Discontinuous harmony in Guébie: Consequences for cyclic spell out

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I present a puzzling case of *discontinuous harmony* in Guébie (Kru), where the target and trigger of vowel harmony are separated by intervening non-harmonizing words. Discontinuous harmony presents a challenge for existing phonological models, which predict that harmony should be local. The Guébie data suggests an analysis where phonology applies to a subset of syntactic structure prior to syntactic focus movement, requiring interleaving between phonology and syntax and a relaxed notion of phase impenetrability.

Word order in Guébie varies between SVO and SAuxOV. When an auxiliary is present, the verb surfaces clause-finally, and for particle verbs, the particle surfaces as a prefix on the verb, undergoing root-controlled ATR harmony. When there is no auxiliary and the verb surfaces immediately after the subject (SVO), the particle surfaces clause-finally with its default vowel quality.

In contrastive predicate focus constructions, non-particle verbs double; one copy of the verb surfaces on the left edge, and another in the lower position: VSAuxOV or VSVO. For particle verbs in predicate focus constructions, the **particle** surfaces clause-initially: PartSAuxOV or PartSVO (1). In PartSVO particle-fronting constructions (1a) the particle surfaces with its default vowel quality (here, -ATR). In PartSAuxOV particle-fronting constructions (1b), though, the particle harmonizes with the <u>lower verb.</u>

(1) Particle fronting in predicate focus constructions

a.	**jɔkʊ²·³** ɔ³		<u>ni</u>=ɔ⁴·²	
	PART 3SG		see.PFV=3SG.ACC	
	'He SAW him.'			
b.	**joku²·³** ɔ³		k=ɔ3.2	<u>ni⁴</u>
	PART 3SG		PROX=3SG.ACC	see
	'He is about to SEE him'			

Existing phonological models of harmony or syntactic models of predicate fronting cannot account for these facts. I analyze discontinuous harmony in a phase-based spell-out approach to the syntax/phonology interface. The ATR value of the particle determined during spellout of the *v*P is retained after focus movement. Cyclic phonologization of syntactic domains allow for maintaining local phonological accounts of harmony and better accounts for the facts than a model where all of syntax applies before all of phonology.