A monorepresentational analysis for the allomorphy in Yucunany Mixtepec Mixtec exhibits possibility. The alternation between realization of only an additional L-tone or additional Yucunany Mixtepec (=YM) is possible. The analysis is based on an autosegmental account.

1.5σ formation in YM
- A low tone is added & creates a new contour on the final σ
- A low tone is added & overwrites the final base tone
- The segmental string /-yu/ surfaces

A lexical contrast is reduced to a difference in underlying prosodic structure
- (1-6) and (1-6) are possible input representations in OT (given Richness of the Base)
- The analysis based on Dep-σ implies that this difference between underlying forms has a crucial surface effect

The main argument
- A monorepresentational analysis

Background
- A dialect of Mixtepec Mixtec (~12,000 sp.), Otomanguean
- Three tones: H (¬V), M (V), L (V), and contour tones
- V-length not contrastive /-yu/ noted for (long) contour tones
- Default assumption: TBU-σ

Contexts for allomorphs phonologically predictable
- A final low tone is added to the H-final stems
- /-yu/ is stored; the latter is realized to avoid ho-

Contour creation vs. overwriting
- A new contour tone is penalized by *Dal<AL (= *DAL, (9))
- Floating L creates new contours with a base-final H (11)

Non-realization of /yu/
- The /yu/ underlyingly lacks a σ node and since Dep-σ (6-σ) dominates Max-S (6-β), the morpheme is preferably not realized (=morphemes realized in all contexts have an underlying σ)
- The L must be realized due to undominated Max-L (6-ε)

Preference for not realizing /yu/ but realization of L (1)
- Assign a violation mark for every output σ without an input correspondent.
- Assign a violation mark for every input segment without an output correspondent.
- Assign a violation mark for every input L-tone without an output correspondent.

Floating L overwrites a base-final M (2)
- The realization of /yu/ is associated with an initial L
- The L must be realized due to undominated Max-L (6-ε)

Assign a violation mark for tones associated to *Dal the same σ through different association line types (*depentenct)

No adjacent L-initial syllables
- No overwriting if two adjacent σ’s associated with an initial L would result, excluded by the positional, non-local OCP (11)

Realization of /yu/ as last resort
- Assignment of L to bases ending in an L is excluded by *TT
- Assignment of /yu/ as last resort to satisfy Max-L

Assign a violation mark for every pair of adjacent σ’s that are associated with an initial L. Other examples for non-local OCP effects: Plag (1998), Bör and Motter (1986), or Gallagher (2013)

Extension: another example
- Morphological V-lengthening in La Paz Aymara (17)
- Whenever double-lengthening is expected, /-ja/ surfaces: alternative repair to realize both 'lengthenings' (18)

A monorepresentational analysis
- *-ja/ realizes a σ and is not realized if lengthening possible
- Max-σ demands μ-realization: V-lengthening
- realization of /-ja/ as last resort to realize all μ’s

Summary
- A monorepresentational account of allomorphy in YM where only an L-tone or segments are realized
- Prosodic deflectivity is independently predicted in OT and can account for apparently lexical contrasts

An autosegmental account
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