

Paper title: Moor tonal phonology

Moor is an Austronesian language spoken on several islands in southeast Cenderawasih Bay (ISO 639-3 *mhz*, 1500 speakers). Unlike the other coastal Austronesian or Papuan language in the area, Moor is reported to have lexical tone. Based on data from recent fieldwork, including audio recordings to illustrate the pronunciations, it will be shown that lexically specified tone is the only plausible way to account for such minimal sets as *há* ‘tail’ and *hà* ‘carry’, or *iná* ‘mother’, *ina* ‘ear’, and *iná* ‘pour’. An analysis will be proposed whereby Moor has two underlying tones, high and low, and at least one syllable per word must be specified for tone. The realization of tone in phrasal contexts will also be discussed. For example, nouns of the form *iná* ‘mother’ lose their tone preceding a possessed noun, and nouns of the form *vùsi*, pronounced [βǔ:sī] in isolation, become [βùsí] in the same context. Dialect variation in tonal pronunciation and possible historical sources for the tones will also be briefly discussed.