Allomorphy in Kalam Kohistani

- L- and H-tone: HL and LH only on CV(C) or CVC → TBU=µ and codas are moraic
- two forms for nouns: a ’base’ form in the singular of the direct case and an ’inflected’ form in the plural of the direct case and all oblique cases

1. Complementary distribution of affix-µ and affix-L:
   - C-final bases: affix-µ not realized since there is no trimoraic syllables:
   - V-final bases integrate affix-µ (and affix-H) but never affix-L as well:
     - a new association between elements belonging to the same morpheme (b.) excluded by Alternation (van Oostendorp, 2007, 2012)
     - no crossing association lines (c.)

2. A preference for associating the affix-µ
   - minimal overwriting for affix-L except:
     - polysyllabic bases with an LH melody due to ’HLH’
     - no effect for monosyllabic LH bases due to preservation of initial H (Beckman, 1998)

3. H-overwriting vs. minimal association of L
   - spread of the affix-H avoids marked L-tones (= L)
   - preservation of L-tones in the absence of affix-tones

4. Complementary distribution of affix-H and affix-L:
   - realization of the affix-L: no realization of affix-H:
     - either the affix-H has two root nodes (b.), violating (4)
     - or the association line between affix-H and its µ is marked as invisible (c.)

Extension: vowel mutation

- vowel mutation in several morphological contexts

Vowel mutation (Baart, 1999a; Baart and Sagar, 2004)

The theoretical challenge

A monorepresentational analysis for Kalam Kohistani?

- Why should the nature of the base-final segment (C or V) determine the choice between realizing an H- or L-tone?
- Why is the L-tone only realized at the right edge whereas the H-tone overwrites the base tone melody completely?

Inflection for V-final forms also involves final V-lengthening.

Such a multi-modal nonconcatenative exponent is predicted in an autosegmental account that assumes (complex) floating autosegments as representations for morphemes (Lieber, 1992; Wolf, 2007)

The exponent for noun inflection in Kalam Kohistani: ~ H L

Assign a violation mark for every tone that is phonetically dominated by two highest root nodes.

(Where ’root node’ is defined as a node that is not dominated by a higher node.)