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## Parental Influence on Dialect Acquisition: The Case of the Tone System of Kagoshima Japanese

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### Abstract

This research reports evidence for parental influence on dialect acquisition in Kagoshima Japanese. If at least one parent is not from the Kagoshima Japanese area, it seems safe to say that the child was raised in a dialect contact situation. This study investigates how well adult children have acquired Kagoshima Japanese depending on parental origins. More specifically, it investigates whether parental origins influence either lexical tone acquisition or tonal rule acquisition. The study yielded the following three results: (1) differences in acquisition were observed depending on parental origins, (2) informants with two locally born parents performed better in phonological rule acquisition, and (3) informants with at least one non-local parent acquired a different phonological rule — one that is not permitted in traditional Kagoshima Japanese. In addition, this study reports that informants with one non-local parent speak pseudo-Kagoshima Japanese, which ‘sounds’ like Kagoshima Japanese but does not maintain the traditional tonal rule.\*

**Key words:** Kagoshima Japanese, parents, acquisition, tone preservation rule, dialect contact

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Effect of parental origins on children’s dialect acquisition

This study reports how the acquisition by children of the tone system of Kagoshima Japanese is influenced by their parents’ native dialect(s). In general, children acquire the local language or dialect of the place where they grow up. Therefore, it is often said that the influence of parents speaking another dialect or language on children’s language acquisition is marginal. However, some studies have reported that children’s dialect acquisition differs depending on parental origins (Sugito 1984, Kobayashi 1981, Trudgill 1986, Takemura 2010). Sugito (1984) reports that maternal origin is a major factor in the acquisition of the contour tone in the Kansai dialect of Japanese. Kobayashi (1981) conducted a longitudinal study and looked at a child’s acquisition of accent in the Kyoto dialect. The child’s parents were from the Tokyo area, so they were not native speakers of the Kyoto dialect. The child acquired the Kyoto dialect to some degree, but also produced some deviant linguistic forms. Outside of Japanese, Trudgill (1986) conducted a survey of adult speakers of the Norwich dialect in England. Ten speakers out of twenty had locally born parents, while the other ten speakers had non-local parents. The study revealed that speakers with non-local parents diverged from the local pronunciation when asked to read “own goal”, which is

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supposed to be [ʌun gu:l] in Norwich. Siegel (2010: 52) clearly summarizes the literature concerning second dialect acquisition.

All in all, it is supposed that children acquire the local dialect, but two patterns are observed. One is that speakers with non-local parents fully acquire the local dialect, but the other is that they do not succeed in acquiring the local dialect, even if they are locally born. Therefore, it seems that one's parents' origins can be an obstacle to becoming a fully native speaker of a dialect. However, the fundamental question of what the difference is between a fully native speaker and a near native speaker of a certain dialect/language remains unanswered. In the following, I investigate this issue and try to determine to what extent parental origins affect children's tone acquisition. In addition, I explore what kind of differences can be observed as a result of parental origins. Thus, the study collected data from informants who lived in the same dialect area but had parents with different origins. Some differences were observed in their accents, and this study proposes that parental accent influence is at least partially responsible for those differences.

## 1.2 Two aspects of tone/accent acquisition

This study investigates two aspects of accent acquisition. First, I examine whether or not the informants have acquired the tones of different lexical items. Second, I examine whether or not the informants have acquired an important phonological rule of the tone system, namely, the compound tone/accent rule. Nasu (2004) points out the importance of these two aspects of tone/accent acquisition in Japanese dialects. The tone or accent of each lexical item is unpredictable and thus has to be listed in the mental lexicon along with the segmental shape of the word. On the other hand, a phonological rule such as a compound tone/accent rule is applicable to any compound word. Those who were born and raised in the same area are expected to have acquired both lexical tone/accent and the tone/accent rule. Most previous studies have focused on the acquisition of lexical tone/accent and have overlooked the question of the acquisition of tone/accent rules. It is, however, important to consider both of these two aspects and to examine whether lexical tone/accent and the tone/accent rule are equally well acquired, no matter where a child's parents come from. Before going into the details of this study, I would like to clarify how I will use the terms 'tone' and 'accent'. Hereafter, 'lexical tone' is equivalent to 'lexical accent', and 'tone rule' is equivalent to 'accent rule'.

This paper consists of six sections in all. After an overview of the phonology of Kagoshima Japanese and of studies on its recent changes (section 2), I detail the methodology and the data used in this study to determine how to evaluate the acquisition of the tone/accent rule (section 3). Then, I present the results of a survey on the acquisition of lexical accent and the accent rule in section 4. I discuss the parental influence on accent acquisition in section 5 and give my conclusions in section 6.

## 2. Kagoshima Japanese

### 2.1 Overview

Kagoshima prefecture is located in the southwestern part of Japan, about one thousand kilometers away from Tokyo. What is called here 'Kagoshima Japanese' is the traditional dialect spoken in the mainland (i.e., Kyushu) part of Kagoshima prefecture. Even in this mainland part of the prefecture, different dialects are spoken in the peripheral areas such as Shibushi. Kagoshima Japanese in this study is mainly spoken in Kagoshima City.

Kagoshima Japanese is quite different from Tokyo Japanese, the standard dialect, especially in phonology. There are four notable differences between the two: the prosodic unit, the number of lexical prosodic patterns, the prosodic word, and the compound accent rule (Hirayama 1951, Kibe 2008). The basic prosodic unit of Kagoshima Japanese is the syllable, whereas it is the mora in Tokyo Japanese. Kagoshima Japanese has a two-pattern accent system, while Tokyo Japanese has a multi-pattern system, with  $n+1$  possible patterns for an  $n$ -syllable word.

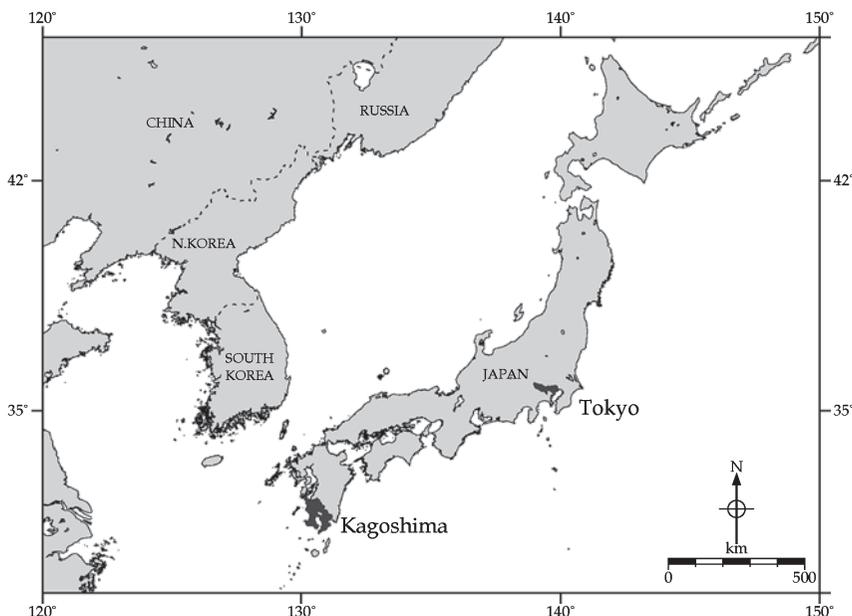


Figure 1 Location of Kagoshima prefecture

One Kagoshima pattern, Tone A, has a high tone on the second-to-last syllable, while for the other pattern, Tone B, has a high tone on the final syllable.

(1) Examples of Tone A and Tone B<sup>1</sup>

Tone A: ON.na (woman)

Tone B: o.to.KO (man)

Each tone pattern is lexically specified, but the actual melody applies to the entire prosodic word, including particles. In Tokyo Japanese, accent is also lexically specified but is realized as fall in pitch, and it does not move within a prosodic word as particles are added. In compound words, the pattern for placing a high tone or an accent also differs between the two dialects. In Tokyo Japanese the accent location of a compound word depends on the final element, but in Kagoshima Japanese the tone pattern of the first element applies to the whole compound. That is, the first element of a prosodic word determines the tone of the whole in Kagoshima Japanese. This is called the ‘tone preservation rule’.

<sup>1</sup>The ./ denotes a syllable boundary. Capital letters indicate where the high tone is placed.

Table 1 Summary of Kagoshima Japanese and Tokyo Japanese

	Kagoshima Japanese	Tokyo Japanese
Mora/Syllable?	Syllable-based prosody	Mora-based prosody
Number of patterns	Two-pattern tone system: Tone A and Tone B 1 word = 2 possible patterns	Pitch accent: 1 word with n syllables = n+1 patterns (The second mora of a long syllable cannot bear accent.)
Prosodic word	Tone pattern applies to a whole prosodic word, including particles	Accent is lexically specified and does not move within a prosodic word
Compound words	Tone of the 1 <sup>st</sup> element applies to the whole compound	Accent of a compound depends on the final element

Table 2 and Table 3 show Tone A and Tone B examples of prosodic word and compound word accent, along with Tokyo Japanese accent. No matter how long the prosodic word or the compound word gets in Kagoshima Japanese, the tone of the first member is preserved.

Table 2 Tone A examples: High tone on the penultimate syllable

	Kagoshima JPN	Tokyo JPN	Gloss
Tone A	ta.be.MO.no	ta.BE.mo.no	‘food’
Prosodic Word	ta.be.mo.NO-ga	ta.BE.mo.no-ga	‘food-NOM’
Compound Word	ta.be.mo.no.MON.dai	ta.BE.MO.NO.MOn.dai	‘food problem’

Table 3 Tone B examples: High tone on the final syllable

	Kagoshima JPN	Tokyo JPN	Gloss
Tone B	no.mi.mo.NO	no.MI.mo.no	‘beverage’
Prosodic Word	no.mi.mo.no-GA	no.MI.mo.no-ga	‘beverage-NOM’
Compound Word	no.mi.mo.no.mon.DAI	no.MI.MO.NO.MOn.dai	‘beverage problem’

## 2.2 Previous studies on tonal change in Kagoshima Japanese

There have been several studies concerning tonal change in Kagoshima Japanese. Kubozono (2006, 2007) reports a tonal change in monomorphemic words and compound words among young speakers of Kagoshima Japanese. Kubozono says that young speakers are sensitive to the accented/unaccented distinction of Tokyo Japanese and that they mimic it by adopting Tone A for words that are accented in Tokyo Japanese and Tone B for words that are unaccented. Examples of tonal change are given in (2).

- (2) Examples of tonal change in Kagoshima Japanese (Kubozono 2006)
- ‘maple’ ka.E.de (Tone A) > ka.e.DE (Tone B) (ka.E.DE in Tokyo Japanese)
  - ‘Japanese maple’ mo.mi.JI (Tone B) > mo.MI.ji (Tone A) (MO.mi.ji in Tokyo Japanese)

If there is no pitch fall in Tokyo Japanese, an original Tone A changes to Tone B (2a), while if there is a pitch fall in Tokyo Japanese, an original Tone B shifts to Tone A (2b). Therefore, young speakers are sensitive to the presence or absence of pitch fall in Tokyo Japanese. Furthermore,

young speakers show a perceptual preference for Tone A even if the stimuli are originally Tone B words (Ota 2002).

Compound-word tone also shows the influence of Tokyo Japanese, and young speakers of Kagoshima Japanese produce compound words with tone depending on the last member. Traditionally, the first member of a compound determines the tone of the whole compound in Kagoshima Japanese, but younger speakers violate this rule.

These are the ongoing changes in Kagoshima Japanese, and they clearly deviate from the traditional system of Kagoshima Japanese. However, we have to note that younger speakers still stay within the limits of the two patterns permitted by the traditional Kagoshima Japanese tone system, namely Tone A and Tone B.

### 2.3 Approach

Returning to the original research question, I would like to clarify the approach I take in this study. I raised the issue of acquisition in section 1, and I would like to look at differences in how well adult children have acquired the Kagoshima Japanese accent system depending on the origins of their parents. More specifically, do parental origins influence either lexical tone acquisition or tonal rule acquisition?

The speakers in this study were locally born, but their parents' origins differ. If we take people who are locally born to be native speakers of the local dialect, our informants can be called native speakers of Kagoshima Japanese. If we follow the general idea of language acquisition, we would expect that our informants have all acquired the Kagoshima dialect equally well. This is the null hypothesis, which supposes no difference between the groups. If we observe any differences between the speakers, it could be that parental origins caused those differences.

## 3. Survey

### 3.1 Informants

Fifty-five informants participated in this survey. The subjects' ages ranged from fifteen to twenty-eight. Most of the informants were born and raised in the area where Kagoshima Japanese is spoken.<sup>2</sup> The informants are divided into four groups based on paternal and maternal origins, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Informant groups

		Father		Total
		Kagoshima	Non-Kagoshima	
Mother	Kagoshima	Group 1 (18) (Male: 4, Female: 14)	Group 2 (13) (Male: 2, Female: 11)	31 (Male: 6, Female: 25)
	Non-Kagoshima	Group 3 (16) (Male: 4, Female: 12)	Group 4 (8) (Male: 3, Female: 5)	24 (Male: 7, Female: 17)
Total		34 (Male: 8, Female: 26)	21 (Male: 5, Female: 16)	55 (Male: 13, Female: 42)

Parental origins are categorized into two types: a parent from the Kagoshima Japanese area or a

<sup>2</sup> Some of informants were actually born in a different prefecture because the mother returned to her family home for the delivery, but all have lived in Kagoshima since age three.

parent from a non-Kagoshima Japanese area. For the participants in this study, non-Kagoshima includes Tokyo Japanese, Miyakonojo Japanese, Ryukyuan, and others. For people in Group 1, both parents are from the Kagoshima Japanese area. For people in Group 4, both parents are from outside the Kagoshima Japanese area.

### 3.2 Stimuli

48 test words were taken from Kubozono (2006). To create longer prosodic words, the nominative particle “-ga” was added to each of these 48 words. Thus, there were 96 test items in total. Some of the test words are listed in Table 5.

These words are divided into four types on the basis of the combination of Kagoshima Japanese accent (Tone A and Tone B) and Tokyo Japanese accent (accented (+) and unaccented (-)). As noted above in section 2.2, previous studies have shown that young speakers of Kagoshima Japanese are sensitive to the presence or absence of pitch fall in Tokyo Japanese and realize them in Kagoshima Japanese, respectively, as Tone A and Tone B. If we apply the concept of presence or absence of pitch fall to Kagoshima Japanese, Tone A can be regarded as accented and Tone B as unaccented.

Table 5 List of selected stimuli

	Tokyo Japanese: accented (+)		Tokyo Japanese: unaccented (-)	
	Bare-nouns	Prosodic words	Bare-nouns	Prosodic words
Kagoshima Japanese: Tone A	ta.be.mo.no (A+) ‘food’ gan.ji.su (A+) ‘Ganges’ o.ka.ya.ma (A+) ‘Okayama’ a.ka (A+) ‘red’ tei.ki (A+) ‘train pass’ o.ren.ji (A+) ‘orange’	-ga (A+)	yo.roi (A-) ‘armor’ bu.ra.ji.ru (A-) ‘Brazil’ ka.go.shi.ma (A-) ‘Kagoshima’ ki.ken (A-) ‘danger’ joo.sha (A-) ‘boarding’ ra.ku.da (A-) ‘camel’	-ga (A-)
Kagoshima Japanese: Tone B	no.mi.mo.no (B+) ‘beverage’ sen.sei (B+) ‘teacher’ doo.na.tsu (B+) ‘doughnut’ koo.hii (B+) ‘coffee’ na.ga.sa.ki (B+) ‘Nagasaki’ a.o (B+) ‘blue’	-ga (B+)	mu.shi.pan (B-) ‘steamed bread’ ga.kkoo (B-) ‘school’ ma.goi (B-) ‘carp’ a.me.ri.ka (B-) ‘America’ o.ki.na.wa (B-) ‘Okinawa’ te.ba.ta (B-) ‘handflag’	-ga (B-)

According to Kubozono (2006), most of the tonal changes are found when there is an inconsistency between Kagoshima Japanese and Tokyo Japanese in terms of pitch fall. Therefore, we expect tonal changes in the categories A (-) and B (+) in Table 5. Also, Kubozono (2006) mentions that tonal changes are found in nouns pronounced in isolation but not in complex prosodic words. That is, the tone preservation rule is maintained in prosodic words even if the bare noun changes its tone.

### 3.3 Methodology

This survey has two focuses. First, I try to determine to what extent the traditional lexical tones are preserved. The second focus concerns the acquisition of the tone preservation rule, but one question arises: how do we judge whether or not an informant has acquired this rule? I propose

to answer this question by looking at whether the high tone moves according to the length of the prosodic word. Table 6 shows how a speaker's performance on the rule was assessed.

Table 6 Application of tone preservation rule to prosodic words

Lexical item ('doughnut')	Prosodic word	Tone preservation rule	Lexical tone
(Tone B) <i>doo.na.TSU</i>	(B) <i>doo.na.tsu - GA</i>	OK	OK
	(A) <i>doo.na.TSU - ga</i>	×	
(Tone A) <i>doo.NA.tsu</i>	(A) <i>doo.na.TSU - ga</i>	OK	×
	(B) <i>doo.NA.tsu - ga</i>	×	

For example, if an informant pronounces the bare noun in Table 6 as *doo.na.TSU*, with the high tone placed on the final syllable, and also pronounces the prosodic word ('doughnut' + nominative) as *doo.na.tsu-GA*, with the high tone placed on the particle, we can infer that s/he has internalized the rule. If an informant produces *doo.NA.tsu* and *doo.na.TSU-ga*, placing a high tone on the second-to-last syllable in the prosodic word, in accordance with the tone of the first element, s/he has acquired the rule but the lexical tone itself deviates from traditional Kagoshima Japanese. If an informant has mastered the rule, s/he should produce prosodic words with the tone pattern (A or B) of the initial member. Based on these criteria, each informant's performance on lexical accent and prosodic word tone was evaluated. Informants were directed to read aloud a list of randomized stimuli twice. If the two productions of an item were inconsistent in terms of accent (e.g., *doo.na.TSU* (Tone B) the first time but *doo.NA.tsu* (Tone A) the second time), the speaker was directed to choose one of the two on the basis of his/her native intuition. The author transcribed the tone patterns on site, but the productions were also recorded.

## 4. Results

### 4.1 Results—bare nouns

Since the informants all grew up in Kagoshima, the null hypothesis is that their tone acquisition would be uniform, as noted in section 2.3. Figure 2 shows the percentage of productions that matched the traditional pattern and the percentage of deviant productions for nouns in isolation. Any production of a bare noun that did not match the traditional tone pattern was considered deviant, regardless of whether it was the other traditional Kagoshima tone pattern, a Tokyo-like pattern, or something else. As can be seen in Figure 2, people in Group 1 (both parents from Kagoshima) exhibited the highest preservation rate for Kagoshima lexical tone (about 70%), and those in Group 4 (both parents from outside Kagoshima) had the lowest (just above 40%). A Tukey test was carried out to determine whether the differences in Figure 2 are statistically significant. One major finding of this study is that Group 1 differs significantly from Groups 3 and 4 ( $p < .001$ ).<sup>3</sup> Thus, even though all the informants grew up in the Kagoshima Japanese area, their acquisition of lexical tone differs from group to group. In particular, people with non-local parents acquired lexical tone differently.

<sup>3</sup> There was also a statistically significant difference between Group 2 and Group 4 ( $p < .05$ ) but not between any other two groups.

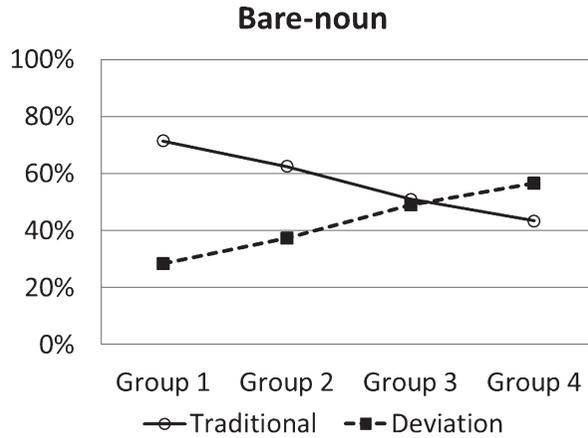


Figure 2 Percentage of traditional tone in bare nouns

#### 4.2 Results—prosodic words

The other major question of this study is whether or not the informants acquired the Kagoshima tone preservation rule. As explained in section 3.2, I looked at whether or not the informants read each prosodic word in accordance with the first element's tone, regardless of whether the tone of the first element matched its traditional Kagoshima tone.

Figure 3 shows the percentage of traditional tone in prosodic words, and the graph looks almost identical to the graph for lexical tone in Figure 2 above. Informants in Group 1 showed scored about 80%, which is the highest among the four groups. For informants in Group 4, the score was just above 20%. The differences between Group 1 and the other three groups are statistically significant.<sup>4</sup>

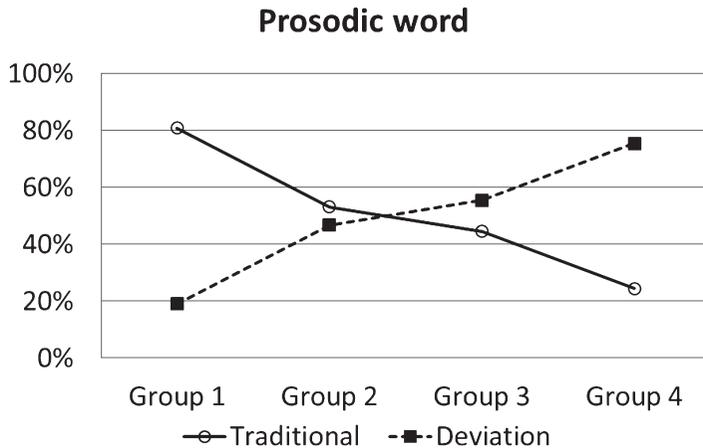


Figure 3 Percentage of traditional tone in prosodic words

<sup>4</sup> Tukey test results showed the following statistically significant differences between groups: Group 1 and Group 2 ( $p < .05$ ), Group 1 and Group 3 ( $p < .001$ ), and Group 1 and Group 4 ( $p < .005$ ).

The results for prosodic words are superficially similar to those for bare nouns, but do the deviations from the traditional Kagoshima dialect really mimic Tokyo Japanese as reported in the previous literature? It is also possible that the deviant patterns depart completely from the system of Kagoshima Japanese, or are similar to Kagoshima Japanese but slightly different from the traditional patterns. In order to see what kind of deviant patterns actually occurred in prosodic words, I will look at the results in more detail by separating the prosodic words on the basis of the initial element's tone.

Table 7 Possible prosodic word tones for Tone A words

		Lexical tone	Prosodic word
Traditional	AA	bu.ra.JI.ru	bu.ra.ji.RU - ga
	AB	bu.ra.JI.ru	bu.ra.ji.ru - GA
Deviation	AX	bu.ra.JI.ru	bu.ra.JI.ru - ga
	AY	bu.ra.JI.ru	bu.RA.JI.RU - GA

Before discussing the results, I would like to clarify the possible outcomes for prosodic word tones. There are four possibilities: AA, AB, AX and AY. Examples of these four response types are given in Table 7. An AA response means that the initial word was read with Tone A and the prosodic word was also read with Tone A, i.e., the prosodic word tone was based on the initial word tone. We can infer that an informant who responds this way consistently has acquired the tone preservation rule. In an AB response, the initial element was read with Tone A, but the prosodic word was read with Tone B. Such a response deviates from the traditional pattern but is still within the range of patterns allowed by the two-tone Kagoshima system. In contrast, AX and AY responses fall outside the system of Kagoshima Japanese. They deviate both from the tone preservation rule and from the two-tone pattern system. Thus, both AA and AB responses can be characterized as belonging to the Kagoshima prosodic system, although AB does not follow the tone preservation rule.

Figure 4 shows the results for prosodic word tone when the initial word had tone A. Informants in Group 1 gave about 90% AA responses (the traditional pattern of Kagoshima Japanese), which indicates nearly perfect acquisition of the tonal rule. The other groups showed different tendencies. For Group 2 and Group 3, the most frequent deviant pattern was AB. For Group 4, it was AX, which deviates both from the Kagoshima two-tone system and from the tone preservation rule.

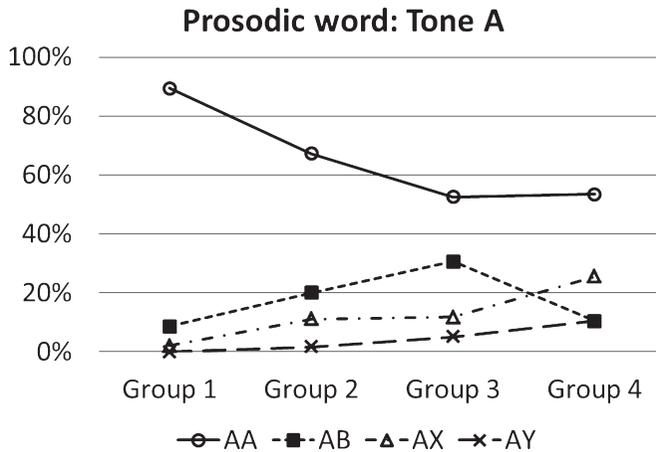


Figure 4 Percentages of traditional and deviant patterns for Tone A

Taking a closer look at the AX responses in Table 7, notice that the high tone does not move in the prosodic words, just as in Tokyo Japanese. Thus, it seems that the informants in Group 4 are oriented to Tokyo Japanese, but before drawing this conclusion, the bare nouns read with Tone B need to be considered.

The deviant patterns for Tone B words are shown in Table 8 and can be described as follows. The traditional response type is BB, which means that the informant read the initial word with Tone B and also read the prosodic word with Tone B. The other two response types in Table 8 are the deviant patterns. In a BA response, the prosodic word was read with Tone A even though the bare noun was read with Tone B. We have to keep in mind that a BA response has two characteristics: (1) it deviates from the tone preservation rule, although it still conforms to the two-tone system; and (2) its high tone does not move, even in complex prosodic words, which is similar to Tokyo Japanese. Thus, a BA response is similar both to AB (deviation from tone preservation) and to AX (no movement of high tone) in Table 7. A BY response means that the informant read the prosodic word with something other than the traditional pattern for a noun with Tone A or Tone B.

Table 8 Possible prosodic word tones for Tone B words

		Lexical tone	Prosodic word
Traditional	BB	doo.na.TSU	doo.na.tsu - GA
	BA	doo.na.TSU	doo.na.TSU - ga
Deviation	BY	doo.na.TSU	DOO.na.tus - ga

Using these categories, the percentages of traditional and deviant patterns for prosodic words containing Tone B words are shown in Figure 5. Here again, the informants in Group 1 show the highest percentage of the traditional pattern, while the informants in Group 4 show the lowest percentage.

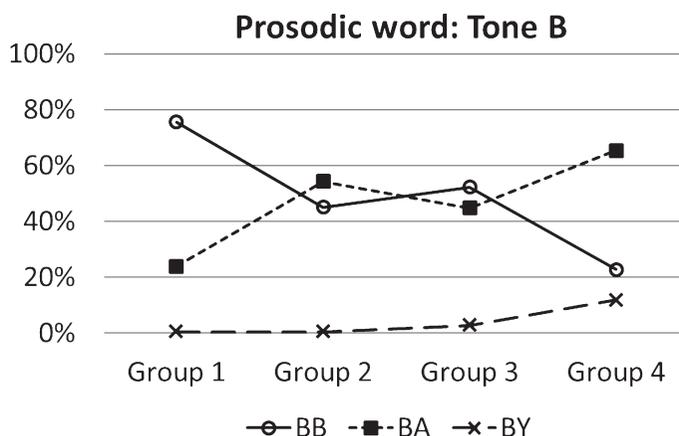


Figure 5 Percentages of traditional and deviant patterns for Tone B

For BA responses, there is an interesting contrast with the AB responses in Figure 4: BA responses were much more frequent than BY responses. Even for Group 1, the rate of BA responses is above 20%, as opposed to the rate of about 10% for AB responses in Figure 4. The other three groups also gave BA responses at almost double the rate of AB responses in Figure 4. On the other hand, BY responses were rare in every group. Why do we observe such a dramatic increase in one deviant pattern? The reason is that a BA response has the two characteristics mentioned earlier. A BA response deviates from the tone preservation rule but still conforms to the Kagoshima two-tone system, and it also follows the Tokyo Japanese pattern of accent immobility.

BA responses are the trend for young informants. They aim at mimicking Tokyo Japanese, but the changes remain within the limits imposed by the two-tone system of Kagoshima Japanese. Therefore, a BA response is a compromise for younger speakers of Kagoshima Japanese. Moreover, this tendency is more salient for those in Group 4, namely, informants with non-local parents. It appears that informants with locally born parents are more resistant to deviant patterns, while those with non-local parents are more susceptible to innovation.

## 5. Discussion

The informants in this study were all raised in the Kagoshima Japanese area, but they differ in the origins of their parents. The results show similar trends in the acquisition of both lexical tone and the tone preservation rule in terms of parental origins. Those who have locally born parents exhibited the best performance for both aspects, but those who have non-local parents showed statistically significant differences in their performance. Thus, parental origins seem to have a direct influence on dialect tone acquisition.

However, even those speakers of Kagoshima Japanese with locally-born parents did not show perfect mastery of either lexical tone or the tonal rule. Even these speakers exhibited some departures from the traditional dialect. As reported in the literature, the speech of young speakers of Kagoshima Japanese is undergoing changes (Kubozono 2006, 2007, Ota 2002), but the present study has found that the degree of change differs depending on parental origins. By examining how prosodic word tones deviate from the tone preservation rule, two tendencies have been

observed. The tone pattern in a complex prosodic word (i.e., bare-noun plus *ga* nominative), can be reversed, but it tends to stay within the limits of the traditional two-tone system. The other tendency is that the high tone tends to become fixed in location, as in Tokyo Japanese, even if in some cases it creates a pattern outside the limits of the traditional two-tone system. The former tendency is observed mainly among those who have one locally born parent (Groups 2, and 3). These younger speakers deviate from the tonal rule, but their speech still ‘sounds’ like Kagoshima Japanese. The latter tendency is more salient for those who have two non-local parents (Group 4).

Now that there is solid evidence for the influence of parental origins on children’s tone acquisition, we can compare the acquisition of lexical tone with the acquisition of the tone preservation rule. Figure 6 shows the percentages of responses in the data that have the traditional patterns for bare-nouns and complex prosodic words.

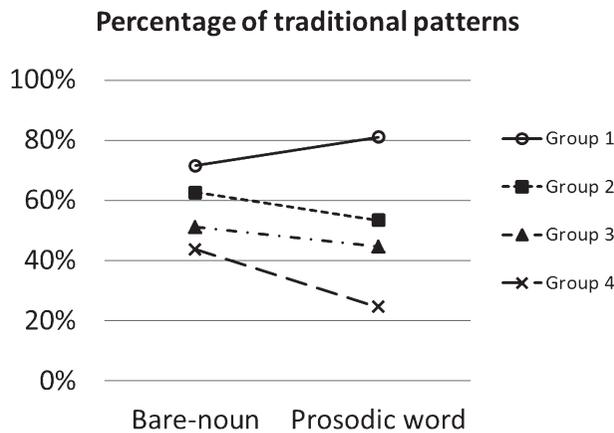


Figure 6 Acquisition of lexical tone and the tonal rule

Only Group 1, informants with locally born parents, maintains the tone preservation rule more faithfully than lexical tone. The other three groups show the opposite trend: their lexical tone acquisition is superior to their tone rule acquisition. What does this result tell us? It could be that those informants who have locally born parents were raised without dialect contact, while the informants with at least one non-local parent were raised in a dialect contact environment. The people with locally born parents show language internal change, that is, the tone category membership of lexical items is prone to change, but the phonological rules appear to be stable. Informants who have at least one non-local parent (and probably spent their childhood in a dialect contact situation) seem not to have fully acquired the traditional tone rule. This trend fits the findings of historical linguistics (Hock 1991): rules are resistant to both internal diachronic change (people with locally born parents) and to borrowing (people with at least one non-local parent). The latter case is well illustrated in the literature by examples of simplification in borrowing and creolization.

## 6. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the acquisition of lexical tones and a tonal rule differs statistically depending on parental origins. The results also indicate that people with locally born parents have acquired the tone rules of Kagoshima Japanese far better than the tones of individual lexical items.

Parental origin cannot be the only factor in dialect tone acquisition by children, but the results obtained in this study support the claim that it is one major factor. This has consequences for dialectology in general, as informants are usually selected on the basis of the single criterion that they were locally born and raised. However, even people who were locally born and raised differ in their speech and in the extent to which they have acquired the different features of the traditional dialect. This parameter has to be taken into account and controlled in dialectal surveys, along with age group and other criteria.

Further research on Kagoshima Japanese will need to clarify two remaining issues. First, what happens if we add more than one particle to a prosodic word, such as *made* ‘until’, *made-mo* ‘even’ and *kara-made-mo* ‘even from’? If the high tone stays immobile even in longer prosodic words, it suggests the young speakers mimic the system of Tokyo Japanese even when this forces them to depart from a fundamental feature of the two-tone system. The second issue is the exact dialects spoken by non-local parents, and the nature of their prosodic systems. A refined study taking into account such detailed parameters will probably shed still more light on the process of prosody acquisition.

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## 方言習得における親の母方言の影響

——鹿兒島方言の場合——

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### 要旨

本稿は親の母方言の影響によって鹿兒島方言の習得が異なることを報告する。親が体系を異にする方言を母方言とする場合、その子供は方言接触の環境で育っているといえよう。本研究は鹿兒島方言を対象に、方言接触がない環境（両親ともに鹿兒島方言話者）で育った話者と方言接触の環境で育った話者（片／両親が非鹿兒島方言話者）の方言習得の違いを捉えることを目的とする。本研究が行った調査の結果、(1) 両親の出身地による方言習得の違いがあること、(2) 方言接触がない環境（両親ともに鹿兒島方言話者）で育った話者は文法的な要素（音韻規則）は変化しにくく、(3) 方言接触の環境で育った話者（片／両親が非鹿兒島方言話者）は伝統的な文法的要素の習得が不完全であるために文法的な要素（音韻規則）自体が異なっていることが明らかになった。また方言接触の環境で育った話者は鹿兒島方言らしく聞こえるような疑似的な鹿兒島方言が多く観察されることも明らかとなった。

**キーワード：**鹿兒島方言、親、獲得、複合規則、方言接触