GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
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JAPANSKA

Prosodic features in *enka*

The relationship between the melody of lyrics in *enka* and

the prosody of Japanese

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要旨

歌詞の旋律と日本語の韻律の関係をめぐる研究は従来、語単位のみでなされてきた。
本論文では、より大きな韻律単位であるイントネーションとベストセラー演歌４曲の旋律の関係を調べた。調査にあたっては、演歌の旋律と、東京語話者が読み上げた歌詞にみるイントネーションとを比較した。その結果、語単位でみた場合のアクセントの下降や語頭の上昇と旋律の間には一貫した関係が見出されなかった。しかし、イントネーションにおけるフォーカスと旋律におけるフォーカスの間には共通した原理が観察され、いずれにおいてもフォーカスの置かれる語や句は高いピッチ領域で発話され（あるいは歌われ）、その前後の句のピッチは低く抑えられる。違いはイントネーションではアクセント型が維持されるのに対し、旋律ではそうでない事である。旋律においては、低く抑えられたピッチ領域でアクセント型が維持されやすく、反対にフォーカス部分ではほとんど無視される。また、旋律においてはフォーカス部分がスピーチのイントネーションより長い単位になりやすい。演歌の特徴といわれる「コブシ」があるときは、フォーカ単位の後方部に現れやすいことが観察された。

Transliteration conventions

Japanese text that is not part of any analysis is transcribed in the Hepburn system, as in
"gakkō", "okāsan", "Tōru" and "Tōkyō". All other Japanese text that is somehow analyzed,
or in parts where presenting every mora truthfully is required (for instance, when
geminates and long vowels appear) is rendered with phonological transcription, in which
case geminates are represented by /Q/, nasal consonant "n" by /N/ and long vowels by /R/.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The author's choice of subject was at first motivated only by the vague notion that melody in Japanese song and the Japanese pitch accent ought to interrelate as they are both expressed by pitch relations between sounds, only that, concerning the Japanese language, these sounds are called morae (singular "mora") and when speaking of music, they are called notes. This was, however, already theorized by Marugame (1996).

Marugame (1996) states that the prosodic features of languages such as timbre, stress, pitch, length, speed and intonation make languages musical, which is why languages both have influence on rhythm and melody and present problems in composition. Marugame (1996) highlights a couple of features of the pitch accent of the Japanese language, which she considers to be advantageous when composing, compared to stress-accent languages like English and German. Marugame (1996) also mentions the famous Kōsaku Yamada, a composer who made it his ideal and principle to compose melodies that are faithful to the Tokyo accent (standard Japanese), thinking that the meaning of the lyrics would otherwise be incomprehensible.

Also, Takagi (1991) examined whether the melodies of the words *ame* (rain) and *kiri* (mist), in Japanese popular songs, follow the accent of standard Japanese. The results varied depending on the year of origin of the songs and he suggested the possibility that the level of consciousness towards accent among songwriters and composers might differ with the ages. For instance, he found that composers might have been more careful with the accent between 1968 and 1981.

Sall (2012) also examined whether melody follows accent, in the modern Japanese popular song *Tōmei Ningen,* and hypothesized that modern Japanese songs, i.e. songs that are sung in Japanese but are written with a western song structure and are accompanied by western instruments, do not have the ability to follow the Japanese accent.

1.2. Presentation of problems

Takagi's research (1991) data is both rich in quantity (3188 songs) and spans over nearly a century (1885 - 1992) but it only examines the two words *ame* and *kiri*. He also claims that with the exception of *enka*, songs that give room for accent realization are going to decrease, even though his study neither examines *enka* nor involves any diachronic research that would reveal such tendencies.

It is also regrettable that Marugame (1996) does not show with concrete evidence how the prosodic features of a language influence melody by illustrating with visible examples from experiments. This unfortunately makes Marugame's investigation and claims merely

interesting, but not scientifically convincing.

Lastly, while Takagi (1991) investigates a huge repository of Japanese popular songs and Marugame (1996) presents interesting theories as to why there must be an interrelationship between Japanese song and accent, none of them bring up *enka*. Nor do they consider other aspects of prosody than accent, such as accent phrase or intonation. In fact, comparing isolated lexical items in lyrics to their in-speech counterparts does not give a truthful picture of whether the melody does or does not follow the Japanese accent, as, in speech, lexical items rarely occur in isolated form, but rather as a part of larger prosodic groupings (as in phrases), at which point the accent of the lexical item is already altered by bordering factors (such as deaccentening particles and intonation rules) and does not retain the accent as it would have in isolated form. To give a more correct account of whether accent in lyrics is ignored or obeyed, it is imperative to examine phrases, such as *ame ga furu* and *kiri ga koi*, not isolated words, such as *ame* and *kiri*.

1.3. Purpose and research question

Previous research on the relationship between the melody and prosody in Japanese have only taken limited features of word accent into consideration. They have only examined the pitch fall of the accented words and word initial pitch rise for unaccented words. In the light of more recent prosodic studies on Japanese in which words are examined in a larger context such as phrase and sentence, the present study examines to what extent the melody in four best seller Japanese *enka* reflects prosody (accent and intonation) of Tokyo Japanese.

The purpose of this study is thus to determine the relationship between the melody of lyrics in *enka* and the prosody (phrasal accent and intonation) of the Japanese language. Attention will specifically be given to the following two research questions.

1. Whether the melody follows phrasal accent and intonation or not

2. In what manner and places the melody follows or deviates from phrasal accent and intonation

2. Previous studies

2.1. Tōru Takagi

Takagi (1991) examined whether the melodies of the words *ame* (rain) and *kiri* (mist) in Japanese popular songs follow the accent of standard Japanese. The results varied depending on the year of origin of the songs and he suggested the possibility that the level of consciousness towards accent among songwriters and composers might differ with the ages.

He chose to investigate the words *ame* and *kiri* out of two reasons. Firstly, that both words frequently appear in Japanese popular songs and secondly, that the accent of the two words are contrasting: the accent of *ame* is falling (a ↓ me) and the accent of *kiri* is rising (ki ↑ ri).

He used the seven volumes of the music books *Zen-on Kayōkyoku Daizenshū* as material. They contain a total of 3188 songs, originating from the 17th year of the Meiji Period (1885) to the third year of the Heisei Period (1991).

As for the method, he compared the height of the two notes comprising, for instance *ame* (one note for "a" and one note for "me") and classified those with rising interval as "rising", those without change in height as "same" and those with declining interval as "falling". He sorted *ame* and *kiri* that are comprised of more than two notes as "other".

The following tables show the results. The y-axis denotes the book volumes.

Table 1. Intervals of *ame* and *kiri* (Takagi, 1991)

ame	Rising	Same	Falling	Other		*kiri*	Rising	Same	Falling	Other
	上昇	同音	下降	その他			上昇	同音	下降	その他
1 巻	18	21	11	24		1 巻	5	3	1	8
2 巻	19	23	19	26		2 巻	14	7	9	13
3 巻	14	24	18	13		3 巻	12	5	8	7
4 巻	25	16	27	10		4 巻	6	2	3	3
5 巻	23	22	28	7		5 巻	4	4	0	1
6 巻	15	23	13	7		6 巻	3	4	2	0
7 巻	17	24	14	6		7 巻	0	2	2	1

Based on their word accent, the desirable direction of interval for *ame* would be a falling one and for *kiri* a rising one. However, judging from the above table, Takagi states, while the word accent of *kiri* is relatively respected, the word accent of *ame* seems to have barely been thought of.

It is hard to imagine that only the accent of *kiri* was being consciously cared for while the accent of *ame* was being disregarded. To find out more about the circumstances

surrounding this, he chose to concentrate on *ame* and *kiri* that appear only at the beginning of songs. The results were as shown below.

Table 2. Intervals of *ame* and *kiri* at the beginning of songs (Takagi, 1991)

	Rising	Same	Falling	Other
Ame	30%	43%	18%	10%
Kiri	52%	17%	4 %	26%

In addition, using two other musical books, the *Shōwa no Uta Besuto 222 (=The Top 222 songs of Showa period)* and *Kayōkyoku BEST 200 (=Top 200 songs)* in order to find out what tendencies there are regarding starting intervals in songs, he found that approximately 50 percent are rising, 40 percent are without change in height and 10 percent are falling intervals.

Now, regarding intervals at the end of songs, a little over 60 percent were falling ones. There are, however, only a few songs that end with the word *ame* and there are nearly none that end with *kiri*.

In conclusion, Japanese popular songs often begin with rising intervals and end with falling ones. Regardless, the words *ame* and *kiri* frequently occur at the beginning of songs and seldom appear at the end, which consequently result in that the accent of *kiri* is realized while the accent *ame* is unrealized.

Judging from the result in Table 1, it might seem as though the accent of *kiri* is preserved and the accent of *ame* is forfeited. Takagi, however, believes that a great deal of this is due to mere coincidence, because, as concluded above, *ame* and *kiri* frequently occur at the beginning of songs, where intervals tend to start in a rising fashion.

The accent is, however, not completely ignored. It is evident that there are songs written with the accent cared for, just by looking at *ame* and *kiri* at the beginning of songs. Popular songs are normally composed with one melody taking on two or three verses of lyrics, which makes composition with the accent fully preserved difficult. Concerning *ame*, for instance, the results from table 1 might indicate that, judging from the fact that there are relatively many of cases where *ame* seems to have been sung with a falling interval, composers might have been more careful with the accent at that time (1968 - 1981).

Takagi finally hypothesizes that, with the exception of *enka*, songs that give room for accent realization are going to decrease. Recently, a lot of songs have been written whose lyrics consist of evenly mixed Japanese and English and make at times no sense at all. This means that the meaning-conveying function of lyrics is not as important anymore and

this, Takagi believes, might lead to the disregarding of accent.

2.2. Kazuko Marugame

Marugame (1996) uses the characteristics of the Japanese language in order to advocate the importance of realizing accent and intonation when composing in Japanese.

One does not think about the langue of a language when realizing it in speech. In the same way does one not think more about the langue than the meaning of the lyrics, nor does one think about the relationship between the lyrics and the melody assigned to the lyrics from a linguistic point of view, when singing.

Both the act of speaking as well as the act of singing are acts uttered and at the same time receipted. They are both conveyed through sound transmitted through the air. Both language and music are inseparable from sound. The four basic attributes that comprise music (tone height, tone length, strength and timbre) as well as its secondary elements of articulation and agogic, are things present in language as well. Because of this, one will not find any forced aspects with the two progressing at the same time.

Language and music do however conflict at the stage of composition due to the restrictions that language exerts on music, which is why composers have to pay attention to the relationship between the two.

Marugame states that the reason why music cannot ignore language is that while the sounds in a linguistic expression are "signs" as a means to understanding, sounds in a musical expression are "things" meant to fulfill only their own aesthetic purpose. When these linguistic signs are expressed as part of a system that conveys meaning meant to be understood, the langue of a language exerts restrictions on the aesthetic purpose of music, which yearns to express itself in a rich fashion, and the structuring of the sounds required.

According to Marugame, the features of the Japanese accent affect melody in several ways when composing with Japanese as lyrics.

1. There is an interrelationship between Japanese word accent and melody in music as word accent itself, which consists of high pitch and low pitch, directly influences rise and fall in melody.

2. As Japanese word accent relies on pitch, not on stress, the accented mora does not have to occur on the first beat of a bar. This aspect is relatively free compared to the meter-bound stressed syllable of stress accent languages. The following example is the Japanese version of "Hosanna! Loud Hosanna!"

Figure 1. "Hosanna! Loud Hosanna!" (Marugame, 1996)

The song in this case beginning with an anacrusis is not a necessity at all to the Japanese language. Even if one would disregard the fact that the Japanese accent relies on pitch, sentences in Japanese do not have to start with an article or a preposition and so on, but begin directly with for instance a noun or an adjective and thus freeing it from the need to having to start with an anacrusis in order to maintain stress accent structure.

3. Because the difference in pitch between a low pitched mora and a high pitched mora is relative and varies with speaker and situation, the tone height and interval that is set for each word accent is free.

4. As the pitch never rises again after a fall within the same word, one can assume that there are two words, if another high pitched mora occurs. This rule makes the boundaries of words impressionistically clear. Because the word accent has a syntactic function that separates words from words and sets phrasal boundaries, it can be used to organize phrasal groupings within sentences.

5. As half of the Japanese lexicon is made up of unaccented (flat) words, sentences containing only flat words exist as well. This requires a bit of consideration as they are far too monotonous to be transferred to a melody. Unaccented words do however have the merit of being clear by the moving from a low pitched mora to a high pitched mora at the beginning of the word. Also, this makes it possible to delicately adjust the feeling of the melody by varying the leap between the first and the second mora of a word.

Marugame summarizes by claiming that it is vital to follow the accent type, i.e. the high pitch and low pitch, when composing with Japanese as lyrics. Kōsaku Yamada is a composer who most utterly cherished the intonation of Japanese. Kōsaku Yamada made it his ideal and principle to compose melodies that are faithful to the Tokyo accent (standard

Japanese) and regarded the distinguishing function of the Japanese language important, thinking that the meaning of the lyrics would otherwise be incomprehensible. As can be seen from *chi*↓ (earth) and *chi*↑ (blood) in figure 2 "Higanbana" (lyrics by Hakushū Kitahara), the word accent is clearly distinguished.
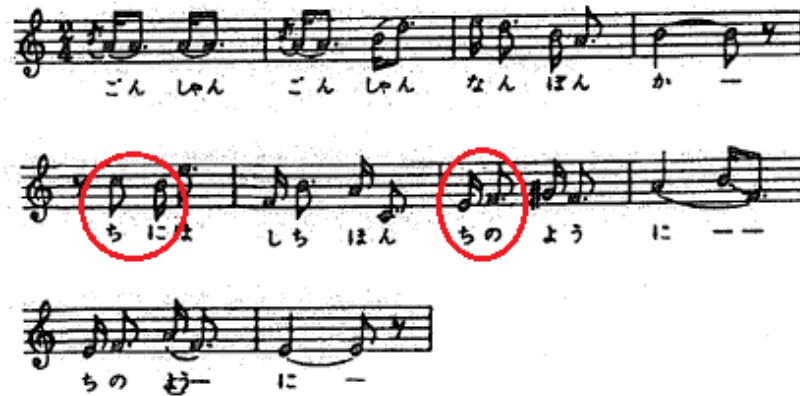

Figure 2. "Higanbana" by Koosaku Yamada. (Marugame, 1996)

The problem that arises when applying Yamada's principle on songs written in strophic form[1] is, for instance, how one ought to process the melody when a word that is accented on its, for instance, final mora appears in the second verse where in the first verse there is a word whose first mora is the accented one. In "Karatachi no Hana" the melodies of *sa*↑ *ita* and *i*↑ *ta*↓ *i* have been altered and are through-composed. This is because if the accent of *itai* would have been adapted to the accent of *saita* (in order to fit the melody), it would have carried the meanings of "corpse" or "unusual form".

Figure 3. "Karatachi no Hana". (Marugame, 1996)

In cases such as the above mentioned, one could apply one of the following methods,

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[1] A strophic song is a type of song that has the same melody but different lyrics for each verse. This varies from the through-composed song, which has a different melody for every verse.

among others:

- adapt the melody in each verse to fit the accent, even if the song is written in a strophic form
- prioritize the aesthetic value of the melody at the expense of the accent from the second verse and on, if the accent and melody of the first verse match
- flatten the melody of every verse in places where the accent type differs drastically

This is a problem one cannot avoid facing when making lyrics out of Japanese.

However, following the accent is but a mere principle and one must not always strictly keep to the accent types. This is because if the high pitch and low pitch of word accent directly influences rise and fall in melody and melody serves only the purpose of recreating word accent, and although this might make the melody loyal to the intonation of the lyrics, it is still far away from realizing intonation produced by human feelings and musical beauty.

2.3. Máté Sall

Sall (2012) conducted a pilot study to find out whether the melody of the lyrics of the modern Japanese popular song *Tōmei Ningen* by the light-music band Tōkyō Jihen follows the Japanese word accent or not. He used the extensive research of Koizumi (1969) on Japanese children's songs as a point of departure and found that, unlike children's songs, which sometimes do follow the accent completely, *Tōmei Ningen* pretty much ignores the accent.

Sall's hypothesis was that, unlike children's songs, which come into being "naturally", by the repetition of Japanese words and phrases, a process from which the melody is born (Koizumi, 1969), modern Japanese songs, i.e. songs that are sung in Japanese but are written with a western song structure and are accompanied by western instruments, do not have the ability to follow the Japanese accent, due to the following reasons.

Songs written by grown-ups (people that one can assume do not play on the school grounds singing children's songs anymore) are written in order to be sold and to gain popularity, which means that there is a competitive aspect to it. In other words, one could argue that a "commercial" demand, other than the linguistic and musical demands (Koizumi, 1969) is in effect and it ignores the accent structure.

Also, a lot of the grown-ups who write music do it as their job, which means that they have to compose remarkably good music, or risk not having their daily bread. Yet again, another demand other than the linguistic and the musical ones, a competitive demand, is affecting the accent structure, making it disloyal to the accent.

If one assumes this to be the case, then it can be concluded that these are not

"naturally" born songs. They are not songs that people sing on a playground to each other, trying have another person act according to what the lyrics say, which in turn diminishes the importance of the accent, if not completely eliminating its purpose.

2.4 Summary of findings

Sall (2012) hypothesized that modern Japanese songs do not have the ability to follow the Japanese word accent.

Marugame (1996) states that the prosodic features of languages such as timbre, stress, pitch, length, speed and intonation make languages musical, which is why languages both have influence on rhythm and melody and present problems in composition.

Takagi (1991) examined whether the melodies of the words *ame* (rain) and *kiri* (mist), in Japanese popular songs, follow the accent of standard Japanese. The results varied depending on the year of origin of the songs and he suggested the possibility that the level of consciousness towards accent among songwriters and composers might differ with the ages.

3. Prosody

"Accent means a system of syntagmatic contrasts used to construct prosodic patterns which divide an utterance into a succession of shorter phrases. Furthermore, accent can specify relationships among these patterns which organize them into larger phrasal groupings." (Beckman 1986 p.1) This definition is in Japanese realized in two ways, presented next.

3.1. The Japanese Accent

The Japanese accent is lexically affiliated. This means that "the location of accent is not predictable" (Nagano-Madsen, Bruce 1998) and that an L2 (second language) learner of Japanese would have to look up and memorize the accent for each and every word. The L2 learner would have to memorize whether a word is **accented** (with a pitch drop) or **unaccented** (flat) and if accented, **where** the accent (pitch drop) is located. (Japan Foundation 2011 p.88)

The Japanese accent can distinguish meaning between homonyms, words of identical phonological structure. The words "rain" and "candy" (both phonologically constructed /ame/) for instance carry different meaning due to the accent, as in *a ↓ me* (rain) and *a ↑ me* (candy) (Sugitō 1990 p.2).

Other examples of noun homonyms are (Katō et. al. 2007 p.52):

/ha ↑ si ↓ / （橋）"bridge"　　　　　/ha ↓ si/ （箸）"chopsticks"

/bu ↑ doR/ （葡萄）"grape"　　　　　/bu ↓ doR/ （武道）"martial arts"

These are examples of nouns being distinguished, however, the accent also helps distinguishing verbs as in /hu ↓ ru/ (to rain) and /hu ↑ ru/ (to wave) and adjectives as in /a ↑ tu ↓ i/ (hot) and /a ↑ tui/ (thick). Moreover, in some cases the accent also sets parts of speech apart as in /tu ↓ ru/ (noun, "trane") and /tu ↑ ru/ (verb, "to fish").

The smallest unit of this kind of accent, concerning the Japanese language, is called a mora (plural "morae") and is generally composed of one vowel (/a i u e o/) or one consonant and one vowel as in "ka, shi, tsu, ne, ho" and so on.

Now, the difference between Japanese morae and English syllables is that while the English words, for instance "straight" and "strike" each consist of **one syllable**, they become **five morae** each when pronounced in Japanese as in /su to re R to/ and /su to ra i ku/. Also, the Japanese **four-mora** word /ni N gyo R/ and /i Q ta i/ become **two-syllable** words to an English-speaking person, as in /niN-gyoR/ and /iR-tai/. Geminates (as the /Q/ in /iQtai/), nasals (as the /N/ in /niNgyoR/) and long vowels (as the /R/ in /niNgyoR/) all count as a separate mora in the Japanese language, as can be understood from these examples (Sugitō 1990 p.2).

Further, there are some rules that apply for the Japanese accent. In this paper, the

rules for the standard Japanese, the Tōkyō dialect will be presented.

First of all, the first mora and the second mora always differ in pitch:

a) /wa↑tasi/（私）"I"   b) /na↓mida/（涙）"tears"

Secondly, if the pitch has declined once it does not rise again:

a) /i↓noti/（命）"life"   b) /mu↑ra↓saki/（紫）"purple"

Thirdly, in case the last mora of a word ends in high pitch, the following particle can follow either in high pitch or low pitch position.

/e↑Ntotu ga/（煙突が）"the chimney" /imoRto↓ga/（妹が）"my little sister"

3.2. The Japanese Accent in Sentence Perspective

We have now seen what kind of alignments Japanese morae can assume, in other words, what kind of accent patterns Japanese words can form and by what rules they are governed. Now, what happens to the accent when a word is pronounced as part of a sentence? Study the following words:

/akai sakana ga imasu/   /siroi sakana mo imasu/

"There is a red fish.   There is also a white fish."

Standing alone, without context, the accent pattern for "a fish" would be /sa↑kana/, however, in the first sentence /akai sakana ga imasu/, it is preceded by a word without declination (/a↑kai/), and we find an exception to the rule that says that the first mora and the second mora always differ in pitch, as all the morae following the rise in /akai/ are high-pitched (the last mora "su" is disregarded as it is unvoiced and thus without pitch):

/a↑kai sakana ga ima(↓)su/

The same principle goes for /siroi sakana mo imasu/ where /sakana/ is preceded by a word with declination (/si↑ro↓i/) and the rule about the first and the second mora always differing in pitch is yet again unrealized as all the morae following the pitch fall in /siroi/ become low-pitched:

/si↑ro↓i sakana mo ima(↓)su/

Moreover, if there is a declination in the word in question as for instance in /ta↑ma↓go/ (an egg) the initial rising accent in /ta↑ma/ is unrealized while the fall in pitch at /ma↓go/ is either realized or reduced depending on the accent of the preceding word:

a) /n↓aN no tama(↓)go? /   b) /ka↑eru no tama↓go/

  "What kind of an egg?"   "Egg of a frog."

In a), the sentence begins with a declination and thus the rising accent in /tamago/ is unrealized while the pitch fall is considerably reduced (in addition, in this case the sentence is interrogative, which makes the last mora "go" rise).

As for b), the sentence begins with an unaccented word, thus the initial rise in accent is deleted while the pitch fall is realized.

(Japan Foundation 2011 p.93-94)

There is yet another case where word accent in Japanese changes, which is when a phrase involves the genitive particle "no" as in:

1) /u↑ma↓/ → /u↑ma no/ (of a horse)

2) /ni↑ho↓N/ → /ni↑hoN no/ (of Japan)

3) /o↑toko↓/ → /o↑toko no/ (of a man)

While the genitive particle "no" has a deaccenting effect on the preceding element, it exerts its deaccenting effect under limited conditions: the deaccenting does not occur in phrases where the word to which the particle is attached is accented on syllables other than the last one, as in:

a) /i↓noti/ → /i↓noti no/ NOT /i↑noti no/ (of life)

or if the lexical item is a monosyllabic word as in:

b) /ha↓/ → /ha↓no/ NOT /ha↑no/ (of a tooth)

(Kubozono 1993 p.96)

3.3. Intonation

We have seen in 3.2. that when Japanese words are written separately they all have different accent patterns, like /sa↑kana/ and /ta↑ma↓go/. We have also observed that when put into certain context, in this case the sentence /akai sakana ga imasu/, the word accent of /sakana/ is unrealized and instead the sentence assumes one smooth intonation curve. Here follows an account on Japanese intonation and its features. Study the rise and fall in pitch in the following sentences:

a) /a↑merika kara kima↓sita/

b) /ma↑re↓Rsia kara kima(↓)sita/

c) /tyu↓Rgoku kara kima(↓)sita/

Observe that there is **one** fall in intonation in each sentence. This one peak, which they all have in common, is the so called "intonation peak" (*intonēshon no yama*) (Japan Foundation 2011). The following can be concluded about Japanese intonation from the examples above:

1) A sentence begins with the rise in pitch, from low to high (except for when the sentence begins with a word whose accent lies on the first mora, as in /tyu↓Rgoku/).

2) The intonation stays high-pitched until it reaches an accented word (i.e. a word with declination). The intonation does not drop at all if all words are unaccented.

3) The intonation drops from high-pitched to low-pitched at the first word that contains accentual declination.

4) After that, the intonation stays down within the boundaries of the same peak.

5) The intonation drops slightly, indicated here by (↓), each time it comes across a

word with accentual declination, until the end of the sentence.

It was stated in the above explanation that a sentence begins with the rise in pitch, from low to high. This is however not always true. When the second mora is a long vowel or a nasal /N/, the intonation is impressionistically rather perceivable as high-pitched all the way, as in /to(↑)okyoR/ (Tōkyō) and /si(↑)Nzyuku/ (Shinjuku).

It has been concluded this far that only one peak occurs within one sentence. This is however nothing but the most basic structure of Japanese intonation and in actual Japanese sentences, several of these peaks may occur. This is made evident by comparing the following sentences:

1A) /kyo↓Rto he ikima(↓)su/   1B) /kyo↓Rto he wa i↑kimase↓N/

    (I am) going to Kyoto   (I am) not going to Kyoto

2A) /ho↑Qka↓idoR kara kima(↓)sita/ 2B) /ho↑Qka↓idoR kara ki↑noR kima↓sita/

    (I) came from Hokkaido   (I) came from Hokkaido yesterday

3A) /si↑tumoN ga arima(↓)su/   3B) si↑tumoN ga mi↑Qtu arima(↓)su/

    (I) have (a) question   (I) have three questions

In the A sentences, the intonation peak is restricted to **one** smooth curve, as we have seen before. In B, on the other hand, new peaks emanate in /i↑kimase↓N/ (**not** going), /ki↑noR kima↓sita/ (came **yesterday**) and /mi↑Qtu arima(↓)su/ (have **three**) in addition to /kyo↓Rto he ha/, /ho↑Qka↓idoR kara/ and /si↑tumoN ga/. Now, if the word on which one intends to lay the new peak on happens to be a word with declination following an unaccented word, one is required to heighten the pitch even higher, as to make it stand out, as in B:

A) /da↑igaku de osieteima(↓)su/   B) /da↑igaku de ka↓↓gaku wo osieteima(↓)su/

    (I) teach at a university   (I) teach **chemistry** at a university

These additional intonation peaks appear when the speaker has new information yet unknown to the listener or when this information is what the speaker wants to convey to the listener the most. This part of a sentence is called "focus". The same rules apply to these newly formed peaks as to the former ones.

Furthermore, in order to considerably emphasize one lexical part of a sentence an extra effort in pitch heightening can be made, for instance in order to express a contrasting nuance, called "prominence", as in:

(As an answer to the question: "are you also from Okinawa?")

/wa↑tasi wa ho↑↑Qka↓↓idoR kara kima(↓)sita/

(**No,**) I am from **Hokkaido**

Intonation in Japanese can also assist in clarifying otherwise semantically vague sentences. The following sentence can be interpreted in two ways:

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/kinoR nakusita kagi ga mitukarimasita/

Depending on where the focus is placed, it can mean either A or B:

A) /ki↑noR nakusita kagi↓ ga mi↑tukarima↓sita/

   (I) found the keys (I) lost yesterday (=the keys were **lost yesterday**)

B) /ki↑noR na↑kusita kagi↓ ga mi↑tukarima↓sita/

   Yesterday, (I) found the keys (I) had lost (=the keys were **found yesterday**)

Finally, the intonation at the end of a sentence is a crucial element that decides in what manner the content of a sentence is conveyed to the listener. Not only are emotions expressed here but also the actual meaning of the sentence can be subject to this element. Study and pay attention to "sō desu ka" in the following dialogs:

A1: /ano zyugyoR, tumaranai desu ne/

   That's quite a boring class, isn't it?

B1: /soR desu ka?/ (rising pitch on "ka") /watasi ha suki desu yo./

   Really? (You think so?)   Well, I like it!

A2: /simekiri ha kinoR desita node, moR uketukeraremaseN./

   The deadline was yesterday, so we cannot accept (it) anymore.

B2: /soR desu ka. (falling pitch on "ka") sikata ga arimaseN ne./

   I see…   That's too bad.

A3: /situmoN ga arimasu./ (a student asking a teacher)

   I have a question.

B3: /naN desu ka?/ (rising pitch on "ka")

   Yes! (How can I help you?)

B4: /naN desu ka?/ (falling pitch on "ka")

   What is it?! (Be quiet!)

As can be seen from these examples, the sentence-final intonation differentiates several kinds of emotions and meanings. Another function of this intonation feature is creating interrogative sentences. This is done by raising the last mora of the last word at the end of a sentence, regardless of the word accent, as in:

1) /ha↓iru↑?/   2) /ya↑meru↑?/   3) /de↑ki↓ru↑?/

(Will you) enter?   (Will you) stop?   Can (you do it)?

4. Analysis

4.1. Material and method

4.1.1. Material *Enka*

The definition of *enka*, the genre of the songs that were examined in this paper, is vague at best. (Yano 2002.) However, the reason why the author chose to examine *enka* and not, for instance, twentieth century mainstream Japanese popular songs (kayōkyoku), is partly described in the following musical definition, which is also quite apt here, as it fits the music-related theme of this paper.

"Inasmuch as modernity is shifting and relational, *enka* is 'modern' music that brings Western instruments together with Japanese scales, vocal techniques and textual themes". (Yano 2002 pp.28)

The four *enka* that were examined in this paper have been selected for investigation by choosing the top four best-seller songs of two female and two male singers from a list of *enka* written between 1966 and 2008 from the Oricon yearbooks[2]. The full lyrics are attached as appendix 1.

The four songs are (as ranked)	Released in
1. *Onna no michi* (=*Way of the Woman*)	
by Miya Shirō to pinkaratorio	1972
2. *Namida no misao* (=*Chastity of tears*)	
by Tonosama kingusu	1973
7. *Kita no yado kara* (=*From the Inn in North*)	
by Harumi Miyako	1975
8. *Omoidezake* (=*Sake of reminiscence*)	
by Sachiko Kobayashi	1979

Enka lyrics are usually written around themes of love and loss, loneliness, enduring hardships and persevering in the face of difficulties, even suicide or death. The *enka* examined in this paper all share the theme of love and loneness in common.

4.1.2. Method

Although the author's initial intention was to copy down the songs by listening to them on Youtube.com, in the end, the musical scores for all four songs were purchased at @Elise.com in order to save time.

Two steps were taken in order to determine two aspects of the relationship between the melody of lyrics in *enka* and the prosody (phrase accent and intonation) of the

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[2] "The Oricon yearbooks are a compendium of lists that may be considered at least partial determinants of rank in the Japanese music industry." (Yano 2002)

Japanese language.

4.1.2.1. Step one: Accent phrases

In the first step, melodic phrasings were examined in order to find out whether accentual rules in larger prosodic groupings like /siroi sakana ga/ (the pitch staying low after "ro" throughout the phrase) and /akai sakana ga/ (the pitch staying high after "ka" throughout the phrase) are realized or not. This was done by comparing the melody of the lyrics to the accent of their in-speech counterparts using *NHK's Japanese Pronunciation Accent Dictionary* (1998) and applying the rules presented in "3.2. Japanese Accent in Sentence Perspective".

The lyrics were examined in units of musical phrases, in other words, as they are divided musically, sometimes, by bars.

Now, as all the *enka* are written in strophic form[3], all items that reoccur in the same position in a different verse were examined only once, as their melody is identical. In other words, after counting total number of phrases, the number or reoccurring items was subtracted, so that each reoccurring item was counted only once. The same process was applied when examining the musical scores.

First, the accent pattern of the lexical items comprising a spoken phrase and the melody of the sung counterparts were determined and compared to find out whether the melody follows the accent or not. Phrases that completely follow the accent were marked with a ●, phrases that only follow the accentual fall were marked with a ○ and phrases that only follow the initial rise were marked with a △. In case a phrase contains lexical items that completely follow the accent (both the initial rise and the accentual fall), this is indicated by △○. Here follows an example.

Table 3. The first step: accentual phrases

Phrase	As spoken	As sung
Kore ga	LH H	LH H ●
oNna no miti naraba	LHH H HH H*LL	LHHH△ HL LHH

4.1.2.2. Step two: Intonation peaks

In the second step, intonation peaks and focus were examined to see whether they are reproduced in *enka* or not. The underlying knowledge of Japanese intonation was obtained from *Onsei wo Oshieru* (Japan Foundation 2011).

The task of analyzing intonation proved to be difficult. Some of the difficulties

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[3] A strophic song is a type of song that has the same **melody** but different lyrics for each verse. This varies from the through-composed song, which has a different melody for every verse.

encountered when analyzing the intonation were as follows.

The literature used in this paper, *Onsei wo Oshieru* (Japan Foundation 2011), does not tell what the exact qualifying conditions of focus are. It neither gives prosodic parameters (the relative height in either hertz or semitones) nor any syntactic ones, which makes it hard to determine whether to consider a peak as focus or as fall of some other nature (for in instance, as in rule (5) in "3.3 Intonation", henceforth called "secondary fall") by looking at only one recording from one informant. Is, for instance, the height of "ke" in /dake/ high enough to be considered focus, or is it mere "secondary fall"?
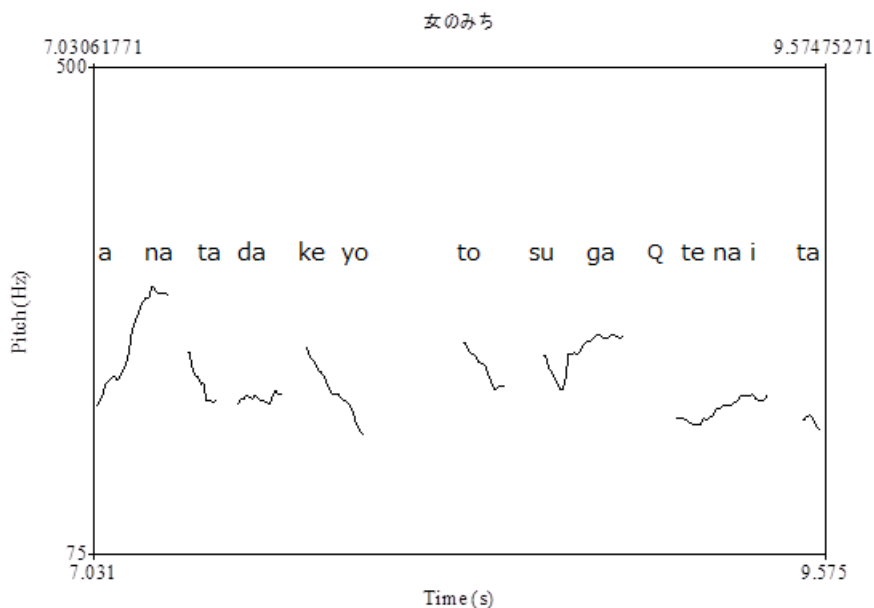
Figure 4. Focus or secondary fall?

Thus, the author had to rely on the vague parameters given by *Onsei wo Oshieru* (Japan Foundation 2011) (presented in "3.3 Intonation") and his own everyday impressionistic study of sentences containing focus, spoken by native Japanese. This resulted in the following conditions being used as parameters:

1. Intonation peaks (as presented in "3.3 Intonation")
   a) In a sentence without accented items, the pitch rises between the first and second mora of the first item and declines slightly throughout the whole sentence: /a↑kai sakana ga ima(↓)su/
   b) In a sentence containing accented items, the pitch rises as described in a) above and stays high until it reaches the first accented item, where it drops significantly, after which it drops slightly at each accented item:
   /si↑ro↓i sakana ga ima(↓)su/
2. Focus (as presented in "3.3 Intonation" and as observed by the author)

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a) An unaccented item following an unaccented item:

/si↑tumoN ga↓**mi**↑**Qtu** arimasu/

The pitch drops between the mora preceding the focused item and the first mora of the focused item, then rises between the first and the second mora of the focused item

b) An unaccented item following an accented item:

/ho↑Qka↓idoR kara **ki**↑**noR** kima↓sita/

The pitch rises between the first and the second mora of the focused item

c) An accented item following and unaccented item:

/da↑igaku de ↑**ka**↓**gaku** wo osieteima(↓)su/

The pitch is heightened on the accented mora of the focused item, more than its original height, as to make it stand out

d) An accented item following an accented item:

/kyo↓Rto he ha↑**kyo**↓**R** ikimasu/

The pitch is raised significantly at the accented mora of the focused item

The same problem occurred when attempting to analyze the melodic contour, using the musical scores. Due to the lack of a concrete definition of what a focused item is versus a peak with secondary fall, it was hard to determine how big a movement in semitones was apt to consider as focus, or in more extreme cases, as intonation peak at all. Is, for instance, /dake/ and /sugaRte/ focused, or is the rise in pitch secondary fall?

Figure 5. Focus or secondary fall at /dake/ and /sugaRte/?

Another problem was that many of the intonation curves were unclear, something that might have been caused during the process of extracting the pitch contours with PRAAT[4]. This often resulted in a false representation of the true pitch contour of spoken Japanese. For instance, while the contour should be a fairly straight line, showing a slightly declining pitch, in /watasi ga sasageta/ (except for the rise between "wa" and "ta" in /watasi/), PRAAT drew a huge drop in pitch on "ge" and also made "ta" look like it was a stressed mora of some kind, while these should be, as can be impressionistically confirmed, fairly smoothly continuous, without dramatic ups and downs in pitch.

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[4] PRAAT is a freeware program for the analysis and reconstruction of acoustic speech signals. (http://www.stanford.edu/dept/linguistics/corpora/material/PRAAT_workshop_manual_v421.pdf)
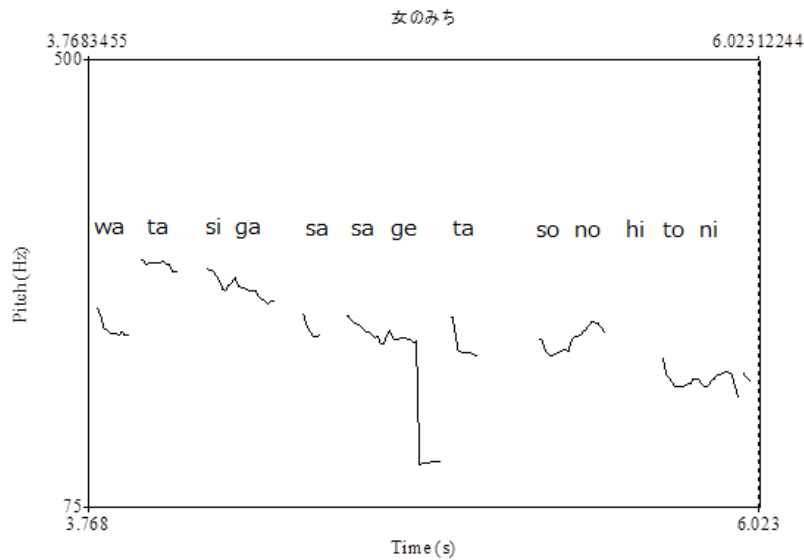
Figure 6. False representation of pitch in PRAAT

While some of the contours have been tidied up by the author, some of the figures have eluded editing. Note, that if any editing was made to the pitch contour, this is always indicated.

Lastly, regardless of whether a peak was meant to be focus or not, in some cases, this distinction was disregarded. Trying to determine the true nature of each peak would have required an unaffordable amount of time. Instead, examining whether the melody does or does not follow the intonation of spoken Japanese was focused on, which still serves the purpose of this study.

Firstly, the number of possible peaks in speech was determined by looking at the pitch contours extracted with PRAAT, after which the number of possible peaks in song was determined by looking at the musical scores. Each peak was counted and added up to a total for the two categories "when spoken" and "when sung". Now, as was the case in the first step, all items that reoccur in the same position in a different verse were examined only once, as their melody is identical. In other words, after concluding a total of possible peaks, the number or reoccurring items was subtracted, so that each reoccurring item was counted only once. The same process was applied when examining the musical scores.

Secondly, the number of perfect matches (peaks that follow the accent and are in the same position on both the pitch contour and on the musical score) and the number of close matches (whose position checks out but not the accent pattern or vice versa) were determined. This was done as an attempt to understand why the peaks behave as they do; if and why they follow the in-speech intonation or not.
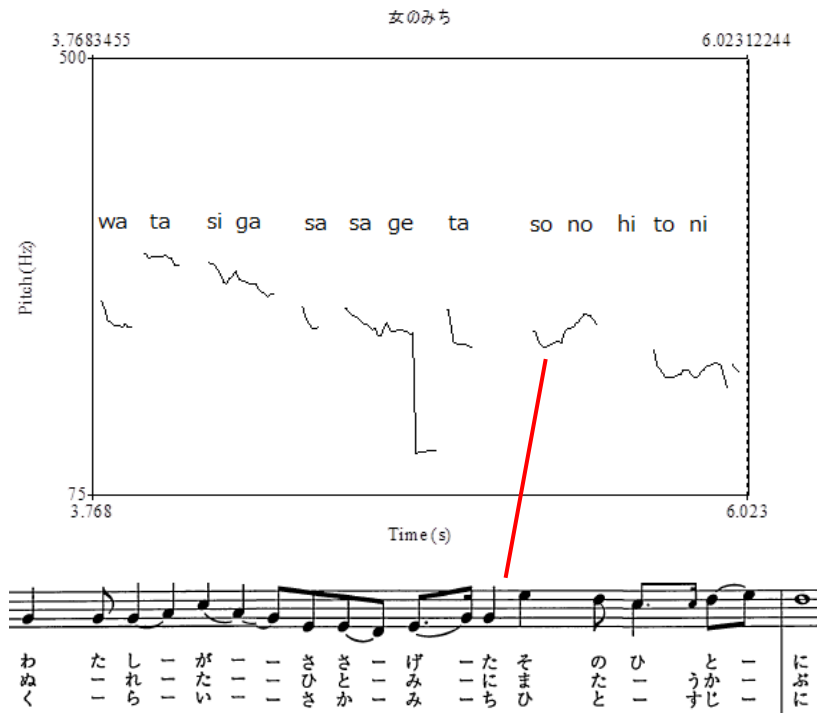
23

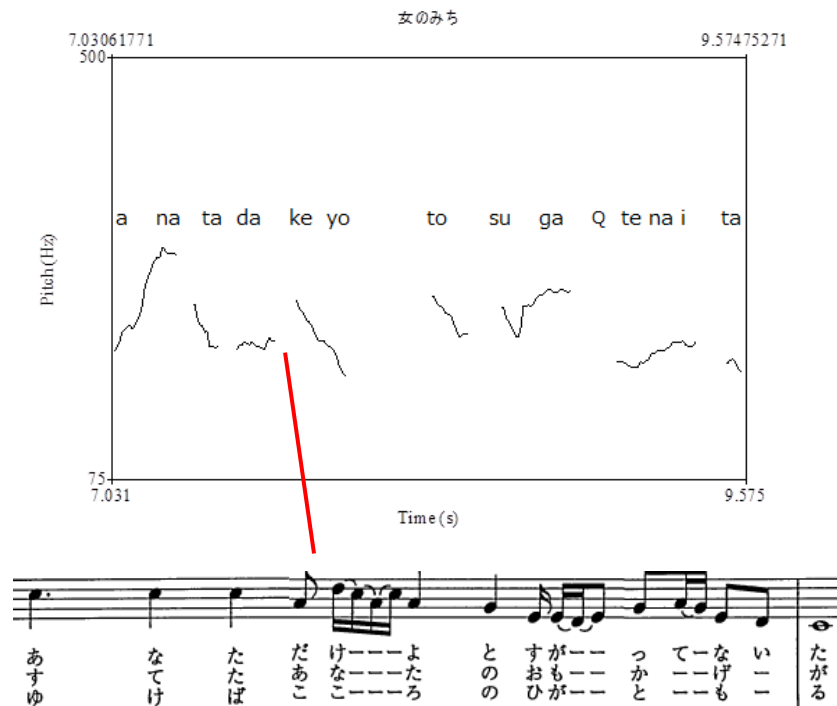Figure 7. Close match on /sono hito ni/ in *Onna no Michi*

Figure 8. Perfect match on /dake/ in *Onna no Michi*

4.1.2.3. The *kobushi*

While "Karatati no Hana" is a typical one-note-one-mora composition, a mora is sometimes assigned more than one note. This happens when the *kobushi* technique, an

ornamental melody (*Kōjien* 2009), where a single syllable of text is sung while moving between several different notes in succession, which is common in *enka* and other Japanese song genres is applied or when a mora is extended in order to comply with musical and aesthetics demands. See the figure below.

Figure 9. *kobushi* in *Onna no Michi*

Take a look at the second mora in the above phrases. They are all sung with a *kobushi*. When it comes to *kobushi*, the initial note shall be the one determining the height of the mora in question as the subsequent notes are mere ornamentation.

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Accent phrases

There is a total of 98 phrases in the four *enka* combined. Out of these, four follow the accent completely, 12 realize the accentual fall only and 20 contain the initial rise only.

The four phrases that completely follow the accent are /kore ga/, /akari wo/, /keQsite/ and /ikenai to/.

Three of them are unaccented phrases, except for /ikenai to/.

Also, one of them, /kore ga/, is a reoccurring phrase that appears in the same spot, the refrain, in all verses of *Onna no Michi*. All other phrases are isolated cases.

The 12 phrases that realize the accentual fall only are /nidoto/, /anata no omokage ga/, /kokoro no hi ga tomoru/, /mamoritoosita/, /kokorogawari ha aru keredo/, /kisya no oto/, /tada hitori/, /mado ni utusite negesyoR wo/, /yasasiku dakiyoseta/, /doRsiteiru kasira/, /uwasa wo kikeba/ and /you bakari/.

All are accented and among these, /nidoto/ is a reoccurring phrase.

The 20 phrases that contain the initial rise only are /sinai wa/, /oNna no miti naraba/, /anata no tame ni/, /oNna no misao/, /imasara hito ni/, /suterareta ato/, /warui tokoro ga/, /kono koi wo/, /kegare wo siranu/, /kawari ha nai desu ka/, /kita no yado/, /namidauta nado utaimasu/, /siNde mo ii desu ka/, /site mo kokoro ha/, /ano hito/, /aitakute/, /omoidezake ni/, /wakareta hi wo kaite/, /soQto/ and /mata tunoru/.

Among these, /oNna no misao/, kegare wo siranu/ and /soQto/ are unaccented.

Also, /anata/ in /anata no tame ni/ in *Namida no misao* and /kita no yado/ in *Kita no Yado kara* reoccur in all three verses.

Onna no Michi

Out of the 26 phrases, two follow the whole tonal pattern entirely, three realize the accentual fall only and two contain the initial rise only.

Table 3. Lager prosodic groupings in *Onna no michi*

Phrase	As spoken	As sung
Watasi ga sasageta	LHH H HHHH	LLL H* LLLH
Sono hito ni	LH* LL L	H*L LH H
Anata dakeyo to	LH*L L(H*)L L	HHH* LH*L L
sugaQte naita	LH*LL LLL	LLLH H*LL
Ubu na watasi ga	H*L L LLL L	LH* L LHH H
ikenai no	LHH*L L	H*LLH H
Nidoto	LH*L	HH*L ○
sinai wa	LH*L L	LHH△ H
Koi naNka	H*L LLL	H*L H*LL
Kore ga	LH H	LH H ●
oNna no miti naraba	LHH H HH H*LL	LHHH△ H*L LHH
Nureta hitomi ni	LHH HHH H	LLH* LLL H
Mata ukabu	LH HHH	H*L LHH
Suteta	LHH	HHH
anata no omokage ga	LH*L L LLLL L	LH*L○L LLH*L L
doRsite koNna ni Izimeru no	H*LLL LLL L LLL(H*) L	LH*LL LHH H H*LLH H
Konaide	H*LLL	LHHH
Turai kara	LH*L LL	LLH* LH
Kurai Sakamiti	LHH HH*LL	LLH* LLLH
Hitosuzi ni	LH*LL L	H*LLH H
Yukeba	LH*L	HHH
Kokoro no hi ga tomoru	LH*LL L (H*) L L(H*)L	LH*L○L L H H H*LL
KiQto Tukamu wa	LHH HH*L L	LLL LHH H
Siawase wo	LHHH H	H*LLH H
akari wo	LHH H	LHH H ●
Kesanaide	LHH*LL	LLH*LH

L   low-pitched mora

H   high-pitched mora

（H)   reduced pitch fall

26

● follows the accent completely 2

○ follows the accentual fall only 3

△ follows the initial accentual rise only 2

△○ follows the word accent completely 0

Namida no misao

Out of the 32 phrases, one follows the tonal pattern entirely, two realize the accentual fall only and seven contain the initial rise only.

Table 4. Lager prosodic groupings in *Namida no misao*

Phrase	As spoken	As sung
Anata no tame ni	LH*LL L(H*) L	LHH△ H H*L L
Mamoritoosita	LHHH*LLL	LLLH*○LLL
onna no misao	LHH H HHH	LHH△ H H*LL
Imasara Hito ni	LHHH HH* L	LHHH △ H*L L
sasagerarenai wa	LHHHHH*L L	H*LHHH*LL L
Anata no	LH*L L	-
KeRsite	LHHH	LHHH ●
Ozyama ha sinai kara	LHH H HH*L LL	H*LL L HHH H*L
Osoba ni oite hosii no yo	LH*L L LLL L(H*)L L L	LLH* L HL*H* LLH* L L
Owakare suru yori sinitai wa	LHHH HH H*L LH(H*)L L	LLHH H*L H*L LHHH H
oNna dakara	LHH* LLL	HHH* LH*L
Hada ni simituku	H*L L LL(H*)L	LL L H*LLL
Suterareta ato	LHHHH H*L	LHHHH*△ LL
Kurasite yukenai	LHHH HHHH	H*LHH H*LLL
Watasi ni	LHH H	-
Warui tokoro ga	LH*L LLL L	LHH△ H*LL L
Aru no nara	H*L L LL	LL L H*L
Osiete	LHHH	LLH*L
KiRto	LHH	H*LH
Naosu kara	LH*L LL	H*LH* LL
Urami ha	LHH* L	LLH H
SimaseN	LHH*L	H*LH*L
Kono koi wo	LH H*L L	LH△ HH H
Wakaru hazu nano	LH*L LL (H*)L	LLL H*L LL
Kegare wo siranu	LHH H HHH	LHH H H*LL △

Otome ni naretara	LH*L L (H*)LLL	H*LH H H*LLL
Dare ni mo	H*L L L	-
Kokorogawari ha aru keredo	LHHH*LL L (H*)L LLL	LHHH*LL○L HH HH*L
Anata wo	LH*L L	LLH L
Utagaitakunai	LHHHH*L(H*)L	H*LH*LLH*LL
Nakazu ni matimasu	LH*L L LL(H*)L	LLH H H*LH*L
Itumade mo	H*LLL L	LHHH H

- monotoneous

L   low-pitched mora

H   high-pitched mora

(H)   reduced pitch fall

●   follows the accent completely 1

○   follows the accentual fall only 2

△   follows the initial accentual rise only 9

△○ follows the word accent completely 0

Kita no yado kara

Out of the 21 phrases, none follows the tonal pattern entirely, three realize the accentual fall only and five contain the initial rise only. Also, one lexical item follows the words accent completely.

Table 5. Lager prosodic groupings in *Kita no yado kara*

Phrase	As spoken	As sung
Anata	LH*L	H*LH
Kawari ha nai desu ka	LHH H H*L LL H	LHH H*△ LL H*L L
Higoto	LHH	-
Samusa ga tunorimasu	H*LL L LLL(H*)L	HH*L L HHHH*L
Kite ha moraenu seRtaR wo	LH* L LLLL (H*)LLL L	H*L H HHHH* LLH*L L
Samusa koraete andemasu	H*LL L(H*)LL (H*)LLLL	LHH HH*LL HH*LH*L
oNnagokoro no mireN desyoR	LHHH*LL L LLL L(H*)L	LHHH*LL△○H* LHH LH*L
Anata koisii	LH*L LL(H*)L	LLH* LLLH
Kita no yado	LH H H*L	LH△ H* LL
Hubukimaziri ni	LHHH*LL L	H*LHHHHH
Kisya no oto	H*L L LL	H*L○ H* LL
Susurinaku yoR kikoemasu	LHHH*L LL LLL(H*)L	HHH*LL LL HHHH*L

28

Osake narabete	LHH HHHH	H*LH HHHH
Tada hitori	H*L L(H*)L	H*L○ H*LL
Namidauta nado utaimasu	LHH*LL LL LLL(H*)L	LHHHH*△ LL HH*LH*L
siNde mo ii desu ka	LHH* L (H*)L LL H	LHH△ H* LL H*L L
Mune ga	LH* L	-
siNsiN naitemasu	H*LLL LLL(H*)L	HH*LL HHHH*L
Mado ni utusite negsyoR wo	H*L L LLLL LLLLL	H*LH○HHHH* LLH*LL
Site mo kokoro ha	LH* L L(H*)L L	LH△ H HH*L L
haremaseN	LHHH*L	HH*LH*L

L   low-pitched mora

H   high-pitched mora

(H)   reduced pitch fall

●   follows the accent completely 0

○   follows the accentual fall only 3

△   follows the initial accentual rise only 5

△○ follows the word accent completely 1

Omoidezake

Out of the 19 phrases, none follows the tonal pattern entirely, four realize the accentual fall only and six contain the initial rise only.

Table 6. Lager prosodic groupings in *Omoidezake*

Phrase	As spoken	As sung
Muri site nonzya	H*L LL (H*)LL	HH H*L HHH
Ikenai to	LHH*L L	LHH*L L●
Kata wo	H*L L	LH* L
Yasasiku dakiyoseta	LHHH HHH*LL	HH*LH* LHH*LL○
Ano hito	LH*LL	LH△ HH
doRsiteiru kasira	H*LLLLL LLL	H*LLLLH○ HH*L
Uwasa wo kikeba	LHH H HH*L	HHH H HH*L○
Aitakute	LHH*LL	LH*LLL△
Omoidezake ni	LHHH*LL L	LHH*LLH* L△
You bakari	H*L (H*)LL	H*L LLL○
Botoru ni	LHH H	HHH* L
Wakareta hi wo kaite	LH*LL L L (H*)LL	LHH*L△ L H H*LL

29

soQto	LHH	LH*L△
Namida no koyubi kamu	H*LL L LLL (H*)L	HH*LH* LHH* LL
Dehune no kiteki kikinagara	LHH H HHH HHH*LL	HHH H HH*L HH*LLL
Ituka ha wasureru hito nanoni	H*LL L LLLL L(H*) LLL	HHH* L HHH*L HH H*LL
Nomeba mireN ga	H*LL LLL L	LH*L LLL H
Mata tunoru	LH HH*L	LH△ H*LL
Kurasi mo areta konogoro ha	LHH H HHH HHHH H	HHH H HH*L HH*LL L

L   low-pitched mora

H   high-pitched mora

(H)   reduced pitch fall

●   follows the accent completely 1

○   follows the accentual fall only 4

△   follows the initial accentual rise only 6

△○ follows the word accent completely 0

4.2.2. Intonation

Nine (roughly one third) peaks out of 28 spoken correspond with 26 sung in *Onna no michi*. Six (roughly one fourth) peaks out of 31 spoken correspond with 28 sung in *Namida no misao*. Six (roughly one fourth) peaks out of 30 spoken correspond with 23 sung in *Kita no yado kara*. Three (roughly one eighth) peaks out of 22 spoken correspond with 25 sung in *Omoidezake*. The number of corresponding peaks is less than one third of all existing peaks, in all four *enka*.

Onna no michi

There are a total of 28 peaks in *Onna no michi* when spoken and 26 peaks when sung, out of which three were perfect matches and six were close matches.

The three perfect matches of corresponding peaks among these are distributed evenly, at the same position, in verse one, two and three, at /dake yo to/ (=only), /anata no/ (=your) and /kokoro no/ (=of the heart). See figures 10 through 12.
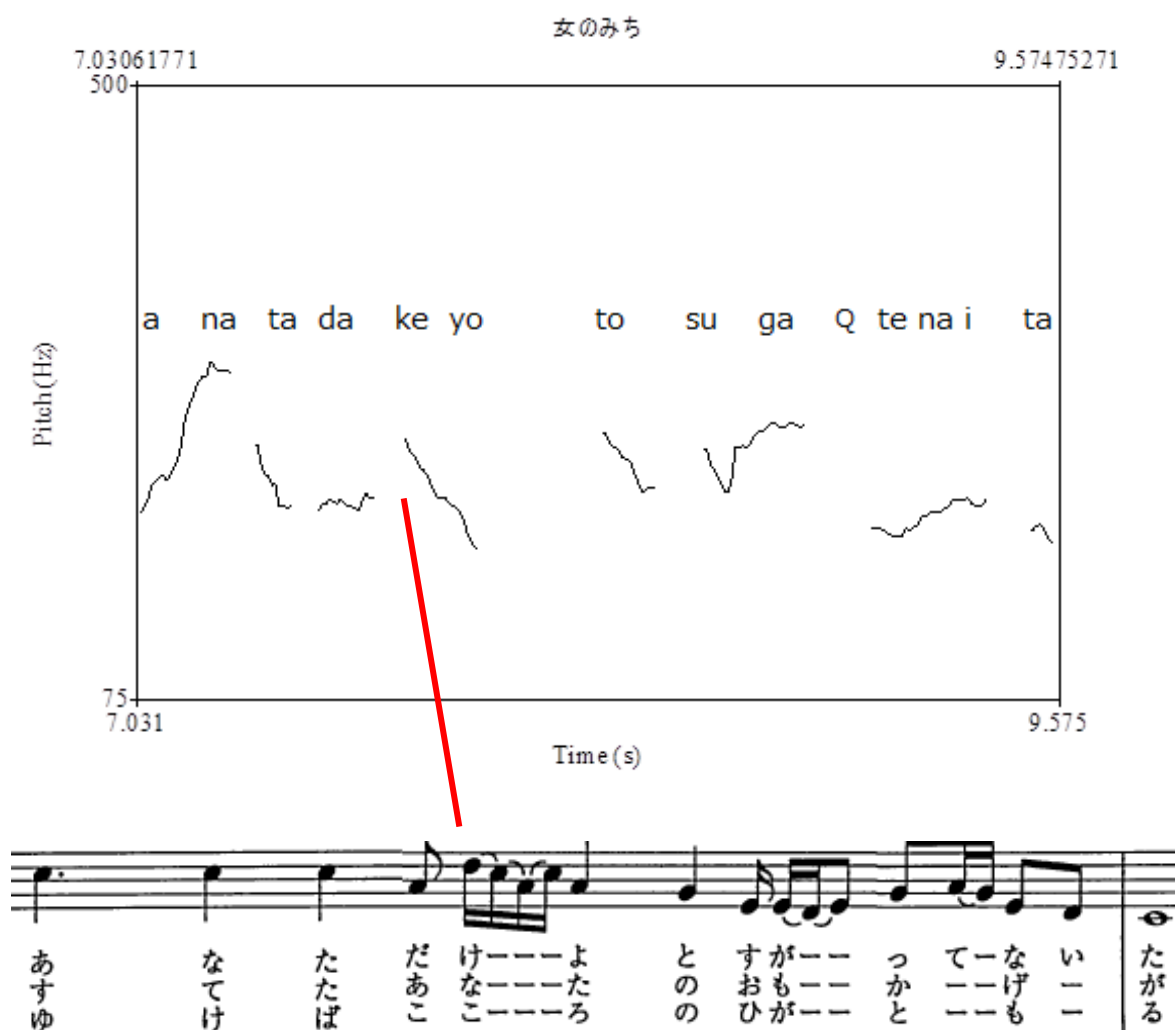
Figure 10. Perfect matches in *Onna no michi* at /dake yo to/

While it is questionable whether there is focus on /dake yo to/, there certainly is some pitch heightening in speech, which is reproduced in song as well. /anata no/, figure 11, on the other hand, is definitely focused, as the new peak on /anata/ serves as semantic clarification. Without this peak, not /omokage/ (=shadow), but /anata/ (=you) would have been the direct object of the transitive verb /suteta/ (=thrown away). /kokoro no/, figure 12, is a "standard" peak, as it is the first peak in the phrase "kokoro no hi ga tomoru" (note, that "ikeba" does not belong to this phrase).

Concerning the first verse in figure 10, semantically, /anata dakeyo/ (=only you) is likely to receive focus. In speech, the word /anata/ LH*L is expanded in pitch and the following phrase /dakeyo/ is compressed in pitch. This is a typical pitch manifestation of focus in Japanese. In melody, the word /anata/(=you) is expressed by high notes which is then followed by low notes . Although the exact accent pattern of /anata/ LH*L is not actualized, the expanded (extra high) pitch followed compressed (lower) pitch relation used

31

in speech is present in this melody. In melody, /dakeyo/ (=only) is sung with *kobushi*, making extra effect of focus on the entire phrase /anata dakeyo/(=only you).
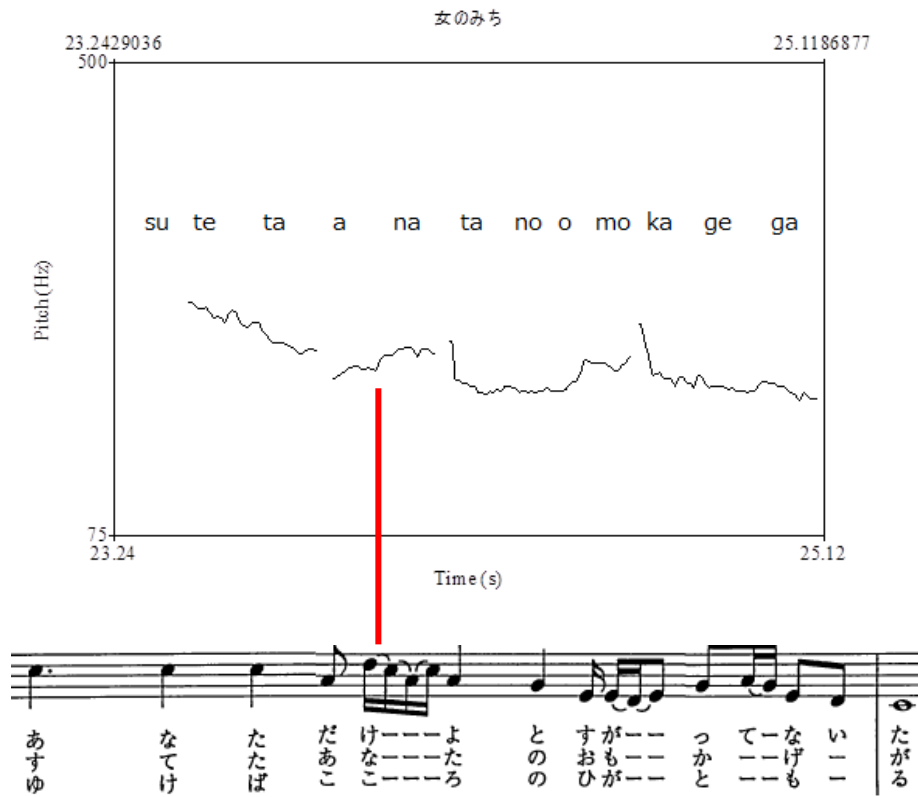
Figure 11. Perfect matches in *Onna no michi* at /anata no/
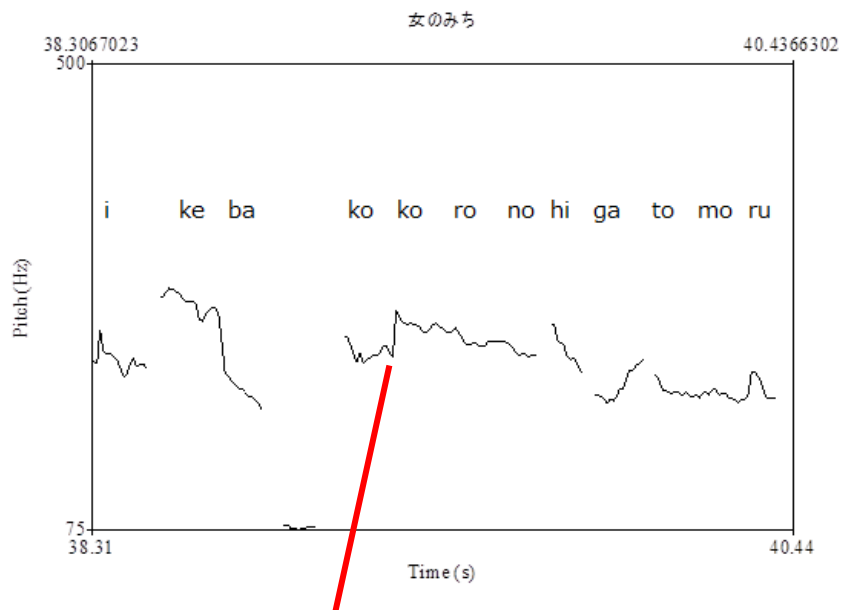
Figure 12. Perfect matches in *Onna no michi* at /kokoro no/

There were six close matches of corresponding peaks. Three of these are also positioned at the same place in verse one, two and three, on /sono hito ni/, /mata ukabu/ and /hitosuzi ni/. There is focus on all three phrases in the recordings and they are also sung significantly higher than the rest of the phrase. Also, the phrase /sono hito/ (=that man) of the first verse, has typical focus intonation where /sono/ has pitch expansion (high pitch) and the post-focus element /hito/ (=man) has low pitch. In melody, this contrast in pitch is lost. Instead, the entire phrase has more or less high notes. This manifestation is similar to the previous case shown in Figure 10, except that in the present case there is no *kobushi.* The accent is however disregarded. See figures 13 through 15.
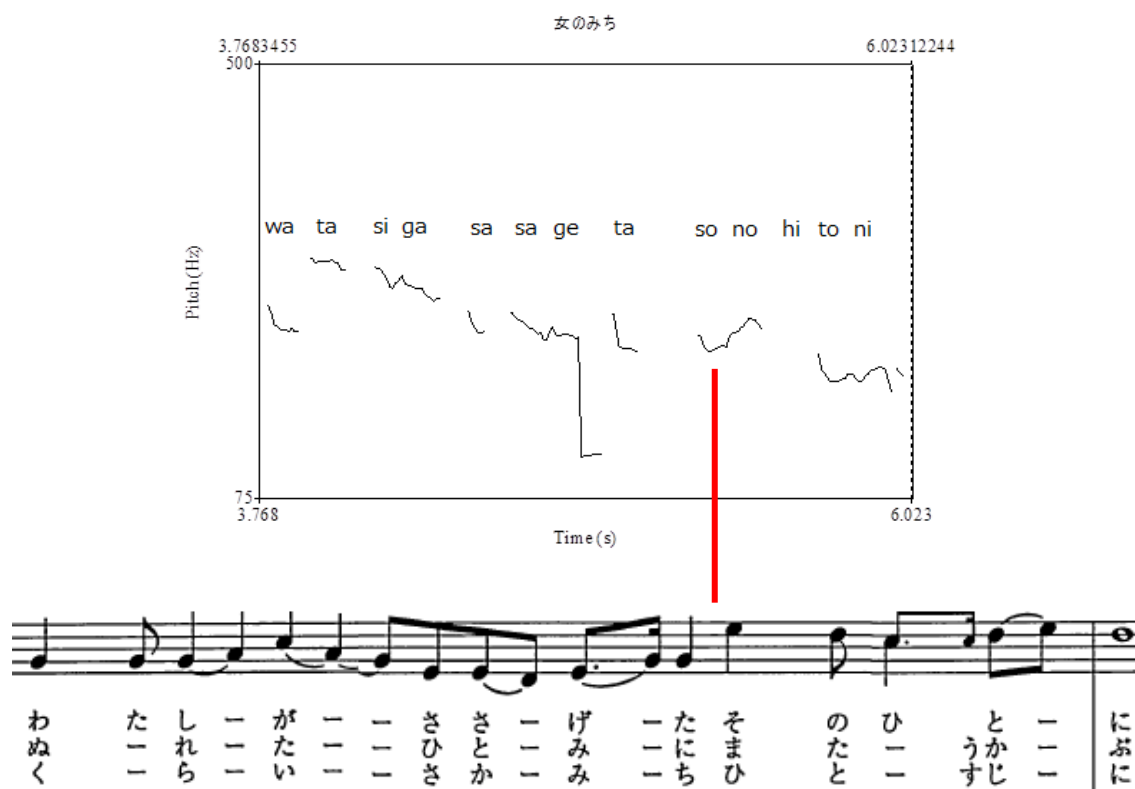
Figure 13. Close matches in *Onna no michi* at /sono hito ni/
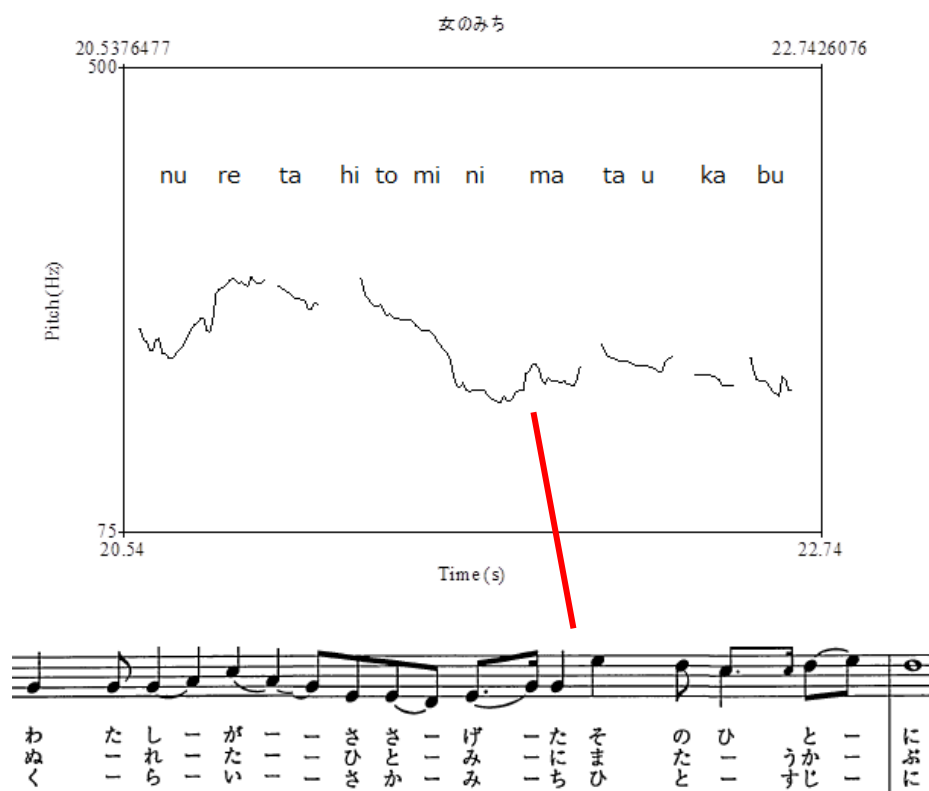
Figure 14. Close matches in *Onna no michi* at /mata ukabu/
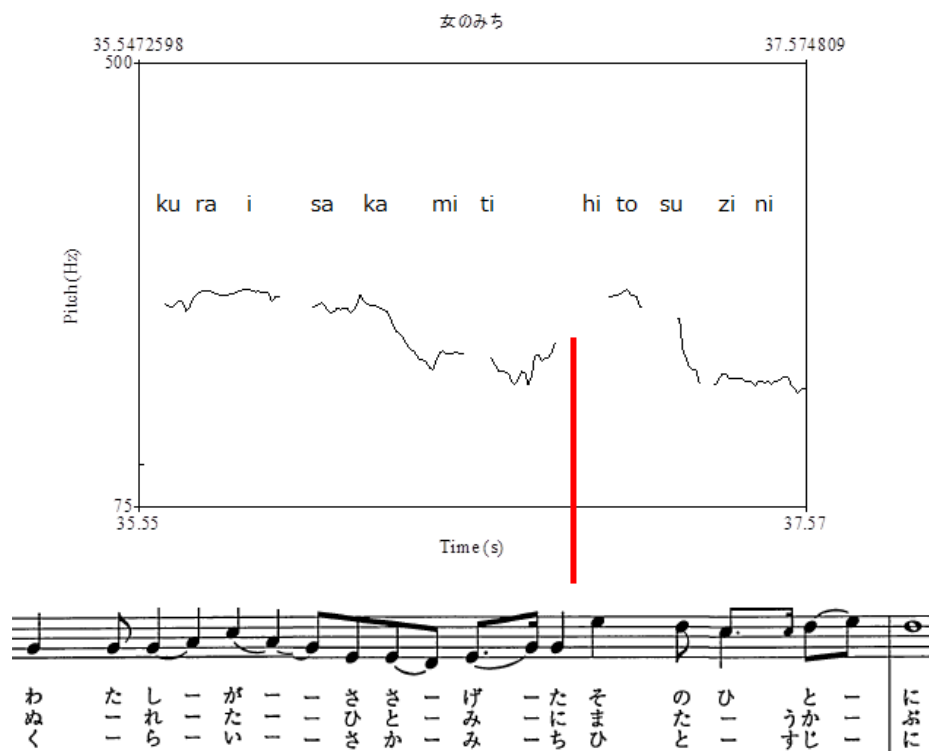
Figure 15. Close matches in *Onna no michi* at /hitosuzi ni/

Two other close matches are /ikenai no/ and /siawase wo/ in the first and the third verse. There is no new peak on /izimeru no/ in the second verse, while /ikenai no/ in the first verse is focused and /siawase wo/ of the third verse is a so called *taigendome*[5]. See figures 16 and 17. Note also that after this melody comes the highlight of the song 'nidoto shinaiwa…..' which is of very high notes. In both /nidoto/ and /shinai wa/ the accent is neglected and they are of high notes, the former being higher. So, it seems focus or high light is in song expressed by high flat notes neglecting the original accent. But before and after the focus phrase, the pitch (notes) are lower than the focus part. So the same principle of focus manifestation is used both in speech and melody. In case of melody, the unit seems larger than that of speech.
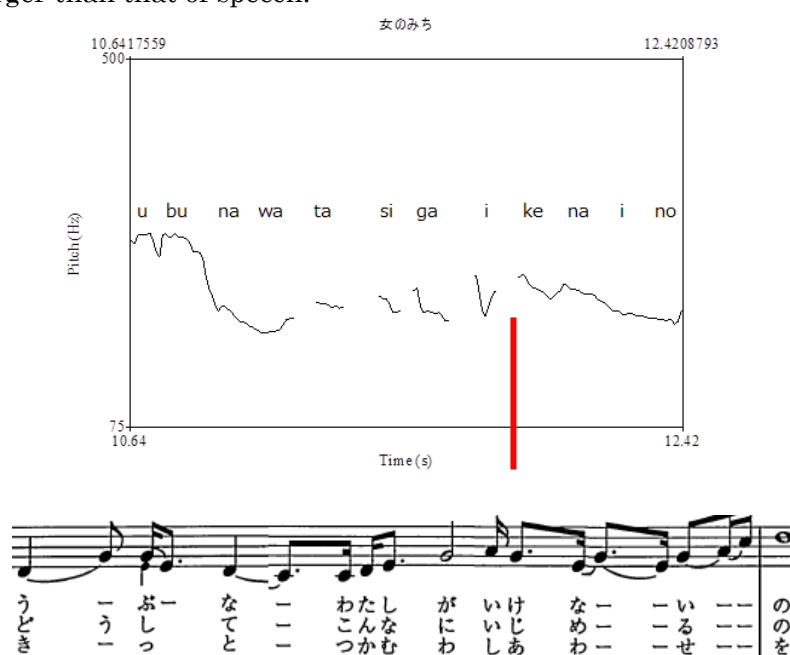
Figure 16. Close matches in *Onna no michi* at /ikenai no/

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[5] Taigendome is a sentence ending with a noun or a noun phrase. (*Kôjien*, 2009.)
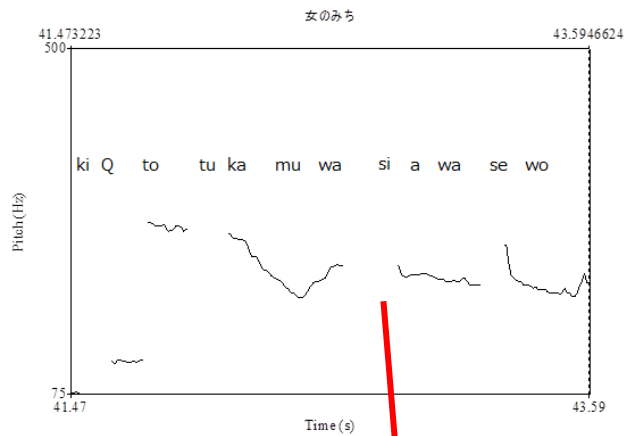
Figure 17. Close matches in *Onna no michi* at *taigendome* /siawase wo/

The last one of the six close matches is the phrase /kore ga oNna no miti naraba/ (=if this is the way of a woman). In speech, the highest peak is in the beginning and it goes down gradually. In melody, the highest peak is at the end and it goes up gradually. See figure 18 below.
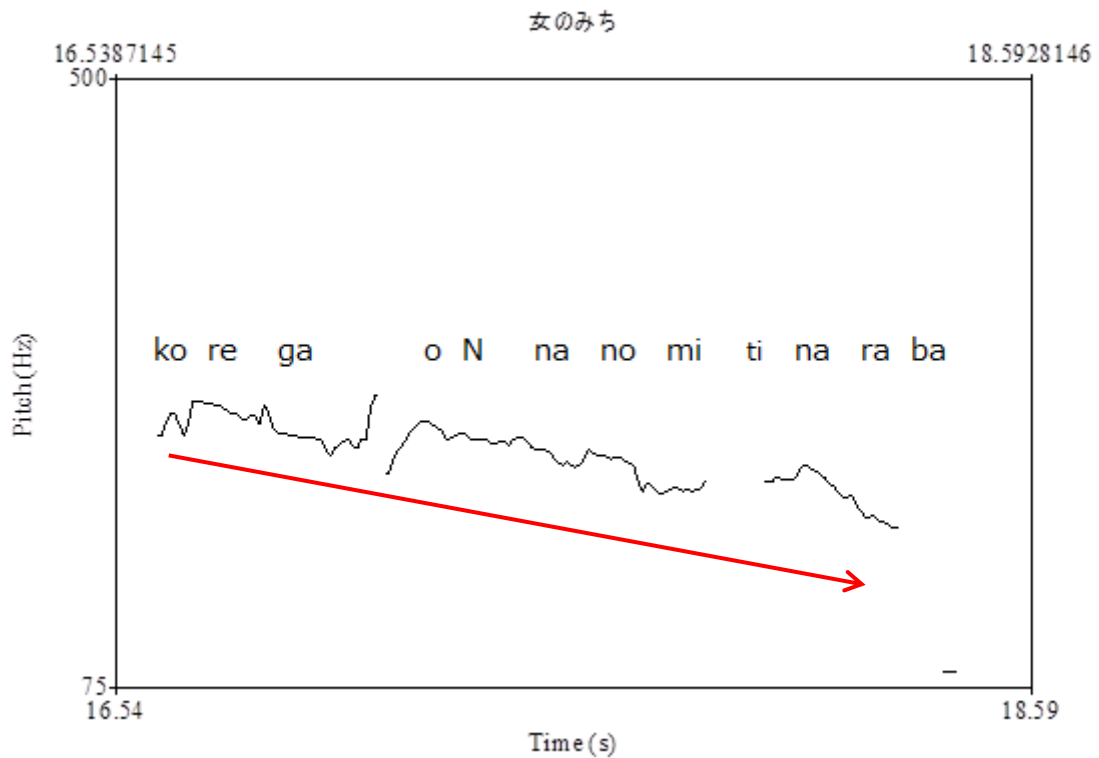
Figure 18. Close matches in *Onna no michi* at /oNna no/

Namida no misao

There are 31 peaks when spoken and 28 peaks when sung, in *Namida no misao*, out of which four were perfect matches and two were close matches.

The first one of the perfect matches is on /mamoritoosita/ in the first verse. It is a perfect match on the accented mora. The other two verses are completely off in this position. See figure 19.
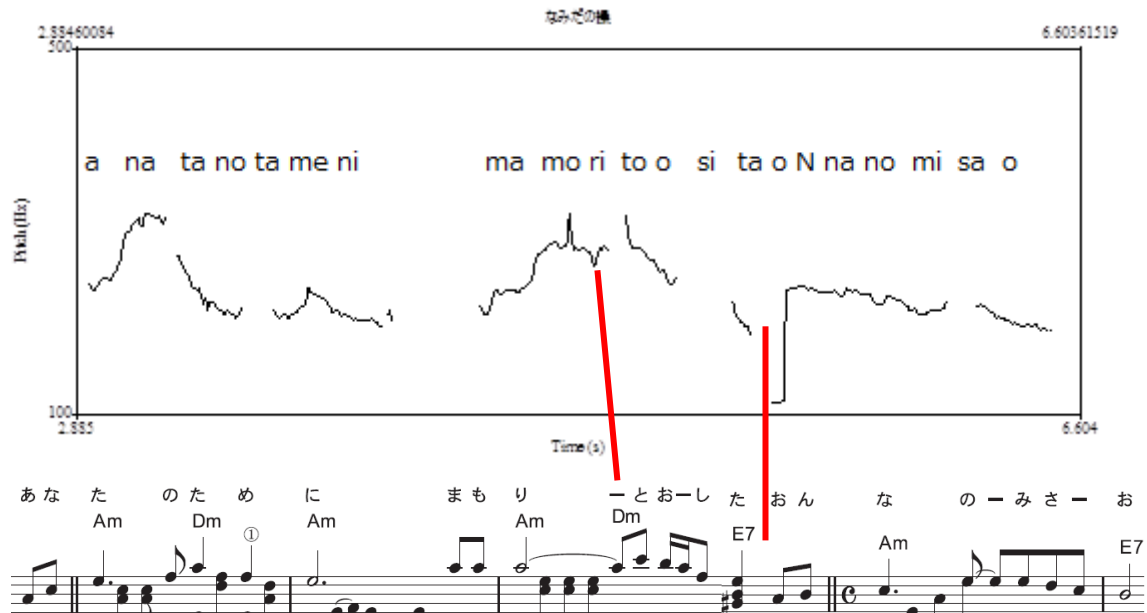
Figure 19. Perfect matches in *Namida no misao* at /mamoritoosita/

The second perfect match is on the subsequent /oNna no misao/. If it were not for the new peak on /oNna/, "woman" would have been the direct object instead of "chastity". This is reproduced in song, as shown in figure 19 above. It should also be noted that there are three big intonation peaks in both speech and melody, distributed on /anata no tame ni/ (=for you), /mamoritoosita/ (=kept) and /oNna no misao/ (=the chastity of a woman).

The third perfect match is on /kokorogawari ha/ in the third verse. The melody of the lyrics follows the pitch contour minutely. See figure 20. The lyrics of the second and the third verse are written separately on the musical scores, which made it difficult to display the lyrics together with the notes.
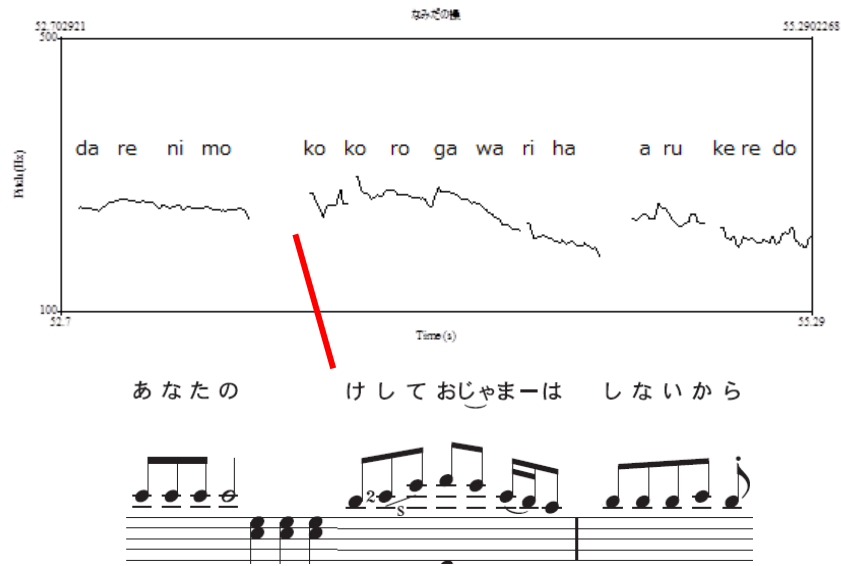
Figure 20. Perfect matches in *Namida no misao* at /kokorogawari ha/

The last perfect match is on /yori/ in /owakare suru yori/ in the first verse. /maseN/ and /masu/ of the first and second verse are secondary falls, not real peaks. The actual peak in those sentences are on /urami ha/ and /nakazu ni/. See figure 21. Also, note that after this part comes the highlight, which is also the last part of the song, meaning that this part is pre-focus. The fairly compressed beginning of the phrase, building up to the climax, indicates this.
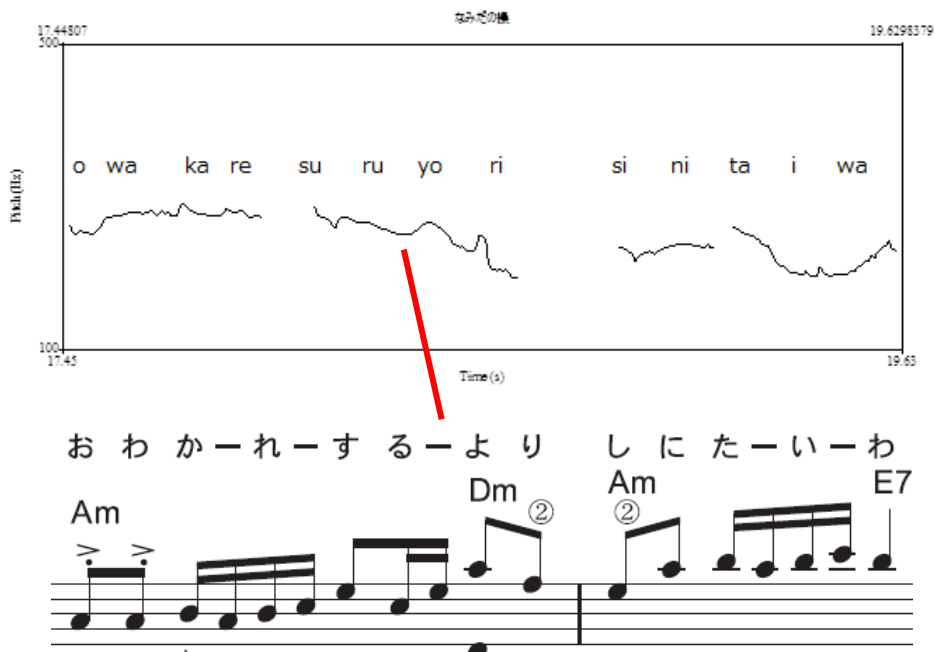
Figure 21. Perfect matches in *Namida no misao* at /owakare suru yori/

There were two close matches, both in the same position, distributed in the first and the second verse. The third verse contains /kokorogawari ha/, which was considered as

perfect match. The two close matches are on /keQsite/ in /anata no keQsite ozyama ha sinai kara/ and /warui/ in /watasi ni warui tokoro ga aru no nara/. There is a new peak on both /keQsite/ and /ozyama ha/ in speech. /keQsite/ follows the parameters for "focus on an unaccented item following an accented item" in terms of direction (LH), while /ozyama ha/ does not follow the rules. /o/ starting higher than /keQsite/ ends might be an intended peak, though. The same goes for /warui/ in relation to /tokoro ga/. See figures 22 and 23.
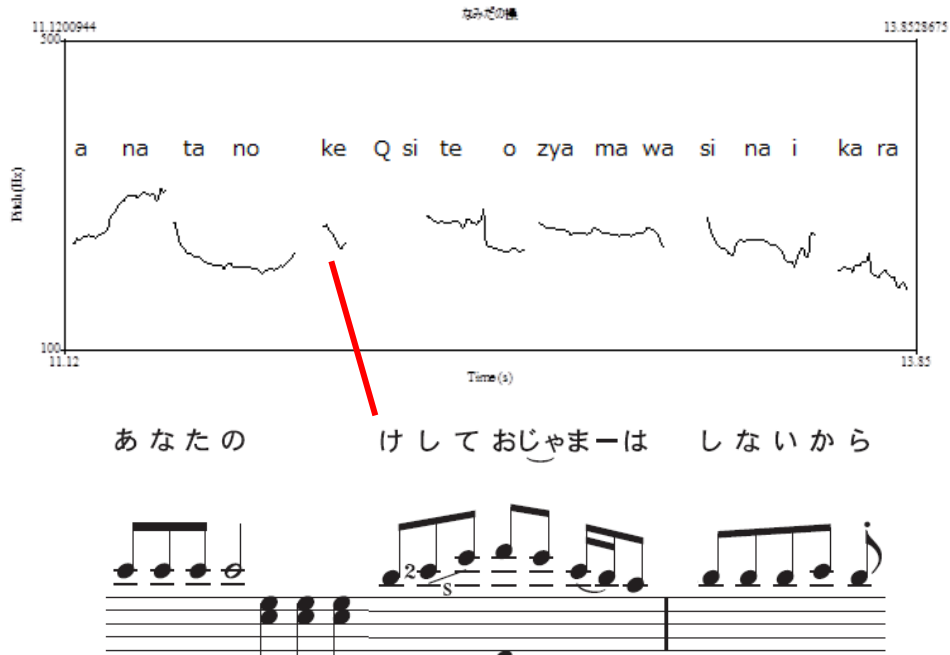
Figure 22. Close matches in *Namida no misao* at /keQsite ozyama ha/
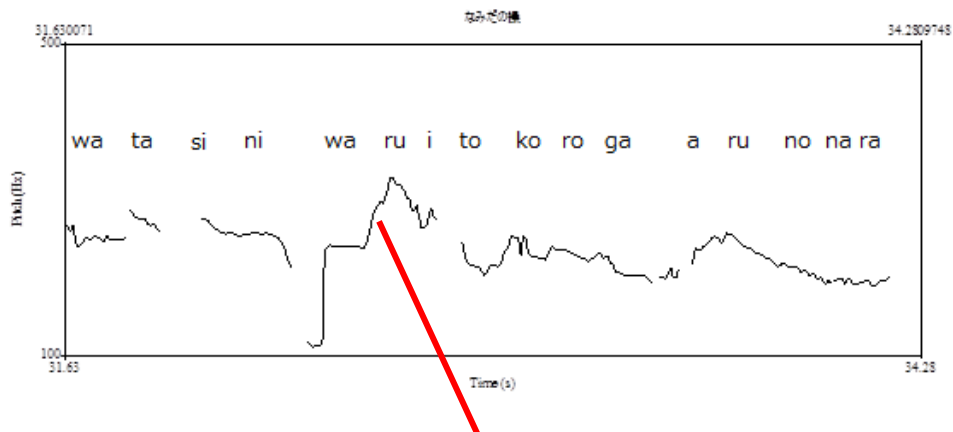
Figure 23. Close matches in *Namida no misao* at /warui tokoro ga/

Kita no yado kara

There are 30 peaks when spoken and 23 peaks when sung, in *Kita no yado kara*, out of which one is a perfect match and five were close matches.

The perfect match is located on /kawari ha/ in /anata, kawari ha nai desu ka/ in the first verse. See figure 24.
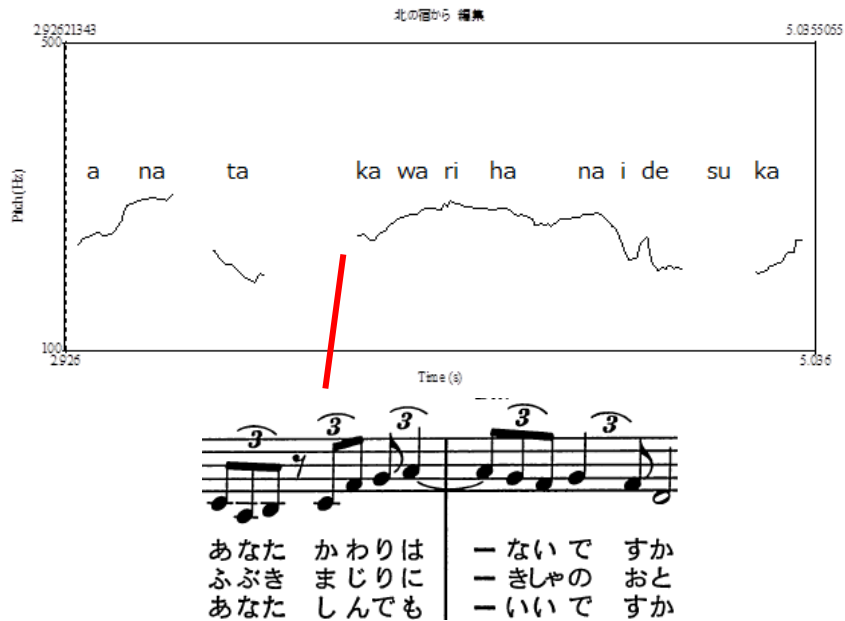

Figure 24. Perfect matches in *Kita no yado kara* at /kawari ha/

The first two of the five close matches are on /maziri ni/ in /hubukimaziri ni/ and /siNde mo/ in /anata, siNde mo ii desu ka/. The highest peaks in these sentences are on /maziri ni/ and /siNde mo/ in both speech and song. See figures 25 and 26. Also, /kawari ha/ of the first verse even follows the accent, which is why it is counted as a perfect match.
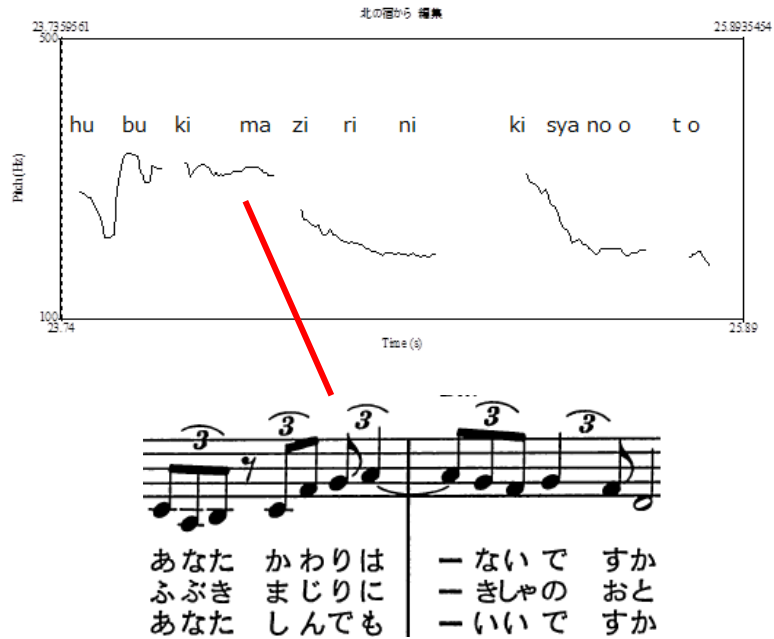
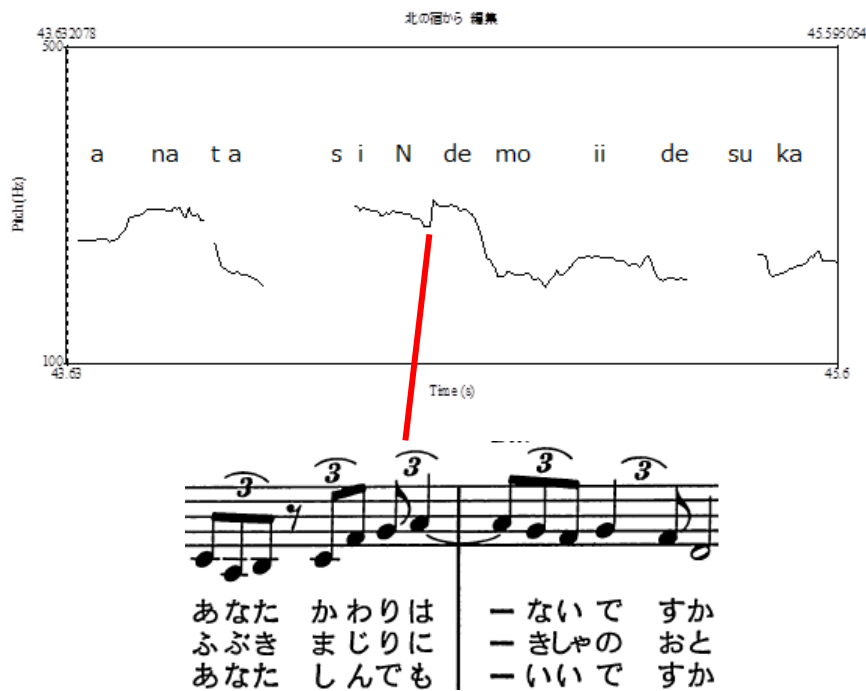Figure 25. Close matches in *Kita no yado kara* at /maziri ni/

Figure 26. Close matches in *Kita no yado kara* at /siNde mo/

The last three close matches are similar to the first two in the way that they do not follow the accent but do contain the highest peak in each sentence. They are on /samusa koraete/ in the first verse, /namidauta nado/ in the second verse and /site mo kokoro ha/ in the third verse. See figures 27 through 29.
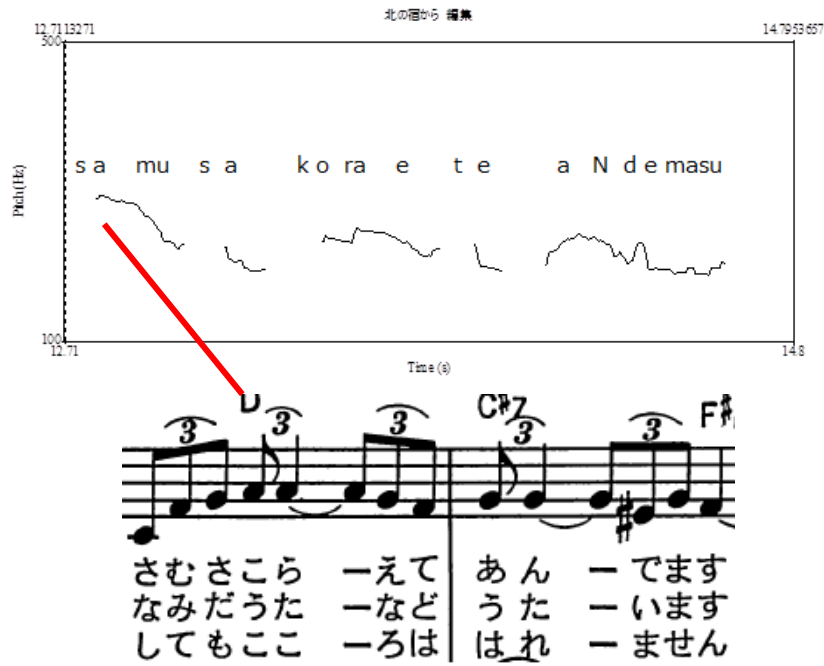
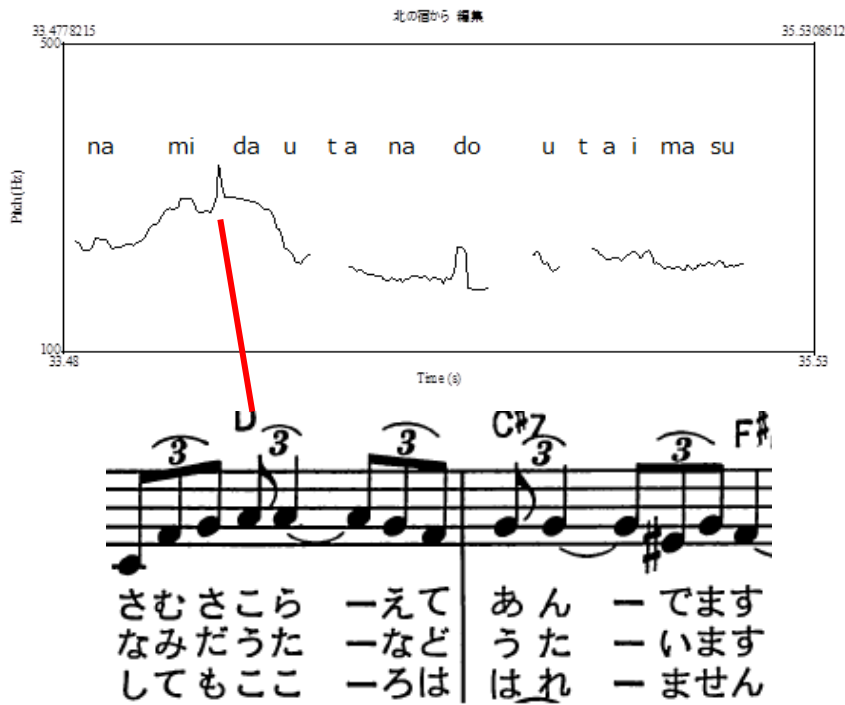Figure 27. Close matches in *Kita no yado kara* at /samusa koraete/

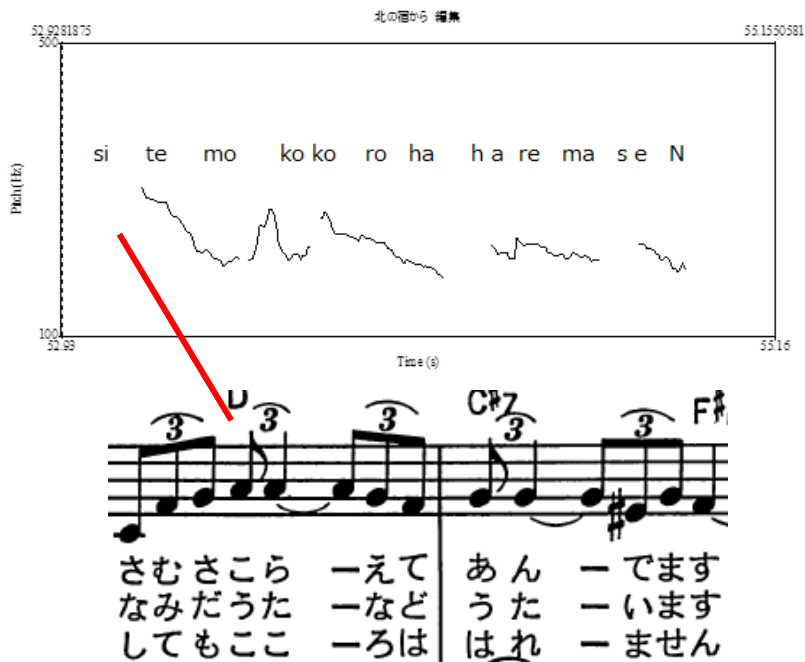Figure 28. Close matches in *Kita no yado kara* at /namidauta nado/

Figure 29. Close matches in *Kita no yado kara* at /site mo kokoro ha/

Omoidezake

There are 22 peaks when spoken and 25 peaks when sung, in *Omoidezake*, out of which none was a perfect match and three were close matches.

The first two of the three close matches are on /kata wo/ in /kata wo yasasiku dakiyoseta/ of the first verse and on /nomeba/ in /nomeba mireN ga mata tumoru/ of the third verse. While the accent is disregarded, they are the highest peak in each sentence in both speech and song. See figures 30 and 31. Regarding the second verse, not /soQto/ but /namida/ is the highest peak, when spoken.

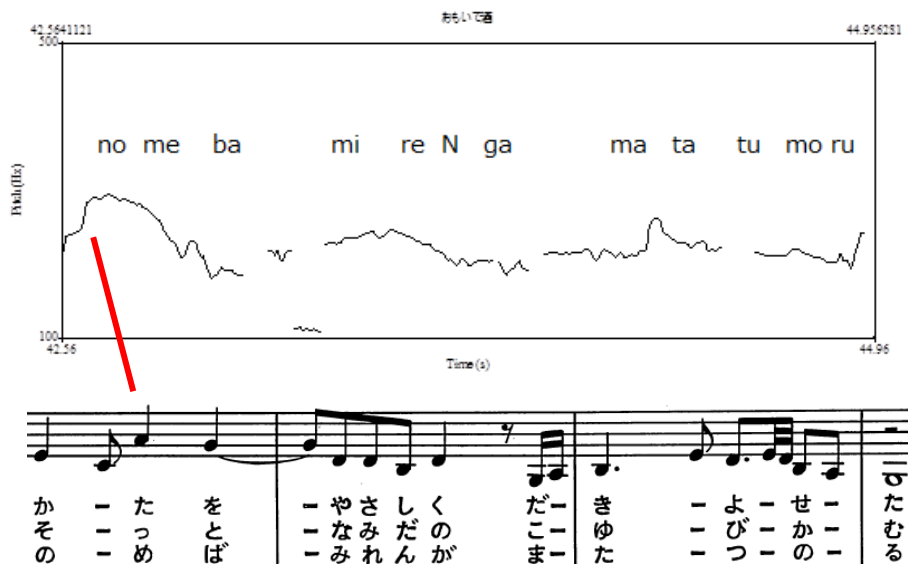Figure 30. Close matches in *Omoidezake* at /kata wo/

Figure 31. Close matches in *Omoidezake* at /nomeba/

The last close match is on /aitakute/ in /uwasa wo kikeba aitakute/ of the first verse. Though it is small, there is a new peak rising from /a/ in /aitakute/ in the song, as well as in speech. The same goes for verse two and three, although they are expressed by more of a pause, indicating some kind of a break.

4.3. Discussion

4.3.1 Phrase and word accent

Findings concerning phrase accent and word accent, in relation to previous studies, are as follows.

Sall (2012) hypothesized that songs that are sung in Japanese but are written with a western song structure and are accompanied by western instruments do not have the ability to follow the Japanese word accent. Inasmuch as *enka* is 'modern' music that brings western instruments together with Japanese scales, vocal techniques and textual themes (Yano 2002), this hypothesis seems to endure, at least within the scope of this thesis, seeming as out of the 98 phrases in the four *enka*, only four follow the accent completely.

Takagi (1991) suggested the possibility that the level of consciousness towards accent among songwriters and composers might differ with the ages. He shows, for instance, that composers might have been more careful with the accent at that time (1968‐1981). He also hypothesizes that, with the exception of *enka*, songs that give room for accent realization are going to decrease. This does, however, not to seem like being the case, as the *enka* examined in this paper were in fact composed between 1972 and 1979, in other words, between 1968 and 1981, which Takagi hypothesized to have been a period of risen

consciousness toward accent-loyal songwriting.

Moreover, all four songs are composed in strophic form. This means that there is a repeating structure to them. A song having, for instance, an A-B structure would mean that the first verse consists of a certain melody (A) and that the first refrain has a certain melody (B). All other verses beyond the first one inherit the same melody (A) and all refrains melody (B). The melody of the whole song is thus determined in the first verse.

This in turns results in certain restrictions if a composer or a writer would want to pursue a prosody-friendly composition, as he or she would have to choose words for the lyrics whose accent fits the melody of the song. This of course hinders the composer or the writer in conveying specific messages, if that is the case, as the melody might not match the accent of the specific words that would have been apt to use in order to express a certain concept, a message or a story.

This means that for the writer to be able to express a certain notion using a specific word, he or she has no choice but to ignore the prosody and simply assign the word to the melody at hand. Circumstances such as this one could be the reason for why only a mere fraction of the melody of the lyrics in the four *enka* corresponds to the prosody of the Japanese language.

(If the loss of aesthetic beauty is what is keeping writers and composers from using the prosodic properties of lyrics as guidelines for composing melodies, then they should have nothing to fear, which have since long been proven by Kōsaku Yamada, who has modeled lots of melodies on the Japanese accent, like *Karatachi no hana*, for instance.)

Koizumi (1969) claims that there are three categories when talking about Japanese children's song. One in which the musical demands create melody, one in which the prosodic demands of a language create melody and one in which a compromise of these two create melody. If this is indeed the case and the four *enka* examined in this paper fall in the first category, then it means that their melody has priority over linguistic prosody, in which case, any correspondence between melody and prosody might be nothing but mere coincidence.

Also, the tone height not following the prosodic rules of Japanese does not necessarily mean that Japanese prosody is completely disregarded. Marugame (1996) states that "the four basic attributes that comprise music (tone height, tone length, strength and timbre) as well as its secondary elements of articulation and agogic, are things present in language as well". It is thus reasonable to think that the prosodic features of a language can be expressed in other ways than tone height, such as length or rhythm (aspects not dealt with in this paper).

4.3.2. Intonation

Three findings regarding intonation are as follows.

1. In the focus (the highlight) part of the melody, the notes often have the highest values. In this part, the original accent patterns are often neglected. Before and after the focus, the notes are lower, and it is here the original accent pattern tend to occur. The focus manifestation in speech and melody share some similarities in that the focused part have the highest pitch (note) value while pre- and post-focus phrases are lower. In melody, the unit of focus, pre-focus, and post-focus appear to be larger than those in speech. This focus manifestation is occasionally enhanced by the singing technique *kobushi.*

2. Non-focal phrases tend to include more accent faithful patterns, or at least have similar intonation peaks to speech.

3. The present study reveals that the relationship between prosody and melody can be examined with reference to a larger unit such as phrase and sentence rather than word by word.

5. Summary

In contrast to previous research on the relationship between melody in song and prosody in Japanese that had only taken limited features (such as isolated word accent) into consideration, this study examined to what extent the melody in four best seller *enka* reflects prosody (accent and intonation) in lager prosodic units of Tokyo Japanese.

It was revealed that the relationship between prosody and melody indeed can be examined with reference to a larger unit such as phrase and sentence rather than isolated words.

It was also found that in the focus (the highlight) part of the melody, the notes often have the highest values. In this part, the original accent patterns are often neglected. Before and after the focus, the notes are lower, and it is here the original accent pattern tend to occur. The focus manifestation in speech and melody share some similarities in that the focused part have the highest pitch (note) value while pre- and post-focus phrases are lower.

Also, non-focal phrases tend to include more accent faithful patterns, or at least have similar intonation peaks to speech.

As for future studies, a more thorough study of not only the prosodic features of Japanese but also the musical features of melody is required. While this study does give an overview of possible relations between melody and prosody, it does not take any melody-defining musical demands (music theory) into consideration. Song structure is mentioned in "4.3. Discussion" but no other aspects, such as melody, are accounted for. Further, going back to the author's original notion that melody in Japanese song and

Japanese prosody ought to interrelate as they are both expressed by pitch relations between sounds ("morae" in language and "notes" in music), it would be interesting to widen to scope of the research to other genres as well, for instance modern popular songs (*kayōkyoku*) or, following the footsteps of Koizumi's ethnical approach (children's songs), folksongs.

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Appendix

Lyrics

Onna no michi

watashi ga sasageta sono hito ni
anata dake yo to sugatte naita
ubu na watashi ga ikenai no
nidto shinai wa koi nanka
kore ga onna no michi naraba

nureta hitomi ni mata ukabu
suteta anata no omokage ga
doushite konna ni ijimeru no
nidoto konai de tsurai kara
kore ga onna no michi naraba

kurai sakamichi hitosuji ni
ikeba kokoro no hi ga tomoru
kitto tsukamu wa shiawase wo
nidoto akari wo kesanaide
kore ga onna no michi naraba

Namida no misao

Anata no tameni mamoritooshita onna no misao
imasara hito ni sasagerarenai wa
anata no kesshite ojama ha shinai kara
osoba ni oite hoshii no yo
owakare suru yori shinitai wa
onna dakara

anata no nioi, hada ni shimitsuku, onna no misao
suterareta ato kurashite yukenai
watashi ni warui tokoroga aru no nara
oshiete, kitto naosu kara
urami ha shimasen, kono koi wo
onna dakara

anata ni dake ha wakaru hazu nano, onna no misao
kegare wo shiranu otome ni naretara
darenimo kokorogawari ha aru keredo
anata wo utagaitakunai
nakazu ni machimasu itsumademo
onna dakara

Kita no yado kara

anata kawari ha nai desu ka
higoto samusa ga tsunorimasu
kite ha moraenu seetaa wo
samusa koraete andemasu
onnagokoro no miren deshou
anata koishii kita no yado

fubukimajirini kisha no oto
susurinaku yo ni kikoemasu
osake narabete tada hitori
namidauta nado utaimasu
onnagokoro no miren deshou
anata koishii kita no yado

anata shinde mo ii desu ka
mune ga shinshin naitemasu
mado ni utsushite negeshou wo
shite mo kokoro ha haremasen
onnagokoro no miren deshouanata
koishii kita no yado

Omoidezake

muri shite nonja ikenai to
kata wo yasashiku dakiyoseta
ano hito doushiteiru kashira
uwasa wo kikeba aitakute
omoidezake ni you bakari

botoru ni wakareta hi wo kaite
sotto namida no koyubi kamu
ano hito doushiteiru kashira
defune no kiteki kikinagara
omoidezake ni you bakari

itsuka ha wasureru hito nanoni
nomeba miren ga mata tsunoru
ano hito doushiteiru kashira
kurashi mo areta konogoro ha
omoidezake ni you bakari