

# CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iv
ABSTRACT .....	v
CHAPTER	
1. POSITIONAL AUGMENTATION: MARKEDNESS CONSTRAINTS FOR PROMINENT POSITIONS .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Synopsis of the proposal .....	3
1.2.1 The problem: <b>M/str</b> constraints and typological predictions .....	3
1.2.2 The proposal: Substantive grounding through constraint filters .....	5
1.2.2.1 The Prominence Condition .....	6
1.2.2.2 The Segmental Contrast Condition .....	6
1.2.2.3 The Schema/Filter model of CON .....	8
1.3 Strong and weak positions in phonological analysis .....	9
1.3.1 Phonological evidence for strong positions .....	9
1.3.2 Positional augmentation constraints as <b>M/str</b> , not " <b>F/wk</b> " .....	11
1.4 Outline of the dissertation .....	19
2. A THEORY OF POSITIONAL AUGMENTATION CONSTRAINTS .....	20
2.1 Introduction .....	20
2.2 Formal models of constraints and CON .....	21
2.2.1 The Schema/Filter model of CON .....	21
2.2.1.1 Constraint schemas .....	23
2.2.1.2 Constraint filters .....	27
2.2.2 A compositional approach to relativized constraints .....	31

2.2.3	Summary	34
2.3	<b>M/str</b> constraints and the Prominence Condition	34
2.3.1	The Prominence Condition and enhancement of perceptual prominence	35
2.3.2	Augmentation constraints	40
2.3.2.1	HEAVY $\sigma$	40
2.3.2.2	*PEAK/X	45
2.3.2.3	ONSET and *ONSET/X	50
2.3.2.3.1	On the perceptual prominence of syllables with (low-sonority) onsets	50
2.3.2.3.2	ONSET	52
2.3.2.3.3	*ONSET/X	53
2.3.2.4	HAVECPHASE	57
2.3.2.5	HTONE	58
2.3.2.6	HAVESTRESS	60
2.3.2.7	Summary	61
2.3.3	Augmentation constraints and strong positions	62
2.3.4	Summary	67
2.4	<b>M/<math>\Psi</math>str</b> constraints and the Segmental Contrast Condition	68
2.4.1	The Segmental Contrast Condition	69
2.4.2	Classifying strong positions	71
2.4.2.1	Psycholinguistically strong positions	72
2.4.2.2	Phonetically strong positions	72
2.4.2.3	Excursus: "Licensing by Cue" as a filter on <b>F/<math>\Phi</math>str</b> constraints	73
2.4.3	Summary	77
2.5	Summary and conclusions	77
3.	AUGMENTATION OF PHONETICALLY STRONG POSITIONS	79
3.1	Introduction	79
3.2	Positional augmentation in stressed syllables	79

3.2.1	Familiar stress/prominence interactions through <b>M/σ</b> constraints . . . . .	80
3.2.1.1	Weight requirements for stressed syllables: <b>HEAVYσ/σ</b> . . . . .	81
3.2.1.2	High tone in stressed syllables: <b>HTONE/σ</b> . . . . .	87
3.2.1.3	High-sonority nuclei in stressed syllables: <b>[*PEAK/X]/σ</b> . . . . .	91
3.2.1.4	Summary . . . . .	96
3.2.2	Stress/onset interactions through <b>M/σ</b> constraints . . . . .	97
3.2.2.1	<b>ONSET/σ</b> in Dutch: Glottal-stop epenthesis in stressed syllables . . . . .	97
3.2.2.2	<b>ONSET/σ</b> in Western Arrernte: Stress attraction to syllables with onsets . . . . .	102
3.2.2.3	<b>[*ONSET/X]/σ</b> in Niuafu'ou: Avoidance of glide onsets in stressed syllables . . . . .	106
3.2.2.4	<b>[*ONSET/X]/σ</b> in Pirahã: Stress attraction and low-sonority onsets . . . . .	108
3.2.2.5	Concluding remarks on stress/onset interactions . . . . .	113
3.2.3	Summary: stressed-syllable augmentation . . . . .	115
3.3	Positional augmentation in long vowels: <b>[*PEAK/X]/V:</b> in Yawelmani . . . . .	115
3.4	Positional augmentation in syllable onsets: <b>HAVECPLACE/Onset</b> . . . . .	118
3.5	Conclusion: Predicted and attested <b>M/Φstr</b> constraints . . . . .	120
4.	<b>AUGMENTATION OF PSYCHOLINGUISTICALLY STRONG POSITIONS</b> . . . . .	124
4.1	Introduction . . . . .	124
4.2	Exemplification of <b>M/Ψstr</b> constraints . . . . .	125
4.2.1	Positional augmentation in initial syllables . . . . .	126
4.2.1.1	Obligatory onsets in initial syllables: <b>ONSET/σ<sub>1</sub></b> . . . . .	126
4.2.1.2	High-sonority onsets banned in initial syllables: <b>[*ONSET/X]/σ<sub>1</sub></b> . . . . .	131
4.2.1.2.1	Initial glide and rhotic onsets banned in Campidanian Sardinian . . . . .	133
4.2.1.2.2	Initial liquid onsets banned . . . . .	138
4.2.1.2.3	Initial rhotic onsets banned in Mbabaram . . . . .	144
4.2.1.2.4	Implications for syllable structure and onset-related constraints . . . . .	146
4.2.1.3	Summary: Initial-syllable augmentation . . . . .	158
4.2.2	Positional augmentation in roots . . . . .	160

4.2.2.1	Obligatory root stress: HAVESTRESS/Root .....	160
4.2.2.2	Root minimality effects .....	166
4.2.2.3	Summary: Root augmentation .....	167
4.2.3	Conclusion: Predicted and attested <b>M/Ψstr</b> constraints .....	167
4.3	Psycholinguistic evidence behind the Segmental Contrast Condition .....	171
4.3.1	Word recognition .....	173
4.3.2	The importance of word-initial material in early-stage word recognition .....	175
4.3.2.1	Word-initial material as a focus of perceptual attention .....	175
4.3.2.2	A special role for initial material in early-stage word recognition .....	176
4.3.3	The importance of roots in early-stage word recognition .....	179
4.3.3.1	Processing of words with inflectional affixes .....	180
4.3.3.2	Processing of words with derivational affixes .....	182
4.3.4	Absence of a role for prosodic properties in early-stage word recognition .....	186
4.3.4.1	The role of stressed syllables in speech perception .....	187
4.3.4.1.1	How stressed syllables are involved in processing .....	187
4.3.4.1.2	How stressed syllables are <i>not</i> involved in processing .....	189
4.3.4.1.3	Stress-based segmentation as a language-particular processing strategy .....	190
4.3.4.2	On tonal contrasts in early-stage word recognition .....	193
4.3.5	Conclusions: Psycholinguistic evidence and <b>M/Ψstr</b> constraints .....	196
4.3.5.1	Classifying the stressed syllable .....	196
4.3.5.2	On the formulation of the Segmental Contrast Condition .....	197
4.4	Defining "initial syllable" .....	203
4.4.1	"Initial syllable" as MWd-initial syllable .....	203
4.4.1.1	Evidence for a word-sized domain .....	204
4.4.1.2	Defining the relevant word-sized domain .....	206

4.4.2.	"Initial syllable" and resistance to positional neutralization .....	211
4.5	Summary and conclusions .....	213
5.	<b>POSITIONAL AUGMENTATION AND POSITIONAL NEUTRALIZATION</b>	
5.1	Introduction .....	214
5.2	Positional neutralization in Optimality Theory .....	215
5.2.1	Positional neutralization with positional faithfulness constraints .....	215
5.2.2	Positional neutralization with positional featural markedness constraints ..	218
5.2.3	Positional neutralization and augmentation with COINCIDE constraints ...	221
5.3	Implications of distinguishing positional augmentation and neutralization .....	225
5.3.1	Factorial typology with <b>M/str</b> and <b>F/str</b> constraints .....	227
5.3.2	Factorial typology with <b>M/str</b> and COINCIDE or <b>M-Feat/wk</b> constraints ..	229
5.3.3	Positional augmentation and complementary distribution .....	231
5.4	Summary and conclusions .....	232
6.	<b>CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS</b> .....	233
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	238