

Opacity, Ordering and Abstractness in Kinande tone

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In this talk, I present an analysis of tone patterns and tonal alternations within the Kinande verb, and discuss its implications for (a) the analysis of tonal opacity and (b) abstractness in underlying representations.

I argue first for a *stratal* phonological grammar in which

- different morphosyntactic and phonological constituents are evaluated according to different constraint rankings
- smaller constituents are evaluated before larger ones
- individual strata are evaluated in parallel using standard markedness and faithfulness constraints and
- a condition of *bracket erasure* ensures that a process applying within a given evaluation must take the entire constituent under evaluation as its domain

These assumptions jointly make a strong prediction about the circumstances under which opacity can arise: in order for one process to apply after another, and thereby render it opaque, it must apply within a larger domain. I show that this prediction is strikingly confirmed in Kinande, which shows an abundance both of opaque tonal interactions and domain-restricted processes.

Second, I show that the underlying representations of Kinande are crucially *abstract* in the sense that learners must posit underlying representations that systematically and invariably diverge from their surface realizations, due to a late process of leftward H tone shift. Here, I argue against a recent proposal of Archangeli and Pulleyblank (2015), who argue that alternations appearing from leftward shift are instead simply the products of allomorphy, and that the relationship between underlying and surface forms is therefore quite direct. I show that a full consideration of the Kinande facts makes the allomorphy-based analysis untenable, and demands in its place a complex and serial phonology whose underlying representations are considerably removed from the forms observed on the surface.