

# Tonal Change of Loanwords in Osaka Japanese

Shin'ichi Tanaka (Kobe University)

This paper examines the accentual/tonal patterns of loanwords in Osaka Japanese, a dialect spoken in the Kansai district, with main focus on the phonological structure and the generations of speakers.

As reported by many studies, Osaka Japanese is known to have more complex accentual/tonal systems than Tokyo Japanese in that Osaka Japanese, independent of pitch accent, has two contrastive pitch patterns called “register” or “shiki” at the beginning of the word (i.e. high-beginning and low-beginning). In native words, the contrast between high-beginning and low-beginning is determined lexically (historically) according to the lexical class to which the word belongs (Kindaichi 1974). The register of compounds is also predictable; the register of the first element (N1) is inherited to the compound (Wada 1943, Nakai 2002, etc.). However, little is known about what determines the register in loanwords.

We investigate the loanword accentuation by the speaker of three generations (old / middle-aged / young) and report the following things. First, the tonal change is observed more than the accentual change. Secondly, old speakers of Osaka Japanese are likely to exhibit high-beginning pattern as in (1a/b) irrespective of the phonological structure of the word, while young speakers are not. Thirdly, young speakers are sensitive to the weight of the word-initial syllable; if the word-initial syllable is heavy, they are likely to pronounce the loanword with high-beginning pitch as in (2a), while if it is light, low-beginning pattern is likely to be yielded as in (2b). (Capital letters and dots denote high-pitch portions and syllable boundaries, respectively.)

## (1) Old speakers

a. #  $\sigma_{H(eavy)}$ : #DAI.NA.MA'i.to

b. #  $\sigma_{L(ight)}$ : #PU.RO.GU'.ra.mu

## (2) Young speakers

a. #  $\sigma_{H(eavy)}$ : #DAI.NA.MA'i.to ‘dynamite’

b. #  $\sigma_{L(ight)}$ : #pu.ro.GU'.ra.mu ‘program’

Lastly, we point out that the contrast between (2a) and (2b) by young speakers can be attributed to an influence of Tokyo Japanese which originally has this sort of weight-sensitive tonal assignment (Hattori 1960).

## (3) Tokyo Japanese

a. #  $\sigma_{H(eavy)}$ : #DAI.NA.MA'i.to (~ # daI.NA.MA'i.to) ‘dynamite’

b. #  $\sigma_{L(ight)}$ : # pu.RO.GU'.ra.mu ‘program’