Multiple-trigger assimilations pose notoriously difficult problems to standard autosegmental analyses (Flemming 1997). I present the unusual double-trigger rounding harmony of Laal (unclassified, Chad), where \( V_1 \) in a disyllabic stem assimilates in rounding to a same-height round \( V_2 \), if the root contains a labial consonant in any position: before (1a) or after (1b) the target vowel.

(1) Laal doubly triggered rounding harmony:

a. \( /\text{ɓ} \text{-} \text{̀} \text{r} - \text{ú}/ \) > \( \text{ɓ} \text{-} \text{̀} \text{r} - \text{ú} \) ‘hook-pl’ (Height, Lab > rounding)
b. \( /\text{tòb} \text{-} \text{̀} \text{b} - \text{ó}/ \) > \( \text{tòb} - \text{́} \text{b} - \text{ó} \) ‘fish(sp.)-pl’ (Height, Lab > rounding)
c. \( /\text{gìn} - \text{̀} \text{ù}/ \) > \( \text{gìn} - \text{̀} \text{ù} \) ‘net-pl’ (Height, *Lab > no rounding)
d. \( /\text{mòg} - \text{̀} \text{g} - \text{ú}/ \) > \( \text{mòg} - \text{̀} \text{g} - \text{ú} \) ‘tamarind-pl’ (*Height, Lab > no rounding)
e. \( /\text{dòn} + - \text{̀} \text{ù}/ \) > \( \text{dòn} - \text{́} \text{ú} \) ‘tree(sp.)-pl’ (*Height, *Lab > no rounding)

I show that Agreement by Correspondence, initially developed for consonant agreement (Hansson 2001, Rose & Walker 2004), recently extended to vowel harmony (Rhodes 2012), consonant-tone interaction (Shih 2013), and harmony processes involving contour segments and tones (Inkelas & Shih 2013), can account for multiple-trigger assimilations such as that of Laal, provided it can access subphonemic phonetic information.


Shih, S. 2013. Consonant-tone interaction as Agreement by Correspondence. Ms.