

論文の内容の要旨

Word prosodic structure in Japanese: A cross-dialectal perspective

(日本語の語レベルの韻律構造：通方言的な視点から)

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In this study, a number of issues in the word prosodic structure of Japanese are investigated from a cross-dialectal perspective. The main goal of the thesis is to account for the accentual and tonal patterns in a number of different dialects by examining the role of word-internal prosodic constituents above the syllable.

The study is couched within Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995), a sub-theory of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004). A new definition of the Indirect Reference Hypothesis (Inkelas 1989; Bermudéz-Otero 2012) is proposed, according to which a phonological constraint may not refer to morpho-syntactic information unless (i) it forces alignment between designated prosodic units and the exponents of designated morphosyntactic nodes or (ii) it forces correspondence between forms that share morphosyntactic or lexical features. In this way, it is possible to restrict direct reference to morphosyntactic and lexical features, while at the same time allowing for analogical effects.

Based on data from a total of six different dialects the following claims are made about tone and prosodic structure.

(i) As for tone, it is shown that H tone is not simply a feature of the postlexical phonology or phonetic implementation. Rather, this tone must be assumed to be active in the lexical phonology. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that in at least two different dialects the interaction of H tone with vowel height cannot be reduced to the interaction of H tone and vowel height with metrical structure, which is an interesting conclusion from a typological point of view.

(ii) As for prosodic structure, it is shown that, besides the prosodic word, the prosodic stem and the foot play an important role in the prosodic grammar. Evidence is presented for the co-existence of trochees and iambs, covert feet, as well as monomoraic feet. Evidence for the prosodic stem comes from accentual alternations in the verbal paradigms of five different dialects. Importantly, however, not only prosodic structure, but also paradigm uniformity is shown to be necessary in order to account for the accentual alternations. What is more, it is demonstrated that a foot-based analysis of accent in verbs has some advantages over a purely tonal analysis. The default accent pattern in all dialects can be formulated in terms of a trochaic foot that is right-aligned with the prosodic stem. The evidence for the co-existence of these two constituents is important for prosodic theory, because both units must be assumed to be dominated by the prosodic word in the Prosodic Hierarchy.