

TONES IN TATUYO AND BARASANA FOR THE COMPARATIVE PROJECT

These are agglutinative and polysynthetic languages, i.e. with tones of the Bantu type; tones in isolating languages like Chinese behave differently.

Association convention: one to one, left to right. A Tone can associate to several TBUs; a TBU only associates to one Tone.

I. BAS roots		TAT roots	
a. /~kuH bu/	\$kūH mūH\$	a. /~kuL bu/	\$kūL mūL\$
b. /~biH diL/	\$mīH nīL\$	b. /~biH diL/	\$mīH nīL\$
c. /we kɪH/	\$weL kɪH\$	c. /weL kɪH/	\$weL kɪH\$
d. /gɪ coH(L)/	i. \$gɪL tsoH(L)\$ ii. \$gɪL tsoH oL\$	d. /ɪH hoL/	\$ɪH hoL\$
e. /~hiH doL/	\$hīH nōL\$	e. /~piH do/	\$pīH nōH\$

a. 'shaman' b. 'bird, pet' c. 'tapir' d. 'yacaré' e. 'anaconda'.

(la-e) are nominal bimoraic entries. Bimoraic is the template for lexical entries. Trimoraic entries have generally a derivational suffix, quite often frozen and non segmentable.

BAS: 4 Tonal classes: H (a), HL (b,e), <μ>H (c), <μ>HL (d).

- in (a) the H lexical tone appears on the first TBU to indicate the initial association move, not pre-association
- <μ> represents a (lexically specified) extrametrical TBU that receives a default L; several PHON processes ground this interpretation (tonal prefixes in the verb (cf. III below), tonal copy from pronoun to noun)
- Q: how do we distinguish a lexical initial L tone (TAT) from the default L in (c,d)?
- (d) has a final floating (L), with two \$\$ variants: (i) leaves (L) floating; (ii) prefers creating a docking TBU by lengthening the final V (I didn't mark this variant in the comparative sheet)
- otherwise, the difference between (c) and (d) appears on suffixes -re 'object': c. \$weL kɪH reH\$
d. \$gɪL coH reL\$

TAT: 4 tonal classes: L (a), HL (b,d), LH (c), H (e).

Main differences: TAT has L roots (a) not BAS; no <μ> in TAT.

II. BAS verbal roots		TAT verbal roots	
a. /cuH a/	\$tʃuH aH\$	a. /huL aH/	\$huL aH\$
b. /baH aL/	\$baH aL\$	b. /baH aL/	\$baH aL\$
c. /ba aH/	\$baL aH\$	c. /ɪL gaH/	\$ɪL gaH\$
d. /cu aH(L)/	\$cuL aH(L)\$	d. /huH a/	\$huH aH\$

a. 'cut' b. 'swim' c. 'eat' d. 'weave'.

BAS: 4 Tonal classes: H (a), HL (b), <μ>H (c), <μ>HL (d).

TAT: 3 tonal classes: H (d), HL (b), LH (a,c). No L verbs.

III. BAS tonal prefix 'stabilizer': polar with respect to the root prefix Infinitive: STAB - STEM - NOMZER.INAN		
a. /HL cuH a - re/	\$t̃uH aL reL\$	H deletes after HL (general rule)
b. /H baH aL - re/	\$baH aH reH(L)\$	all tones remain; align at the left edge of morphemes: baH a reH(L)
c. /HL ba aH - re/	\$baL aH reL\$	H deletes after HL (general rule) H of HL associates to the 2nd mora
d. /H i diH(L) -re/	\$iL diH reH(L)/	all tones remain; initial L default; align at the left edge of morphemes;

a. 'to cut' b. 'to swim' c. 'to eat' d. 'to drink'.

H-deletion: H → ∅ /HL__ applies in inflectional derivations between Root & affixes. Thus:

- a. HL + H → HL
- b. H + HL → H HL
- c. HL + H → HL
- d. H + HL → H HL

Alignment: cyclicity is at work. In (III.b) the H prefix associates to the root baH a and the H of the HL of the root associates to the following morpheme. Otherwise the result would be *baH aH reL.

Extrametricity: in (c,d) the tonal prefix ignores the 1st mora and associates to the 2nd.

H-deletion doesn't apply in nominal compounds or serial verbs.

IV. BAS serial verbs: R1 + R2 R2 tone(s) deletion		TAT serial verbs: R1 + R2	
a. /~juH u + hu tiH(L)/ 'aim+blow: aim and blow the blowgun'	\$ɲuH ũH huH tiH\$	/~juL uH + puH tiL/	\$ɲuL ũH ↓ puH tiL\$ downstepL
b. /~ceH diL + ~i aH(L)/ 'address sone+see: ask'	\$t̃eH ñL iL aL\$	/~heH diL + ~jaH/	\$h̃eH ñL jaH\$
c. /~ja goH + ~heH diL/ 'speak+jump: chat, converse'	\$ɲaL ɲoH h̃eH ñH\$	/waH da + ~peH diL/	\$waH daH ↓ p̃eH ñL\$ downstep L
d. /~ke doH oL + ~kuH uL/ 'make+put on: put in order'	\$k̃eL ñoH oL k̃uL ũL\$	/~keL doH oL + ~kuH u/	\$k̃eL ñoH oL k̃uH ũH\$

BAS: In two roots serial verbs R1 + R2, R1 tones remain while R2 tones delete (with 3 or 4 roots, a second tonal domain is created).

TAT: The tones R1 + R2 remain. A linking L tone is inserted between serialized roots, producing a downstep between a final H of R1 and an initial H of R2: R1 ↓ R2 (4a,c).

In (IVb), while BAS R2 is the verb 'see', the TAT cognate *-~ja-* is grammaticalized ('see' is /tiH hi/) as a focus on the object (in transitive verbs only), its tone is polar with respect to the preceding tone, H in this case.

IV. NOMINAL COMPOUNDS

BAS: The tones of the 2nd root are deleted: R1 + R2 → R1

TAT: All tones remain: R1 + R2 → R1 + R2

a. BAS /~iH de + ~biH diL/ \$iH nēH mīH nīH\$

b. TAT /~iL de + ~biH diL/ \$iL nēL mīH nīL\$

'Guilielma + bird : blue gray tanager *Thraupis episcopus*'

c. BAS /heH a + gi coH(L)/ \$heH aH giH tjoH\$

d. TAT /peL e + iH hoL/ \$/peL eL + iH hoL\$

'fire + yacaré: cayman'

V. SUFFIXES: some cases

Monomoraic verbal suffixes:

a. TAT -(H)oL- 'causative' (L must be pre-associated to leave H floating): /~tuH duL/ \$tūH nūL\$
'return' → /~tuH duL (H)oL/ \$tūH nūH ōL\$ 'make return'

b. BAS cognate -o-: toneless

c. TAT -riL 'nominalizer': /hiH ga - riH(L) - ka/ \$hiH gaH riH kaL\$ 'cernir-NOMZER-CL.RED: cernidor'

d. BAS cognate -ri-: toneless

Monomoraic nominal suffixes:

VI. TAT nominal suffixes	
ANIM.PL' -a	-(H)aL 'FOCUS'
a. /~kuL bu -a/ \$kūL mūL aL\$	a. /~kuL bu -(H)aL/ \$kūL mūH aL\$
b. /~biH diL a/ \$mīH nīL aL\$	b. /~biH diL -(H)aL/ \$mīH nīL (H)aL\$
c. /weL kīH -a/ \$weL kīH aH\$	c. /weL kīH -(H)aL/ \$weL kīH aL\$
d. /~piH do -a/ \$pīH nōH aH\$	d. /~piH do -(H)aL/ \$pīH nōH (H)aL\$

a. 'shaman' b. 'bird' c. 'tapir' d. 'anaconda'

TAT: 'ANImate.PL' /-a/ is toneless: it copies the preceding tone.

The BAS cognate /-a/ has the same properties.

TAT: In the 'FOCUS' marker -(H)aL, L must be pre-associated so that the preceding (H) is floating and associates to the left (as the 'causative'). (H) seems to associate if the penult is L.

BAS: the 'FOCUS' cognate /-(H)~baL/ behaves like in TAT.

The 'LOCATIVE' suffix has the same tonal properties in both languages TAT /-(H)piL/, BAS /-(H)hiL/.

VII. BAS roots - DIM bimoraic -aH kaL		
a. /~kuH bu -aH kaL	\$kũH mũH aH kaL\$	
b. /~biH diL - aH kaL/	\$mĩH nĩL aL kaL\$	
c. /we k̄H - aH kaL/	\$weL k̄H aH kaL\$	
d. /ḡ coH(L) -aH kaL/	\$ḡL t̄soH aL kaL\$	

a. 'shaman' b. 'bird, pet' c. 'tapir' d. 'yacaré'.

BAS /-aH kaL 'diminutive' tones survive after a H (VII (7a,c), they delete after HL (VIIb,d) by H-deletion.

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