

Interactions between lexical and postlexical tones: Evidence from Japanese

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The primary goal of this talk is to propose descriptive generalizations of vocative intonation (calling tunes) across several Japanese dialects, a topic that has not attracted serious attention in the literature. We challenge this interesting topic by analyzing original data from fieldwork. The dialects examined here vary in the organization of lexical prosody: the mora-based multi-pattern system of standard Tokyo Japanese, the syllable-based one-pattern system of Kobayashi Japanese, the syllable-based two-pattern system of Kagoshima Japanese, and the mora-based two-pattern system of Koshikijima Japanese (Kubozono 2012). While all these dialects exhibit word-final pitch fall as a common distinctive feature of vocative intonation, they differ how the final L% (or HL%) tone is manifested. It is demonstrated that these cross-dialectal differences can be attributed largely to the differences in the lexical prosodic organization.

Our tonal analysis pays particular attention to the ways the boundary tone manifesting vocative meanings interacts with lexical tones manifesting pitch accent in each dialect system. The boundary tone clashes or competes with the lexical tones in some cases, often within a limited phonological domain (typically, a syllable). These clashes are resolved in several independent ways, e.g. by vowel lengthening in the relevant syllable, by the loss of either tone (typically the lexical tone), and by the leftward shift of tones, typically of the lexical tone. The obtained data thus support the cross-linguistic observation that intonational boundary tones generally win over lexical tones when they compete with each other (Gussenhoven 2018).

The tonal analysis proposed here also present evidence for postlexical tonal neutralizations whereby lexical pitch accent contrasts are lost as lexical tones compete with postlexical ones. Different dialects exhibit this interesting phenomenon to differing degrees: Tokyo Japanese does neutralize lexical distinctions by losing pitch accent in lexically accented words, but in very restricted phonological contexts, whereas Kagoshima and Koshikijima Japanese both neutralize lexical tonal distinctions in much wider contexts. Tonal neutralizations in these dialects can be accounted for reasonably well in our tonal analysis and, moreover, the observed cross-dialectal differences can also be attributed, at least in part, to the differences in lexical prosodic organization.

Gussenhoven, C. (2018) On the privileged status of intonational boundary tones: Evidence from Japanese, French, and Cantonese English. In G. Buckley, T. Crane and J. Good (Eds.) *Revealing Structure: Papers in Honor of Larry M. Hyman*. 57-69. Stanford: CSLI.

Kubozono, H. (2012) Varieties of pitch accent systems in Japanese. *Lingua* 122,1395-1414.