

## Tone in Reduplication

Chichewa verbal reduplication copies both tones and segments: *ndíma-sangalátsa-sangalátsa* ‘I please repeatedly,’ *tambalalá-tambalalá* ‘stretch out your legs repeatedly!’ Accounting for this requires ensuring the base and reduplicant tones appear on “matching” tone bearing units in their respective copies. Stem tones in Chichewa are placed on one of the final two stem syllables depending on which morpheme contributes the tone. Consequently, enforcing morphological identity between corresponding tones will produce matching tone placements on the base and reduplicant stems. A new constraint, IDENT(Morph), requires the reduplicant tone to retain the morphological “marking” of its base correspondent so tone placement constraints treat the tones the same way.

Ndebele provides independent evidence for IDENT(Morph). All verb stem segments except Final Vowels (FVs) are eligible for reduplication in Ndebele, and the reduplicant appears within the base’s stem rather than forming its own stem. IDENT(Morph) ensures that copies of FVs are morphologically marked as FVs, and the presence of two FVs in one stem is banned by other constraints. Conversely, Kikerewe reduplication (in which the reduplicant also appears in the base’s stem) copies FVs, so IDENT(Morph) must be lower ranked, permitting the copy of the FV to lose the FV morphological marking and thereby avoid violating the constraints that prevent two FVs in one stem.