

論文の内容の要旨

論文題目 Head-Dominancy Correspondence in Japanese Non-Simplex
Word Accentuation
(日本語非単純語アクセントにおける主要部と優位性の対応関係)

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Morphology and phonology have been contradicting each other in the definition of a ‘compound,’ in particular in Japanese compound accentuation. A compound in phonology might contain free morphemes, bound morphemes, or even affixes in morphology. This dissertation starts by challenging the definition of compound accent rules and systematically investigating the applicable scope of compound accent rules. A dominance–subordination model that describes and predicts the accentual type of non-simplex words is proposed, hypothesizing that the morphological head corresponds to prosodic dominancy, and that these two factors represent various morphophonological phenomena. Dominancy is a term that indicates the relative dominant relation between the two components in a non-simplex word, which is first proposed in this dissertation.

By setting the new notion ‘dominancy’ apart from a head in a complex structure, the accentual pattern can be predicted with its morphological structure. Non-simplex words with left-headed structure and right-headed structure—including dvandva non-simplex words which have been viewed as double-headed—show four kinds of accentual patterns in terms of dominancy: left dominancy, right dominancy, zero dominancy, and accentual transfer. This dissertation showed that head dominancy is not a one-to-one correspondence; instead, the relation changes depending on prosodic length and lexical information of the head element. A mapping model between morphology and phonology is proposed based on morphological complexity and the notion of mono-phrasal and bi-phrasal compounds, where a one-to-one correspondence of mapping between morphology and phonology can be assumed.