

## Secondary High Tones in Koshikijima Japanese

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This paper examines the nature and behavior of secondary H(igh) tones in Koshikijima Japanese, a highly endangered dialect spoken on a small island in the south of Japan. This dialect generally has a mora-counting accent system with two distinctive accent types or classes (Type A and Type B), and displays two H tones, primary and secondary, in three-mora or longer words: The primary H tone (H1) appears on the penultimate and final moras in Type A and Type B, respectively, whereas the secondary H tone (H2) occurs at the beginning of the word redundantly.

Koshikijima Japanese displays a regional variation with respect to H2, particularly regarding the directionality and position in which it is assigned in words (Left to Right vs. R to L), its (in)dependence on H1, its interaction with the syllable, and its behavior in post-lexical phonology. This paper examines how H2 behaves differently in three distinct accent systems: (i) the system described by Kamimura (1937) eighty years ago, (ii) the one observed in Kuwanoura village today, and (iii) the system that is found quite extensively on the island including Kamimura's native village (Nakakoshiki) and Teuchi village.

In (i) and (ii), H2 is assigned quite independently of H1: it is assigned from the left edge of the word and linked to the second mora in (i) and to the initial two moras in (ii). Namely, H2 functions as a boundary tone signaling the beginning of the word in these systems. Despite this commonality, (i) and (ii) differ from each other in three crucial ways. First, (ii), but not (i), allows H2 to clash with H1. Second, H2 in (i) is not sensitive to the syllable, while H2 in (ii) spreads to the third mora if the second and third moras form a heavy syllable. And third, (i) does not show H1 deletion in sentence-level phonology, whereas (ii) does (but only in Type B words).

The system in (iii), which is widespread on the island today, involves an entirely different procedure with respect to the calculation of H2. In this system, H2 is dependent on H1 and is assigned from right to left in such a way that it is linked to every syllable before H1 except one intervening syllable: H2 and H1 are usually separated by one low-toned *syllable*. Therefore, the two H tones (almost) never clash with each other. Moreover, the system allows the deletion of H1 in connected speech. This H1 deletion takes place in both accent classes (Type A and Type B), but is blocked in the very final position of the sentence: e.g. /NA.TU.ya.SU.mi/ 'summer holiday' becomes /NA.TU.ya.su.mi/ in connected speech if it is followed by another word/phrase in the same sentence.

On the basis of the similarities and differences that the three accent systems display with respect to the nature and behavior of H2, this paper proposes a historical scenario to explain the differences.