CHAPTER 6 - THE SUCITE SENTENCE

A. Introduction

The previous chapters focused on tonal behaviour of nouns and verbs individually and then analyzed tonal behaviour across word boundaries. This has led to an extensive discussion about the representations of various surface tones - in particular, those which are Mid tone.

This chapter completes this study of tonal behaviour in Sucite by analyzing the tonal behaviour of a few more aspects of the Sucite sentence and then by reviewing all of the rules presented in the thesis and examining how these rules should be ordered with respect to one another.

B. The Adverbial Phrase

The adverbial phrase may consist of a simple adverb or a phrase consisting of an NP and a postpositional particle. Below are a number of common adverbs:

(1) tânjà `yesterday'
    waà pan tânjà `he came yesterday'
    nínjà `today'
    nyoâpaña `tommorrow'
    tânjè `last year'
    nán?án `here'
    waà pan nán?án `he came here'
    wâ `there'
    waa kârì wâ `he went there'
Most adverb phrases, however, consist of a noun plus a postposition. These adverbs and adverb phrases are located in postverbal position in the sentence. Below are some examples showing the location of the adverb phrase, which is underlined.

(2)a. katëke nyë ñdë là

Hunger is me on  'I am hungry.'

Subject Vb. Pro PP

b. ndi ya fyà?ò nàkàlàbí nyà?á là  'I am afraid of thieves'

I am afraid thieves' face on

Sub.VP Vb. Noun Noun PP

c. waa wà ti ñdùù

he some weave me-for  'He wove some for me'

Sub-VP Obj. Vb. Pro-PP

The tone of the noun phrase within the adverbial phrase affects the tone of the postposition in much the same way as the tone of nouns affects the tone of following verbs. High tone postpositions are High after Mid or High final nouns, but are subject to the Low tone spread rule when preceded by a Low final noun. The major processes affecting postpositions after nouns are illustrated in the data in (3). The examples in (3a) and (b) show two different High tone postpositions preceded by a Lh noun, while (c) shows how a Low-High pronoun does not affect the tone of the following High tone postposition, but is itself subject to RS Delinking. In (d) and (e) are examples of a Low final noun spreading its Low tone onto the following High tone postposition. In (d), the postposition is only one TBU and is located in phrase final position. Once Low Spread takes place, RS Delinking delinks the High tone of the resulting Low-High contour when it is in phrase final position.
(3) a. waa wà kan mo-ú
   \[ L \quad H \]
   \[ h \]
   `he gave some to you'

b. wu nye mo táán
   \[ L \quad H \]
   \[ h \]
   `he is beside you'

c. waa wà kan ñdù-ú → waa wà kan ñdù-ú
   \[ \sqrt{\sqrt{L}} \quad H \quad H \]
   `he gave some to me'

RS DELINKING

d. waa wà kan nà-ne-ú → waa wà kan nà-ñu-ù `he gave some to the man'
   \[ L \quad H(L) \quad H \quad L \quad H(L) \quad H \]
   LOW SPREAD RS DELINKING

e. wu nye nà-ke táán → wu nye nà-ku táán `he is beside the fire'
   \[ \sqrt{\sqrt{H}} \quad L \quad H(L) \quad H \]
   \[ \sqrt{\sqrt{H}} \quad L \quad H(L) \quad H \]
   LOW SPREAD LS DELINKING

Mid (Lh) tone postpositions remain Mid tone after Mid tone and Low tone nouns, but are subject to High Delinking (44) when preceded by an underlying High final noun.

(4) a. katèke nye mo la `you are hungry'
   katèke nye ndù la → katèke nye ndù là `I am hungry'
   \[ L \quad H \quad L \]
   \[ L \quad H \quad L \]
   \[ l \quad h \quad h \]
   \[ l \quad h \quad h \]
   HIGH DELINKING (44)
b. tāŋá xe là -> tāŋá xe là (touch it on) 'touch it'

There is no data showing Low tone postpositions, thus there is no way of knowing whether Low tone postpositions would be subject to High tone Spread if preceded by a Mid tone noun, as is the case for Low tone verbs.

The initial element of an adverb phrase is not affected by the tone of the preceding verb. Thus, a High tone verb does not trigger High tone Spreading onto Hl nouns of an adverb phrase. Rather, as example (5) illustrates, the Hl noun at the beginning of the adverb phrase undergoes Low Linking (60), a rule, the reader may recall, which links a subregister Low tone of a Hl noun to the segment when that Hl noun is in phrase initial position.

(5) waa lè pérè nɔ-ŋy- ū -> waa lè pérè nɔ-ŋy- ū 'he sold it to the mother'

This lack of tonal interaction between the verb and the adverb phrase is in keeping with a statement made in Chapter 1 that there is a barrier for tonal change between a verb and a following nominal element.

C. The Noun Class Clitic

The noun class clitic has been mentioned in earlier chapters. However, its complex tonal behaviour has required delay of its analysis until now. Each noun class has its own clitic. However, all noun class clitics, regardless of class affiliation possess the same tone. The noun class clitic can be found in subject and object position, or as part of an adverb phrase. It can also function as a possessive pronoun. Below are a few examples showing the clitic in (6a) subject position, (b) object position, and (c) as a possessive pronoun.
It has been referred to by other authors, such as Mills (1984), as a general class pronoun. The reason that it is labeled a clitic is because of its tonal behaviour within the sentence. It was mentioned earlier that tonal boundaries existed between verbal elements and following nominal elements. Noun class clitics, however, break down that tonal barrier if placed in initial position of the noun phrase, and are subject to tonal rules from the preceding verbal element. The altered tone of the clitic can then affect the tone of succeeding elements of the noun phrase. In addition, when the noun class clitic functions as a possessive pronoun, it criticizes to the following noun. The following discussion will describe the behaviour of the noun class clitic within various tonal environments. First, we shall look at how the clitic affects the tone of following constituents, and secondly, how the tone of the noun class clitic is affected by the tone of the preceding verbal element. The complications of the clitic's tonal behaviour will be examined in the light of the present analysis in an attempt to seek out a viable solution.

In sentence initial position, the noun class clitic exhibits a Mid tone as seen in (7) below. The question immediately comes to mind as to what type of Mid tone it is. If one examines its behaviour in subject position, there is an indication that the clitic tone may be Lh. In (7a) below, the subject mo `you' has a Lh tone. When sèn?é, a pre-tense marker, follows, it is subject to High tone spread from the preceding Lh subject, resulting in a Mid-High tone. When sèn?é is preceded by the noun class clitic, it acquires the same Mid-High tone, as can be seen in (b).

(7) a. mo sèn?é ya má -> mo sèn?é ya má  `you are coming again'

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand, the tone of the clitic does not trigger High spread onto the Negative marker as is optionally the case for regular Lh nouns. However, when put in object position or in an adverbial phrase, the story changes. First, it must be noted that noun class clitics in object position never trigger High tone spreading onto Low Tone verbs. Note below, that when a Low tone verb follows a clitic, it does not acquire a Mid-High tone (8a), as it does when preceded by the Lh pronoun (8b).

(8) wu gbàrà `meet him!' *wu gbará

mo gbàrà -> mo gbará meet you!

The clitic, then, cannot be allowed to trigger high tone Spreading onto following verbs particularly, when it functions as an object. As a result, the clitic does not seem to be underlyingly Lh after all. A possible explanation for this discrepancy in tonal behaviour is that the underlying tone of the subject clitic is different from that of a clitic in object position.

Since it appears that clitics are not underlyingly Lh tone in object
position, their behaviour needs to be further examined. When preceded by a clitic, a Mid tone verb or postposition is lowered to Low tone (9a and b). This same lowering phenomenon is observed when a Mid tone verb is preceded by a high final noun (9c).

(9)a. wu tuxo -> wu tùxò `carry it'
b. wu la -> wu là `on him'
c. fáléxá la -> fáléxá là `on a rock'

This lowering was analyzed in Chapter 4 as High tone Delinking (44), where the subregister High tone of a Lh verb is delinked when preceded by a High final noun and in phrase final position (see (10)).

(10) fáléxá tuxo -> fáléxá tuxò `carry a rock'

```
H  L    H  L
h  h    h  h
```

HIGH DELINKING (44)

If the postposition is also analyzed as underlyingly Lh, the same High Delinking rule can be motivated when the postposition is preceded by a High final noun such as fáléxá.

(11) fáléxá la -> fáléxá là

```
H  L    H  L
h  h    h  h
```

HIGH DELINKING (44)

Although the clitic is not High tone on the surface, it could also motivate a High Delinking rule if the clitic is analyzed as Low-High. A Low-High tone linked to the same TBU would create a surface Mid tone while at the same time triggering High Delinking of the following Lh verb or postposition. Such a derivation is illustrated below.

(12)a. wu tuxo -> wu tùxò `carry it'

```
LH L    LH L
lh h    lh h
```

HIGH DELINKING (44)
HIGH DELINKING

b. wu la  -> wu là  `on him'
L    H  L    H
l h   h    l h

HIGH DELINKING

Unfortunately, the solution for the tonal behaviour of the noun class clitic is not that simple. If it were analyzed as underlyingly Low-High there would be no way to motivate what appears to be Low tone Spreading on following High tone verbs. In (13a and c) below note that when a High tone verb or postposition is preceded by a clitic, it acquires a Low-High tone in exactly the same way as it does when preceded by a Low final noun (see (13b and c)).

(13)a. wu péré  -> wu péré  `Sell it!'  
b. mòlô péré  -> mòlô péré  `sell rice!'  
c. wu tàán  -> wu tàán  `beside him'  
d. mòlô tàán  -> mòlô tàán  `beside rice'

This tonal change was analyzed as the Low tone of the noun spreading onto the verb, as shown below.

(14) mòlô péré  -> mòlô péré  `sell rice'
L    H  L    H
L    H

LOW SPREAD LS DELINKING

As a result, this behaviour seems to indicate that the clitic possesses a Low final tone, though this Low tone does not show up on the surface. However, an underlying floating Low tone should not permit the rule of High Delinking on Mid tone verbs, since High Delinking requires a High final noun or pronoun, not a Low final one. The noun class clitic, therefore, is giving contradictory signals concerning its underlying tone representation.

As part of a noun phrase, i.e., as a possessive pronoun, the clitic
exhibits yet another type of tonal behaviour. When followed by Low initial, Mid or Mid-Low nouns, it triggers no tonal changes, as shown in (15a,b,c). However, when followed by a weak Mid (Hl) noun, that weak Mid noun becomes Mid-Low, as shown in (d,e):

(15)a. wu mòlà-ñe  'his rice'
   b. wu gba-ké  'his house'
   c. wu jà-ñe  'his son'
   d. wu tì-ké -> wu tè-ke  'his tree'
   e. wu sò-ké -> wu sô-ke  'his mortar'

This is exactly what happens when certain complex nouns are composed of two or more Hl or Hl noun roots. As shown in the example (16) below, the first noun root remains Mid tone, while the final noun root acquires a Mid-Low tonal contour. Recall from Chapter 5, that this behaviour was accounted for through the use of the OCP rule (88), which collapsed two Hl tones into one Hl tone, which subsequently underwent Independent Low Linking (60) in phrase initial position.

(16)a. ya - tì-ké -> ya-tì-ké -> ya-tà-ké -> ya-tè-ke  'neck'
     H   H   H(L)   H   H(L)   H_ L_ H(L)
     1  1  1  1  1  1

OCP  L LINKING  L SPREAD

If one posited the clitic as being underlyingly Hl, it could also be motivated to undergo the OCP when followed by a Hl noun, as shown in (b) below. Independent Low Linking would then take place on the final TBU creating a Mid-Low contour.

b. wu + tì-ké -> wu tì-ké -> wu tà-ké -> wu tè-ke  'his tree, IND'
     H   H   H(L)   H   H(L)   H_ L_ H(L)
     1  1  1  1  1  1
In summary, then, the noun class clitic continues to give conflicting signals concerning its underlying nature. As a subject, it seems to be Lh. As a noun object in sentence initial position, it seems to be both High final and Low final depending on the tone of the verb which follows. When followed by a Hl noun, it behaves as a Hl component of that noun and participates in the OCP.

The preceding discussion examined how the clitic affects the tone of following nouns, verbs and verbal particles. The noun class clitic is also affected by preceding verbal particles and verbs. The reader will recall that normally a noun in phrase initial position is not affected by the tone of a preceding verbal (see Chapter 1). However, when a clitic is in initial position of a noun phrase, any preceding verbal can alter the tone of the clitic, which can in turn, alter the tone of following nominals and verbs. For example, when a clitic is in sentence initial position functioning as an object, it can trigger Low tone spreading onto High tone verbs, as seen in (17a) below. However, when preceded by a High final verbal particle, as in (b), the clitic is itself High tone, as well as the High tone verb. Whatever floating Low tone there may have been underlyingly is deleted in this environment. When preceded by a Low tone particle, as in (c), however, the clitic is Low tone, while the following High tone verb is High.

(17) a. Wu péré -> Wu péré
   b. mo ná Wu péré -> mo ná wú péré `you sold it'
   c. moò Wu péré -> moo wù péré `you sold it'

It would appear that, in this case, the clitic behaves as a Hl noun and is subject to both High tone and Low tone Spread, as shown in the derivations below.

(18)a. mo ná Wu péré -> mo ná wú péré `you sold it'

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
L & H & H & H & L & H & H & H \\
\hline
h & h & l & h & h & h & l & h \\
\end{array}
\]
A clitic which functions as a possessive pronoun can also be subject to Low tone or High tone spreading, which in turn can affect the tone of following constituents in the phrase. Compare the derivations of (19a) and (19b) below. In (a), the possessive pronoun and the following Hl noun undergo OCP. Since they are in sentence initial position, Low Linking takes place, which then results in Low tone spreading onto the following High tone verb. In (b), wu kara is still in phrase initial position, so one might expect Low Linking to take place. However, if this happened, an incorrect surface form would be produced, as shown in (c). Instead the clitic is subject to Low tone Spreading from the preceding Low tone verbal particle. Once the subregister Low tone of wu kara is deleted, Linking and RS Delinking take place, thus producing a surface Low tone on the clitic and a High tone on the noun.

(19)a. wu kara wée -> wu kara wée -> wu kara wée -> wu kara wée -> wu kara wée

`look at his meat' OCP L LINKING L SPREAD LS DELINKING & LINKING

b. waà wu kara wée -> waà wu kara wée -> waà wu kara wée -> waa wu kara wée

OCP L SPREAD & L DEL LINKING &
When a clitic which has undergone Low Spread is followed by a Low tone verb, the resulting Low-High contour remains linked to the clitic, creating a Mid tone, as shown below:

(20) a. waà wu wùlo`he took it off'

When a clitic which has undergone Low Spread is followed by a Mid tone verb, the verb undergoes High Delinking, as shown below:

b. waà wu nya `he saw him'

Noun class clitics are also subject to tonal rules when in initial position of an adverb phrase. In the examples below, the High tone verb, as well as the High tone incomplete suffix on Low tone verbs, trigger High Spread onto the clitic (21a,b,c), while the Low tone verb can trigger Low tone Spread (21d).

(21) a. waa lè péré wu ú`he sold it to him.'
HIGH SPREAD

b. wu ya fùnù wù lâ -> wu ya fùnù wú lâ ->

LOW SPREAD     HIGH SPREAD     HIGH DELINKING

->wu ya fùnù wú lâ

RS DELINKING

he VP lie-INC him on 'he is lying on him'

c. wu ya wú kàan nù -> wu ya wú kàan nù 'he is giving it to him'

d. wàà nmuuné cù wù nyungé mpaña i -> wàà nmuuné cù wù nyungé mpaña-ì ->

OCP

->wàà nmuuné cù wù nyungé mpaña i -> wàà nmuuné cù wù nyungé mpañìi

L SPREAD & L DELETION & LINKING    LS DELINKING, RS DELINKING & DOWNSTEP

he-VP knife grab his head above-PP 'he grabbed the knife above his head'

It must be noted, however, that Mid tone verbs cannot, as their structure should permit, trigger High tone spreading onto noun class clitics. The effect is that clitics do not become High tone after Mid tone verbs, as illustrated below. Rather, in (22a) the clitic triggers High Delinking, while in (b) it undergoes Low Linking and subsequently spreads its Low tone onto the High tone postposition.
Recall that verbal incomplete suffixes, analyzed as underlyingly High tone, were also Mid tone after Mid tone verb roots, as shown in (23a).

However, this apparent underlying High tone does not trigger High tone Spreading onto a noun class clitic (b).

(23)a. ta - ri  `be cooking'
   b. wu ya ta-ri wu là -> *wu ya ta-ri wú là  `he is cooking on it'

At this time, there does not seem to be a clear answer for this lack of High tone Spreading. It is possible that historically Mid tone verbs had a different tonal origin than Mid tone nouns. Perhaps further development of the analysis in the future can yield more concrete answers.

How to explain the variety of behaviour on the noun class clitic eludes us at this point in time. Rules which have already been discussed are used in connection with the noun class clitic. However, the variety of rules used brings about a confusing array of hypotheses concerning its underlying tone. As a subject, it sometimes appears to be Lh. In object position, it appears to be High final if followed by a Mid tone verb, and yet in the same position, it triggers Low tone spread onto following High tone verbs. We can explain the Low tone spread, as well as its being subjected to Low spread and High spread if we posit the underlying form as Hl. However, a Hl word normally does not trigger High Delinking (44) unless it has itself been subject to subregister Low tone deletion. This seems to be a case where a lowered High tone, Hl, while normally functioning as a Hh tone, also functions in certain instances as a Hh tone and triggers High
Delinking on following Mid tone verbs, even when there is no indication that the subregister Low tone has been deleted. It may be possible to come up with some kind of solution to explain these idiosyncrasies. At this time, however, I shall let the matter rest until further research can be done.

D. Yes-No Questions

Yes-No Questions are formed by adding \textit{la} to the end of the declarative statement.

(24)  waà paon \textit{`he came'} \quad waà pan \textit{la}? \quad \textit{`did he come'}

waa kàrì \textit{`he went'} \quad waa kàrì \textit{la}? \quad \textit{`did he go'}

waa gbàrà \textit{`he agreed'} \quad waa gbàrà \textit{la}? \quad \textit{`did he agree'}

The Question marker is consistently Mid tone after verbs regardless of the tone of the verb. However, after nouns, variations can be found, as shown by the examples below:

(25)  a. ńdê \textit{là} \quad me?

b. wùrì \textit{là} \quad us?

c. yìrì \textit{là} \quad you,pl.?

d. mo \textit{là} \quad you,sg.?

e. wùrì \textit{là} \quad him?

f. mòlò \textit{là} \quad rice?

g. ceewù \textit{là} \quad a woman?

h. gbaxa \textit{là} \quad a house?

i. ndòrèxó \textit{là} \quad a yam?

j. mòlège \textit{là} \quad the rice?

k. gbaké \textit{là} \quad the house?

l. ndòrèké \textit{là} \quad the yam?

These examples give four possible surface tonal shapes for the question marker, Mid, High-falling, Mid-falling, and Low tone. When it
follows a verb, one is tempted to say that it is underlyingly Lh, while after nouns, it could be considered underlyingly High tone, or perhaps even Low tone. At this point, it is unknown what the tonal analysis for the question marker might be. It is only clear that its tone shape is indeed affected by the tone of the preceding word, especially if that word is a noun.

E. Wh Question Formation and Frontshifting

Wh questions are formed by frontshifting the question word to initial position of the sentence. The sentence then terminates with yè. Below are a few examples:

(26) a. Sán waa kàrì yè 'Where did he go?' where he-VP go Q
    b. Sán wà wa à wu nya yè 'Where did he see him?'
    c. Dìi nàà mèxè nè yè 'What is a man's name?' how man's name is Q
    d. Dìi ceewù mèxè nè yè 'What is a woman's name?'
    e. Nyà?a mu ya kun yè 'What are you doing?' what you TA do Q

The tonal behaviour of the sentence final question marker yè is not unlike that of the completive aspect marker à discussed in Chapter 4. It is generally Low tone. However, like the completive aspect marker, when it is preceded by a Low tone, a Mid-Low tone materializes, as seen below:

(27) a. Sán wà à wu gbàrà yè-> Sán wà à wu gbàréè 'Where did he meet him?'
    where he-TA him meet Q
    Compare with
    b. nàà-à yala mà Kùlè tààn wù yó 'Man should love God'
    man-TA should __ God please him self-to

Whether both of these words possess an underlying Mid tone or whether they
both submit to some type of tone insertion rule (either Mid or High tone) is a question that shall be left unanswered at this time.

The front-shifted Question phrase does not interact tonally with the following Subject noun phrase. If the High Spreading rule were allowed between the two phrases, an incorrect surface form would be produced, as shown below.

(28) a. Sán ceewù nye yè -> Sán cèéwú nyeè 'Where is a woman?'

```
H H L L H H
h l h l
```

HIGH SPREAD

b. Nyà?a ceewù ya kun yè -> Nyà?a cèéwú ya kun yè 'What is a woman doing?'

```
L H H H
h l h l
```

HIGH SPREAD

This restriction is true for any object or adverbial phrase which has been frontshifted. In (29), gbaxa has been front shifted. If it allowed its subregister High tone to spread onto the subject clitic, the clitic would acquire an incorrect High tone.

(29) gbaxa wu ya nyàà -> *gbaxa wú ya nyàà 'A house he sees'

```
L H L H
h l h l
```

HIGH SPREAD

Tonal rules which operate across the sentence apply after the frontshifting. In (30a) the object, gbaxa, triggers High tone spreading onto the Low tone verb, while in (b), the frontshifted object can no longer trigger High tone spreading because it is no longer adjacent to the verb.

(30) a. ndi ya gbaxa nyàà -> ndi ya gbaxa nyaà 'I a house see'

b. gbaxa ndi ya nyàà -> gbaxa ndi ya nyaà 'a house I see'

If the tonal rules must wait until after frontshifting, then, the
resulting adjacent noun phrases at the beginning of the sentence must have
tonal boundary dividing them so that the tone of the first noun phrase will
be blocked from affecting the tone of the following noun phrase.

**F. Rule Ordering**

Rule ordering has already been discussed somewhat briefly in earlier
chapters of this dissertation. It was argued in Chapter 2 (pp.67-68) and
further confirmed in Chapter 5 (pp.271ff) that the lexical rule of High
Deletion (124) must take place before the Spreading rules.

In Chapter 3, we saw that Association Conventions were best ordered
before Segmental Deletion rules (pp.100ff) while adjustments made in
relinking tones after the Segmental Deletions were made both before and
after Low tone Spread. (see p.116 for list of rules).

Chapter 4 introduced new rules but few environments were found to
test the ordering of rules. It was noted that LS Delinking must take place
before RS Delinking (p.157) and that both occur at the output of Low tone
Spread. In addition, it was seen that the Association Conventions involved
the linking of tones to TBU’s in a one-to-one relation and that the Linking
of any leftover TBU’s took place after the application of the Low tone
Spread. The rule to account for this additional linking was simply labeled
Linking.

Chapter 5 introduced another set of rules and data which brought more
opportunities to observe the interactions of the rules. In Section IV.C.,
it was shown that the following rules must take place in the following
order.

(124) High Deletion, (126) Low Deletion
(88) OCP
(66) Feature Switch, (60) Low Linking

After these rules, which take place with word boundaries, are the two
spreading rules: High tone Spread and Low tone Spread. Until now, however,
two issues concerning these spreading rules have not been discussed: 1)
their ordering with respect to one another and 2) whether they take place on two different levels, that is, the lexical and the postlexical level, using the terms of lexical phonology.

Let us deal with the latter issue first. Do the spreading rules take place within word boundaries before they occur across the syntactic phrase? There are a few cases where Low Spread does occur at the lexical level first. Double TBU Low-High nouns undergo what appears to be a Low Spread rule. The High tone of the resulting Low-High contour is then delinked through the process of RS Delinking, as shown below:

\[(31) \text{ndòrè-kè} \rightarrow \text{ndòrè-kè} \rightarrow \text{ndòrè-kè} \quad \text{`the yam'}\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
L & H & H & \downarrow \\
L & H & H & \downarrow \\
\text{L SPREAD} & \text{RS DELINKING} \\
\end{array}
\]

The resulting surface tone for the noun root, then, is completely Low tone.

If the noun ndòrè-kè were preceded by the Lh possessive pronoun, mo, the subregister High tone would spread onto this Low tone, producing a Mid tone on both TBU’s of the noun root, as seen below:

\[(32) \text{mo ndòrè-kè} \rightarrow \text{mo ndòrè-kè} \quad \text{`your yam'}\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
L & L & H & H \\
L & L & H & H \\
\text{h} & \text{h} & \text{l} \\
\text{HIGH SPREAD} \\
\end{array}
\]

If the subregister High tone were allowed to spread before the internal Low Spreading rule, the following incorrect surface form would be produced:

\[(33) \text{mo ndòrè-kè} \rightarrow \text{*mo ndòrè-kè} \quad \text{`your yam'}\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
L & L & H & H \\
L & L & H & H \\
\text{h} & \text{h} & \text{l} \\
\text{H SPREAD} & \text{DOWNSTEP} \\
\end{array}
\]

Another set of examples which seems to confirm the necessity of
applying Low Spread at two different levels are Low tone nouns which possess both a Type II suffix and a definite suffix. In Section IV.B. of Chapter 5, the tentative rule of High Delinking (105) was introduced. Within this section, Type II definite nouns were discussed. As the example (109) from that section shows, it appears that a series of rules are required in order to produce the correct surface form. One of these rules is Low tone Spread.

(109) nkàn-ʔ-ki -> nkàn-ʔ-ki -> nkàn-ʔ-ki

\[\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc}
& L & H & L & & L & H & L & H \\
\hline
1 & hh & h & 1 & h & h & 1 & h & h \\
\end{array}\]

LOW SPREAD   Tone Collapse   HIGH DELINKING

When this noun is preceded by mo, it is clear that the above rules have already taken place before the subregister High tone of mo is spread onto the noun; when High Spread takes place, both the Low tone of the root and the derived Low tone of the Type II suffix acquire a surface Mid tone (34a). If Low Spread, Tone Collapse and subsequently High Delinking had not taken place before High Spread, only the first TBU would become Mid tone while the suffix tone would incorrectly remain High-Mid, as shown in (b).

(34)a. mo nkàn-ʔ-ki -> mo nkàn-ʔ-ki

\[\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc}
& L & L & L & H & L & L & L & H \\
\hline
h & h & h & h & 1 & h & h & h \\
\end{array}\]

HIGH SPREAD

(34)b. mo nkàn-ʔ-ki -> *mo nkàn-ʔ-ki

\[\begin{array}{ccc|ccc|ccc}
& L & L & H & L & L & H & L & H \\
\hline
h & l & hh & h & 1 & hh & h \\
\end{array}\]

HIGH SPREAD

There is yet another example where there seems to be word internal spreading before spreading across word boundaries. The word kanà is a Hl
noun meaning `manner'. It is used as the final constituent of a noun phrase for expressions that would be translated into English as `how to'. A few examples are given below:

(35) a. ndaà soŋo-kanà cyón  `I know how to cook'
       I-TA cook-manner know

b. ndaà péré-kánà cyón  `I know how to sell'
       I-TA sell-manner know

c. ndaà xì cèli-kánà cyón  `I know how to dry it'
       I-TA it dry-manner know

d. ndaà fini celi-kanà cyón  `I know how to dry fonio (a grain)'
       I-TA fonio dry-manner know

In the examples above, note the tonal variation of kanà. In (a) this H1
tone noun is Mid-Low when preceded by a Mid tone nominalized verb, while it is High tone after a High tone verb and Low-High after a Low tone verb. This behaviour can be easily explained if High tone Spreading accounted for the
High tone kánà in (b) and Low tone Spreading for the Low-High kánà in (c).

A derivation of (c) is given below:

(35)c. ndaà xì cèli-kànà cyón -> ndaà xì cèli-kànà cyón

When the phrase is preceded by a Mid tone noun, it appears that internal
Low Spreading has already taken place when High tone Spreading occurs as shown in (36a). For if High Spread occurred before internal Low Spread, the former would block the application of the latter, as seen in (36b), producing an incorrect surface form.

(36) a. ndaà fini cèli-kànà cyón -> ndaà fini celi-kanà cyón

HIGH SPREAD
Again, it appears that word internal spreading must take place before post-lexical spreading.

For other cases in Sucite, however, having the spreading rules operate first at the lexical and then at the postlexical level creates complications. For example, if a Low tone Type I definite noun is preceded by mo, one would expect the Low tone of the root to spread onto the suffix first and then to have the subregister High tone spread onto the noun. Unfortunately, this gives an incorrect surface form, as shown in (37a). In order to produce the correct surface form, High tone must spread first, which results in eliminating the environment for Low tone Spread (37b).

\[
\text{(37) a. mo mòlà-ŋé} \rightarrow \text{mo mòlà-ŋé} \rightarrow \text{*mo mòlì-ŋé} \quad \text{`your rice'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{L} & \text{L} & \text{H(L)} & \text{L} & \text{L} & \text{H(L)} & \text{L} & \text{H(L)} \\
\text{h} & \text{l} & \text{h} & \text{h} & \text{l} & \text{h} & \text{h} & \text{h} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{L SPREAD} \quad \text{H SPREAD}
\]

\[
\text{(37) b. mo mòlà-ŋé} \rightarrow \text{mo mòlì-ŋé}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{L} & \text{L} & \text{H} & \text{h} \\
\text{h} & \text{l} & \text{h} & \text{h} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{HIGH SPREAD} \quad \text{L SPREAD N/A}
\]

A couple of other examples show that postlexical High Spread must take place before lexical level Low Spread.

\[
\text{(38) a. mo sèn?é ya má} \rightarrow \text{mo sen?é ya má} \quad \text{`you too are going'}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{L} & \text{L} & \text{H} & \text{h} \\
\text{h} & \text{l} & \text{h} & \text{h} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{H SPREAD} \quad \text{L SPREAD N/A}
\]
ERROR: syntaxerror
OFFENDING COMMAND: --nostringval--

STACK:

/GpPBegl
-dictionary-
true
false