

## Word tones at the sentence level in the Ikema dialect of Miyako Ryukyuan

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This study is aimed at defining the domain of lexical tone assignment in the Ikema dialect of Miyako Ryukyuan (henceforth Ikema). It is shown that, even though the tonal class of the morpheme at the beginning of the utterances at first glance appears to determine pitch pattern of the whole utterances in a certain prosodic environment, the domain of lexical tone assignment in Ikema is in fact as small as the Clitic Group, i.e., the prosodic unit consisting of one or more roots followed by any clitic.

Ikema has three lexically contrastive tone classes, Types A, B, and C. The dialect exhibits widespread tonal neutralization especially in short utterances. In simplex nouns produced in isolation, for example, Types A and B are neutralized, such as in Type A *hitu* ‘man’, Type B *yama* ‘mountain’, and Type C *nabi* ‘pan’. (Letters in bold indicate high-pitched moras.) Neutralization between Type A and B occurs even in nouns followed by a clitic =*mai* ‘also’: Type A *hitu=mai*, Type B *yama=mai*, and Type C *nabi=mai*. The full realization of the three-way tonal contrast in Ikema requires that the utterances consist of a number of morphemes or words. No tonal neutralization occurs, for instance, in compound nouns consisting of three polymoraic nominal roots produced in isolation, such as Type A *aka+mami+gii* (red+bean+tree ‘adzuki tree’), Type B *gazi+hana+gii* (hook+flower+tree ‘banyan tree’), and Type C *yui+fau+busi* (dinner+eating+star ‘early evening star’). Three-way contrast can also be observed in compound nouns consisting of two polymoraic roots followed by a bi-moraic clitic, such as Type A *kuusu+bai=mai* (pepper+field=also ‘pepper field, too’), Type B *cimma+bai=mai* (onion+field=also ‘onion field, too’), and Type C *gaura+bai=mai* (bitter.gourd+field=also ‘bitter gourd field, too’). As a first approximation, the surface pitch shape of each tonal class can be described as HLL for Type A, HLH for Type B, and HHL for Type C.

Interestingly, these pitch shapes can span the whole utterance in some prosodic environments. For example, in the utterances with simplex nouns with a bi-moraic clitic =*mai* followed by a predicate *mii-n* (see-NEG ‘be missing’), the tonal class of the noun at the beginning of the utterances affects not only the pitch pattern of the noun phrase but also that of the verb phrase at the end of utterance: Type A *butu=mai mii-n* (‘The husband is also missing.’), Type B *mayu=mai mii-n* (‘The cat is also missing.’), and Type C *uya=mai mii-n* (‘The grandfather is also missing.’). This leads to assume that the utterance as a whole functions as the domain of lexical tone assignment in this dialect. It does not hold true, however, in a wider range of contexts. Take for example verbs consisting of more than one root, such as Type A *nii+ui* (boil+PROG ‘be boiling’) and Type C *mii+ui* (see+PROG ‘be seeing’). When preceded by a noun with a clitic, the pitch of the first verbal root is determined by the tonal class of the preceding noun, while the pitch of the second verbal root *ui* depends on the tonal class of the first verbal root (Type A *nii-* or Type B *mii-*). Thus, Type A noun followed by Type A verb *butu=mai nii+ui* ‘The husband is also boiling.’, Type A noun followed by Type C verb *butu=mai mii+ui* ‘The husband is also seeing.’, Type B noun followed by Type A verb *midun=mai nii+ui* ‘The woman is also boiling.’, Type B noun followed by Type C verb *midun=mai mii+ui* ‘The woman is also seeing.’, Type C noun followed by Type A verb *yarabi=mai nii+ui* ‘The child is also boiling.’, and Type C noun followed by Type C verb *yarabi=mai mii+ui* ‘The child is also seeing.’. This indicates that the lexical tone is assigned to each Clitic Group in the utterance. In other words, the domain of the lexical tone assignment in Ikema is no larger than the Clitic Group, although the effect of the lexical tone spreads to the first root of the following Clitic Group.