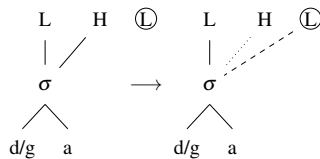


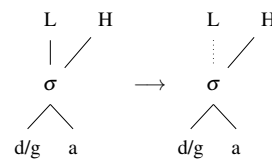


trigger. It is also supported by cross-dialectal data, as surface rising contours are found in other Datooga varieties (Rottland 1982: 155).

(4) a. *Unmodified noun: final L*

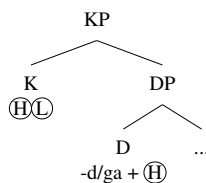


b. *Modified noun: final H*

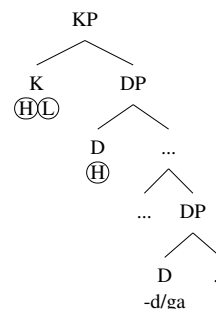


Crucially, the relevant environments can only be determined *after prosodification and structure-building have happened*. **The Datooga NM: a morphosyntactic solution.** The crucial observation about this alternation is that the nominative melody displays a dual behaviour: while HL always surfaces on the material to the left of the head noun’s secondary suffix, the final H shifts further to the right in the presence of a nominal modifier. I propose that this is because the “nominative melody” is in fact the combination of **two exponents**: an (H)Ⓛ prefix, and an (H) suffix. Assuming that case morphology corresponds to the presence of KPs in the syntax (Bittner and Hale 1996; Lamontagne and Travis 1987) and that modifiers are introduced at the DP level in Datooga (see Kouneli 2019 for a similar analysis of nominal modification in the closely related language Kipsigis), Datooga nominal expressions can then take one of the following configurations:

(5) a. *Simplex (i.e. unmodified) DP*



b. *Complex (i.e. modified) DP*



The presence of a single D in (5a) derives that all D-related material, i.e. the secondary suffix and (H), should appear together (see Kouneli 2021 for a similar analysis of the secondary suffix in Kipsigis), which is borne out for unmodified nouns. The presence of two D heads in the structure of modified nominals (5b) allows for both the secondary suffix and (H) to appear in different positions within the nominal expression, again borne out for all modified nouns. The structure in (5b) also predicts that any expression moving to the topmost SpecDP should not be able to interact with (H), correctly ruling in (2b) and (2c): in both cases, (H) associates to material corresponding to the syntactic complement of the topmost D, i.e. the nominal modifier. Note that under this approach, the only difference between (2b) and (2c) resides in the size of the XP sitting in the topmost SpecDP: while it corresponds to the head noun in the former case, it contains more material in the latter case, creating the appearance of a non-local effect:

(6) a. gátmò:dà mánàŋ (= (2b)) → [KP (H)Ⓛ [DP [DP gatmo:da] [D' (H) manàŋ]]]

b. ó:rjò:gá sí:dà sè:m (= (2c)) → [KP (H)Ⓛ [DP [DP ó:rjò:ga sí:da] [D' (H) se:m]]]

Crucially, the domains relevant for the association of (H)Ⓛ and (H) can only be determined *after all structure-building operations (including phrasal movement) have applied*. **Discussion.** Under the analysis advocated here, both the MHT and the NM in Datooga are amenable to the mere linearization and concatenation of exponents, demonstrating the viability of a floating tone analysis even in cases which fulfill some of McPherson’s (2014) criteria. Also important is the fact that both overwriting alternations appear to mirror the syntactic derivation, an architectural consequence of models in which syntax feeds the morphophonological component (e.g. Distributed Morphology (DM); Halle and Marantz 1993 *et seq.*). This also provides further support to recent approaches which aim to include tonal morphology within the realm of such models (e.g. Rolle 2018; Pak 2019; Pak 2020). **Selected bibliography.** Kießling, R. (2007). The “marked nominative” in Datooga. - Kouneli, M. (2019). The syntax of number and modification: an investigation of the Kipsigis DP. - McPherson, L. (2014). Replacive grammatical tone in the Dogon languages.