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In Search of Prosodic Domains in Lusoga

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[Workshop on the Effects of Constituency on Sentence Phonology, U Mass Amherst, July 30, 2016]

“... the very types of prosodic category above the foot and syllable are syntactically grounded and universal.” (Selkirk & Lee 2015:3)

“... the prosodic phonology of Luganda is among the most intricate and complex of any language.” (Hyman & Katamba 2010:69)

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to raise the question whether the phrasal tonology of Lusoga (Bantu; Uganda), the most closely related language to Luganda, is syntactically grounded—or is free to apply without respect to syntax. Outside of Bantu, cases have been reported where phrasal or post-lexical tonology applies whenever two words meet within a clause, independently of the syntax, and hence without the need of prosodic domains. This includes the VSO Chatino languages of Mexico (Cruz 2011, Campbell 2014, McIntosh 2015, Sullivant 2015, Villard 2015) and the SOV Kuki-Chin languages of NE India and Myanmar, e.g. Hakha Lai (Hyman & VanBik 2004) and Kuki-Thaadow (Hyman 2010). In such languages appropriate tonal alternations occurring between words are blocked only by pause or “sentence breaks”.

The story is considerably different in the SVO Bantu languages. Although there is considerable variation, the expectation is that there will be extensive interaction between the syntax and the prosodic phonology, specifically between syntactic constituency and/or information structure (focus) with tone and/or penultimate lengthening. Specifically, we expect the syntax to be prosodically reflected by an asymmetry between what precedes vs. follows the verb. Thus, in a number of works on Luganda, e.g. Hyman, Katamba & Walusimbi (1987), Hyman & Katamba (2010), we have recognized the following postlexical domains within which tone rules act on the lexical stem and word tones:

- (1) a. a smaller tone group (TG), within which H tone plateauing (HTP) occurs
- b. a larger tone phrase (TP), within which H tone anticipation (HTA) occurs

(We also recognize an intersecting clitic group (CG), which pertains mostly to vowel length alternations.) One question is whether this sensitivity to syntax can be attributed, perhaps universally, to the SVO syntax of Luganda (and other Bantu languages), or whether the prosodic phonology of an SVO language can also apply across the board, without any sensitivity to syntactic structure.

In what follows I will first briefly identify the above Luganda domains, then consider the corresponding structures in Lusoga, which seems not to recognize either prosodic domain. I will then show what Lusoga does have and what this might mean for syntax-phonology interactions and the quest for universals.

2. Prosodic domains in Luganda

The analysis of Luganda tone is given in (2), as summarized by Hyman & Katamba (2010:70):

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (2) | <i>level of representation</i> | <i>tonal contrasts</i> | <i>description</i> |
| a. | underlying input (URs) | /H, Ø/ | privative |
| b. | intermediate | H, L, Ø | ternary |
| c. | broad phonetic output | H, L | equipollent |

As indicated, moras are either marked by an underlying privative /H/ or are toneless (Ø). Within the lexical (word-level) phonology, L tones arise in one of two ways, illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. /ba-lab-a/ → bá-làb-a ‘they see’
 H H H L
 b. /ba-bal-a/ → bá-bàl-a ‘they count’
 H H L

In (3a) Meeussen’s Rule converts a sequence of Hs on successive moras to one H followed by all Ls. A sequence /H-H-H-H/ would thus become H-L-L-L. In (3b) L tone insertion applies after a lone H which would not be subject to Meeussen’s Rule. The result is an intermediate ternary contrast between H, L, and Ø. Finally, after the phrasal phonology applies, the Øs are all filled in with either H or L, thereby bringing the system back to a binary contrast, this time equipollent. (We needn’t be concerned with the marginal downstepped ¹H which arises when two phonological phrases meet, the first ending in a HL falling tone, the second beginning with H.)

2.1. The tone phrase (TP)

We are now ready to consider the two prosodic domains mentioned in (1). As illustrated in (4), within the tone phrase (TP), H tone is anticipated across words onto any number of preceding (underlined) toneless moras (%L marks an initial boundary tone):

- (4) a. verb + object a-bal-a e-bi-kópò → à-bál-á é-bí-kópò ‘s/he is counting cups’
 H L %L H L
 b. object + object a-bal-ir-a o-mu-limi e-bi-kópò → à-bál-ír-á ó-mú-límí é-bí-kópò
 3SG-count-APP-FV H L %L H L
 ‘s/he is counting cups for the farmer’

The example in (4a) shows H tone anticipation (HTA) applying from the direct object onto the verb, while (4b) shows HTA from the second object through the first object and, again, onto the verb (which is marked by the applicative *-ir-* suffix). In (5) we see that HTA also applies between a right-dislocation (RD) and the verb and between RDs, again onto the verb:

- (5) a. verb + RD a-bi-bal-a e-bi-kópò → à-bí-bál-á é-bí-kópò
 s/he-them-count H L %L H L
 ‘s/he is counting them, the cups’
 b. RD + RD a-bí-mù-bal-ir-a o-mu-limi e-bi-kópò → à-bí-mù-bál-ír-á ó-mú-límí é-bí-kópò
 s/he-them-him-count-APP-FV H L %L H L H L
 ‘s/he is counting them for him, the farmer, the cups’

HTA does not, however, apply from the verb to what precedes, whether the subject, an adverb, or a left-dislocation (LD):

- (6) a. subj + verb o-mu-limi a-bi-láb-à → ò-mù-límì à-bì-láb-à ‘the farmer sees them’
 H L %L H L
 b. LD + LD o-mu-limi e-bi-kópò a-bi-láb-à → ò-mù-límì è-bì-kópò à-bì-láb-à
 H L H L %L H L H L
 ‘the farmer, the cups, he sees them’

As indicated by the dashed underlining, (6a) shows that HTA does not apply from the verb onto the subject *ò-mù-limì*, which instead receives default L tones. Nor is there HTA from one LD onto another in (6b). Instead, LDs and other pre-verbal constituents are marked off in a way that post-verbal constituents including RDs are not. (Not shown is the V#V coalescence that automatically applies between any words in sequence, including LDs and RDs.)

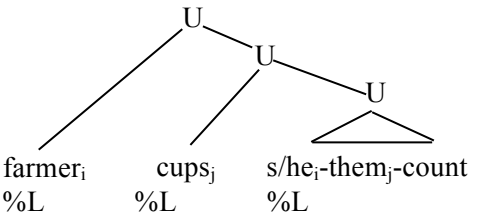
Before accounting for this fact let us consider the mirror image situation found in closely related Haya (Byarushengo, Hyman & Tenenbaum 1976:201-2; Hyman 1999:155). In this language a /H-Ø/ sequence is realized [HL-L] at the end of a tone phrase, e.g. in isolation:

- (7) a. a-ba-kázi → à-bà-kâzi ‘woman’ b. e-m-búzi → e-m-bûzi ‘goat(s)’
 H HL H HL

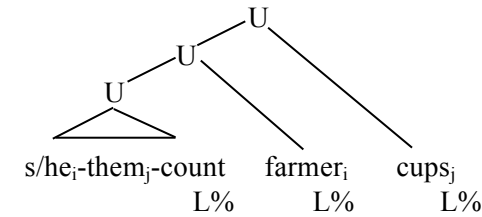
Noting this, we now see in (8) that Haya presents the mirror-image of Luganda (we can ignore the “augment” initial vowel H on the nouns):

- (8) a. base sentence: a-ba-kázi ni-ba-bal-íl-a ó-mw-ána é-m-bûzi
 H H H HL
 ‘the women are counting the goats for the child’
 b. three LDs: a-ba-kázi ó-mw-ána é-m-búzi ni-ba-zi-mu-bal-íl-a
 H H H HL
 ‘the women, the child, the goats, they are counting them for him’
 c. three RDs: ni-ba-zi-mu-bal-íl-a á-ba-kâzi ó-mw-âna é-m-bûzi
 HL HL HL HL
 ‘they are counting them for him, the women, the child, the goats’

The base sentence is given in (8a). In (8b) we see that the /H/ of LDs is not affected, while in (8c), the /H/ of the verb and each RD becomes HL. RDs are thus each marked off, while LDs are not. The two languages thus appear to have the reverse nested structures in (9) (Byarushengo et al 1976; Hyman & Katamba 2010:84).

- (9) a. Luganda marks beginnings of complete Us b. Haya marks ends of complete Us
- 

(%L marks off left edge of U expansions)



(L% marks off right edge of U expansions)

In (9) I have labeled each complete utterance with U. Luganda thus marks the beginning of each U with a %L boundary tone, while Haya marks the end of each U with a final L% boundary tone, one of whose effects is to convert a penultimate H into HL. As Byarushengo et al (1976) point out, marks each end of a complete assertion.

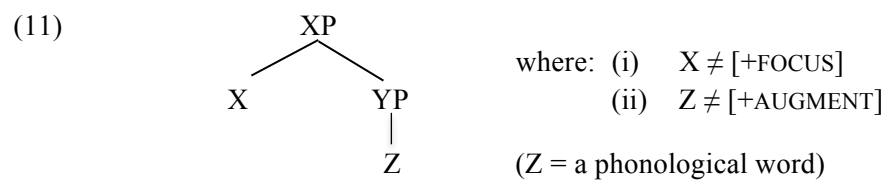
Before moving on to the tone group, it should perhaps be pointed out that if the TP correlates with the phonological (or even intonational) phrase of prosodic domain theory, we don’t expect to find a TP break within a simple noun phrase. While this is largely the case, there is a problem with numerals in Luganda:

- (10) a. noun + adjective : a-ba-limi a-ba-nénè → à-bá-límí á-bá-nénè ‘big farmers’
H L %L H L
- b. noun + numeral : a-ba-limi ba-sátù → à-bà-limì bà-sátù ‘three farmers’
H L %L H L

As expected, HTA applies in (10a) from an adjective onto a preceding noun. However, HTA does not apply in (10b) from the numeral onto the noun. It is as if the noun is in a separate TP, as in the case of a preverbal constituent. I don’t see any reason to think of numerals as predicative, such that ‘farmers’ would be preposed to the numeral (as a subject is to the verb marked by %L). While it is hard to motivate syntactically, the apparent need is for there to be an analogous %L separating the numeral from the preceding noun. This being said, Bantu languages that allow a subset modifiers to be either pre- or post-nominal, e.g. demonstratives (Van de Velde 2005), may also not phrase them with the head noun.

2.2. The tone group (TG)

The tone group (TG) is a smaller domain in which the head V or N of the corresponding XP undergoes reduction when followed by an appropriate dependent with H tone. In Haya, the V or N undergoes deletion of its one or more H tones, while in Luganda, the V or N loses the L(s) of a H to L pitch drop, as the result of a process of H tone plateauing (HTP). For this to occur several conditions must be met, as schematized in (11) (Hyman & Katamba 2010:75):



In (11), Z stands for a phonological word (PW) which is not necessarily the head of YP (as when there is an empty head, e.g. ‘we saw two’). The [±FOCUS] feature refers to whether a verb TAM/polarity is inherently focused. The following pair of examples shows that negation is inherently [+focus]:

- (12) a. tw-áá-làb-à → tw-áá-láb-á bí-kópò ‘we saw CUPS’ (Past₂)
H L L H Ø Ø H L
- b. te-tw-áá-làb-à → tè-tw-áá-làb-à bi-kópò ‘we didn’t see cups’ (Past₂)
H L L H L L H L

In (12a) the Hs of the verb and object create an all H plateau, requiring the Ls of the verb to be deleted (indicated by Ø). (As glossed, focus is on *bí-kópò* ‘cups’, marked by the absence of the augment *e-*.) However, H tone plateauing (HTP) does not apply in (12b), where the only grammatical difference is the negative marking on the verb.

The [±AUGMENT] feature refers to whether a noun has an augment, usually an initial *e-*, *o-* or *a-*. As seen in (13a), HTP will not apply if the augment is present. (13b) shows that the augment is obligatorily absent after a negative verb (without any focus effect), as it was in (12b) above.

- (13) a. tw-áá-làb-à → tw-áá-làb-à è-bì-kópò ‘we saw cups’ (Past₂)
H L L H L L H L
- b. te-tw-áá-làb-à → *tè-tw-áá-làb-à è-bì-kópò ‘we didn’t see cups’ (Past₂)
H L L H L L H L

- b. o-ku-kálat-a > ò-ku-kàlàkat-a > ò-kú-kàlàkat-a > ò-kú-kàlàkát-á 'to scrape'
 H HL H L L %L H L L H%

At stage 1 we start with a H tone on the first mora of the verb base. Stage 2 represents the L tone insertion rule that was discussed with regard to Luganda, but which characterizes both languages. Stage 3 is where H tone retraction (HTR) applies in Lusoga only. As seen, I have (perhaps arbitrarily) left a L tone trace on the original H tone mora.

While (21) is historically correct, the proposed synchronic analysis is that *H is now /L/. In other words, the Lusoga tone contrast has become /L/ vs. Ø (Hyman 2016):

- (22) a. o-ku-ghùlir-a 'to hear' b. o-ku-kàlat-a 'to scrape'
 L L

Two rules are needed to derive the correct outputs. The first is L tone spreading (LTS): an input L spreads one mora to the right:

- (23) a. o-ku-ghùlir-a 'to hear' b. o-ku-kàlàkat-a 'to scrape'
 L L

The second rule is H tone insertion (HTI): a H is inserted on a mora that precedes an input L:

- (24) a. o-kú-ghùlir-a 'to hear' b. o-kú-kàlàkat-a 'to scrape'
 H L H L

As seen in (25) HTI has to be specified to insert a single H before a sequence of L morphemes (which we can assume to fuse into a single, multilinked L):

- AUG-INF-it-him-us-give-APPL-FV
 (25) ò- kú- cì- mù- tù- ghà- èr- á → ò-kú-cì-mù-tù-ghè-èr-á 'to give it to him for us'
 L L L L %L H L H%

With this established, we now have two relevant criteria to test for postlexical domains in Lusoga: (i) HTI conditioned by initial /L/ syllable of one word onto final syllable of the preceding word. The question is whether a word-initial L will condition the insertion of a H onto the final vowel of the preceding word. (ii) HTA from one word onto toneless moras of the preceding word(s), as in Luganda. The question is whether there are any syntactic configurations that block HTA (as some do in Luganda). To anticipate the demonstration, the conclusion we will reach is that syntactic constituency never blocks HTI or HTA, thereby raising two competing hypotheses:

- (26) Hypothesis 1: Lusoga does not have the prosodic domains found in Luganda.
 Hypothesis 2: Lusoga has prosodic domains, but does not mark them the same as Luganda.

The significance of the first is that the mapping of syntactic structures into prosodic domains would not be universal in the sense of Selkirk & Lee’s claim in the quote at the beginning of this paper. Instead, I will adopt Hypothesis 2. But first we need to consider the Lusoga facts which correspond to Luganda’s TP and TG. We first consider HTA, then HTI.

pre-verbal constituents the same as post-verbal ones. In the next section we will see that HTI leads to the same conclusion.

3.2. H tone insertion (HTI)

In this section it will be briefly demonstrated that HTI can also apply across any syntactic boundary. Because nouns have a prefix which is underlyingly toneless, this will have to be demonstrated by means of other word classes, e.g. verbs and demonstratives. Consider first (32a), where the subject prefix *a-* is underlyingly toneless:

- (32) a. o-mu-kàzi a-sek-a → ò-mú-kàzi à-sék-á ‘the woman laughs’
 | | | | |
 L %L H L H%
- b. a-ba-kàzi bà-sek-a → à-bá-kàzì bà-sèk-á ‘the women laugh’
 | | | | |
 L L %L H L H L H%

In this case the subject noun ‘woman’ ends with a L tone by virtue of the LTS rule. Therefore, the final H% cannot spread onto the subject noun. Compare this now with (32b), where the subject prefix /bà-/ has an underlying /L/. In this case HTI overrides LTS onto the final mora of the subject noun. In historical terms, the *H of *bá- has been anticipated from the verb onto the subject (cf. Luganda *à-bà-kàzì* *bá-sèk-á*). The same facts are seen with left-dislocations:

- (33) a. e-bi-bàla a-bi-bal-a → è-bí-bàlà à-bí-bál-á ‘the fruits, s/he counts them’
 | | | | |
 L %L H L H%
- b. e-bi-bàlà bà-bi-bal-a → è-bí-bàlá bà-bi-bál-á ‘the fruits, they count them’
 | | | | |
 L L %L H L H L H%

In (33a), H% does not reach the left-dislocated noun ‘fruits’, whose /L/ spreads onto the final mora. In (33b), however, where the subject prefix *bà-* has /L/ tone, HTI applies onto the final mora of the left-dislocated noun. In fact, HTI will apply across any sequence of words, provided that the preceding word does not end in a single /L/. This is illustrated in (34).

- (34) a. e-bí-bàlà bì-nò → è-bí-bàlá bì-nó ‘these fruits’
 | | | | |
 L L %L H L H L H%
- b. e-bí-kópò bì-nò → è-bí-kópò bì-nó ‘these cups’
 | | | | |
 L L %L H L H L H%

The proximate demonstrative /-no/ ‘this, these’ requires a L tone noun class agreement prefix, here /bì-/. As seen in (34a), the prefix conditions HTI on the final mora of ‘fruits’. In (34b), on the other, the noun ‘cups’ ends in a single /L/ and hence HTI is blocked.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that syntactic constituency never blocks HTI or HTA. Returning to the two hypotheses in (26), we must address whether Lusoga recognizes prosodic domains at all—or whether it simply fails to give evidence of the syntax-to-prosodic domain mapping that Selkirk’s (2011) matching theory predicts. Favoring universality, let’s take the latter position, Hypothesis 2 in (26): Lusoga has prosodic domains, but does not mark them the same as Luganda. As was seen in §2, Luganda

As seen, we begin with two identical stems /-pakàsi/, which both undergo LTS in (36a). HTI also applies twice in (36b). This is followed by HTP in (36c) and assignment of the boundary tones in (36d). Although not exemplified in §2, HTP also applies within a word in Luganda.

More significantly for our purposes, (37) shows that HTP also applies between a possessive enclitic and the host noun:

(37)	σ	/L/	:	ò-mú-tì	→	ò-mú-tíí =gwè	‘his/her tree’
	σ - σ	/L-Ø/	:	ò-mú-kàzi	→	ò-mú-kází =wè	‘his/her wife’
		/Ø-L/	:	è-kí-kópò	→	è-cí-kópó =cè	‘his/her cup’
	σ :- σ	/LØ-Ø/	:	è-kí-wùùka	→	è-cí-wúúká =cè	‘his/her insect’
		/ØL-Ø/	:	à-ká-sáàlè	→	à-ká-sáálé =kè	‘his/her arrow’
		/ØØ-L/	:	è-kí-déédè/	→	è-cí-déédé =cè	‘his/her grasshopper’
	σ - σ - σ	/L-Ø-Ø/	:	ò-bú-thùpùzi	→	ò-bú-thúpúzi =bwè	‘his/her corruption’
		/Ø-L-Ø/	:	ò-mú-pákàsi	→	ò-mú-pákási =wè	‘his/her porter’
		/Ø-Ø-L/	:	ò-bú-vúbúkà	→	ò-bú-vúbúká =bwè	‘his/her adolescence’

The tones of the unpossessed nouns, all of which have a H to L pitch drop, are shown after HTI and LTS have applied, but without a final H%. As seen, the L tone enclitic /-è/ ‘his/her’ fuses with a noun class agreement prefix. When HTI applies to the preceding noun, HTP applies, and the H to L pitch drop is lost. (There is no final H%, since the forms end H-L.) As can be recalled from (15a), noun+possessive is an environment where HTP applies in Luganda as well. The examples in (38a,b) show that HTP also applies in verb+enclitic constructions:

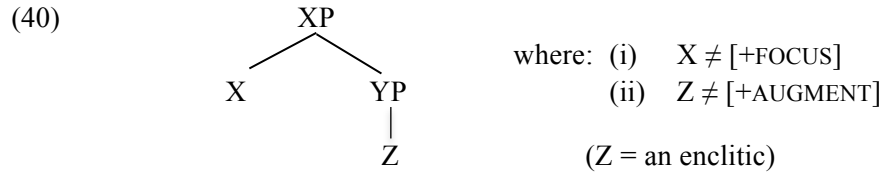
(38)	a.	tw-áà-ghùlir-a	‘we heard’	→	tw-áà-ghúlír-á =kù	‘we heard a little’
		HL L			HØ ØØ H L	
	b.	tw-áà-ghùlir-a	‘we heard’	→	tw-áà-ghúlír-á =cì	‘what did we hear?’
		HL L			HØ ØØ H L	
	c.	ti-twáà-ghùlir-a	‘we didn’t hear’	→	ti-tw-áà-ghùlír-á =kù	‘we didn’t hear a little’
		HL L			H L H L	(No HTP because NEG = [+FOCUS])

In (38a), the locative noun class 17 enclitic =kù is used also as an attenuative marker. As seen, HTI applies followed by HTP on the host verb. The same is seen in (38b) with the interrogative enclitic =cì ‘what’. However, for HTP to apply, the verb must have the same [-FOCUS] status as was discussed in Luganda. Recall that negative verbs are [+FOCUS], and hence HTI applies before =kù, but there is no HTP in (38c). In addition, there is no HTP with the corresponding nominal interrogative =cì ‘which’ (also paralleling Luganda (cf. mù-kàzi =cì ‘which woman?’)):

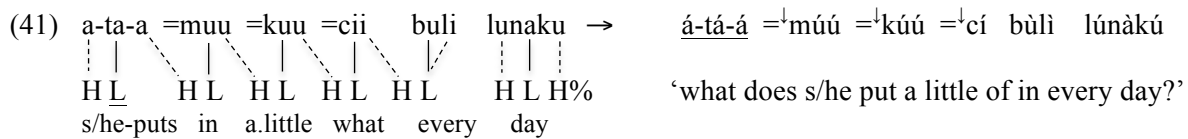
(39)	σ	/L/	:	mú-tì	→	mú- ^l tíí =cì	‘which tree?’
	σ - σ	/L-Ø/	:	mú-kàzi	→	mú-kází =cì	‘which woman?’
		/Ø-L/	:	bí-kópò	→	bí-kó ^l pó =cì	‘which cups?’
	σ :- σ	/LØ-Ø/	:	cí-wùùka	→	cí-wúúká =cì	‘which insect?’
		/ØL-Ø/	:	ká-sáàlè	→	ká-sáálé =cì	‘which arrow?’
		/ØØ-L/	:	cí-déédè/	→	cí-déé ^l dé =cì	‘which grasshopper?’
	σ - σ - σ	/L-Ø-Ø/	:	bú-thùpùzi	→	bú-thúpúzi =cì	‘which corruption?’
		/Ø-L-Ø/	:	mú-pákàsi	→	mú-pákási =cì	‘which porter?’

/Ø-Ø-L/ : bú-vúbúkà/ → bú-vúbú[↓]ká =cì ‘which adolescence?’

As seen, the enclitic =cì ‘which’ does not condition HTP (perhaps because it isn’t a YP), but always inserts a H, potentially conditioning downstepped [↓]H (of which Lusoga has more than Luganda). Thus, clitics work differently from full words. HTP occurs in the same environment as in Luganda, except that Z must be an enclitic. Thus, compare (40) with the corresponding Luganda configuration in (11).



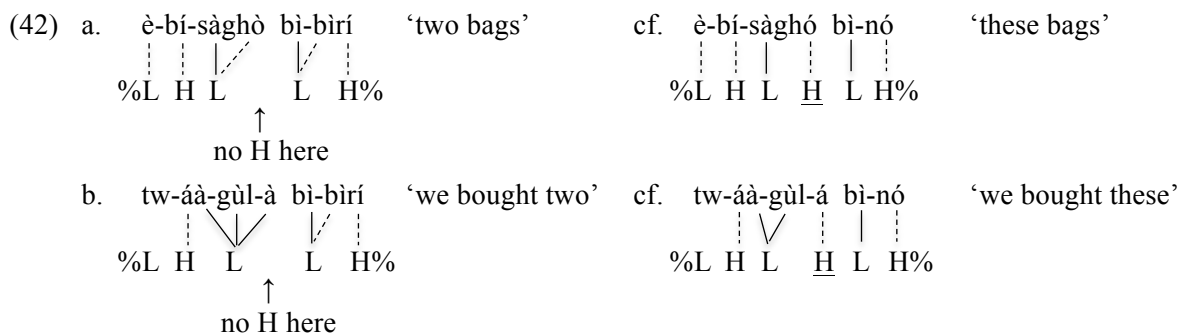
We have seen that there are two kinds of X=cl: those which form a TG satisfying (40), hence HTP, vs. those which don’t satisfy (40), hence occur without HTP. It is possible that the first has the structure of a nested phonological word [[word]_{PW} =cl]_{PW}, while the second has the structure of a clitic group [[word]_{PW} =cl]_{CG}. An historical conjecture would be that HTP started out in individual words (X), then expanded to X=Z, then X # Z, always meeting the configuration and conditions (i) and (ii) in (40). Note in this regard that enclitics only condition HTP with their lexical host, not with each other:



In Lusoga, all enclitics are /L/, requiring HTI on the preceding mora. They also differ from full words in preventing a preceding long vowel from undergoing final vowel shortening (cf. ‘tree’ and ‘which tree?’ in (39)).

4. Two outstanding problems

I would like to end the coverage of tonal phenomena by considering two outstanding problems. The first is to return to numerals, this time in Lusoga. We saw in (10b) that Luganda doesn’t allow HTA from a numeral onto the preceding noun. There is an analogous issue in Lusoga, which is that numerals which begin with /L/ do not condition HTI (vs. demonstratives, which do). This is seen in (42).



We see this between a numeral and noun in (42a) and between a numeral and a preceding verb in (42b). We know that /bi-biri/ has a /L/ on its prefix because of the augmented form, *é-bi-biri* ‘(the) two’, where the augment does receive a H from HTI. Positing an initial %L was said to be unmotivated for Luganda,

(44) puts a check on HTS-left: It spreads as far as it can, but stops short if the result would be a L_{PW}[H sequence.

5. Conclusion

To summarize the findings for Lusoga, there is no prosodic evidence for a domain corresponding to the TP in Luganda. The domain corresponding to the TG in Luganda is limited to certain word=enclitic combinations. Specifically, there is no evidence that what precedes the verb is treated differently from what follows it. At this point one might ask what other evidence there might be for prosodic domains in Lusoga. Two possibilities are intonation, which has thus far not yielded anything concrete, and instrumental phonetic studies, e.g. on segment durations, which I have not done—and which in any case would take us beyond my question, which had to do with whether there are discrete, categorical effects of prosodic domains in Lusoga.

I would like to conclude with some further thoughts about Lusoga in terms of linguistic typology, defined for our purposes as the study of how languages are the same vs. different. First, Lusoga is not a counterexample to the claim that syntax-prosody “matching” is universal. Second, nothing looks syntactically or prosodically aberrant in Lusoga. Rather, it is the lack of interest that Lusoga shows for prosodic constituents that is striking, particularly from a Bantu point of view. In fact, Lusoga provides the missing “cell” in the typology of whether LDs and RDs phrase with the main clause in Bantu:

- | | | | | |
|---------|----|---|----|----------|
| (45) a. | LD | S | RD | Luganda |
| b. | LD | S | RD | Haya |
| c. | LD | S | RD | Chichewa |
| d. | LD | S | RD | Lusoga |

We have already seen that Luganda and Haya are mirror images of each other as far as whether LDs (Luganda) or RDs (Haya) are marked off from the main clause. Chichewa has been reported to mark off both LDs and RDs (Downing & Mtenje 2011:1966-7). Finally Lusoga provides the fourth possibility: Neither LDs nor RDs are marked off.

The Lusoga disinterest in marking prosodic domains is remarkable from a Bantuist and perhaps universalist point of view. However, it has long been known that languages vary in how much they “care” about some of the “best bets” in phonology. Lusoga can now be added to the list of languages which have shown a disregard for one or another prosodic property:

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---|
| (46) a. | syllable structure: | Gokana cares very little if at all about grouping its Cs and Vs into syllables (Hyman 2011) |
| b. | word stress: | Bella Coola cares very little if at all about highlighting one syllable per word (Newman 1947:132) |
| c. | prosodic domains: | Lusoga cares very little if at all about reflecting syntactic constituency in the post-lexical phonology (this study) |

For me, typology should not only determine the different ways in which universal linguistic properties can be reflected in the grammar of a language, but also how well a grammar can get along without signaling them at all.

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