(O) Tone's Puzzle (1/2) [Solution]

O1.
1. G
2. H
3. D
4. F
5. B
6. A
7. C
8. E

O2.
a. chicken's fish
b. bird's father
c. car's bird
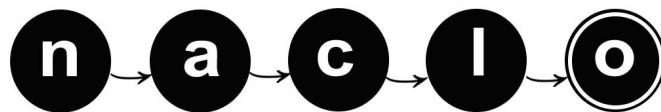
O3.
a. [wùtú sɔ̀rì]
b. [dúkɛ́ wùtù]
c. [àitɛ̀ sɔ̀krɛ̀]
d. [dɛ̀βì βɔ́rù]
e. [sɔ̀rì àjà]
f. [àitē gʷákù]

O4.

- Word order is possessor-possessed.
- b → β after a vowel.
- Words have a lexical tone, either high (H), low (L), or toneless (0). Words have a lexical tone, either high (H), low (L), or toneless (0).
- The final syllable in the phrase is always low.
- Since all the phrases are two-word and four-syllable, the only thing left to explain is the second syllable of the phrase:
    - Before L tone (n.b.: a true L, not a toneless word expressed as low), the previous syllable becomes high (anticipatory tonal polarity)
    - Before H tone, a toneless word's final syllable drifts upwards to mid tone (gradual updrift)
    - If neither of the previous apply, then the word's first syllable tone spreads to its second syllable tone (toneless taking a default low-low)

(O) Tone's Puzzle (2/2) [Solution]

O4. (continued)

Tones of words in the problem:

H		L		0	
bɔ́ɾu	*fish*	dɛ̀βi	*child*	sɔkɾɛ	*rat*
gʷáku	*ear*	sɔ̀ɾi	*earth*	aja	*chicken*
dúkɛ	*bird*	wùtu	*car*	aitɛ	*father*

Notes:

- This problem demonstrates only a very small piece of the Abawiri tone system. In Abawiri, there are many more lexical tone categories than these three, and words with different numbers of syllables fall into each one. There are also grammatical tone rules in some limited contexts. The rule that the last syllable in a phrase/utterance is low always applies, as does gradual updrift. Anticipatory tonal polarity applies except in some specific syntactic contexts.
- None of the tone rules shown in this problem are specific to the genitive construction, which is a simple juxtaposition of possessor-possessed

Source:

Yoder, Brendon Eugene. A grammar of Abawiri, a Lakes Plain language of Papua, Indonesia. 2020. Especially, pp. 65 ff. for tone analysis/data and p. 111 for genitive construction.