

Revisiting accent in Japanese given names: Stem-like accent with foot faithfulness

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Issues

- Accent of given names largely predictable ¹
 - ▶ Mostly **antepenultimate accent** (pitch fall at/ after syllable containing third-to-last mora):
Masá-taka *Mása-to* *Hána-ko*
 - ▶ **Unaccented** (no pitch fall) if derived from verbs, certain nouns or having particular suffixes
Manab-u *Makoto* *Hana-e*
- ... But **WHY?**

¹ See Akinaga (1985); Tanaka & Kubozono (1999); Sugawara (2012)

Outline

- Proposal 1: Stem-like accent
 - ▶ Names follow Ito & Mester's (2016) stem accent grammar
- Proposal 2: Foot faithfulness
 - ▶ Keep same number of feet if derived from existing words
- Applying analysis
- Discussion & conclusions

Proposal 1: Stem-like accent

- Names = regular single stems ²
 - ▶ No variation in accent location; if accented, “regular stem accent” (i.e. antepenultimate) ³

Mása-to *Masá-taka*
 - ▶ No “compound accent” (≈accent near boundary) even for compound names

Hána-ko NOT **Haná-ko*
- We adopt Ito & Mester’s (2016; henceforth **IM16**) stem accent grammar for all names

² See Tanaka (2017) for original proposal

³ See Kawahara (2015)

IM16's stem grammar

- “Weak Antepenultimate System” (IM16)
- Antepenultimate accent = trochaic foot with final extrametricality
 - ▶ 3 or 4 mora words with light syll. : LLL, LLLL
(**bána**)na pa(**púri**)ka
 - ▶ 3 mora words with heavy & light syllables : HL
(**pán**)da (**háa**)pu
- If applied to names...
(**hána**)-ko ma(**sá-ta**)ka (**kén**)-ta ...

Key constraints in IM16

- FootBinarity: No unary feet
- NonFinality(Foot'): No head foot word-finally
* ... (óó)]word
- Rightmost: Head foot must be rightmost foot
* (óó) (oo) ..]word
- InitialFoot: Have foot word-initially
* word[o(oo) ...
- WordAccent: Words have accent
- Parse- σ : No unfooted syllables
- NoLapse: No consecutive unparsed syllables
- Trochee: Feet are trochaic

Deriving antepenultimacy (1)

- 3 mora LLL & HL names: **antepenultimate**

/hana-ko/	NoLap	FtBin	NonFin	Rtmost	WdAcc	IniFt	Par-σ
(hana)-(kó)		*!	*				
(hána)-(ko)		*!		*			
(hana)-(ko)		*!			*		
ha(ná-ko)			*!			*	*
→ (hána)-ko							*

- ▶ Other LLL & HL names:

(mása)-to, (áya)-ka, (táka)-si, (háru)-ki,
 (kázu)-ya, (kén)-ta, (yúu)-zi, (ái)-ko, ...

Deriving antepenultimacy (2)

- 4 mora LLLL names: **antepenultimate**

/masa-taka/	NoLap	FtBin	NonFin	Rtmost	WdAcc	IniFt	Par-σ
(masa)-(táka)			*!				
(mása)-(taka)				*!			
(masa)-(taka)					*!		
→ ma(sá-ta)ka						*	**
(mása)-taka	*!						**

- ▶ Other LLLL names:

ta(ká-hi)ro, yo(sí-no)ri, ma(sá-to)si, ...

- ... But then, why some names unaccented?

Unaccentedness in IM16

- Unaccentedness arises from consecutive feet
 - ▶ e.g. 4 mora HLL; necessarily exhaustive footing
(saa)(kuru) — NO syll.-breaking *sa(áku)ru ⁴

/saakuru/	NoLap	FtBin	NonFin	Rtmost	WdAcc	IniFt	Par-σ
(saa)(kúru)			*!				
(sáa)(kuru)				*!			
→ (saa)(kuru)					*		

- ▶ Crucially: NonFin, Rtmost ≫ WdAcc

- Unaccented names also have two feet in a row?

⁴ [saa-(kúru)] also violates NonFin; [(sáa)-kuru] violates NoLapse

Proposal 2: Foot faithfulness

- Faithful to original feet?
 - ▶ Many unaccented names are derived from ...
 - verbs: *Manab-u, Mamor-u, Siger-u, ...*
 - nouns: *Makoto, Hikari, ...*
 - ▶ Presumably consecutive feet in original forms
(mana)(b-u) (ma)(koto)
- We propose Output-Output Faith. constraint:
 - ▶ Max(Foot)-OO: Don't delete original feet

Verb → Name: Unaccented

- Deverbal names are all **unaccented**, whether originally accented or unaccented ⁵

mamór-u ‘to protect’ → *Mamor-u*

manab-u ‘to study’ → *Manab-u*

- Verbs ≈ noun compounds (see Kubozono 2008)
 - ▶ Each element parsed into foot
 - ▶ Accent near boundary, or unaccented

(mamó)(r-u) ⁶ (mana)(b-u)

⁵ See Akinaga (1985); Tanaka & Kubozono (1999); Sugawara (2012)

⁶ Possibly (ma)(mór-u) without foot flipping (see Alderete 2015)

Verb → Name: Unaccented

- High-ranked Max(Foot) → unaccented

[(mamó)-(ru)]	MaxFt	FtBin	NonFin	Rtmost	WdAcc	IniFt	Par-σ
(mámo)r-u	*!						*
(mamo)(r-ú)		*	*!				
(mamó)(r-u)		*		*!			
→ (mamo)(r-u)		*			*		

▶ NB: Faithful “feet”; accent itself not preserved

▶ Other deverbal names:

(mana)(b-u), (wata)(r-u), (sige)(r-u), (kao)(r-u),
 (take)(r-u), (sugu)(r-u), (sino)(b-u), ...

Noun → Name (1): Unaccented

- Denominal names are **unaccented** if originally unaccented or finally-accented

makoto ‘truth’ → *Makoto*

hikarí ‘light’ → *Hikari*

- Many are historically compounds ⁷

- ▶ Each element parsed into foot

- ▶ Unaccented, or accent near boundary

ma + koto ‘true-thing’ → (ma)-(koto)

hikar + i ‘shine-Suff.’ → (hika)(r-í)

⁷ See IM16: 513

Noun → Name (1): Unaccented

- High-ranked Max(Foot) → unaccented

[(ma)(koto)]	MaxFt	FtBin	NonFin	Rtmost	WdAcc	IniFt	Par-σ
(má)to	*!						*
(ma)(kó to)		*	*!				
(má)(koto)		*		*!			
→ (ma)(koto)		*			*		

- ▶ Denominal names of this type:

(hika)(ri), (tu)(basa), (kae)(de), (nozo)(mi),
 (megu)(mi), (ao)(i), (hazi)(me), (sumi)(re), ...

Noun → Name (2): Accented

- Denominal names with original penultimate accent shift accent to **antepenult** ⁸

kokóro ‘heart’ → *Kókoro*

tikára ‘force’ → *Tíkara*

- No change for original **antepenultimate** accent
yámato ‘Yamato’ → *Yámato*

- Original foot structure = Single trochaic foot

ko(**kó**ro) ti(**ká**ra) (**yá**ma)to

⁸ [kokoró], [tikará] with final accent also acceptable

Noun → Name (2): Accented

- Original single foot → antepenult. accent
 - ▶ NB: accent shift incurs no MaxFt violation

[ko(kóro)]	MaxFt	FtBin	NonFin	Rtmost	WdAcc	IniFt	Par-σ
ko(kó ro)			*!			*	*
→ (kó ko)ro							*
(koko)(ró)		*!	*				
(kó ko)(ro)		*!		*			
(koko)(ro)		*!			*		

- ▶ Denominal names of this type:

(**tí**ka)ra, (**yá**ma)to, (**mí**do)ri, (**á**zu)sa

Noun → Name (3): Accented

- Two mora names are **initially-accented** regardless of original accent

haná ‘flower’ → *Hána*

sóra ‘sky’ → *Sóra*

riku ‘earth’ → *Ríku*

- Predicted by high-ranked MinWordAcc (IM16)
 - ▶ MinWordAccent: Minimal (2 mora) prosodic words have accent

(hána) (sóra) (ríku)

Noun → Name (3): Accented

- Two mora → accent

[ha(ná)]	Max Ft	MinWd Acc	FtBin	Non Fin	Rtmost	WdAcc	Ini Ft	Par-σ
ha(ná)			*!	*			*	*
(hana)		*!				*		
→ (hána)				*				

[(riku)]	Max Ft	MinWd Acc	FtBin	Non Fin	Rtmost	WdAcc	Ini Ft	Par-σ
(riku)		*!				*		
→ (ríku)				*				

NB: [ha(ná)] also violates high-ranked NonFin(σ) (see IM16)

Other patterns

- Anti-accenting onomastic (name-specific) suffixes
→ (mostly) **unaccented**

Masa-e, Taka-o, Aya-mi, Koo-hee, Yuu-saku

cf. ***Sá-e, Kú-mi***

- Other suffixes (e.g. *-iti, -suke*) → complex patterns
- Longer names → compound-like accent

Anti-accenting onomastic suffixes

- High-ranked ParseOnomastic → unaccented

- ▶ ParseOnom: Onomastic suffixes are footed ⁹
-(e), -(o), -(mi), -(hee), -(saku), etc.

- ▶ Suffix footing results in consecutive feet

(masa)-(e) (taka)-(o) (koo)-(hee)

*masa-(e) *taka-(o) *koo-(hee) ¹⁰

- High-ranked MinWordAcc → accented

- ▶ If two moras, always accented

(**Sá**)-(e) (**Kú**)-(mi)

⁹ NB: Not all onomastic suffixes are anti-accenting: e.g. *-ta*, *-ko*, *-ya*, etc.

¹⁰ WSP requires heavy syllables to be footed (IM16)

X-iti names

- Accent pattern:
 - ▶ Mostly unaccented: *Koo-iti, Yuu-iti, Sin-iti, ...*
 - ▶ Some accented: *Tá-iti, Hikó-iti, ...*
- Analysis: *-iti* is not anti-accenting
- HLL → unaccented
 - ▶ Consecutive feet (no syllable-breaking footing)
(koo)-(iti) *ko(ó-i)ti (yuu)-(iti) *yu(ú-i)ti
- Rarer LLL, LLLL → accented
 - ▶ If light syllables, regular antepenult. accent
(**tá-i**)ti hi(**kó-i**)ti

Challenge: *X-suke* names

- Accent pattern:
 - ▶ If HLL, accented: *Dái-suke*, *Sín-suke*, *Yóo-suke*
 - ▶ If LLL, unaccented: *Sa-Suke*, *Yo-Suke*, ...
- Analysis: *-suke* must be footed but also accented due to name-specific constraint
 - ▶ High-ranked ParseOnom requires *-(suke)*
 - ▶ *X-sukeAccent*: Names with *-suke* have accent

Challenge: *X-suke* names

- HLL → accented

/dai-suke/	Max Ft	Parse Onom	Ft Bin	Non Fin	<i>X-suke</i> Acc	Right most	Wd Acc	Ini Ft	Par -σ
(dái)-suke		*!							**
dai-(súke)				*!				*	*
(dai)-(súke)				*!					
→ (dái)-(suke)						*			
(dai)-(suke)					*!		*		

- ▶ *X-suke*Acc ≫ Rightmost
- ▶ NonFin ≫ Rightmost (... unranked in IM16)

Challenge: *X-suke* names

- LLL → unaccented

/sa-suke/	Max Ft	Parse Onom	Ft Bin	Non Fin	<i>X-suke</i> Acc	Right most	Wd Acc	Ini Ft	Par -σ
(sá -su)ke		*!							*
(sa)-(sú ke)			*!	*					
(sá)-(suke)			*!			*			
sa-(sú ke)				*!				*	*
→ sa-(suke)					*		*	*	*

▶ FtBin ≫ NonFin(Ft') ≫ *X-suke*Acc

- Finding: unaccentedness may arise from L-(LL)

Challenge: *-roo* names & others

- Complex pattern:
 - ▶ If LH, accented: *Tá-roo*, *Gó-roo*
 - ▶ If LLH, unaccented: *Iti-roo*, *Sabu-roo*
- Analysis: *-roo* must be footed and have initial foot
 - ▶ High-ranked ParseOnom requires *-(roo)*
 - ▶ InitialFoot-*X-roo*: Have foot initially in *X-roo* ¹¹
- Other exceptional names may also be explained by name-spec. constraints or sub-grammars

¹¹ IniFt-*X-roo* » FtBin derives (**tá**)-roo

“Long” names

- “Long” names are compounds ¹²
 - ▶ Each element parsed into foot
 - ▶ Accent near boundary or unaccented
 - (soo)-(íti)-(roo) (mata)-(sábu)-(roo)
 - (koo)-(ta)-(roo) (sin)-(no)-(suke)
- Still compatible with proposal
 - ▶ Japanese stems = 2 or 3 moras, 4 at longest
 - ▶ Stem grammar can’t handle “long” names → treated as compounds

¹² See Kubozono 1998; further complications with *XX-taroo* vs. *XX-ziroo*

“Long” names

- But what counts as “long”?
 - ▶ Male names: 5 moras or longer
 - ▶ Female names: 4 moras or longer (?)
e.g. *Sakurá-ko*, *Kaorú-ko*
- Interesting fact: Of 1,200 common names...

	2 moras	3 moras	4 moras	5+ moras
Male	11%	55%	27%	7%
Female	29%	71%	<1%	0%

- ▶ Very few 4(+)-mora female names!

Discussion & conclusions

- Summary: “Name = stem” with “faithful feet”
 - ▶ IM16’s stem accent grammar can be directly extended to given names
 - ▶ Explains “why” particular names are accented/unaccented
- Implications
 - ▶ Confirms consecutive feet as origin of unaccentedness (IM16)
 - ▶ Suggests compound-like status of verbs (see Kubozono 2008)
 - ▶ OO-Faith can refer to hidden structures

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Thank you!