

This talk presents 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 of harmony, which predict that harmony should be local, at least within a given tier. 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 (1,2). 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 (1). The data presented here was collected in collaboration with the Guébie community between 2013 and 2024.

(1) **SAuxOV order**

- a. e<sup>4</sup>        ji<sup>3</sup>    jaci<sup>23.1</sup>    **joku-ni**<sup>2.3.4</sup>  
           1SG.NOM FUT Djatchi PART-visit
- b. jaci<sup>23.1</sup>    ji<sup>3</sup>    ɔnɛ<sup>3.3</sup>    gbɔgɔ<sup>2.2</sup>    **jɔku-ɲ**<sup>wɔsa</sup><sup>2.3.3.1</sup>  
           Djatchi FUT 3SG.POSS leg        PART-scrape  
           ‘Djatchi will scrape his leg’

When there is no auxiliary and the verb surfaces immediately after the subject (SVO), the particle surfaces clause-finally with its default vowel quality (-ATR vowels in the examples in (2)).

(2) **SVO order**

- a. e<sup>4</sup>        ni<sup>4</sup>        jaci<sup>23.1</sup>    **jɔku**<sup>2.3</sup>  
           1SG.NOM visit.PFV Djatchi PART  
           ‘I visited Djatchi.’
- b. jaci<sup>23.1</sup>    ɲwɔsa<sup>3.1</sup>    ɔnɛ<sup>3.3</sup>    gbɔgɔ<sup>2.2</sup>    **jɔku**<sup>2.3</sup>  
           Djatchi scrape.PFV 3SG.POSS leg        PART  
           ‘Djatchi scraped his leg’

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 (3). In PartSVO particle-fronting constructions (3a) the particle surfaces with its default vowel quality. In PartSAuxOV particle-fronting constructions (3b), though, the particle harmonizes with the lower verb.

(3) **Particle fronting in predicate focus constructions**

- a. **jɔku**<sup>2.3</sup>    ɔ<sup>3</sup>        ni=ɔ<sup>4.2</sup>  
           PART    3SG.NOM see.PFV=3SG.ACC  
           ‘It’s seeing him that he did.’
- b. **jɔku**<sup>2.3</sup>    ɔ<sup>3</sup>        k=ɔ<sup>32</sup>        ni<sup>4</sup>  
           PART    3SG.NOM PROX=3SG.ACC see  
           ‘It’s seeing him that he’s about to do.’

A purely phonological or purely syntactic account cannot derive the Guébie facts. I analyze discontinuous harmony in a phase-based spell-out approach to the syntax/phonology interface, where head movement of the verb out of the *vP* (2) applies before the *vP* domain is spelled out, but focus movement (3) applies after the *vP* domain is phonologized. The ATR value of the particle determined during spellout of the *vP* 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.