Grammatical tone (GT) is a property of certain languages where certain morphosyntactic features (like tense, aspect) are realized as tone on the surface. This is in contrast to autosegmental theories where features are realized on the phonological tier and then projected to the surface. In this paper, we explore how grammatical tone (GT) can be integrated into a Distributed Morphology (DM) framework, which is a theory of syntax that emphasizes the role of morphemes and their interactions.

**Proposal:** Grammatical tone is fully compatible with a Distributed Morphology (DM) architecture that features the same set of PF operations as those used in segmental morphology—including vocabulary insertion, readjustment, and general (phrasal) phonology.

**Tonal affixes:** In autosegmental theory, tier-association rules link tones to TBUa. Their timing and directionality are responsible for tone spread (4), displacement (9b), etc. Integrating autosegmental principles into DM doesn’t require any special adjustments: GTs are added at vocabulary insertion (early); tier-association is done in general phonology (late). Moreover, vocabulary insertion can add content to the segmental tier, tonal tier, or both. The vocabulary items in (6)-(10) differ only minimally from vocabulary items for segmental features like English D[+C] or D[+P].

**DM architecture:** Word-formation begins in the syntax and proceeds through a further set of operations in the PF and LF components. (Fame & Marantz 1993; Embick & Noyer 2007)

**The PF derivation:** Structures are spelled out phase-cyclically and undergo a set of ordered operations, including: Vocabulary insertion (supplying phonological features to morphemes, i.e. exponence); Readjustment (morpheme-specific phonology, e.g. I → e in eat/PAST); General phonology (various types, non-morpheme-specific)

**Is GT ever process-based?**

Yes. Some cases of GT can be analyzed as (only) affixal because they involve tone deletion or replacement. These cases (dominant GT in Rolle 2018) require an intermediate third step—readjustment, or morphologically restricted phonology.

**Step 1. Vocabulary insertion**

**Step 2. Readjustment**

**Step 3. General phonology**

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