ASYMMETRIC ANCHORING

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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In this dissertation I reveal an inherent asymmetry in the grammar regarding faithfulness constraints across representations; only left edge anchoring constraints are necessary. Anchoring constraints are, I argue, Positional Faithfulness constraints, and the asymmetry is grounded in the type of psycholinguistic privilege commonly associated with initial position. Reduplicative morphemes furthermore are positioned by anchoring and locality alone.

Several encouraging predictions result from this Positional Anchoring proposal. Most importantly, reduplication or truncation that does exhibit right edge correspondence
with the base must be compelled; in terms of edge correspondence, only left edge correspondence can function as the default. Second, violation of Marantz’s Generalization cannot be required merely in order to satisfy reduplicant alignment constraints. In addition, a system may allow a reduplicant to alternate between left and right edges of a stem, as dictated by other constraints in the language. I argue that Lakhota exhibits just such a pattern.

Several questions arise from proposal. The first involves cases where the segment near but not at the left edge of the relevant morpheme is the one targeted. I propose a system of base formation that leads such “gradient” cases to involve copying of the segment that indeed stands at the left edge of the base, as the base is constructed by independent constraints. The dramatic case of Bella Coola is used to illustrate the proposed system.

Some cases of apparent right edge copying support a novel constraint, EDGE-ANCHOR, which targets segments at both edges of the main stressed foot of the base, which may or may not be coextensive with morpheme edges. Data from Semai, Ulu Muar Malay, Dutch, Tagalog, Yidip, and Makassarese are examined in this light.

Additional apparent counter-examples involve stressed syllable copying. Several examples, including data from Nancowry, French, and Lakhota illustrate that a main stressed syllable target offers a superior explanation of the attested patterns.

Finally, other apparent counter examples are argued not to involve reduplication at all. Rather, these examples show augmentation to a requisite size by means of copying.
The examples are taken from Tzotzil, Tzeltal, and Yoruba. An augmentation analysis is independently motivated for each, offering further support for the more restrictive theory of asymmetric anchoring.
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