

Accounting for Falling Tones in Kinande Infinitive Verbs

In this talk, I will propose a novel analysis of Kinande infinitive tone that explains why

- a) most infinitives receive *penultimate high* tones at the end of an utterance, but some (passives, causatives, and forms with CV/VC roots) receive *final falling* tones

Normal Case:	eri-hum-a	→	erihúma	‘to hit’
Passive:	eri-hum-u-a	→	erihumwâ	‘to be hit’
Causative:	eri-hum-is-j-a	→	erihumjisyâ	‘to make someone hit’
CV Root	eri-so-a	→	eriswâ	‘to grind’
VC Root	eri-as-a	→	eryasâ	‘to come’

- b) H-toned *consonant*-initial roots surface with a *high* tone on the first vowel *before* the root, while H-toned *vowel*-initial roots surface with a *falling* tone on the first vowel *of* the root

	CVC	CV	VC
Toneless	erihúma ‘to hit’	eriswâ ‘to grind’	eryasâ ‘to come’
H-toned	erítúma ‘to send’	erítâ ‘to bury’	eryôtâ ‘to bask’

The principal elements of the analysis will be:

1. Phrasal Tone Assignment (PTA) results from the interaction of
 - a) constraints on tonal alignment
 - b) constraints against effortful pitch movements
2. Lexical Tone Assignment (LTA) results from the interaction of
 - a) faithfulness to underlying H and L pitch targets
 - b) constraints against effortful pitch movements
3. Verbal roots commonly referred to as “H-toned” are better analyzed as roots containing an underlying pitch accent that falls from H to L.
4. Both PTA and LTA make crucial reference a *phonologically-defined* Stem (the P-Stem) that is distinct from the *morphologically-defined* Stem (the M-Stem). The P-stem will be shown to be independently required in order to account for reduplication facts and alternations involving the purposive suffix *-irir*.