Contents
4. Michael Frazier and Masaya Yoshida. Remarks on gapping in ASL.
5. Sumiyo Nishiguchi. Shifty operators in Dhaasanac.
Previous works on “distinctness” or “syntactic haplology” have described bans against the same abstract features (Hiraiwa 2010, Richards 2010) or sequential homophonous items (Neelkman and van de Koot 2006) within a particular syntactic domain, e.g. Spellout domains. Here I present similar restrictions that target words that are linearly adjacent but structurally far apart. (1) represents this configuration: $\alpha_1$ and $\alpha_2$ are distinct syntactic nodes with the same phonological realization, but only one $\alpha$ can be pronounced.

(1)

Mandarin Chinese has a sentence-final ‘only’ word, éryí. Unlike most sentence-final particles, it is allowed in embedded clauses as well as matrix clauses, yielding the ambiguities in (2). A version of (2) with two éryís is ungrammatical. Both éryís can be pronounced by right extraposing the embedded clause (3).

(2) wǒ zuótiān gào sūle yīge háizi tā kěyī chī yīge dāngǎo éryí (*éryí)
I yesterday told one child he can eat one cake ONLY
‘Yesterday I told one child that he can eat only [one cake].’
‘Yesterday I told only [one child] that he can eat one cake.’
‘Yesterday I told only [one child] that he can eat only [one cake].’

(3) wǒ zuótiān gào sūle yīge háizi éryí, tā kěyī chī yīge dāngǎo éryí
I yesterday told one child ONLY he can eat one cake ONLY
‘Yesterday I told only [one child] that he can eat only [one cake].’

A similar restriction has also been documented for final negators in a variety of languages (Bell 2004, Biberauer 2008, Hagemeijer 2009).

Yucatec Maya has deictic markers which cliticize to the end of DPs. When a postnominal relative clause is used, the deictic clitic is positioned after the relative clause. Consider a relative clause which itself ends with a deictic marker on a DP (5), based on (4). Only one deictic marker is produced. (Data: Norcliffe 2009.)

(4) le chāan xǐ bǐa=ô’ k-u=t’sént-ik le mó=ô’
the little boy=DEICTIC feeding the monkey=DEICTIC
‘The little boy is feeding the monkey.’
The same can be seen with Haitian Creole postnominal determiners. Possessors are linearized between the head noun and determiner. With a plural noun with a plural possessor, only one plural determinant yo can be pronounced (6). (Data: Michel DeGraff, p.c.)

\[(5) \text{[le chàan xibpàal ts’ëent-ik le mono=o’ (*=o’)] yàan-u ya’ax p’ok} \]
\[\text{[the little boy feeding the monkey=DEICTIC] exist green hat} \]
\[\text{‘[The little boy who is feeding the monkey] has a green hat.’} \]

\[(6) \text{fil yoyo yo (*yo)} \]
\[\text{thread yoyos DEF-pl} \]
\[\text{‘the threads of the yoyos’} \]

Unlike previously described haplologies that occur within syntactic domains, the haplologies presented here (as well as Afrikaans negation) occur across different Spellout domains. This structural insensitivity may point to a PF-oriented analysis—perhaps related to the linearization process itself—but it is not merely a phonological redundancy filter, as evidenced by the multiple grammatical yos in (6).

Interestingly, all of the haplologies here occur on the right edge. However, it is unclear whether this tendency is a crucial property of this type of phenomenon.

**References**