

## **Interstratal differences and the \*ABA-restriction: An argument for Harmonic Layer Theory**

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Many languages show interstratal differences: In an identical phonological context, different phonological behaviours can be observed within stems, words, and/or phrases. I argue that interstratal differences in the languages of the world are constrained by the \*ABA-restriction that bans an identical phonological behaviour P1 in stratum 1 and 3 which is separated by a different phonological behaviour P2 in the intervening stratum 2. This restriction is illustrated with a representative typology of interstratal variations for tonal OCP contexts. The \*ABA-restriction is reminiscent of both the Stratum Domain Hypothesis (Mohanan, 1982, 1986) and the Strong Domain Hypothesis (Kiparsky, 1984, 1985) that were argued to constrain classical Lexical Phonology but differs in its empirical coverage from both these restrictions.

I propose a novel theory of the morpho-phonology interface that derives interstratal differences from a single phonological grammar for each language and inherently predicts the \*ABA-restriction: Harmonic Layer Theory. In this model, all interstratal differences fall out from predictable activity adjustment for phonological elements that can monotonically decay in their activation at each optimization cycle. I will show that the \*ABA-restriction falls out from the architecture of this system; Harmonic Layer Theory is hence inherently more restrictive than Stratal Optimality Theory or similar models that are based on multiple co-grammars.

Harmonic Layer Theory is illustrated with a case study of the Kashaya metrical system (Buckley, 1994, 1998, 2017) which poses both arguments and challenges for classical stratal approaches. Interestingly, the more restrictive Harmonic Layer Theory can indeed correctly derive the Kashaya patterns from a single phonological grammar.

## References

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