

Bounded tone

LICENSE(H) >> ALL-Ft-R >> LICENSE(H, Ft-R)

Rimi: (Myers 1997)

mu-ntu	‘person’	/σóσσ/	UF
ra-mú-ntu	‘of a person’	σ(óσ)σ	License H
u-huvi-i	‘belief’	σ(óó)σ	Spread
mu-tem-í	‘chief’	[σ(σó)σ]	Delink; SF

Unbounded tone

ALIGN-R(W, Ft) >> LICENSE(H) >> NO-GAP

Chizigula: (Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1990)

ku-lombéz-a	‘to ask’	/σóσ..σσ/	UF
ku-lombe ^z -éz-a	‘to ask for’	σóσ..(σσ)	Foot at edge
ku-lombe ^z -ez-án-a	‘... for e.o.’	σóσ..(óσ)	Gap-spread!
		[σσσ..(óσ)]	Delink; SF

When Tone meets Foot

and licensing constraints
and Harmonic Serialism

Mixed patterns

*H/Ft-L, LICENSE(H, Ft-R)

Saghala: (Patin 2009)

∅	nɔvu	‘elephant(s)’
ɪzɪ	nɔ́vu	‘these elephants’
ilya	nɔ́vú	‘that elephant’

Unbounded mixed?

Final doubling	σσ...(óó)
Shift + final spread	(σó)...(óó)

Ternarity

Copperbelt Bemba: (Bickmore & Kula 2013)

bá-ká-pát-a-kó	‘they will hate’
bá-ká-shíik-a-kó	‘they will bury’
bá-ké-ém-íl-a-kó	‘they will dig for’

Layered feet: (Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2015)

((báká)pát); ((báká)shí)ik; ((bákéém)bíl)

What about these?

Bounded/unbounded gaps	óóó/ óσ...ó
Two-way shift/spread	óσó/ óóó
Initial-only final spreading	óóó(óó) but (σó)σ(σσ), σ(σó)(σσ)

Shortening

LICENSE(F) >> TROCHEE >> MAX-μ

Kalenjin: (Dimmendaal 2012)

kító:nké:t	‘basket’	/σ ó̂μμσμμ/	UF
tápâ:kwét (*kwét)	‘girl’s leglet’	σ(ó̂μμσμμ)	License Fall
kéré:nkê:t (*kê:t)	‘leg’	[σ(ó̂μμσμμ)]	Shorten; SF