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=ni=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
