

首都圏方言アクセントの読み上げ調査 ー制約ベースモデルによる分析ー

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李 墨彤

ribokuto@gmail.com

大阪大学大学院

PAIK

2018 年 12 月 22 日

大阪大学

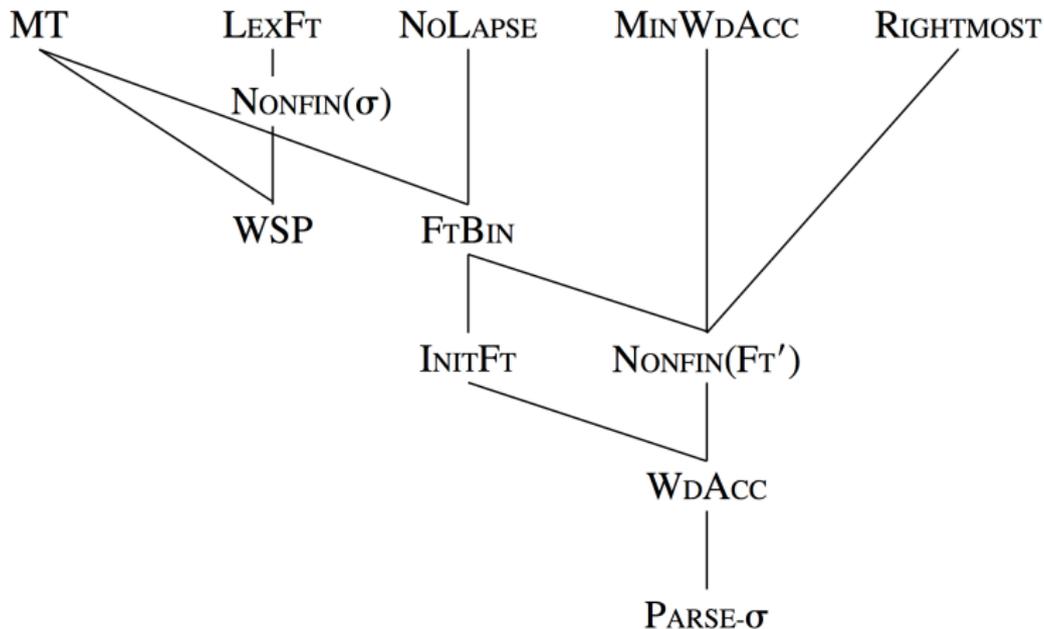
先行研究：Ito & Mester (2016)

- 外来語の優勢なアクセント型についての分析
- 対象となる外来語の音韻・形態構造¹ (合計 23 種)

構造	語例	構造	語例
(L')	ド・レ・ミ	(L'L)	パリ
(L'L)L	バナナ	(H')L	ブーケ
(LL)(LL)	アメリカ	(H)(LL)	テーブル
L(H')L	ケチャップ	(LL)(L'L)L	クリスマス
(LL)(LL)(L'L)L	アナクロニズム	(H)L(L'L)L	ジャーナリズム
(H)(L')H	ランデブー	L(L'L)H	アレルギー
L(H)(LL)	リハーサル	(H')H	シャンプー
(H')	パン	(L')H	プリン
(L'L)H	ドラゴン	(LL)L(L'L)L	メトロポリス
(H)(H')L	コンコース	L(H')H	カレンダー
(LL)+(H)	パソコン	(LL)+(L)	ファミマ
(H)+(H)	ジーパン		

¹L: 軽音節 | H: 重音節 | () : フット | ' : アクセント核 | 太字 : フットヘッド | + : 語彙素境界

- Ito & Mester (2016)が提案したランキング²



²各制約の定義は付録 1 を参照

- LLLL の平板型の生成

	INTFr	NOLAPSE	NONFIN(Fr')	RIGHTMOST	WDACC	PARSE-σ
/amerika/ ▶ a. ⁰ [(ame)(rika)]					*	
b. ⁴ [(áme)(rika)]				*!		
c. ² [(ame)(ríka)]			*!			
d. ⁴ [(áme)rika]		*!				**
e. ³ [a(méri)ka]	*!					**

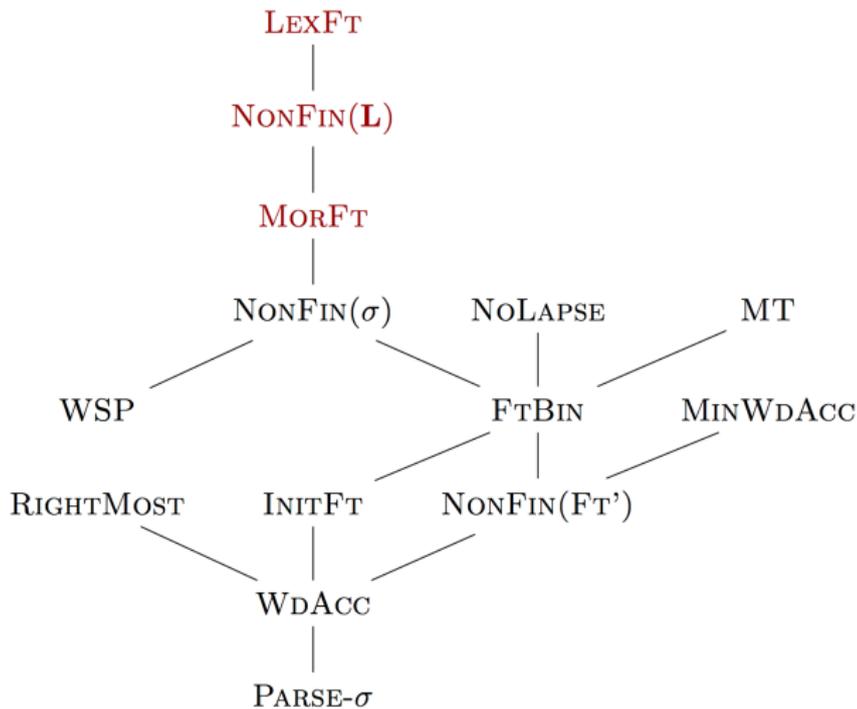
先行研究：李（2017）

- 李（2017）：漢語＋外来語の優勢なアクセント型についての分析
- 対象となる漢語の音韻・形態構造（計 12 種³；1～4 モーラの単純語）

構造	語例	構造	語例	構造	語例
(L')	可	(L'L)	悪	(H)#(H)	安心
(H')	運	(L')#L	所持	(H)#(LL)	完結
(L'L)#L	確保	(L)#(LL)	可決	(LL)#(H)	錯乱
(H')#L	謳歌	(L)#(H)	火災	(LL)#(LL)	血圧

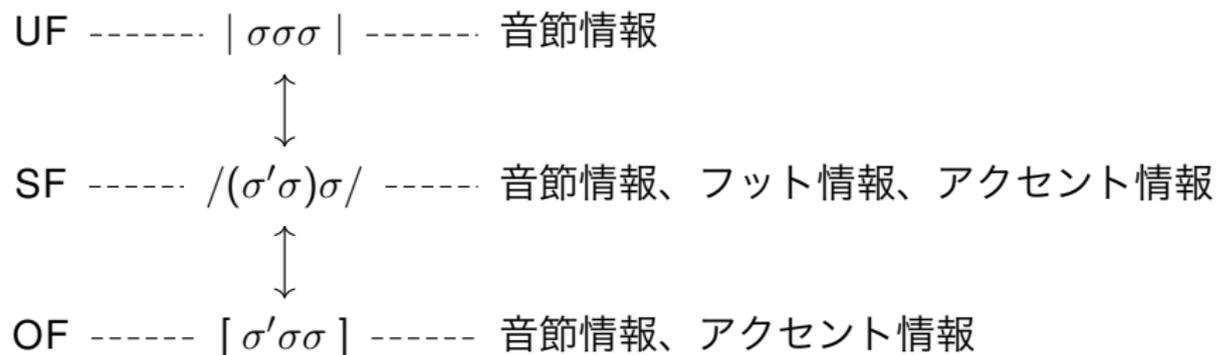
³ 外来語の構造を含めて 32 種になる。#：形態素境界

- 李 (2017)が提案したランキング⁴



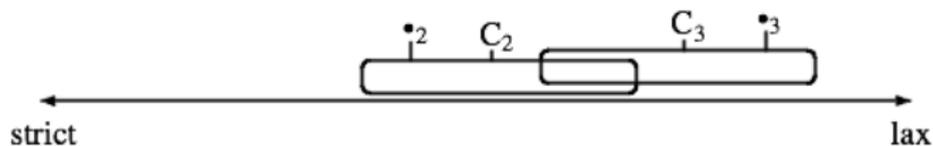
⁴各制約の定義は付録 1 を参照

各階層における表記

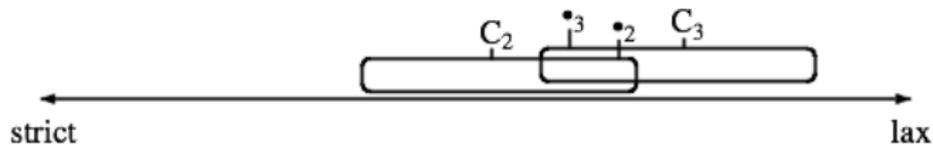


制約ベースモデル：Stochastic OT

- ランキングは離散的ではなく、連続的である
- EVAL が評価ノイズを与え、各制約の値を一時的に変化させる⁵
- 図例：制約の値の変化 (Boersma & Hayes 2001)
 - a. *Common result*: $C_2 \gg C_3$



- b. *Rare result*: $C_3 \gg C_2$



⁵値の変化は正規分布 (Mean = ranking value, SD = evaluation noise) に従う

学習アルゴリズム : Gradual Learning Algorithm (GLA)

- Stochastic OT に基づく学習アルゴリズム (Boersma 1997, 1999; Boersma & Hayes 2001)
- 昇格と降格の両方を取り入れている⁶

	制約 1	制約 2	制約 3	制約 4
	100→ 99	96 ←95	90→ 89	86 ←85
a.  候補 1		← *	*	← *
b.  候補 2	* →		* * →	

⁶降格と昇格の程度 (値の変動幅) は plasticity というパラメータに基づく

解析アルゴリズム : Expected Interpretive Parsing (EIP)

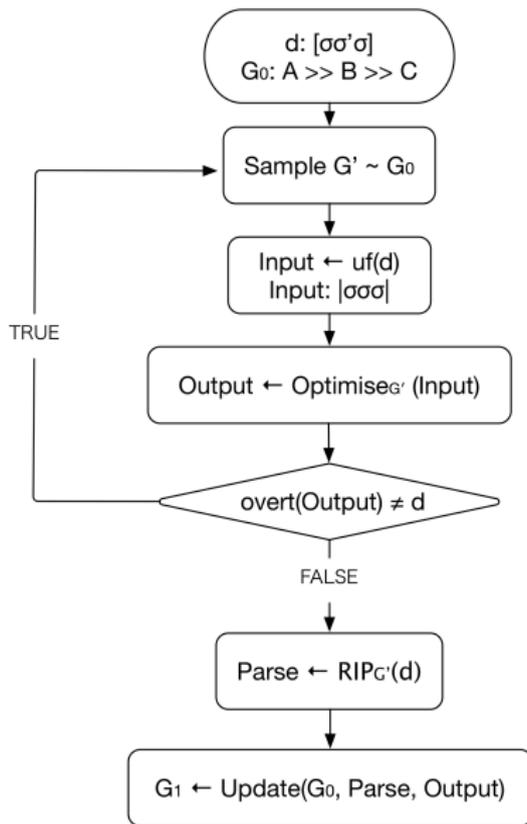
EIP for GLA (Jarosz 2013)

Require: Initialised Stochastic Grammar G_0

- 1: **for** d **in** D **do**
- 2: **Sample** $G' \sim G_i$
- 3: Input $\leftarrow \text{uf}(d)$
- 4: Output $\leftarrow \text{Optimise}_{G'}(\text{Input})$
- 5: **if** $\text{overt}(\text{Output}) \neq d$ **then**
- 6: Parse $\sim P(\text{parse} \mid G_i, d)$ ⁷
- 7: $G_{i+1} \leftarrow \text{Update}(G_i, \text{Parse}, \text{Output})$
- 8: **end if**
- 9: **end for**

⁷リサンプリングの最大回数は 1000 回に設定されている

- EIP のフローチャート



読み上げ調査

① 架空語

- 調査語の例：ジーハ、デーヘモ
- 場面設定：珍しい植物を友達に説明する
- 構造：LL、LLL、HL、LH、LLLL、HLL、LHL、LLH、HH、LLLLL、HLLL、LHLL、LLHL、LLLH、HHL、HLH、LHH（17種）

② 親密度の低い漢語

- 調査語の例：曲浦^{きょくほ}、鬱勃^{うつぼつ}
- 場面設定：なじみのない漢語を友達に説明する
- 構造：L#L、LL#L、L#LL、H#L、L#H、LL#LL、H#LL、LL#H、H#H（9種）

③ 外来語複合語短縮形

- 調査語の例：グラピ（ランドピアノ）、ソラパネ（ソーラーパネル）
- 場面設定：なじみのない略語を読み上げる
- 構造：LL+L、L+LL、H+L、LL+LL、H+LL、LL+H、H+H（7種）

④ 四字漢語の二字短縮形

- 調査語の例：着履^{ちゃくり}（着信履歴）、特貿^{とくぼう}（特惠貿易）
- 場面設定：なじみのない略語を読み上げる
- 構造：L-L、LL-L、L-LL、H-L、L-H、LL-LL、H-LL、LL-H、H-H（9種）

- 各構造の具体的な割合を学習データとする（付録2を参照）

ジェネレーター

- 各 UF に対して、フット情報とアクセント情報を含む SF の候補を生成する
- 1 フットは最大 2 音節を含むとする (3 音節を含むフットは生成しない)
- 例: |HLL| の場合 (合計 34 個の SF を作る)

$\text{GEN}(|\text{HLL}|) = /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L}/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}')\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}'\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{LL}')/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}')\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')\mathbf{LL}/, /(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{LL}/, /(\mathbf{H}'\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL})(\mathbf{L}')/,$
 $/(\mathbf{HL})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}'\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{HL}')\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{HL})\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}')\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}'\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{LL}')/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{HL}(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{HL}(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HLL})/$

シミュレーション 1

- ソフト：Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2018)
- 学習データ：付録 2 を参照
- 制約：李 (2017) で使用された 14 個の制約
- パラメータの設定

OTGrammar & Distributions: Learn from partial outputs (eip)

Column number: 1

Evaluation noise: 2.0

Update rule: Symmetric all

Initial plasticity: 1.0

Replications per plasticity: 100000

Plasticity decrement: 0.1

Number of plasticities: 4

Rel. plasticity spreading: 0

Honour local rankings

Number of chews: 1

Store history every: 0

Help Standards Cancel Apply OK

結果

- 相関⁸ : $n = 20$, Mean = 0.854, SD = 0.002
- 平均絶対誤差 (MAE)⁹ : $n = 20$, Mean = 0.132, SD = 0.001
- 誤差の大きい構造 (相関 = 0.858、MAE = 0.129 のモデルから抽出) :

OF	UF	目標データの割合	産出データの割合	誤差
[L'L#L]	LL#L	86.76%	11.62%	-75.14%
[LL#L]	LL#L	11.76%	85.37%	73.61%

- Input = |LL#L| のときの産出 :

	UF	OF	SF	割合
1	LL#L	[L'L#L]	/(L')(L#L)/	11.49%
2	LL#L	[LL'#L]	/(L)(L'#L)/	2.72%
3	LL#L	[LL#L]	/(L)(L#L)/	78.69%
4	LL#L	[L'L#L]	/(L'L)#L/	0.14%
5	LL#L	[LL'#L]	/L(L'#L)/	0.28%
6	LL#L	[LL#L]	/L(L#L)/	6.69%

⁸ピアソンの積率相関係数

⁹MAE = $\frac{1}{n} \sum_{t=1}^n |e_t|$ (例 : $x=(1, 3, 5)$ 、 $y=(6, 4, 2)$ の場合、 x と y の MAE は $\frac{|1-6|+|3-4|+|5-2|}{3} = 3$)

シミュレーション2

- $(\sigma\#\sigma)$ のようなフットの生成を抑制する制約：NoCROSS
フットは形態的境界を超えて分析しない。1 個の $(\sigma\#\sigma)$ 、 $(\sigma+\sigma)$ 、 $(\sigma-\sigma)$ に対して、違反印を 1 つ付ける
- 相関：n = 20, Mean = 0.913, SD = 0.06
- 平均絶対誤差：n = 20, Mean = 0.110, SD = 0.026
- 誤差の大きい構造（相関 = 0.934、MAE = 0.100 のモデルから抽出）：

OF	UF	目標データの割合	産出データの割合	誤差
[LHLL]	LHLL	0.00%	67.91%	67.91%
[LH'LL]	LHLL	80.65%	27.23%	-53.42%

- Input = |LHLL| のときの産出（上位 5 つのみ提示）：

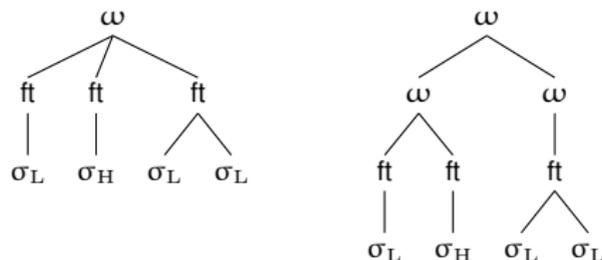
	UF	OF	SF	割合
1	LHLL	[LHLL]	/L(H)(LL)/	41.38%
2	LHLL	[LH'LL]	/L(H')LL/	25.63%
3	LHLL	[LHLL]	/(L)(H)(LL)/	24.38%
4	LHLL	[LHL'L]	/(L)(H)(L')L/	2.81%
5	LHLL	[LHLL]	/(LH)(LL)/	2.15%
...

韻律語に関する制約群

- PRWD_{BINMAX} : Prosodic Word Binarity (Max)

韻律語の分析は最大二項的である。三項以上の分析は違反となる（外来語短縮の最大性条件(Ito 1990) : 5モーラ以上の語は不適格)

(L)(H)(LL) と (L)(H):(LL) の構造をそれぞれ示す。: は音韻語境界。



- MINPRWD : Minimal Prosodic Word

韻律語は最小限に音節を 2 つ含む（外来語短縮の最小性条件(Ito 1990) : a. 1モーラ語は不適格 ; b. 1音節語は不適格)

(適格例 : (L)(H):(LL) ; 違反例 : (L):(H)(LL))

- PREACC : Pre-Accenting

音韻的複合語の後部要素が 2 モーラ以下の場合、韻律語境界直前の音節にアクセント核を置く

(適格例 : (L)(H'):(LL) ; 違反例 : (L)(H):(LL))

- POSTACC : Post-Accenting

音韻的複合語の後部要素が 3 モーラ以上の場合、韻律語境界直後の音節にアクセント核を置く

(適格例 : (LL):(L'L)L ; 違反例 : (LL'):(LL)L)

ジェネレーターの再構築

- すべての架空語の UF に対して、音韻語境界が入る SF の候補を生成
- 例：|HLL| の場合（合計 88 個の SF を作る）

$\text{GEN}(|\text{HLL}|) = /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}'\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{LL}')/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}')\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')\mathbf{LL}/, /(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{LL}/, /(\mathbf{H}'\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL})(\mathbf{L}')/,$
 $/(\mathbf{HL})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}'\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{HL}')\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{HL})\mathbf{L}/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}')\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}'\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{LL}')/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{HL}(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{HL}(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HLL})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{HL}:\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}:(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{HL}:(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}:\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}:\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}:\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{L}'\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{LL}')/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{L}')\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}:(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}'):\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}):\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}'):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}):(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}(\mathbf{L}):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}'\mathbf{L}):\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}'):\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}):\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}'\mathbf{L}):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}'):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{HL}):(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{HL}):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')\mathbf{L}:\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}:\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')\mathbf{L}:(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}:(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{L}:(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}'):\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}):\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}'):\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}):\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}):\mathbf{L}(\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}'):(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{L}'\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{LL}')/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{LL})/, /(\mathbf{H}'):(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{L}')\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{L})\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}'):(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{L}')(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H}):(\mathbf{L})(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{L}):\mathbf{L})/,$
 $/(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}'):\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}):\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H}')(\mathbf{L}):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}'):(\mathbf{L})/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}):(\mathbf{L}')/, /(\mathbf{H})(\mathbf{L}):(\mathbf{L})/$

シミュレーション3

- ジェネレーターを再構築して、PRWDBINMAX、MINPRWD、PREACC、POSTACCを追加
- 相関： $n = 20$, Mean = 0.981, SD = 0.001
- 平均絶対誤差： $n = 20$, Mean = 0.051, SD = 0.004
- 誤差が相対的に大きい構造（相関 = 0.983、MAE = 0.045 のモデルから抽出）：

OF	UF	目標データの割合	産出データの割合	誤差
[LL+L]	[LL+L]	97.50%	74.31%	-23.19%
[LL-L]	[LL-L]	55.71%	74.05%	18.33%
[L'L+L]	[LL+L]	2.50%	25.16%	22.66%
[L'L-L]	[LL-L]	44.29%	25.40%	-18.89%
[H+L]	[H+L]	80.00%	64.61%	-15.39%
[H-L]	[H-L]	47.12%	64.46%	17.34%
[H'+L]	[H+L]	20.00%	35.36%	15.36%
[H'-L]	[H-L]	52.88%	35.51%	-17.37%

調査語の例：

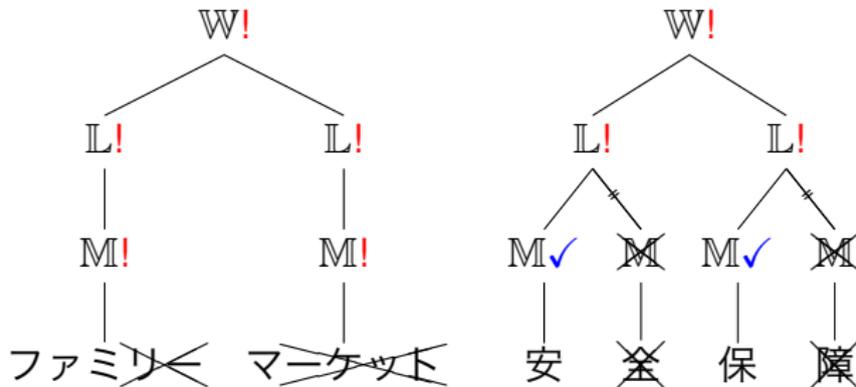
LL+L：シヨトカ（シヨートカット）；LL-L：着履（着信履歴）

H+L：ジンエ（ジンジャーエール）；H-L：民企（民間企業）

形態・音韻制約：Truncated Morpheme Foot

- T-MORFT：Truncated Morpheme Foot

短縮された形態素はフットに分析される。分析されないと違反となる（違反例：(L'L)+L；違反しない例：(L'L)-L）



シミュレーション 4

- T-MORFT を追加
- 相関 : $n = 20$, Mean = 0.988, SD = 0.001
- 平均絶対誤差 : $n = 20$, Mean = 0.041, SD = 0.002
- 平均絶対誤差の一番小さいモデル (相関 = 0.988、MAE = 0.037) のランキング :

制約	値	制約	値
NONFIN(L)	188.871	NONFIN(FT')	177.213
T-MORFT	186.41	NONFIN(σ)	177.135
LEXFT	183.286	RIGHTMOST	176.904
NOCROSS	183.096	INITFT	176.675
MT	182.325	FTBIN	175.618
MORFT	180.478	PARSE- σ	172.581
MINWDACC	179.95	NOLAPSE	171.82
POSTACC	178.863	WDACC	170.537
PRWDBINMAX	178.448	WSP	112.777
PREACC	178.357	MINPRWD	69.914

まとめ

- 5 モーラ語を音韻的複合語として分析した結果、LHLL に観察される②型の生成を説明できる ([LH'LL] の誤差：-0.28%)
- 1 つの OF に対する SF は複数可能

	UF	OF	SF	産出データの割合
1	LHLL	[LH'LL]	/L(H'):LL/	43.90%
2	LHLL	[LH'LL]	/L(H'):LL/	29.70%
3	LHLL	[LHL'L]	/L(H)(L'):L/	14.06%
4	LHLL	[LH'LL]	/L(H'):(LL)/	4.86%
5	LHLL	[LH'LL]	/L(H'):(LL)/	2.28%
6	LHLL	[LHLL]	/L(H):(LL)/	1.26%
7	LHLL	[LHLL]	/L(H)(LL)/	1.12%
8	LHLL	[LHLL]	/L:(H)(LL)/	0.77%

- 形態・音韻制約群 (T-MORFT ≫ LEXFT ≫ MORFT) を利用することによって、外来語短縮形 ≫ 4 字漢語短縮形 ≫ 2 字漢語という①型生起の割合の順番を説明できる
- NONFIN(L) が上位に位置することで、..#L]、..+L]、..-L] に観察される①型の生成を説明できる

問題点

- アドホックな制約 (PREACC¹⁰ と POSTACC) が使用されている
- 架空語の 5 モーラ語に対して、音韻的複合語という分析の可能性 (おそらく 1 形態素として分析されていると考えられるが、形態分析が不明瞭なため、 $LX \approx PR$ (形態的カテゴリーの構成素は音韻語に対応する, Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004) のような形態・音韻制約によるサポートがない)
- SF の分析には直感に反するものが存在する (例: 以下のような、フットが語彙素境界を跨ぐ分析。NONFIN(L) に違反しないためだと考えられる。NOCROSS について再検討する必要)

	UF	OF	SF	産出データの割合
1	LL+L	[LL+L]	/(L)(L+L)/	58.04%
2	LL+L	[LL+L]	/L(L+L)/	29.87%
3	LL+L	[L'L+L]	/(L'L)+L/	9.19%
4	LL+L	[LL+L]	/(LL)+(L)/	1.41%

- 誤差の相対的に大きい構造がまだ存在している

	OF	UF	目標データの割合	産出データの割合	誤差
1	[HLL]	HLL	63.93%	85.22%	-21.28%
2	[HL'LL]	HLLL	77.97%	98.21%	-20.24%
3	[HLL'L]	HLLL	18.64%	0.01%	18.63%

¹⁰preaccentuation に対して、Ito & Mester (2018)ではより普遍的な制約群に基づいた分析がなされている

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付録1：制約の定義

制約	定義	違反例
MORFT ¹	Every lexical morpheme (i.e., full content morpheme, not grammatical formative) minimally projects its own foot.	「表記」：(H')#L
LEXFT ²	Every lexeme minimally projects its own foot. Violated by unfooted lexemes.	「テレカ」：(L'L)+L
NONFIN(L) ³	Word-final light syllables are not footheads. Violated when a word-final light syllable is a foothead: *...L)] _ω .	「患者」：(H)#(L)
MT	Feet are (H), (LL), and (L). Violated by iambs: (LL), (LH), (HL), (HH), and trochees of more than 2μ: (LH), (HL), (HH)	「ブーケ」：(H'L)
NONFIN(σ)	Word-final syllables are not footheads. Violated when a word-final syllable is a foothead: *(H)] _{PrWd} , *(L)] _{PrWd} , etc.	「安心」：(H)#(H)
NOLAPSE	Syllables are maximally parsed into feet. Violated by two consecutive unparsed syllables.	「アクセス」：(L'L)LL
MINWDACC	A minimal prosodic word contains a prominence peak. Violated when ω _{min} does not contain a prominence (peak=primary stress or pitch accent, in Japanese: High [^] Low)	「差」：(L)

¹Itô & Mester (2016) で使用された LEXFT と同じである。

²Itô & Mester (2016) で使用された LEXFT のドメインを語彙素に変更したものである。

³李 (2016) で提案された制約である。

制約	定義	違反例
RIGHTMOST	* Ft'...Ft...] _ω Violated by any foot following the head foot within the prosodic word. This is the End Rule (Final) of Prince 1983, in a version modeled on the foot-based restatement in McCarthy 2003:111.	「アクセス」:(L'L)(LL)
WSP	Heavy syllables are footheads. Violated when a heavy syllable is not a foothead: *.H., *(HX), *(XH)	「プリン」:(L')H
FTBIN	Feet are minimally binary at some level of analysis (mora, syllable). Violated by unary feet.	「プリン」:(L')H
INITFT	A prosodic word begins with a foot (Itô and Mester 1992:31, McCarthy and Prince 1993:81). Violated by any prosodic word whose left edge is aligned not with the left edge of a foot, but of an unfooted σ.	「スキー」:L(H')
NONFIN(FT')	* Ft'] _ω Violated by any head foot that is final in its PrWd (Prince and Smolensky 1993(2004):45) —“final” in the sense that the right edge of Ft' coincides with the right edge of PrWd.	「スキー」:L(H')
WDACC	A prosodic word contains a prominence peak. Violated by prosodic words not having a prominence peak (peak=primary stress or pitch accent, in Japanese: High [∧] Low).	「アルバム」:(LL)(LL)
PARSE-σ	All syllables are parsed into feet (Prince and Smolensky 1993(2004):*62). Violated by unfooted syllables.	「ダンス」:(H')L

付録2：各構造における目標データと産出データの割合

架空語				外来語短縮形				二字漢語				四字漢語の二字短縮形							
OF	UF	目標データ	産出データ	OF	UF	目標データ	産出データ	OF	UF	目標データ	産出データ	OF	UF	目標データ	産出データ	OF	UF	目標データ	産出データ
[H'H]	[HH]	91.8%	94.8%	[LH'LL]	[LHLL]	80.6%	80.9%	[H'+H]	[H+H]	1.4%	1.1%	[H#H]	[H#H]	4.3%	12.7%	[H-H]	[H-H]	0.0%	0.8%
[H'L]	[HL]	96.8%	100.0%	[LH]	[LH]	3.2%	21.1%	[H'+L]	[H+L]	20.0%	13.6%	[H#L]	[H#L]	89.2%	90.5%	[H-H]	[H-H]	100.0%	97.3%
[H' LH]	[HLH]	42.6%	27.8%	[LHH']	[LHH]	1.6%	0.0%	[H'+LL]	[H+LL]	2.6%	1.0%	[H#LL]	[H#LL]	0.0%	1.0%	[H-L]	[H-L]	0.0%	0.0%
[H'LL]	[HLL]	29.5%	13.3%	[LHH]	[LHH]	1.6%	1.0%	[H+H']	[H+H]	0.0%	0.8%	[H#H']	[H#H]	0.9%	0.8%	[H-L']	[H-LL]	0.0%	2.9%
[H'LLL]	[HLLL]	3.4%	0.0%	[LHL'L]	[LHLL]	19.4%	14.5%	[H+H]	[H+H]	98.6%	98.0%	[H#H]	[H#H]	94.8%	86.5%	[H-L]	[H-L]	47.1%	44.1%
[HH']	[HH]	0.0%	0.0%	[LHL]	[LHL]	0.0%	0.0%	[H+L']	[H+L]	0.0%	0.0%	[H#L']	[H#L]	0.0%	0.0%	[H-LL]	[H-LL]	96.4%	96.0%
[HH'L]	[HHL]	100.0%	100.0%	[LHLL]	[LHLL]	0.0%	4.6%	[H+L'L]	[H+LL]	0.0%	3.0%	[H#L'L]	[H#LL]	0.0%	3.0%	[H'-H]	[H-H]	0.0%	1.9%
[HH]	[HH]	8.2%	5.1%	[LL'H]	[LLH]	13.3%	0.0%	[H+L]	[H+L]	80.0%	86.3%	[H#L]	[H#L]	10.8%	9.5%	[H'-L]	[H-L]	52.9%	55.9%
[HHL]	[HHL]	0.0%	0.0%	[LL'HL]	[LLHL]	0.0%	0.0%	[H+LL]	[H+LL]	97.4%	96.1%	[H#LL]	[H#LL]	100.0%	96.0%	[H'-LL]	[H-LL]	3.6%	1.1%
[HL'H]	[HLH]	54.1%	69.7%	[LL'L]	[LLL]	3.2%	0.1%	[L'+LL]	[L+LL]	5.7%	1.4%	[L#H]	[L#H]	28.6%	12.1%	[L-H]	[L-H]	0.0%	0.8%
[HL'L]	[HLL]	6.6%	1.5%	[LL'LH]	[LLLH]	35.5%	26.5%	[L'+H]	[L+H]	0.0%	1.2%	[L#L]	[L#L]	98.3%	96.9%	[L-H]	[L-H]	100.0%	97.3%
[HL'LL]	[HLLL]	78.0%	98.2%	[LL'LL]	[LLLL]	6.5%	0.8%	[L'+L]	[L+L]	2.5%	9.9%	[L#LL]	[L#LL]	3.2%	1.3%	[L-L]	[L-L]	0.0%	0.2%
[HL]	[HL]	3.2%	0.0%	[LL]	[LL]	1.6%	3.2%	[L'+LL]	[L+LL]	0.0%	1.0%	[L'L#H]	[LL#H]	0.0%	12.6%	[L-L']	[L-LL]	0.0%	2.9%
[HLH']	[HLH]	1.6%	0.0%	[LLH']	[LLH]	0.0%	0.0%	[L+L'L]	[L+LL]	0.0%	2.9%	[L'L#L]	[LL#L]	86.8%	82.2%	[L-L]	[L-L]	8.6%	9.3%
[HLH]	[HLH]	1.6%	2.5%	[LLH'L]	[LLHL]	100.0%	100.0%	[L+LL]	[L+LL]	94.3%	95.7%	[L'L#LL]	[LL#LL]	0.0%	1.0%	[L-LL]	[L-LL]	98.4%	95.7%
[HLL'L]	[HLLL]	18.6%	0.0%	[LLH]	[LLH]	6.7%	5.3%	[LL'+H]	[LL+H]	3.8%	0.0%	[L#H']	[L#H]	0.0%	0.7%	[L'-H]	[L-H]	0.0%	1.9%
[HLL]	[HLL]	63.9%	85.2%	[LLHL]	[LLHL]	0.0%	0.0%	[LL'+L]	[LL+L]	0.0%	0.8%	[L#H]	[L#H]	71.4%	87.2%	[L'-L]	[L-L]	91.4%	90.5%
[HLLL]	[HLLL]	0.0%	1.8%	[LLL'H]	[LLLH]	61.3%	54.0%	[LL+H']	[LL+H]	0.0%	0.8%	[L#L']	[L#L]	0.0%	0.0%	[L'-LL]	[L-LL]	1.6%	1.4%
[L'H]	[LH]	93.5%	78.7%	[LLL'L]	[LLL]	3.2%	0.9%	[LL+H]	[LL+H]	96.2%	98.0%	[L#L'L]	[L#LL]	0.0%	2.9%	[L'-H]	[L-H]	0.0%	1.9%
[L'L]	[LL]	95.2%	96.8%	[LLL'LL]	[LLLL]	98.4%	98.2%	[LL+L']	[LL+L]	0.0%	0.0%	[L#L]	[L#L]	1.7%	3.0%	[L'-L]	[L-L]	44.3%	44.2%
[L'LH]	[LLH]	80.0%	94.7%	[LLL]	[LLL]	9.5%	13.3%	[LL+L'L]	[LL+LL]	0.0%	2.8%	[L#LL]	[L#LL]	96.8%	95.8%	[L'-LL]	[L-LL]	0.0%	1.0%
[L'LL]	[LLL]	87.3%	86.6%	[LLLH']	[LLLH]	0.0%	0.0%	[LL+L]	[LL+L]	97.5%	89.3%	[LL'#H]	[LL#H]	0.0%	0.0%	[L'-H]	[L-H]	0.0%	0.8%
[L'LLH]	[LLLH]	0.0%	17.7%	[LLLH]	[LLLH]	3.2%	1.9%	[LL+LL]	[LL+LL]	100.0%	96.2%	[LL'#L]	[LL#L]	0.0%	0.2%	[L'-H]	[L-H]	98.2%	97.2%
[L'LLL]	[LLLL]	1.6%	13.2%	[LLL'L]	[LLLL]	0.0%	0.0%					[LL'#H']	[LL#H]	1.3%	0.8%	[L'-L]	[L-L]	0.0%	0.0%
[LH']	[LH]	3.2%	0.2%	[LLL]	[LLL]	88.7%	85.1%					[LL#H]	[LL#H]	98.7%	86.6%	[L'-L']	[L-LL]	0.0%	2.9%
[LH'H]	[LHH]	96.8%	99.0%	[LLLL]	[LLLL]	1.6%	1.8%					[LL#L]	[LL#L]	0.0%	0.0%	[L-L]	[L-L]	55.7%	55.3%
[LH'L]	[LHL]	100.0%	100.0%									[LL#L'L]	[LL#LL]	0.0%	3.0%	[L-L]	[L-L]	98.0%	96.1%
												[LL#L]	[LL#L]	11.8%	17.6%	[LL'-H]	[LL-H]	1.8%	0.0%
												[LL#LL]	[LL#LL]	100.0%	96.1%	[LL'-L]	[LL-L]	0.0%	0.5%
																[LL'-LL]	[LL-LL]	2.0%	0.0%