国立国語研究所学術情報リポジトリ

アクセント推移の要因について

On Factors Contributing to Accent Shift

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Abstract

Which accent pattern any word takes is determined by the mutual relationship of the four vertices (word-type, place, time, speaker) and the six edges of a tetrahedron, and accent shifts take place according to these relationships.

1. Introduction

The term accent shift, as used here, does not refer to the change of an accent pattern itself, but instead the process of replacement of an old accent pattern by a new one in a word. Instances of such accent shifts are commonly observed in the various regions around Japan, and accent shifts in the Tokyo dialect can be observed by looking at the changes in accent recorded in several dictionaries, from the *Nihon Daijisho* ([Great Dictionary of Japan], 1892) onwards, and also from surveys such as those reported in Kindaichi Haruhiko's "Changing Tokyo accentuation"[1] and "Distribution of accentuation in the Kanto region"[2], and the National Language Research Institute's "Survey research into the Tokyo dialect and the dialects of various regions"[3]. Dr Sakuma Kanae and Messers Jimbō Kaku and Miyake Takeo have also touched on this topic on several occasions. Furthermore, regarding the accentuation of the Osaka dialect Mr Umegaki Minoru has published "Trends in accentual changes in the Osaka dialect"[4]. Further expanding our purview, we can probably also include some of the accentual shifts from the Kamakura period to the Muromachi period[a] due to the change in how tightly bound together words are in compounds.

However, when looking at the variation in the accentuation of individual words, there has traditionally been a strong tendency to explain it definitively in terms of differences between uptown (*yamanote*) and downtown (*shitamachi*), between males and females, between elderly speakers and children, etc. For example, regarding the contrasting A-type (final-accented LHHH followed by a particle on a low tone) and B-type (LHHL) accent patterns observed on words such as *kaminari* 'thunder' and *monosashi* 'ruler', too much effort has been put into finding one determining factor, and descriptions of "varies according to the speaker, so is not a lexical matter", "which of the two accent patterns is used is determined by the speaker's gender", "determined by uptown/downtown", "used in one special area", etc. have been given.[5] (However, concerning this, Kindaichi Haruhiko,[6] Mitsuda Shin'ichirō,[7] and the National Language Research Institute[8] have each proposed modifications.)

These previous surveys and articles have not answered my question regarding what kinds of factors determine accentuation and what causes accent shifts. Furthermore, 15 years has already passed since Kindaichi's above-mentioned survey, and it is predicted that especially in the post-war period there would have been even bigger changes, and also because the number of words

surveyed in the National Language Research Institute survey was limited and the bulk of the informants were children and there were very few adults, it is impossible to fully grasp the current state of accent shift in the Tokyo dialect. Because of this, I implemented surveys using the following methodology.

Survey 1: A total of approximately 150 people who were born and raised within the 23 wards of Tokyo (at least 10 male and a similar number of female speakers for each of the following age-groups: 10-19, 20-29, …, 50-59, 60-79) were asked to pronounce approximately 150 words which contain the issues being investigated, and the accentuation was noted. The percentages for age, district of origin of the speaker and their parents, and gender were calculated. (Although the number of speakers surveyed is greater than in prior surveys, I was hoping to have approximately ten informants for each age group for each geographical area, or a total of approximately 1000 speakers, but 150 speakers was the best I could manage by myself.)

Survey 2: A second survey was carried out in order to ascertain the geographical range of usage of the so-called Tokyo accent in and around the 23 wards of Tokyo, and the type of relationship between the Tokyo accent and the accent of the surrounding areas. Just over twenty localities were selected in the suburbs of Tokyo and surrounding towns, and six or seven junior high school students born and raised in each of these locations were asked to pronounce approx. 160 words which cover the different accentual classes and issues being investigated, and the accentuation was recorded.

In addition to these two surveys, I seized every opportunity to record the pronunciation of speakers born and raised in Tokyo in order to fully grasp the actual state of contemporary accentuation. As a result, I came to the realization that, not only Tokyo accent but accent in general is not determined by just one factor, but rather the accentuation of individuals and groups is determined by a complicated combination of a large number of factors. I have sought to capture the mutual relationships between these factors as the four vertices and six edges of a tetrahedron.

2. On the "accent tetrahedron"

I believe that the following kinds of factors determine the accentuation with which a word is pronounced:

When is it pronounced?
Where is it pronounced?
What is the word-type?
Who is the speaker?

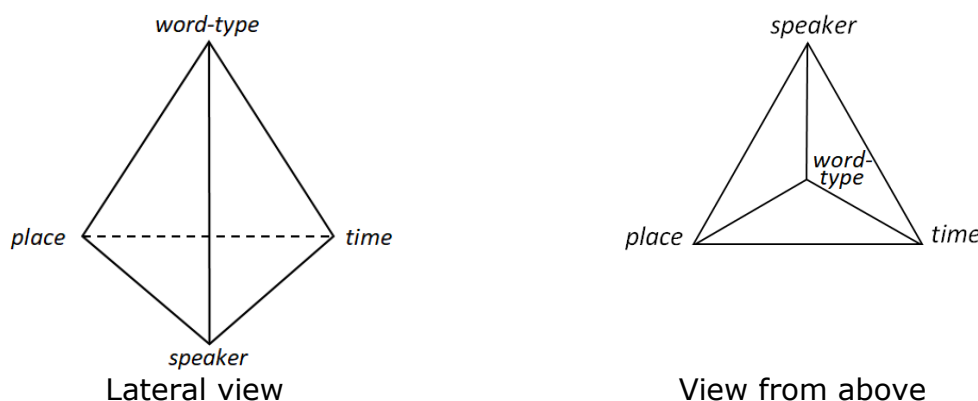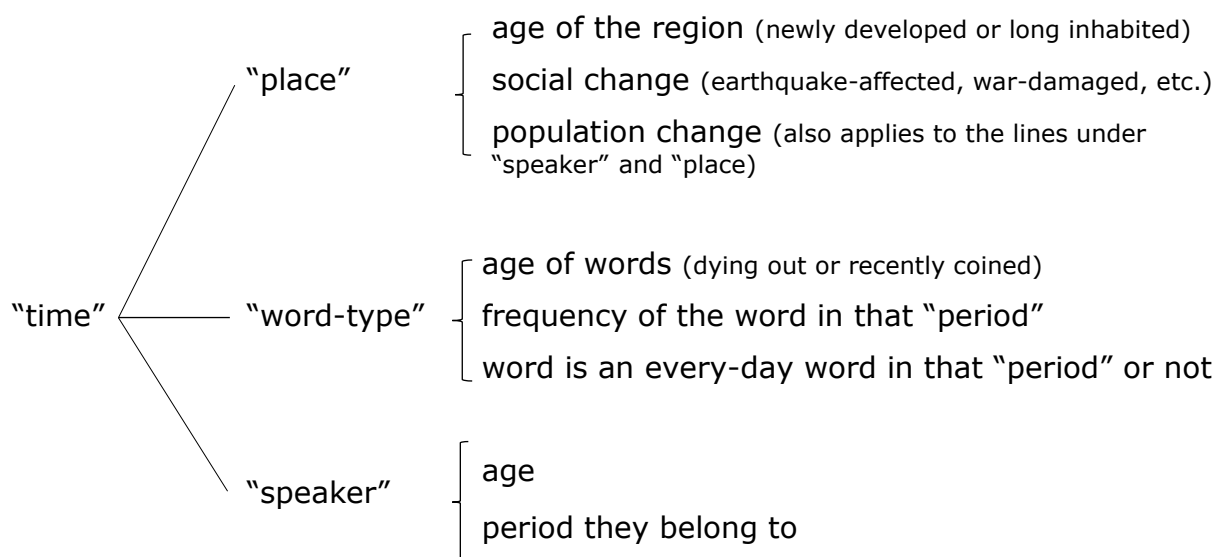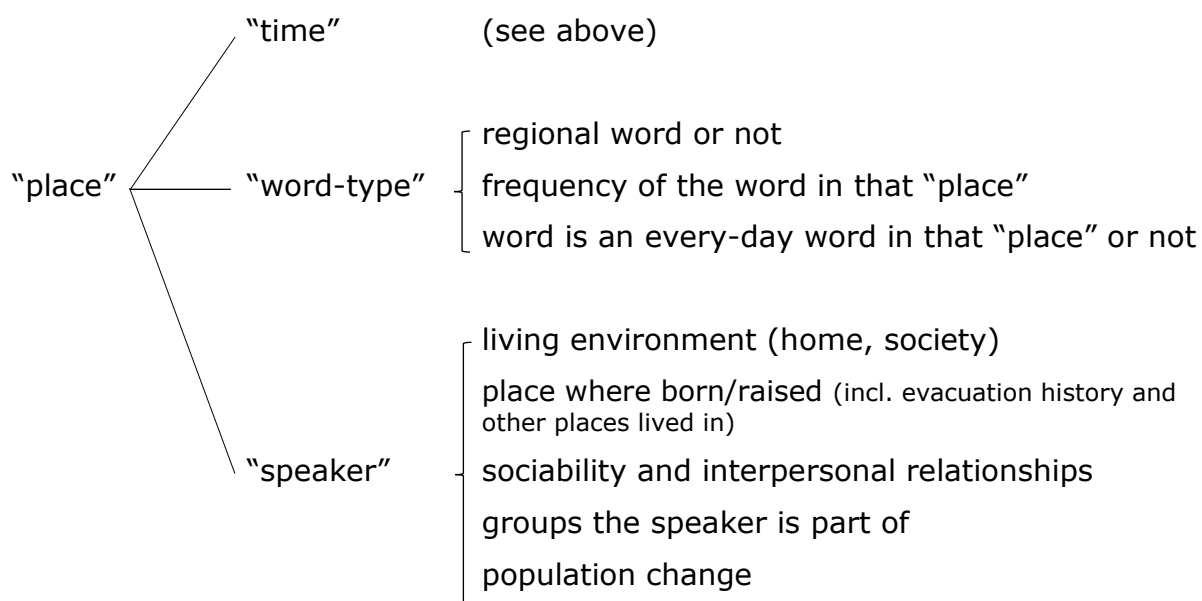Below these have been arranged as the four vertices of a tetrahedron.

Figure 1.

It is necessary to narrow down what is included in these four vertices according to how detailed an explanation we want for the accentuation. Take, for example, "time". This can be narrowed down to the Heian period (794 – 1185), the Showa period (1926 –), the post-war period (1945 –), etc. Similarly, "place" can be narrowed down to Tokyo, Osaka, Chiyoda-ward, Kanda, etc.[b] The role of "speaker" in determining accentuation can vary somewhat depending on whether s/he is male or female, extroverted or introverted, their physiological problems, etc. When it comes to "word-type", there are even more ways of narrowing down what to look at. For instance, we can narrow down the vocabulary looked at according to different classes of vocabulary such as nouns, verbs, etc., Sino-Japanese words and western loanwords etc., simple words and compound words etc., monomoraic words and trimoraic words etc. "Word-type" can also be narrowed down to differences in the context the words are used in, such as words which are used in isolation or words which are used in set phrases. It can also be narrowed down according to the strength, resistance, stability etc. of the accent class the word belongs to, and differences will also appear according to whether the links between these various factors are stable or not.

Each of the four vertices are linked to the other three by three edges. "Time" is connected to "place", "word-type" and "speaker"; "place is connected to "time", "word-type" and "speaker"; "speaker" is connected to "time", "place" and "word-type"; and "word-type" is connected to "time", "place" and "speaker".
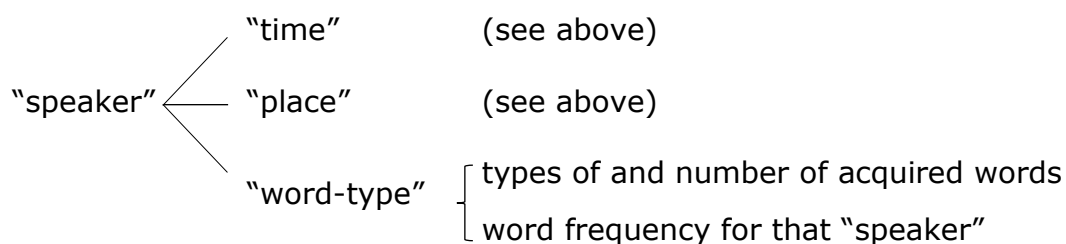
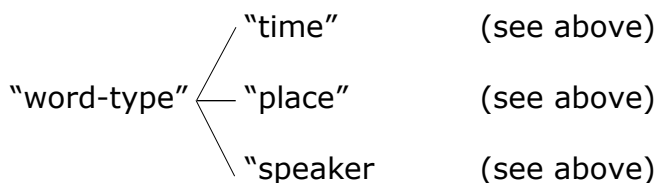The lines linking up with "time" can be expressed as follows.

"place"
- age of the region (newly developed or long inhabited)
- social change (earthquake-affected, war-damaged, etc.)
- population change (also applies to the lines under "speaker" and "place)

"time"

"word-type"
- age of words (dying out or recently coined)
- frequency of the word in that "period"
- word is an every-day word in that "period" or not

"speaker"
- age
- period they belong to

The lines linking up with "place" can be expressed as follows.

"time"   (see above)

"place"

"word-type"
- regional word or not
- frequency of the word in that "place"
- word is an every-day word in that "place" or not

"speaker"
- living environment (home, society)
- place where born/raised (incl. evacuation history and other places lived in)
- sociability and interpersonal relationships
- groups the speaker is part of
- population change

The lines linking up with "speaker" can be expressed as follows.

"time"   (see above)

"speaker"   "place"   (see above)

"word-type"
- types of and number of acquired words
- word frequency for that "speaker"

The lines linking up with "word-type" can be expressed as follows.

"word-type"
- "time"   (see above)
- "place"   (see above)
- "speaker   (see above)

However, the postulation of the above "lines" is not limited to the relationship between two vertices; it also relates indirectly to the other two vertices. Whether each factor is equally strong or one factor is stronger than the others, these factors interact in a complicated fashion to determine the accentuation. How does this happen?

3. On the word *yamadera* 'mountain temple'

We will first look at the example of the word *yamadera* 'mountain temple' in Tokyo. Inhabitants of Tokyo immediately associate this word with one of three things.

There are probably people who associate the word with a melancholy mountain temple such as comes to mind in the classical Japanese poem "Each time the bell of the mountain temple tolls, I think with sadness 'Ah, today too has come to an end'."[c] However, the overwhelming majority of adults associate the word *yamadera* with the children's song *Yamadera no Oshōsan* [Mountain-temple priest], especially recalling the version used in vocal mimicry which is often performed at *rakugo* [a form of Japanese verbal entertainment] performances.[d] The third association made by speakers is also with the song *Yamadera no Oshōsan*, but this is the version sung with a breezy American-inspired melody[e] – however almost none of speakers in the surveys first thought of this version.

It should be noted that there are few other words which engender different reactions from individual speakers, but in the case of this word the accentuation differs in line with the speakers' reaction. People who have grown up appreciating the speech of now-deceased actors and *rakugo* performers immediately react to the word *yamadera* by recalling the vocal mimicry of these people and using the accentuation HLLLL (for *yamadera-no*), and, as far as my survey shows, people who have not grown up hearing these people tend not to use this unstable accent pattern and instead use the pronunciation LHLL or LHHH. Often speakers who used the HLLL accentuation then asked which meaning of the word was wanted, and two speakers explained that they replied with HLLL because they thought of vocal mimicry, but if referring to an actual mountain temple they would probably use LHLL or LHHH.

We can say that the four vertices and six edges are each highly functional in the determination of the accentuation of words. That is to say, the word *yamadera* is well along the path of becoming obsolete. But whether the word is obsolete or not depends on the age of the "speaker", and also what semantic content is lost varies from speaker to speaker. Elderly speakers use HLLL more, and among middle-aged speakers and young adults the HLLL accentuation is replaced by LHLL and LHHH.[9] However, when looking at usage speaker by speaker, it also depends on where the "speaker" was born and raised. Was it downtown? Uptown? In the suburbs? In the case of this word, there is a tendency for those familiar with *rakugo* performances to be from downtown Tokyo, and the proportion of people of the same age from households of suburban workers who use the HLLL-accented *yamadera* is much lower. This is due to both how the "speaker" acquired the word, and also how the word is used in the "place". However, if there had not been the social changes due to the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, the Second World War, and the large influx of inhabitants from the regions, this word would probably have had a higher proportion of the HLLL accentuation in Tokyo.

Examples such as the above are rare, and most examples have a single vertex or edge which is prevalent in the determination of accentuation, and other factors are secondary.

Restricting ourselves to "time" being the present, "place" being the 23 wards of Tokyo, and "speaker" being people born and raised in Tokyo, while relating these to other factors we will next consider accent shifts in the 23 wards of Tokyo from survey 1 and in Tokyo's suburbs and surrounding towns from survey 2.

4. Focus on "word-type"

As the primary factor involved in the early loss of the old accent pattern, the disuse of the word itself so that the speaker is no longer familiar with it can be given. While the word is still in everyday use, there is at least the opportunity to hear the old accentuation, but if the word is no longer heard, it is only natural for the old accentuation of the word to quickly die out.

An example is the word *jingasa* 'lacquered headwear worn by foot soldiers' (fig. 2), where familiarity with the word correlates with the age-group of speakers. At present, 80% of speakers in the 10-19 age-group pronounce it with the new LHHL accent pattern, and 90% of speakers in their 60s and 70s use the old HLLL accentuation, with speakers in their 40s and 50s being where HLLL is being replaced with the LHHL accentuation. The fact that the accentual pattern HLLL itself lacks so-called stability is probably why this accent pattern is dying out.

Similarly, in the case of the word *Tōkaidō* (name of a region) (fig. 3), an example of a word which is dying out with an accent pattern which is dying out. The old accentuation is HLLLLL, but even speakers in their 60s and 70s overwhelmingly use the new accentuation, so it is thought that the replacement of the old accentuation with the new LHHLLL pattern has already taken place further in the past.
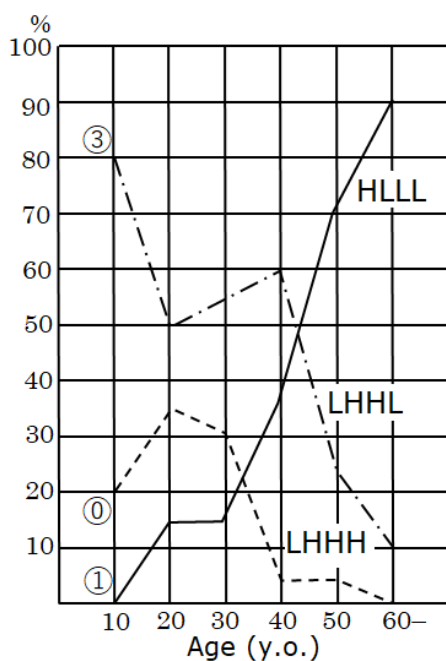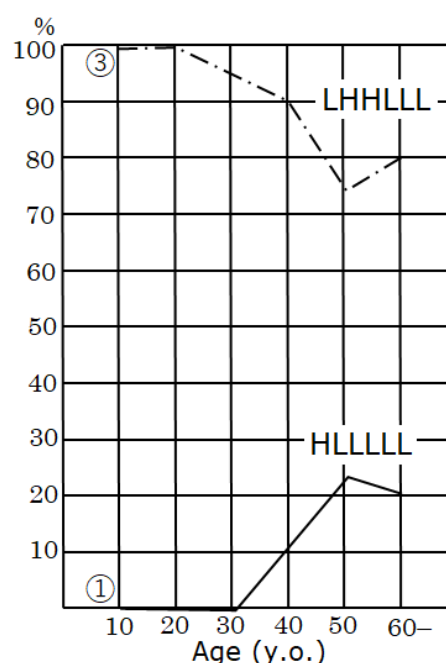

*Jingasa (Fig. 2)*   *Tōkaidō (Fig. 3)*

Words of the type *shūnen* 'obsession', *taiketsu* 'confrontation', *kyūmei* 'close examination' (HLLL → LHHH), which Miyake (1940) claims are period words which he would like to see retain their old accentuation, are also of this type, and the degree of replacement of the old accent pattern by the new one correlates with how much the word is used in the modern language. However, for most of these words the old accentuation has now been replaced by the new accent pattern, with this replacement having happened so long ago that it is not reflected in the current survey data. To these words can be added the 4-mora words *kaiun* 'bring good fortune', *kaieki* 'dismissal', *shūmei* 'succession to a person's name', *zonjō* 'alive', *danzetsu* 'severance', *chūkin* 'loyalty', *teisetsu* 'conjugal fidelity', *momodaka* 'openings at top of *hakama* trousers', *rōjō* 'siege' (HLLL → LHHH), the long compounds *onigawara* 'gargoyle tile', *kamaʼitachi* 'mysterious sharp cut in skin', *sharekōbe* 'skull', *jindaiko* 'battle drum', *daikyōji* 'scroll mounter' (HLLLL → LHHLL), and the prefixed verbs and adjectives *ko-zappari* 'neat and tidy', *koki-tsukau* 'work (s.o.) hard', *ko-muzukashii* 'a bit difficult', *nama-yasashii* 'easy', *mi-suborashiii* 'shabby' (HL...LL → LH...HL). To these can be added affixed words such as *tabi-ya* 'vendor of Japanese socks', *o-hari* 'sewing' (LHH → LHL), and the Sino-Japanese words *buke* 'samurai (family/class)' (LH → HL), *karō* 'chief retainer' (LHH → HLL), *chōnin* 'townsfolk' (LHHH → HLLL) which are now old-fashioned words which are rarely encountered, and the old accentuation is, from some time ago, being replaced on analogy with the stable accent patterns found on large numbers of words.

Proper nouns which are not everyday words especially tend to be well along the path to losing their old accentuation. The Sino-Japanese names *Tessai* (LHHH → HLLL), *Ōkyo* (LHH → HLL), the Native Japanese given names *Hiroshige*, *Toyokuni* (LHHH → LHLL), the old-fashioned given names *Monzaemon*, *Zenʼemon* (HLLL...L → LHHL...L), the family names *Sakurai* (HLLL → LHHL), *Matsudaira* (HLLLL → LHHLL) are not only words which are in the process of being lost, they also have an old accent pattern which is unstable and which is also in the process of dying out. In contrast to this, the change of the accentuation of names of historical figures which are still familiar, such as *Nobunaga*, *Ieyasu*, *Hideyoshi* (LHHH → LHLL) started comparatively recently. These latter words are still predominantly pronounced with the old accent pattern by speakers in their 30s, and the new accent pattern suddenly becomes more frequent with speakers in their 20s. This is probably because, due to words of the same word-type having changed to the new accent pattern, rather than acquiring the old accent pattern through hearing it, it is much easier to acquire the new accent pattern on analogy with the forms with the covert accent.[11, f]

With place names too, due to the "place" being Tokyo, names of regions such as *Tajima* and *Suruga*, which are relatively infrequently used, underwent the accent shift LHH(L)[g] → HLL some time ago, whereas the replacement of the old accentuation with the new one in the case of names of regions which are more frequently used in Tokyo, such as *Shinano* (LHH(L) → HLL) (fig.4) and *Echigo* (LHH(L) → HLL, LHL) (fig.5) took place somewhat later.
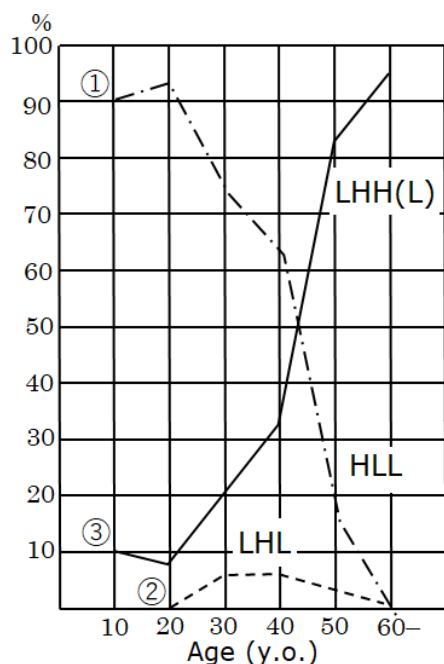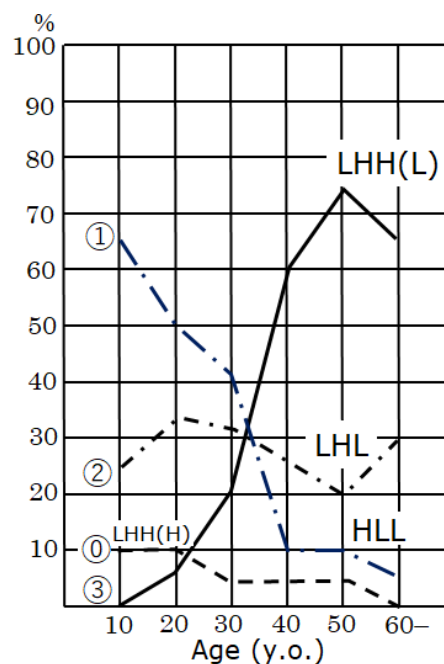
Shinano (Fig. 4)   Echigo (Fig. 5)

However, the above word-types show change correlating not only with age, but also, to a certain extent, with the individual's environment.

In addition to the above forms, other examples of the small number of words with an unstable accent pattern which are in the process of moving to a stable pattern with a large number of words are mono-moraic *ho* 'sail'[6], *su* 'nest', *go* 'five', *ku* 'nine' (L → H(L)) where the move to the word-initial accentuation is driven by analogy with the overwhelmingly common and effective accented[h] pattern. Of these words, replacement of the accent pattern of the everyday word *su* 'nest' is currently taking place among speakers from 10-29 years old, whereas for the non-everyday word *ho* 'sail' replacement of the accent is taking place among speakers in their 50s, and for *go* 'five and *ku* 'nine', many speakers in their 60s and 70s already use the new accent pattern.

In the bimoraic words *kita* 'north' (fig. 7), *shika* 'deer' (LH(L) → LH(H)), and the trimoraic words *higashi* 'east', *hayashi* 'wooded area', *tōfu* 'soybean curd' (LHH(L) → LHH(H)), the loss of the word-final accent to give an unaccented pronunciation is conspicuous. In the case of *hayashi* 'wooded area' the replacement has taken place in speakers in their 50s, and for *kita* 'north' and *iede* 'running away from home' this has taken place in speakers in their 40s to 50s, so these words will probably all become unaccented in the near future.
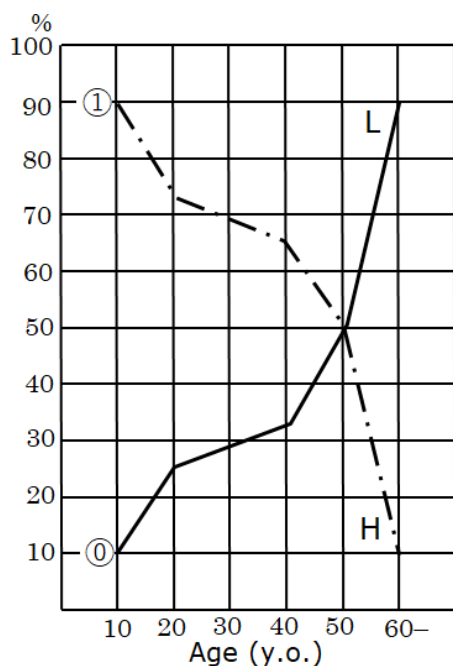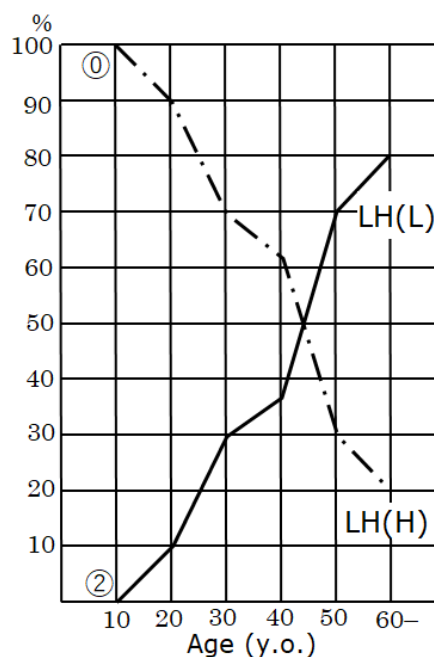
Ho (Fig. 6)   *Kita (Fig. 7)*

Accent changes in the case of words such as *sūnin* 'several people', *sūjitsu* 'several days' (LHHH → HLLL), *sanjūnin* '30 people' (HLLLLL → LHHLLL), *nijūen* '20 yen' (HLLLL → LHLLL) have begun setting in in speakers under 30, but because there is a tendency in many of the suburbs of Tokyo and towns around Tokyo to use the LHL pattern for *itaku* 'hurt-INF' (and LHLLL or LHHLL for *itakatta* 'hurt-PAST'),[i)] this phenomenon is expected to increase in larger Tokyo.

Additionally, traditionally unaccented compound verbs (*kaki-tsukeru* 'write down', *uchi-awasu* 'draw together (e.g. of sleeves expressing humility)', etc.) and compound adjectives (*ao-jiroi* 'pale') are also undergoing a merger with the accented pattern, and even in survey 1 over half of speakers in their 20s used the accented pattern.

When the accentuation of a word changes to the stable accent pattern which is the covert accent pattern, it is unlikely that the accent pattern will change again in the foreseeable future. This is because the "word-type" and "accent class" are the critical factors which interact with other factors to cause changes.

5. Focus on "place"

As examples of regional variation in accentuation, there is the word-medial accentuation (LHL) of the words *atama* 'head', *katana* 'sword', *hakama* '*hakama* trousers' (usually final-accented (LHH(L)), common in Shitaya and north-eastern Tokyo, and the word-initial accentuation (HL) of the word *saka* 'slope' (usually LH(L)) which is said to be more common in the downtown area than in uptown (*yamanote*) Tokyo. These examples were reported on by Kindaichi,[12] and regarding *saka* 'slope' a National Language Research Institute survey has arrived at the same conclusion.[13] However, I believe there are problems with interpreting these distinctions in terms of regions such as Shitaya or uptown vs. downtown Tokyo. Survey 2 also produced these responses to the accentual contrasts, but these probably cannot be be said to be generalized as a distinction between uptown and downtown or the like, but should rather be considered in terms of transportation routes and the wider region which backs onto these

locations. I hope to write on this topic in more detail in a different paper.

I am not claiming that there is no contrast between uptown/downtown or other areas. Rather, that this being a geographical distinction, a bigger factor behind the contrast between uptown and downtown is the difference in living environment. It is a contrast between such factors as when families started living in those areas and the role of immigration from other regions, and in the past the distinction between samurai-class and townsfolk, or more recently between salaried workers and merchants.

This is not a good example, but in the past I have investigated whether the name of the *rakugo* master Ryūkyō,[j] well-known from his radio performances, is pronounced as LHHL or as HLLL. In spite of similar names having already shifted to a word-initial accent pattern, for the name Ryūkyō the LHHL accentuation was still used by over half of the respondents. Looking at the data by the place of origin of the speakers, over half of those whose parents were from outside of Tokyo used the new accentuation, whereas almost all whose parents were Tokyo born and raised used the old accentuation. Although over one third of uptown speakers used the new accentuation, in the downtown area only a very small number used this pattern. However, not only was the new accent pattern overwhelmingly common in the new city area,[k] one respondent even asked whether the word was to be read Yanagibashi or Ryūkyō (HLLL), although the person had been told it was a person's name.[l]

This kind of contrast is also found with common nouns, and a contrast between accentuations in the new city area and the old city area is especially noticeable in words which are in the process of dying out. For example, the kimono-fabrics *hachijō* 'silk textile woven on Hachijō-jima' (HLLL → LHLL), *hijirimen* 'scarlet silk crepe' (LHHHH → LHLLL), the nouns *kurōto* 'professional', *shirōto* 'amateur' (HLLL → LHLL), *kōza* 'raised platform (used in *rakugo*)' (HLL → LHH(H), *ichinotori* 'first day of the cock in November' (LHHHH → LHLLL), , and compound adjectives such as *nama-yasashii* 'easy', *ko-nikurashii* 'horrid' (HLLLLL → LHHHHL), compound verbs such as *tataki-tsukeru* 'beat against' (LHLLLL → LHHHHL), which are all Tokyo-dialect type words, showed a tendency to retain the old accentuation more in the old city area than in the new city area, and in the downtown area than in the uptown area. It is clear that the old accentuation, associated with the common folk, is being retained in these areas because, especially in the old city area, there are many merchant families who have been wearing kimonos since they were children and grew up going to *rakugo* and *kabuki* performances, so these words are still being used. However, this contrast between the old accentuation and new accentuation in these words is only found in people who grew up before the Second World War, and in addition to the sudden changes of the war, evacuations, and bombing of Tokyo, the sudden influx of people from the regions has swept away the old traditions and customs, so that people under 30 years old display almost no accentual variation in these words.

In addition to the above, there are place names and names of buildings that show geographical variation. Names such as *Hamamachi* (a place name) and *Ekōin* (name of a temple) are very familiar to elderly people in Tokyo, even if not from the downtown area, and most elderly speakers pronounce these words as HLLL and HLLLL. However these words are already unknown to the younger generation, and we can safely say that only speakers who live in the vicinity of these locations would have acquired the words by hearing them used, so the younger generation pronounce them as LHLL, LHLLL, which is the stable accent pattern produced on analogy with the covert accent pattern. The same situation applies to the change in the accentuation of the place name *Toranomon* (LHHHH → LHHLL) and the temple name *Denzūin* (HLLLLL → LHHLLL).

Quite aside from the above special word forms, as a general phenomenon it can be noted that the old city area has more residents whose parents and acquaintances were born and raised in Tokyo than the new city area, and so people who grew up in that environment tend to retain the old accentuation more than those in the new city area, even if of the same age group. For this reason, replacement of an old accent pattern with a new one tends to occur later in people born and raised in the old city area than in the new city area.

In the same way as the Tokyo dialect accentuation is changing to new, more stable accent patterns under the influence of the surrounding regions, the surrounding regions are also influenced by the Tokyo accent to a greater or lesser degree. In survey 2 it was observed that almost all locations had become much closer to the Tokyo accentuation than was the situation in Kindaichi's survey of 15 years previous. This is related to such factors as the expansion of Tokyo and the development of public transportation, and the younger generation speakers in such places as Urayasu (East Katsushika county, Chiba prefecture), Gyōtoku-machi (former East Katsushika county; present-day Ichikawa city) and Hanahata-machi (former South Adachi county; present-day Adachi ward, Tokyo), which Kindaichi classes as areas with somewhat unclear accentual distinctions,[13] are slowly replacing the old pronunciations with the Tokyo accent patterns. This is not a case of unclear accentual distinctions developing into clearly distinguished accent classes, but instead can be explained as the Tokyo-type accent system spreading, and the old accentuation is being replaced by the Tokyo accent system.

6. Focus on "speaker"

The vertices for "time", "place" and "word-type" and the edges which lead from them have been discussed above, but in this section we will focus on "speaker", which is the apex of the accent tetrahedron.

It is said that Miyake once wondered whether it was the speaker's gender that determined the A-pattern or B-pattern accentuation[m)] of words such as *kaminari* 'thunder',[14] but in my surveys this kind of gender difference was not found. However, in survey 1 older women used the new accentuation more than men. This may perhaps be due to women being more naturally drawn towards the new accentuation because they have more exposure to children. In survey 2, girls at junior high schools in Urayasu and Gyōtoku had a much more advanced mastery of the Tokyo accent than the boys, and they were even observed making fun of the boys' accentuation. I have not yet reached a firm conclusion regarding this, but this situation has possibly arisen because junior high school-aged girls are more mature than boys of the same age and so may be looking more toward the outside society and so are semi-consciously making an effort to use the Tokyo accent so as not to be mocked for their non-standard pronunciation.

In addition to this, as a physiological factor the ability of the speaker to hear the difference between pronunciations is probably also relevant. Someone who has no ear for music may not be able to recognize the difference between his own accentuation and that of others, so such a person cannot be expected to subconsciously change his accentuation after hearing that of other speakers.

I also think that individuals' accentuation is probably to a large extent influenced by whether that person has a stubborn disposition or not, is extroverted or not, sociable or not, etc. Generally speaking, stubborn speakers also have a lot of confidence in their own pronunciation and so their accentuation is unlikely to be externally influenced. Also, speakers who are shy or introverted and never had many friends or who grew up in a home where they were not permitted to play with other children are likely to be influenced by their parents', siblings' and other relatives' accentuation. An extreme example of this was discovered in survey 1, where I came across a person whose accentuation system consisted almost entirely of just one accent pattern. As this was the first person of this type I had encountered, and no examples are reported in the literature, I had this speaker repeat the examples and I realized that the speaker himself was very concerned about his accentuation. This speaker was an educated male in his 30s who was born and raised in Tokyo, but his parents and wider relatives were all from Kumamoto prefecture,[n)] and from when he was young he did not have many friends. This is evidence that, depending on the individual, such examples do exist.

In this way, the accentuation of individual words is decided for each individual, and these mount up to produce covert accent patterns, and then, on analogy with this, words in the same accent group are pronounced with the same accent pattern. Speakers who have old covert accent patterns strongly tend to pronounce newly coined words with the old patterns, so that a certain biologist who pronounced *kama'itachi* 'mysterious sharp cut in skin' and *umibōzu* 'sea goblin' as HLLLL also pronounced *umidojō* 'sirembo imberbis' and *umihirumo* 'seagrasses of the *haplophila* genus' as HLLLL. Similarly, there is a tendency to retain the pre-compounding accentuation in compounds, so that people who pronounce *kinako* 'soybean flour' as HLL tend to pronounce *aoginako* 'flour made from green soybeans' LHHLL, but people who say *kinako* LHL tend to pronounce the compound as *aoginako* LHHHL.

As shown in the table above, similar vocabulary items are pronounced with similar accentuation by the same individuals, and differences between individuals' accentuation are still present in relation to "time", "place" and "word-type".

Additionally, in the National Language Institute's survey referred to above, statistics on the educational level of the speakers' parents were taken, but from the results of my surveys it appears that the educational level of the speakers and the speakers' parents is irrelevant. If there were to be a correlation with educational level, it is likely that it is rather due to factors such as the home environment and occupation.

Tendencies in the accentuation of individuals (Survey 1)

	m. 70 Shinagawa	f. 66 Hongō	m. 62 Asakusa	f. 61 Kanda	f. 54 Kyōbashi	m. 53 Ushigome	f. 48 Ushigome	m. 45 Fukagawa Shiba	f. 38 Shiba	m.34 Honjo	m. 26 Yoyogi	f. 24 Setagaya	f. 18 Akasaka	m. 15 Sendagaya
su 'nest'	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0,1	1	1	1
ho 'sail'	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
kita 'north'	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
higashi 'east'	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
hayashi 'woods'	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	3	0	3	0	0
iede 'leaving home'	3	0	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
tōfu 'soybean curd'	3	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	3
kagizaki 'tear (n.)'	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
ashimoto 'around one's feet'	4	4	4	3	3	4	0	3	3	3	3	0	3	3
kakikata 'way of writing'	4	4	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
tabemono 'food'	4	4	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3
Shinano (name of region)	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Echigo (name of region)	3	3,1	3	3	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	1	1	1
Tōkaidō (name of region)	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3
akatonbo 'red dragonfly'	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1,3	3	3	3	3	3	3
kami 'god'	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
otome 'maiden'	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	2	2	2
asahi 'morning sun'	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
kinako 'soybean flour'	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
kakitsukeru 'write down'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	4	0
uchiawasu 'make arrangements'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	4
kakichirasu 'scawl'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	4
kiriageru 'stop doing'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	4	4	4

Conclusion

The above-mentioned factors may be summarized schematically as follows:
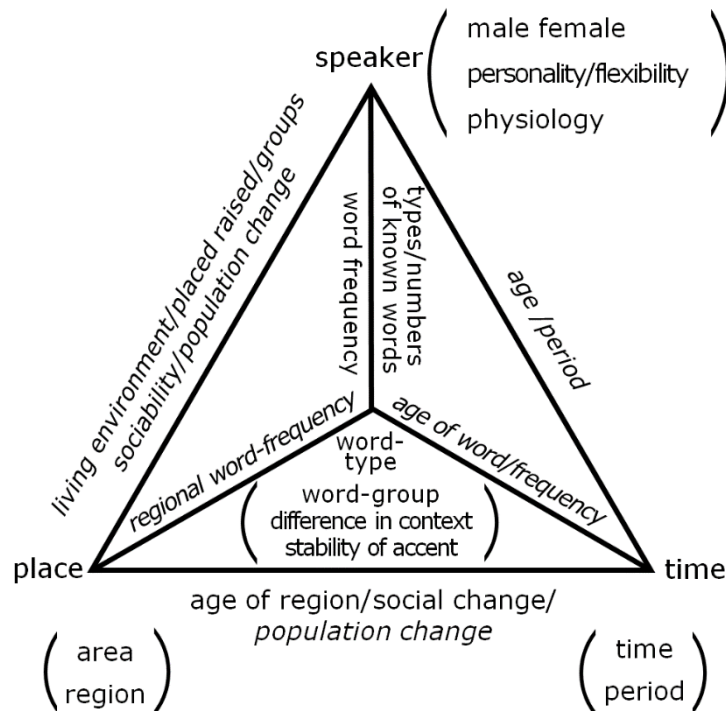
However, regardless of which factors are strongest, there is a sudden replacement of old accent patterns with new ones which centers around speakers in their twenties. This can be viewed as a "fault-line", and is found in people born during the war with its accompanying destruction, evacuations and sudden increase in population.

Notes

[1] In issues 2,3,4,6 of *Kokugo Bunka* (1942).

[2] In The Japan Dialect Society (ed.) *Nihongo no akusento* [Japanese accent], 1932, Chūō Kōronsha, Tokyo.

[3] In *Shōwa 24-nedo Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo Nenpō 1* [Annual report of the National Language Research Institute for 1949] (publ. 1951).

[4] In *Hōgen Ronbunshū (2)* (vol. 6 of the series *Kinki-hōgen Sōsho*, Kinki Dialect Society (ed.), 1957).

[5] Sakuma Kanae in *Kokugo Onseigaku Gaisetsu* [Overview of Japanese phonetics] (1933), Tōjō Misao in *Hōgen to hōgengaku* [Dialects and dialectology] (1938), Miyake Takeo in "One problem in Standard Japanese accentuation" in *Kokugo Bunka* 3 (1943), "On accent" in *Hyōjungo to Kokugo Kyōiku* [Standard Japanese and Japanese language education] (1940), and the explanatory notes in the *Shinjikai* dictionary (1938).

[6] In "A reconsideration of Tokyo accentuation" in *Kokugo Kyōiku-shi* 4 (1941).

[7] In "What happened to the so-called A-type and B-type accent patterns" in *Kokugo Akusento Ronsō* [Collection of papers on Japanese accentuation] (Hōsei University Press, Tokyo, 1951).

[8] See note 3.

9 By "replacement" of an accent pattern, what is meant is that the percentage of speakers using the old accent pattern and the percentage of speakers using the new accent pattern cross over, with the formerly more commonly used pattern becoming less commonly used than the new pattern.

10 See note 3.

11 In Kindaichi Haruhiko "Proposing covert accent" in *Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū* 34 (1952), and Wada Minoru "*Akatombo* 'red dragonfly'" in *Kokugo Akusento Ronsō* [Collection of papers on Japanese accentuation] (Hōsei University Press, Tokyo, 1951).

12 In "Changing Tokyo accentuation" in issues 2,3,4,6 of *Kokugo Bunka* (1942).

13 See note 2.

14 The explanatory notes in the *Shinjikai* dictionary (Yoshizawa Yoshinori (ed.), 1938).

Translator's notes

a) I.e. the late 12th century to the late 16th century.

b) Chiyoda-ward and Kanda are areas in Tokyo.

c) *Iriai no kane no koegoto ni kyō mo kurenu to kiku zo kanashiki*. This poem comes from the *Shūi Wakashū* anthology compiled c.1006.

d) Originally the mid-19th century ditty *Ponyan-bushi* which was made popular by the *rakugo* performer Katsura Shingo around the turn of the century.

e) This version set to a Mills Brothers-influenced melody was released in 1936, and is known as an early example of Japanese jazz.

f) The "covert accent" is the unmarked accentuation for a particular set of words which have a different accent pattern. For example, the given name *Nobunaga* is traditionally LHHH in the Tokyo language, but as almost all other given names of 4-moras which end in the morpheme -*naga* are accented as LHLL, this is the covert accent for this word.

g) The parenthesized L-tone is added here to indicate that the word is final-accented, so that a following particle will attach with a low tone. Unaccented words have the same pitch contour, but particles attach with a high tone.

h) As opposed to the unaccented pattern, which lacks a fall in pitch.

i) Traditionally *itaku* HLL and *itakatta* HLLLL.

j) The 6th generation Ryūkyō used this name from 1926 to 1977.

k) The old city area corresponds to the original 15 wards of eastern Tokyo, and the new city area corresponds to the remainder of the modern 23-ward area.

l) The characters 柳橋 are pronounced *ryūkyō* in their Sino-Japanese pronunciations, and as *yanagibashi* in their Native Japanese pronunciations. *Yanagibashi* is the name of a bridge, placename and family name.

m) A-pattern accentuation is the final-accented pattern (where the word ends on a high tone, and any following particle attaches on a low tone), and the B-pattern accentuation is a pattern where the accent is word-medial (i.e. not word-initial or word-final).

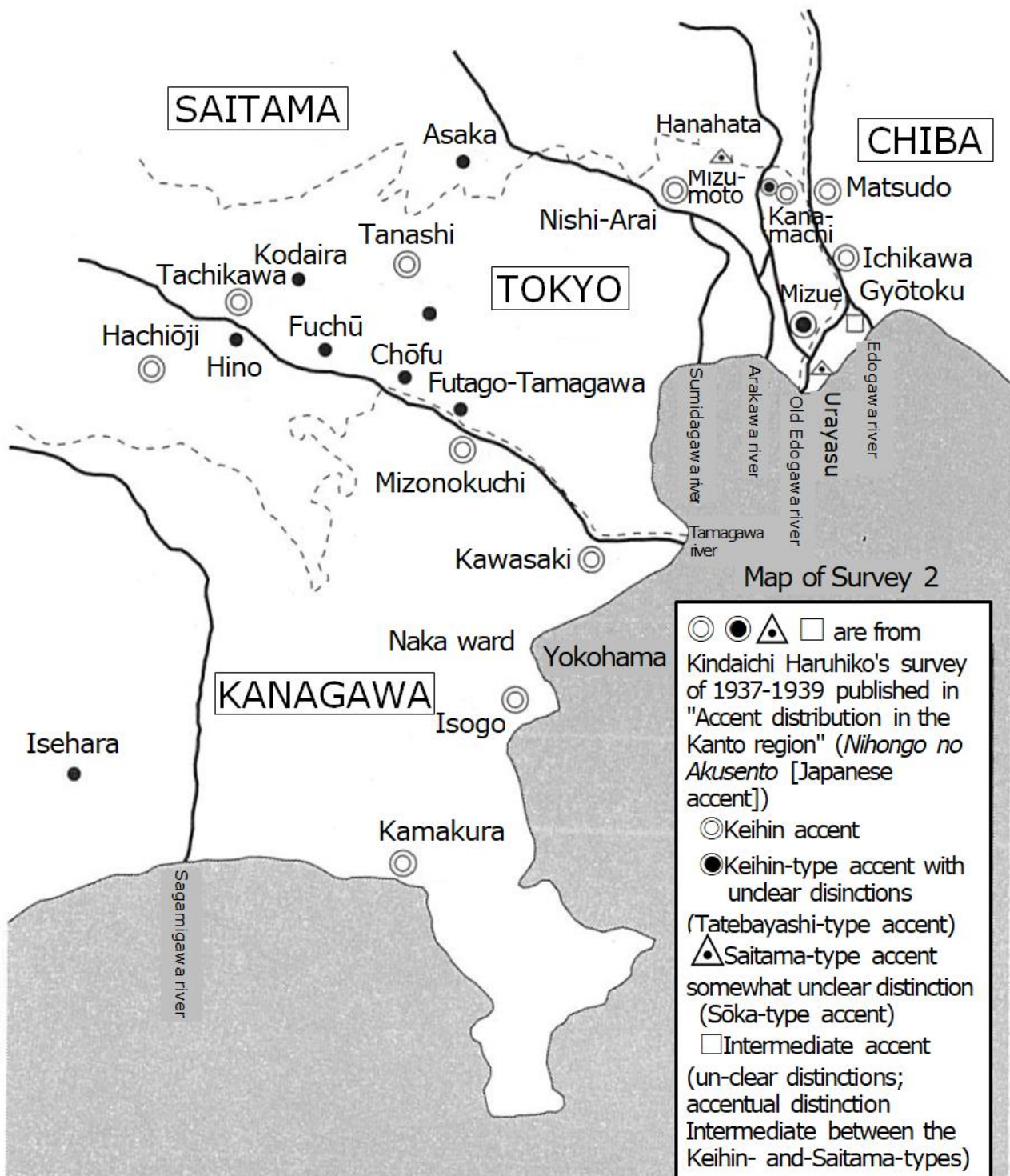n) Most of Kumamoto prefecture lacks accentual distinctions.

Appendix: Table and map presented as part of the presentation "Changes in the accentuation in the 23-ward area of Tokyo and surrounds" given at the Society for the Study of Japanese Language on Nov. 11th, 1956.

Accentuation tendencies in Survey 2

	Urayasu	Gyōtoku	Mizue	Kanamachi	Matsudo	Nishi-Arai	Hanahata	Asaka	Mitaka	Tanashi	Kodaira	Tachkawa	Hino	Haciōji	Fuchū	Chōfu	Mizonokuchi	Isehara	Yokohama	Kamakura
ashioto 'footsteps'	4	4	½	½	½	4	4	4	½	3'	½	3'	4	3'	4'	3'	3'	½	3'	½
kaminari 'thunder'	4	4	4	4'	4'	4	4	4	½	4'	½	4	4	4	4	4'	4	½	4	½
namida 'tears'	2'	2'	2'	1'	1	1	2'	1	1	1	½	1	2	1	1	1	1	2'	1	1
hibachi 'brazier'	2'	½	2'	1'	1	1'	2'	1'	1	1	1'	1	1'	1	1	1	1	½	1	1
kokoro 'mind'	2	3'	3	½	½	½	½	2	½	2	½	3'		2'	3'	½	3'	2	½	½
momi 'chaff'	0'	0	0'	½	0	0'	0'	0'	½	0'	0'	½	½	1'	½	½	0'	0	0'	½
saji 'spoon'	2'	2'	1'	1	1	1'	½	2	1'	1'	1'	1'	2'	1'	1'	1'	1	2'	1	1
tsuba 'saliva'	½	2'	1'	1'	1	1	½	1'	1'	1	1	1	1	1'	1'	1'	1'	1	1	1
sen'en '1000 yen'	0'	0	0	0'	0	0	0	1	1	1	½	1'	1	1'	1	1	1	1'	½	1'
tamago 'egg'	2'	0'	0'	0	0	0	½	0'	2'	½	0'	0'	0	0'	0'	0'	2'	0	2	2'
kawara 'tile'	3' (0)	3	3	3	3'	3'	3'	0	0'	0'	(3,0)	0'	1	1'	0'	0'	0'	1	3'	0,3
hashira 'pillar'	(0) 3' (0)	3' (0)	3	3' (0)	(0) 0' (3)	(1) 3 (0)	3' (2)	0	(3) 1' (3,0)	(3) 1' (0,2)	½ 3,0 2,½	(3,1) 3,0 2,½	2	(0) 2' (1)	(3,1) 3,1 0,½	1' (3,0)	(3,1) 3' (1,0)	2	(0) 3'	½ 3' (0,3)
saka 'slope'	2	2	½	2	2	1'	1'	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2'	2	2	2'	2'
atama 'head'	3	3'	3'	3,½ 2	3	3,½ 2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3'	3'	3	3	3	3
katana 'sword'	3	3	3'	3,½ 2	3	3,½ 2	3	3	3'	3'	3'	3	3	3	3'	3'	3	3	3	3
hasami 'scissors'	3	3	3'	3,½ 2	3	3'	3	3	3'	3'	3'	3	3	3	3'	3'	3	3	3	3
chichi 'father'	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2'	2'	1'	2	½	2	½	2	2	½	2	2'
fuku 'to blow'	1	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	1'	1'	1'	1'	1'	1'	1'	2	2	2	2	2

Key:
    0 … unaccented (i.e. no fall in pitch)
    1 … accent on first syllable (word-initial accent)
    2 … accent on second syllable
    3 … accent on third syllable
    ☐' … tendency

SAITAMA

Asaka

Hanahata

CHIBA

Mizu-moto

Matsudo

Nishi-Arai

Kana-machi

Tanashi

Kodaira

Ichikawa

Tachikawa

TOKYO

Mizue

Gyōtoku

Hachiōji

Fuchū

Hino

Chōfu

Futago-Tamagawa

Mizonokuchi

Kawasaki

Sumidagawa river

Arakawa river

Old Edogawa river

Urayasu

Edogawa river

Tamagawa river

Map of Survey 2

Naka ward

Yokohama

KANAGAWA

Isogo

Isehara

Kamakura

Sagamigawa river

◎ ● △ □ are from Kindaichi Haruhiko's survey of 1937-1939 published in "Accent distribution in the Kanto region" (*Nihongo no Akusento* [Japanese accent])

◎Keihin accent

●Keihin-type accent with unclear disinctions (Tatebayashi-type accent)

△Saitama-type accent somewhat unclear distinction (Sōka-type accent)

□Intermediate accent (un-clear distinctions; accentual distinction Intermediate between the Keihin- and-Saitama-types)