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## Accent of the Koshikijima dialect

This paper discusses the lexical and post-lexical prosody of the Koshikijima Japanese, one of the endangered Japanese dialects spoken in the south of Japan. The prosody of this dialect has not been studied in depth since it was first studied by Kamimura seventy years ago (Kamimura 1937, 1941). Like other dialects in the same area, this dialect has a two-pattern prosodic system, a system with two lexically contrastive tonal patterns. This particular dialect can be analyzed as having two basic melodies—HLHL (Type A) and HLH (Type B)—either of which is underlyingly given to any morpheme.

The first half of this paper presents an overall picture of the endangered prosodic system, including its compound accent rule and the assignment of the basic melodies to words. Particularly interesting here is the interaction between the mora and the syllable: The first two tones in the basic melodies—HL—are assigned syllable by syllable, whereas the remaining tones—H(L)—are assigned on the basis of the mora. Specifically, the second H tone in each melody is assigned to a particular mora, the L tone preceding this H tone is associated with the immediately preceding *syllable*, and the initial H tone is linked to the remaining *syllables* at the beginning of words. This yields outputs that have two pitch peaks the second of which is always monomoraic (capital letters denote high-toned portions): e.g. WAI.E.MU.sii.Ei 'YMCA', HA.RU.YA.su.MI 'spring holiday'.

The second half of the paper discusses the paradoxical relationship between the first and second H tones. At the lexical level, the second H tone is distinctive in the sense that its position distinguishes between the two tonal patterns, Type A and Type B. Moreover, it determines the domain of the first H tone, which spreads over multiple syllables at the beginning of the word. In this sense, the second H tone dominates the first one in lexical prosody. In sentence-level prosody, however, the second H tone is usually deleted except in sentence-final position. What this means is that at the post-lexical level, the first H tone comes to bear a lexically distinctive role, while the second H tone (if manifested) serves as a boundary tone signaling the end of the sentence. We propose to account for this opaque case by making a historical comparison of our data with those of Kamimura (1937, 1941) on the one hand, and analyzing the H tone deletion rule in comparison with the English rhythm rule, on the other hand.

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