In Copala Triqui (CT), tone overlay is a productive system in which the lexical tone melody of a target item is overridden in a specific syntactic context (Heath and McPherson 2013). CT has two types of N–N compounds: (i) the head asymmetrically c-commands its modifier, which results in a syntactic configuration triggering tonal overlay; and (ii) the head symmetrically c-commands its modifier and tonal overlay does not apply. Our analysis makes it possible to integrate a seemingly lexical process (Hollenbach 1984, 2008; Broadwell 2011) into a broader, syntactically-defined tonal phenomena.

Data: Hollenbach (1984, 2008) describes a process in which a noun becomes an adjective via tone lowering (1). In support of her lexical analysis, she reasons “neither the existence of a derived form nor its meaning is predictable” (Hollenbach 1984:238).

1 a. aga³ ‘metal’ aga⁻³ ‘metallic’
   b. cunj² ‘dough’ cunj² ‘doughy’
   c. yan⁵ ‘wax’ yan¹ ‘waxy’ (Hollenbach 2008:63—64)

Instead, we find that this process is productive for our speakers. We view the resulting meaning as largely predictable, as in (1) and (2a), and when idiosyncratic meanings arise, they do so in combination with a specific head noun, e.g. ya’aj¹ can have either a figurative meaning, e.g. ‘hot wind’ or a literal one, e.g. ‘chili plant’ depending on the context (2b). In other cases, both figurative and literal interpretations are available (2c).

2 a. nuj³ ‘hide’ chamar¹ nuj¹ ‘leather jacket’
   b. ya’aj³ ‘chili’ nana¹ ya’aj¹ ‘hot wind’ lit: chili wind
   c. yu’ve³ ‘snow’ chit³ yu’ve¹ ‘snowman, cold-hearted man’

Analysis: We propose that the tonal patterns in (1-2) are the result of a syntactically-defined tonal overlay rule (3). See also McPherson (2014) for tonal overlay that refers to c-command in Dogon languages.

3. Tone lowering: a word's lexical tone is lowered when it is asymmetrically c-commanded by a word of the same category.

On our account, ‘denominalized adjectives’ are found in N-N compounds for which the head asymmetrically c-commands the modifier (4a). In this configuration, (3) applies and the head triggers a tonal overlay on its modifier resulting in /3/ ya’aj³ ‘chili’ → cof³² ya’aj¹ ‘chili plant’. CT also has N–N compounds for which (3) does not apply. We take these cases to reflect symmetrical c-command between the head and modifier (4b), as in scaan⁵² ya’aj³ ‘chili seed’ (cf. cof³² ya’aj¹ ‘chili plant’).
4. N–N phrasal compound (~Siddiqi 2009)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nP} \\
\text{n} \\
\sqrt{\text{coj}^{32}} \\
\text{‘plant’} \\
\text{nP} \\
\text{n} \\
\sqrt{\text{ya’aj}^{3}} \\
\text{‘chili’}
\end{array}
\]

b. N–N head compound

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nP} \\
\text{n} \\
\sqrt{\text{scaan}^{32}} \\
\text{‘seed’} \\
\text{n} \\
\sqrt{\text{ya’aj}^{3}} \\
\text{‘chili’}
\end{array}
\]

**Implications:** CT has many tone lowering processes that apply in a variety of syntactically defined domains (Hollenbach 1984, 1992, 2008), e.g. Broadwell (2011) proposes an account of tone lowering in complex verb constructions that refers to branching. Cross-domain tone overlay paradigms include aspectual inflection (see 5), possession, constituation negation, and apposition.

5. Tone overlay in one nominal and verbal domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overlay</th>
<th>Nominal Domain</th>
<th>Verbal Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simplex</td>
<td>Compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. 31 → 1</td>
<td>tachri^{31}</td>
<td>tachii^{1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 32 → 2</td>
<td>rmii^{32}</td>
<td>rmii^{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 3 → 1</td>
<td>yu’ve^{3}</td>
<td>yu’ve^{1}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 3 → 13</td>
<td>aga^{3}</td>
<td>aga^{13}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 4 → 2</td>
<td>agüee^{4}</td>
<td>agüee^{2}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We show how our syntactic account of ‘denominalized adjectives’—and the general language of the tonal lowering rule in (3)—allows for the unification of CT tone lowering across domain types, each resulting from c-command relations.

**References**


