

## Focus prosody in Kagoshima Japanese

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This talk discusses the interactions between word and sentence prosody in Kagoshima Japanese by analyzing how presence or absence of focus affects the accent patterns determined at the lexical level. Kagoshima Japanese has two distinct accent classes generally known as Type A and Type B. In lexical phonology, they exhibit a High tone on the penultimate syllable (Type A) or the final syllable (Type B). Seen differently, Type A words involve a pitch fall, whereas Type B words do not. This distinction is preserved in short as well as long words. These two accent patterns are realized in the domain of ‘bunsetsu’, or the basic syntactic phrase consisting of a content word with or without one or more grammatical particles. However, sentence-final particles like the question particle *ka* and assertive particle *do* are placed outside the domain of this tone assignment. The difference between grammatical and sentence-final particles is illustrated in (1), where high pitch and syllable boundaries are denoted by capital letters and dots, respectively. { } indicates the domain of tone assignment.

(1)

	Type A	Type B
Citation form	{o.NA.go} ‘woman’	{o.to.KO} ‘man’
form with a grammatical particle	{o.na.GO-ga} ‘woman-Nominative’	{o.to.ko-GA} ‘man-Nominative’
Form with a sentence-final particle	{o.NA.go}-ka ‘(Is that a) woman?’	{o.to.KO}-ka ‘(Is that a) man?’

Interestingly, sentence-final particles come to be incorporated into the domain of tone assignment if the syntactic phrase preceding it is further preceded by a focused element. This phenomenon, which we call ‘post-focal domain expansion’ or ‘post-focal particle incorporation’, is observed in various types of focus constructions shown in (2), where sentences with a focused element (underlined) are compared with those without.

(2)

Focus construction	Non-focus construction
a. { <u>DAI-ga</u> } {ki.ta-KA} ‘Who came?’	{ta.ROO-ga} {ki.TA}-ka ‘Did Taro come?’
b. {ta.ROO-ga} {ki.ta-KA} ‘Did TARO really come’	{ta.ROO-ga} {ki.TA}-ka ‘Did Taro come?’
c. { <u>mo.HE</u> } {ki.ta-KA} ‘(Has he) come ALREADY?’	{MOO} {ki.TA}-ka ‘(Has he) come yet?’
d. { <u>mo.HE</u> } {ki.ta-DO} ‘(He has) come ALREADY’	{MOO} {ki.TA}-do ‘(He has) come already’
e. {ta.KO} {na.ka-KA} ‘It’s EXPENSIVE, isn’t it’	{ta.KO} {na.KA}-ka ‘Is it expensive or not?’

This focus-triggered phenomenon is subject to two phonological conditions: (i) the element preceding the sentence-final particle must be a Type B word like /ki.TA/ and /na.KA/ in (2), and (ii) this Type B word itself must not be focused. This paper discusses these phonological constraints and some implications of this domain expansion phenomenon beyond Kagoshima Japanese.