

Tone and Length in Shimabara Japanese

MATSUURA, Toshio
Kyushu University

This study examines how the mora count affects the tone of loanwords and compounds in Shimabara Japanese, and shows that the rule of the tonal pattern of a 'long' loanword is as same as that of a compound tone. This suggests that a 'long' loanword in general is analyzed as a pseudo-compound in Japanese, as has been mentioned in Sato (2002), and Kubozono (2005).

Shimabara Japanese is a dialect classified in Southwestern Kyushu dialect group. In this dialect, each word is specified as having either of the two contrastive tonal patterns, Tone A and Tone B. Tone A has high tones on the first two morae (except for the case of two-mora words, in which only the first mora has a high tone), whereas Tone B has a high tone on the final mora, as is illustrated in (1) (A dot (.) denotes a syllable boundary. A hyphen (-) denotes a mora boundary within a syllable. The high toned portion is capitalized.).

- (1) Tone A: HI-i 'sun', A.me 'candy', SA.KA.na 'fish', KA.MA.bo.ko 'steamed fish paste'
Tone B: hi-I 'fire', a.ME 'rain', a.ta.MA 'head', mu.ra.sa.KI 'purple'

Hirayama (1951) shows that the tone of the first member is preserved in the tone of the compound in a Southwestern Kyushu dialect.

- (2) a. KO.si 'waist' + ho.NE 'bone' → KO.SI.bo.ne 'hipbone'
KA.mi 'paper' + ko-p.PU 'cup' → KA.MI.ko-p.pu 'paper cup'
b. ya.MA 'mountain' + SA.KU.ra 'cherry' → ya.ma.za.ku.RA 'mountain cherry'
se-e.yo-O 'western' + O-N.ga.ku 'music' → se-e.yo-o.o-n.ga.KU 'western music'

However, in Shimabara Japanese there is a compound which takes Tone B regardless of their first element. These compounds contain more than one foot in their first element, as is shown in (3).

- (3) a. SYA.KA-i 'society' + SYU.gi 'principle' → sya.ka-i.syu.GI 'socialism'
b. WA.RA-i 'laugh' + ko.E 'voice' → wa.ra-i.go.E 'laughter'

In sum, the tonal pattern of a compound is determined by the following rules (Compound Tone Rule: CTR).

- (4) a. Preserve the tone of the first element in a compound if there is less than three morae on their first element.
b. Assign Tone B to a compound if there are more than one foot on their first element. (optional)

By the way, how about the tonal pattern of a loanword at issue in this paper? The tonal pattern of a loanword in Shimabara Japanese is determined based on its length. A loanword which contains less than 5 morae takes Tone A (5a), while a loanword which contains more than 5 morae takes Tone B (5b).

- (5) a. PU.ro 'professional', BO-O.ru 'boul', HA-N.do.ru 'handle', SO-O.se-e.zi 'sausage'
b. a.ru.mi.ni.u.MU 'aluminum', e.su.ka.re-e.ta-A 'escalator', ma-i.ku.ro.mo-o.ta-A 'micro motor'

One may say that two different rules are necessary for determining the tonal pattern of a loanword. But I propose that a 'long' loanword is always re-analyzed as a compound (for example, as in (6)), and is subject to compound tone rule. It follows that there is only one tone rule (7) for loanwords per se.

- (6) a.ru.mi.ni.u.mu → a.ru.mi + ni.u.mu, e.su.ka.re-e.ta-a → e.su.ka + re-e.ta-a
(7) Loanword Tone Rule (LTR): Assign Tone A to loanwords.

Since the first element of a pseudo-compound (6) has more than one foot, it takes Tone B, as is shown in (8).

- (8) a.ru.mi + ni.u.mu → A.RU.mi + NI.U.mu (by LTR) → a.ru.mi.ni.u.MU (by CTR) 'aluminum'
e.su.ka + re-e.ta-a → E.SU.ka + RE-E.ta-a (by LTR) → e.su.ka.re-e.ta-A (by CTR) 'escalator'

This analysis accounts for the distribution of the tonal pattern of a loanword which contains 5 morae. If it starts with a heavy syllable, then it takes Tone A (8a), and if it starts with a light syllable which follows a heavy syllable, then it takes Tone A or Tone B (9b).

- (9) a. KU-U.de.ta-a 'coup d'état', KO-N.sa-a.to 'concert', HA-I.hi-i.ru 'high heels'
b. KA.RE-n.da-a 'calender', su.te-n.re.SU 'stainless steel'

It is natural to assume that the boundary of pseudo-compound cannot divide a single syllable. So, the words (9) are divided as (10).

- (10) a. ku-u + de.ta-a, ko-n + sa-a.to, ha-i + hi-i.ru
b. ka.re-n + da-a, su.te-n + re.su

Pseudo-compounds (10a) have two morae in its first element, so it takes Tone A only, on the other hand pseudo-compounds (10b) can take Tone A or Tone B because the first element has three morae.

The analysis in this paper supports the claim that both compound prosody and loanword prosody follow the same rules (Kubozono 2002).