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Typology of prosodic phrasing in Japanese dialects from a cross-linguistic perspective

The goals of this talk are 1) to discuss typological differences in prosodic phrasing in Japanese dialects and, 2) by relating the facts from Japanese dialects to those from other languages, to explore a possible prosodic typology that classifies languages into two groups on the basis of differences in the distribution of tonal events in the utterance.

In a typology of prosodic phrasing in Japanese dialects that I proposed elsewhere (Igarashi forthcoming), the dialects are categorized into those in which an *Accentual Phrase* (AP) generally contains only one (content) word, and those in which it can contain two or more words (those which allow 'multiword APs'). Thus, the Tokyo, Fukuoka, and Koriyama dialects allow multiword APs, while the Osaka, Kagoshima, and Kobayashi dialects do not.

This typology can be applied to some other languages, such as Seoul Korean (Jun 1993), French (Jun and Fougeron 2000), and Chichewa (Kanerva 1990). They all are classified into the languages allowing multiword APs, because the APs in these languages can consist of two or more words. Without further elaboration, however, it is impossible to apply this AP-based typology to those languages, where APs are not readily identified. They include most of the European languages, such as English, German, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Recent work suggests a prosodic typology similar to that for Japanese dialects mentioned above. It classifies languages into those in which almost every (content) word receives a (post-lexical) *pitch accent* (PA), and those in which only some of the words in the utterance receive it. The former includes, for example, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese (Elordieta et al. 2003), and Egyptian Arabic (Helmuth 2007), while the latter includes, for example, English, Dutch (Ladd 1997), and European Portuguese (Frota 2002). The robustness of this typology depends crucially on whether or not it is possible to develop a universally applicable definition of PA across languages. However, no such notion has arguably been proposed, and thus this PA-based typology cannot be applied to the languages such as Korean and Japanese.

In this talk, the AP-based and PA-based typologies are proposed to be integrated by introducing the notion of *denseness of tonal events*. The tonal events here stand for all the phonological tones, regardless of whether they are lexical or post-lexical, and of whether they are contrastive or non-contrastive. They include, therefore, both pitch contours defining the AP and those defining the PA. The distribution of tonal events is regarded to be dense, if they are found on almost every word in the utterance. If tonal events are observed on only some of the words, then their distribution is considered to be sparse. In this unified framework, languages are classified into two groups. One consists of languages with *dense tonal distribution*, such as the Osaka, Kagoshima, and Kobayashi dialects of Japanese, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, and Egyptian Arabic. The other consists of those with *sparse tonal distribution*, such as the

Tokyo, Fukuoka, and Koriyama dialects of Japanese, Seoul Korean, Chichewa, French, English, Dutch, and European Portuguese.

The division of languages into the two categories in this way may help us to capture cross-linguistic differences in the relation between prosodic structure and syntactic/focus structure. In languages with dense tonal distribution such as Egyptian Arabic and Osaka Japanese, differences in syntactic/focus structure are not signaled either by the deletion of pitch accents (so-called *deaccenting*) or by the deletion of AP boundaries (so-called *dephrasing*), whereas they are in languages with sparse tonal distribution such as English, Tokyo Japanese, and Korean (Venditti et al. 1996; Jun 2005). In the former group of languages, the differences are mapped onto prosody mainly by different pitch range modifications of the same tonal events (Igarashi forthcoming; Helmuth 2007).

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