

The Bantu-Like Tonal Characteristics of Tarama (Miyako, Ryukyuan)

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In the past decade, a considerable number of studies have reported on the properties of Tarama tonology, which is complicated and unique among the Japanese or Ryukyuan languages. In this presentation, I will point out that Tarama tonology shares striking similarities with the tonology of the Bantu languages (Hyman 2001; Yip 2002; Kisseberth and Odden 2003). The Bantu-like tonal characteristics of Tarama can be summarized under the following four points.

(1) **Privative tone system:** Tarama distinguishes three tone patterns, which can be interpreted as L toned (L1 and L2; L1 specifies L on the first phonological word—the definition of this term is given below—but L2 on the second) and toneless (L0).

Eg. L1: *madu`=mai* [H L L L] L2: *jadu`=mai`* [H H H L] L0: *juda`=mai`* [H H H H]
 leisure=also door=also branch=also

(2) **Tone shifting:** Ls are aligned to the last mora of the lexically-specified phonological word (PWd, a prosodic unit mapped onto a root or enclitic of more than one mora), and thus they are not aligned to a fixed position of the morpheme but move depending on the number of following clitics and the number of morae within the PWd.

Eg. L1: *uja`=kara* *uja`=kara=du* *uja`=n=mai`*
 father=ABL father=ABL=FOC father=DAT=also
 L2: *jama`=kara`* *jama`=kara=du`* *jama`=n=mai`*
 mountain=ABL mountain=ABL=FOC mountain=DAT=also

(3) **Tone spreading:** Ls can spread rightward not only throughout a phonological phrase (root(s)+enclitic(s)) but also onto following phrases.

Eg. *adan`+kii`=mai kuba+kii`=mai`* pandanus+tree=also livistona+tree=also

(4) **OCP:** L deletes the after L to avoid successive Ls.

Eg. *adan`+kii`=mai mami+kii`=mai`* pandanus+tree=also been+tree=also

I would like to reexamine the tonology of the other Miyako Ryukyuan languages in the light of Bantu tonology to reconsider the relevant historical and typological issues.

References

- Hyman, Larry. 2001. Privative tone in Bantu. *Cross-Linguistic Studies of Tonal Phenomena*, ed. by Kaji Shigeki, 237-257, ILCAA.
- Kisseberth, Charles and David Odden. 2003. Tone. *The Bantu Languages*, ed. By Derek Nurse and Gerard Phillipson, 59-70, Routledge.
- Yip, Moira. 2002. African languages. In *Tone*, 130-170, Cambridge University Press.