Abstract:

Building on the pioneering work of Kubozono (2012, 2023), this talk develops an analysis in Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) of the lexical tone system of the dialects of Kagoshima Japanese (Ito and Mester 2018). Here are some of our main findings:

1. There is microvariation in the placement of tonic H* at the ends of words in five Kagoshima dialects, which is well understood by means of NoContour constraints and tonal position constraints (High-to-Head, NoLong-High).
2. There is an interesting split into two kinds of systems with a secondary tone H%: an unbounded variety and a bounded variety.
3. The unbounded variety, here attested in two Kagoshima island dialects, spreads H% from the left word boundary to the tonic H*, with an OCP-controlled distance variation.
4. The bounded variety delimits H% by prosodic unit, in three different ways: to a single initial mora (Proto-Koshikijima), to an initial moraic trochee (Old Koshikijima), and to an initial iambic foot (Kuwa-no-ura).
5. While bimoraic footing demonstrably plays an important role in Japanese accentual systems and Japanese morpho-phonology (Ito 1990, Ito and Mester 1992 etc., Kubozono 1987 etc., Poser 1990), iambic footing is not well attested in Japanese (with the exception of the important work of Poppe 2016, who motivates an iambic foot for Maisaka Japanese).
6. Kuwa-no-ura shows that Japanese footing can avail itself of the iambic foot, a natural result, given that the iamb is a universally available prosodic shape. In terms of general phonology, this is not an isolated case, but in fact preceded by the seminal work of McCarthy and Prince 1990, who find the iamb emerging as a template, in broken plurals and diminutives, within the otherwise thoroughly moraic-trochaic system of Arabic.