanese dialects is between the Kyoto type tone systems in central Japan and the Tokyo type tone systems that surround them.

The difference is striking. In many tone classes it is as if the pitches in the two dialects are exactly reversed, but what is really behind this difference in pronunciation, is that in Kyoto the tones are located one syllable earlier in the word than in Tokyo. This means that one of the two dialect types shifted the tones: Either Kyoto to the beginning, or Tokyo to the end of the word.

Apart from the modern dialects, there is information on the tones in earlier times, most importantly tone dot material from the Middle Japanese period. The tonal distinctions attested in these materials agree in number to the distinctions that have to be reconstructed if you compare the modern dialects of mainland Japan, so it is likely that this tone system resembled that of proto mainland Japanese.

Because a lot of this material stemmed from Kyoto, the tone dots were interpreted in such a way that the tone system of Middle Japanese resembled the modern tone system of Kyoto. The Tokyo type tone systems all over Japan are thought to have developed as a result of rightward tone shift. (Tone shift towards the end of the word.) Does this reconstruction of the Middle Japanese tones form a good starting point for the developments towards the modern dialects?

Tone classes 2.3, 3.4 and 3.5 form a major problem, because the phonological H tones in the modern Kyoto type dialects are not present in Middle Japanese, or in the wrong place. And this is very problematic because the Tokyo type dialects have these H tones too, all over Japan, one syllable later in the word than in the Kyoto type dialects.

The majority view today however, is that, despite everything, the proto-system was like Middle Japanese. The idea is that the H tones in these tone classes, developed independently all over Japan. This solution is based on an idea proposed by Kawakami Shin in 1965, in which he assumed that a L tone followed by a H tone will become progressively lower, so that a H tone will eventually develop immediately before the L tone.

The developments proposed by Kawakami would have to agree closely with widely attested universals of tone rules for this solution to be convincing, but this is not the case:

In 2007 the tonologist Larry Hyman published a follow-up on his seminal paper "Universals of tone rules" published with Russel Schuh in 1974. This follow-up paper was called "Universals of tone rules thirty years later", and it included new insights in tonology that had developed in the last 30 years.

In this paper, Hyman points out that H tone will often be significantly greater in height when followed by L tone. A transition from H to L tends to be polarized (exaggerated). As a result, H tones that are followed by L tones can be raised to a contrastive super-H toneme. By contrast, a transition from L to H tends to be minimized/levelled out.

This means Kawakami's idea is in direct contradiction to established universals: L before H does not normally become progressively lower, so that H tones develop immediately before it.

In 1979, S. R. Ramsey proposed a reversed interpretation of the Middle Japanese tone dot material, in which the tone system of Middle Japanese resembles the tone systems of the modern Tokyo type dialects.

Does this tone system form a better starting point for the developments towards the modern tone systems?

When this Middle Japanese tone system is compared with the modern Tokyo type dialects it becomes clear that the tone system of Middle Japanese was simplified in a very straightforward way: Only H tones that were followed by a L tone in Middle Japanese survived as phonological H tones in the modern dialects. All other H tones were lost. This development can be explained by the tone raising effect that L tone has on a preceding H tone.

Hyman (2007) states that in tone languages with two equally active tones (H versus L), a reduction in the number of H tones can occur. The few remaining H tones now stand out so much that they become accent-like. Eventually their location in the word determines the pitches of all other syllables in the word (or tonal phrase). From then on the opposition is no longer between H tone and L tone, but between H tone and \emptyset tone.

In this way, a rich H versus L register tone system (like Middle Japanese) can change to a severely reduced H versus \emptyset tone system such as the tone systems of the modern Tokyo type dialects.

We can now posit a regular and *phonologically plausible* sound change as the cause behind the transformation of Japanese from a full register tone language to a severely restricted tone language with a limited number of H tones that have become accent-like.

The natural tendency for tone is to shift to the right, but one of the new insights included in Hyman (2007) was that the more accent-like a H tone is, the more likely tonal anticipation will occur. The accent-like H tones in a H versus \emptyset tone system are so prominent that tonal anticipation by spreading, absorption, shifting and displacement in such tone systems occurs as a natural process.

Although rightward tone shift is much more common, leftward tone shift is not impossible, and there are strong indications from internal reconstruction that leftward tone shift indeed took place in Kyoto.

The tones of compounds in the Nairin and Churin Tokyo type dialects and the Kyoto type dialects for instance resemble each other strongly. Although they have very different pitches in isolation, when they occur as second element in compounds they have the same tone. This tone strongly resembles Ramsey's reconstruction of the Middle Japanese tones.

We can be sure that this resemblance is not due to some post-lexical process or mere coincidence, because in such compounds the distinction between classes 2.2 and 2.3 that was still present in Middle Japanese is still preserved. This indicates that before these tone systems split, their tone systems resembled Ramsey's reconstruction of the tone system of Middle Japanese.

But compound tone is significant in more respects: There are three subtypes of the Tokyo type tone systems: Nairin type, Churin type and Gairin type. The tone rules for compounds in the Gairin type dialects for which we have information are fundamentally different from those of the other dialects of Japan (Kyoto type, Nairin type, Churin type).

Compound tone in Kyoto and Tokyo is very similar (as is the merger pattern of tone classes in these dialects), while both these things are very different in the Gairin Tokyo type dialects. Does this not

mean that the split between Tokyo type and Kyoto type was a rather late and shallow affair compared to the split between the Gairin dialects and the other dialects of Japan?

If the differences between the Gairin type and the rest represent a deeper and older split in the language, then it is highly significant that we find a Tokyo type location of the tones in both branches. It can only mean that a Tokyo type location of the tones has to be reconstructed for their common ancestor dialect: Kyoto type tone must be an innovation that spread in central Japan, as indicated by internal reconstruction and dialect geography. The tonal developments that have to be reconstructed in this scenario, agree closely with universals of tone rules.

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Kyungsang Korean tonal system from the perspective of sentence prosody

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0. Introduction

It is widely known that Kyungsang Korean has a lexical tonal system unlike many other Korean dialects. The Kyungsang Korean tonal system has been well-documented from the perspective of word-level prosody. However, little research has been conducted from the sentence prosody perspective, even though such approaches have played important roles in the reconsideration of the lexical tonal system in other language studies (e.g., studies on Tokyo Japanese by Kawakami 1957, 1961, Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988). This presentation particularly focuses on the Masan/Changwon dialect spoken in the South Kyungsang Province. The pitch patterns of citation forms in this dialect, shown in previous studies (Gim 1970, Kang 2005, Utsugi 2007), are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Masan/Changwon Korean pitch patterns in citation forms

Number of Syllables			
1	2	3	
		óσσ(σ)	Class A
	óσ(σ)	σσó(σ)	
ó(σ)	σσó(σ)	σσóó(σ)	
ó(ó)	óó(σ)	óóó(σ)	Class B
σ(ó)	σó(ó)	σóó(σ)?	

This presentation includes two parts. The first part, termed Class A for simplicity, deals with the

first three rows of this table.¹ This part is based on my previous work (Utsugi 2007). The second part compares Class A with the final row, termed “Class B.”²

1. Class A

Studies on Tokyo Japanese sentence prosody have argued that an initial L tone is not lexical but phrasal (e.g., Kawakami 1957, 1961, Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988). The first research question in this study is whether an initial low pitch is phrasal in Masan/Changwon Korean’s Class A.

The dataset included sentences comprising an object having LH tones (Class A) and Class-A verbs. Participants were asked to read the sentences as neutral, object-focused, and verb-focused utterances.

Object-focused utterances showed a high-plateau pitch pattern without a valley between the object and the verb, whereas verb-focused utterances showed a pitch pattern with a valley. This suggests that an initial L is phrasal in Class-A words.

2. Class A vs. Class B

The next question is whether an initial L is phrasal in Class B, like in Class A. Kang (2005) and Utsugi (2007) proposed that this tone is a part of word melody and is, thus, not phrasal.

The second dataset included sentences similar to the first dataset, with a variation in tonal classes of the verb. In other words, Class-A and Class-B verbs were compared in object-focused utterances. It was predicted that Class-A verbs would show a high-plateau pitch while Class-B verbs would show a pattern with a valley on the verb’s first syllable.

The results are shown in Table 2. A chi-square test revealed no statistical differences between the two types of verbs ($\chi^2(2) = 0.44123, p = 0.9796$). Thus, our results refuted the prediction.

Table 2: Results of the second research

	No-Valley (LH HH...)	Valley (LH LH...)	Other Pattern (LH HL...)
Class A + Class A	21	39	18
Class A + Class B	21	40	17

There are several possibilities based on these unexpected results. For example, (i) Class-B words do not have a lexical initial L, (ii) lexical tones can be post-lexically deleted, and (iii) a merger between Class A and Class B words is in progress (cf. Utsugi 2009).

¹ This class corresponds to the “Non-Final” and “Final” classes in my previous work (Utsugi 2007).

² This class corresponds to “Medial-Double” in Utsugi (2007).

3. Conclusion

This study clarified that an initial L in Class A is phrasal. However, it is unclear whether an initial L is also phrasal in Class B. Further research is required to examine several other possibilities.

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韓国語釜山方言における複合動詞のアクセント

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本研究は、韓国慶尚南道の釜山方言における複合動詞のアクセントを明らかにすることを目的とする。韓国語における複合動詞は、①語幹+語幹（非統語的結合）、②語幹+*-a/ə*+語幹、③語幹+*-ko*+語幹、④名詞・副詞+用言（②～④は統語的結合）に分類できる。本研究では、(1)のように②の結合による複合動詞のみを取り上げ、その結合におけるアクセントを論じる。

(1) nar- (飛ぶ) + *-a* (連用形語尾) + ka-ta (行く) = nar.a.ka-ta (飛ぶ, 消し飛ぶ)

話者は女性2名(1970,1973), 約160語を次のように調べた。前部要素(X)・後部要素(Y)の-ta(基本形)付きの音調, Xの*-a/ə*(連用形)付きの音調, 複合動詞(Z)の基本形の音調を調べた。用言の音調型は表1の通りであり, 名詞と同じ(音調表記は, […次が高くなる,]…次が低くなる)

＜表1 用言の音調型一覧＞

	1音節語幹	2音節語幹
①	tar]-ta (甘い)	tar].ri-ta (走る)
②		po].[ne]-ta (送る)
③	[tar-ta (付ける)	[kut.s'e]-ta (不屈だ)
④	nor]-ta (遊ぶ)	kən].[nə]-ta (渡る)
		co].[a.ha]-ta (好む)

①型と②型は、アクセント核の位置により弁別されるものであり、③～④は、文節全体に被さっている形により弁別される語声調である。この性質の違いは、語形成(複合名詞・複合動詞・派生語)及び用言の活用形にも反映されている。

複合動詞のアクセント特徴は、4つに

まとめられる。①X+Y=XY, ②X+Y=X, ③その他, ④2単位形Xの基本形: ət[-t'a (得る)

(2) ① X+Y=XY

- (i) ət[-ə (得て: ət[-t'a 「基本形」) + mək]-t'a (食べる) = ət.[ə.mək]-t'a (もらい食いする)
- ət[-ə (得て: ət[-t'a 「基本形」) + kər.[ri]-t'a (引っ掛る) = ət.[ə.kər.ri]-ta (ありつく: 俗)
- (ii) pi.[tan (絹) + i].pur (布団) = pi.[tan.i].pur (絹布団)
- mu.[taŋ (巫女) + ke.[ku].ri (蛙) = mu.[taŋ. ke.ku].ri (鈴蛙)
- (iii) ko.[ma-wə(有りがたく:ko.[map-t'a 「基本形」) + ha]-ta (する) =ko.[ma.wə].ha-ta (有りがたがる)
- ko.[ku.ma (薩摩芋) + cur].ki (茎) = ko.[ku.ma].cur.ki (薩摩芋の茎)

(2 i)は、Xが「2音節の③」の例であり、この場合はYの下降の位置が活きる。この現象は、(2 ii)の複合名詞と同様であり、複合動詞の結合にも複合名詞にアクセント規則が働いていることが分かる。(2 iii)のように、Xが「3音節以上の③」の時は、複合動詞・複合名詞共にYは低くなり、文節全体でXの‘低高高低…’になる。これも、複合名詞にアクセント規則と同様である(ko.[ma.wə].ha.taは派生動詞ではあるが、それによる制約ではない)。よって、「Xの音節数・アクセントとYの下降の位置」が関わるという意味で(2 i)のようなものをXY型と呼ぶ。(Y型は、「語末核型(X)+有核(Y)=Yの核に位置」のみを指すが、Xに連用形語尾が付く複合動詞は、語末核型のXは存在しないため、語末核型規則によるY型はない)。

(3) ②X+Y=X

- (i) kar]-a (取り替えて:kar]-ta 「基本形」) + ip]-t'a (着る) = kar].a.ip-t'a (着替える)
- c'ot.[k'i]-ə (追われて:c'ot.[k'i]-ta 「基本形」) + na].ta (出る) = c'ot.[k'i].na-ta (追い出される)
- [c^hac-a (探して:[c^hat-t'a 「基本形」) + [tir-ta (入る) = [c^hac.a]tir-ta (訪れる:平和が)
- (ii) tor]-a (回って:tor]-ta 「基本形」) + ka]-ta (行く) = tor].a.ka-ta (帰る)
- kar]-ra (分けて:ka.[ri]-ta 「基本形」) + sə]-ta (立つ) = kar].ra.sə-ta (別れる)
- (iii) kim].c^hi (キムチ) + c'i].ke (チゲ) = kim].c^hi.c'i.ke (キムチチゲ)

joŋ.[su].c ^h ər (ばね)	+	cə].ur (秤)	=	joŋ.[su].c ^h ər.cə.ur (ばね秤)
[ki.rim (絵)	+	[jəp.s'ə (ハガキ)	=	[ki.rim].jəp.sə (絵ハガキ)
han].kuk (韓国)	+	sa.[ram (人)	=	han].kuk.s'a.ram (韓国人)

(3 i) は、連用形の X のアクセントが Z のアクセントになっている。(3 ii) は、基本形と連用形のアクセントが異なるが、これは母音の脱落による核のずれと歴史的なことから説明できるものであり、連用形の X のアクセントが Z のアクセントになる。(3 i) と (3 ii) は、(3 iii) の複合名詞の特徴と同様であり、複合名詞の規則が働いていることが分かる。

(4) ③その他

(i) [t'ə (切り取って: [t'i-ta 「基本形」)	+	an].ki-t'a (抱かせる)	=	t'ə[an].ki-ta (背負い込ませる)
[t'ə (切り取って: [t'i-ta 「基本形」)	+	mat].k'i-ta (任せる)	=	t'ə[mat].ki-ta (押し付ける)
(ii) [par (足)	+	p'a].tak (底, 床)	=	par.[p'a].tak (足裏)
[ki (耳)	+	ku.[məŋ (穴)	=	ki.[k'u.məŋ (耳の穴)
[mur (水)	+	pa.[ka].c ^h i (ひさご)	=	mur.[pa.ka].c ^h i
(iii) [p ^h ə (汲み取って: [p ^h u-ta 「基本形」)	+	put]-t'a (差す)	=	p ^h ə.[put]-t'a (強く降り注ぐ)
[tir-ə (入って: [tir-ta 「基本形」)	+	o]-ta (来る)	=	tir[-ə.o]-ta (帰ってくる)

(4 i) は、複合名詞の規則からは Z が㊦(X)が期待されるが、Y の位置が活きた音調型が現れる。このような例は、X が 1 音節の㊦であり、接頭辞のように機能するものである。

このアクセント特徴は、(4 ii) の複合名詞の結合においても、X が 1 音節語の㊦の時、規則の例外のように現れる。これは、中期朝鮮語でもこれと並行的な例があり (去声+平(平)声=平平(平)), 古い時期から存在していたものである。共時的には、出来上がった語形に後からアクセントが与えられたものと見る。(4 iii) は、X が㊦であり、Z は文節全体で '低高…高低' になる。これらの例は、意味の特殊化しており、アクセント的にも語形に後からアクセントが与えられたものと見る。ちなみに、penultimate の後で下降するピッチパターンがデフォルト型である。

(5) ④ 2 単位形

(i) [t'it-ə (取り外して: [t'it-t'a 「基本形」)	+	ko].c ^h i-ta (直す)	=	[t'it-ə[ko].c ^h i-ta (取り外して直す)
mor.ri-ə (殺到して: mor.[ri]-ta 「基本形」)	+	na.[o].-ta (出る)	=	mor.[ri].i.na.[o]-ta (群がり出てくる)
(ii) [tir-ə (入って: [tir-ta 「基本形」)	+	ka]-ta (行く)	=	[tir-ə[ka]-ta (中へ入って行く)
[tir-ə (入って: [tir-ta 「基本形」)	+	mat]-t'a (合う)	=	[tir-ə[mat]-t'a (的中する)

(5) は、1 語として辞書に載っているものの、アクセント的には 1 単位形にまとまらない例である。(5 i) は、X と Y の間に -sə (意味素) が挿入されても言えるものであり、X と Y が並列的に接続している句と見る。(5 ii) は、X と Y の間に -sə が挿入されないものであるが、音韻的には 1 語にならない。意味的に、X が Y の手段・方法を表しているものではなく、X と Y が並列的に接続しているものであり、主に [tir-ə が X に立った例が多い。これらについては例を増やし、より詳しい調査・分析が必要である。

本研究では、辞書に載っている例を中心にそのアクセント規則を考察したが、辞書に載っていない (句) 例がアクセント的には 1 単位形にまとまるものもあり、その解明等は今後の課題となっている。