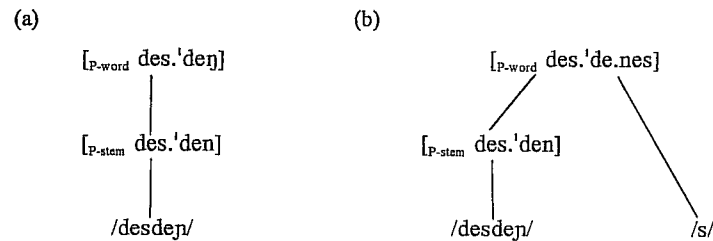


TCT, however, this poses an insurmountable challenge, as [ɖes.ʰðe.nes] is the only surface form derived from the root /desdeɲ/ in which underlying /ɲ/ has an alveolar correspondent: in the adjective *desde[ɲ]oso* ‘disdainful’ and the verb *desde[ɲ]ar* ‘to disdain’, the underlying palatal is rescued by being syllabified as an onset before vowel-initial stem-level suffixes, whilst in the sg. noun [ɖes.ʰðeɲ] the alveolar nasal of the noun stem is subject to word-level default coda velarization. Accordingly, the overapplication of alveolarization in the plural noun cannot be imputed to OO-correspondence; on the surface, the crucial properties of the *i*-base are masked.

(3,41) Masking of the stem in the paradigm of *desdén*



Strongly parallel OT must therefore resort to a different strategy in order to deal with the plural of *desdén*. Generalized Alignment Theory (§3.4.1.1) offers one possibility. As I pointed out in relation to the Polish forms in (3,28), constraints of the format ALIGN(GCat, Edge; PCat, Edge), or their ANCHOR equivalents (see footnote 42), can be used to block resyllabification across morphological boundaries. In Spanish, resyllabification across the right edge of the stem does indeed take place, indicating that, in a strongly parallel analysis, ONSET must dominate ALIGN(Stem, R; σ, R) or its equivalent ANCHOR<sub>IO</sub>(Stem, σ, R); see (3,42a). This, however, has an interesting implication: if ANCHOR<sub>IO</sub>(Stem, σ, R) is locally conjoined with any constraint C, a resyllabified stem-final consonant can only fulfil the resulting macro-constraint by satisfying the conjunct C (for local conjunction, see §2.3.4.1). In other words, local conjunction with ANCHOR<sub>IO</sub>(Stem, σ, R) can be used to target an otherwise general constraint specifically at consonants resyllabified across the right edge of a stem (this is a type of relativization effect; see §2.3.42). Assuming for expository purposes a markedness constraint N→ALV (cf. §3.3.2), the hierarchy ONSET » [ANCHOR<sub>IO</sub>(Stem, σ, R) ∧ N→ALV]<sub>segment</sub> » ONS-IDENT<sub>IO</sub><sup>Place</sup> yields the right results for *desdenes*, as shown in tableau (3,42b).

(3,42)

(a) ANCHOR<sub>IO</sub>(Stem, σ, R)

Let α be a segment in the input.

Let β be a correspondent of α in the output

If α is final in the stem, then β is final in some syllable.

(b) Alignment analysis of *desdenes*

[[Stem/desdeɲ]/s]	ONSET	[ANCHOR <sub>IO</sub> (Stem,σ,R) ∧ N→ALV] <sub>seg</sub>			ONS-IDENT <sub>IO</sub> <sup>Place</sup>
		ANCHOR	N→ALV	MACROC	
ɖes.ʰðeɲ.es	*!		*		
ɖes.ʰðen.es	*!				
ɖes.ʰðe.ɲes		*	*	*!	
ɖes.ʰðe.nes		*			*

Recall now that, in the phrase *desdén absoluto* [ɖes.ʰðe.ɲaβ.so.ʰlu.ʰto] ‘absolute disdain’, postlexical resyllabification causes overapplication of word-level default coda velarization. Clearly, this instance of opacity submits to a similar analysis. One need only conjoin ANCHOR(Word, σ, R) with N→VEL and establish the ranking ONSET » [ANCHOR<sub>IO</sub>(Word, σ, R) ∧ N→VEL]<sub>segment</sub> » ONS-IDENT<sub>IO</sub><sup>Place</sup>. Yet this possibility highlights a major drawback of strongly parallel OT. It so happens that the behaviour of the resyllabified consonant in *desdén absoluto* can also be accounted for by means of TCT. Since the citation form of *desdén*, i.e. [ɖes.ʰðeɲ], undergoes normal application of velarization, misapplication in *desdén absoluto* can be put down to OO-identity; observe that *desdén* qualifies as the *o*-base of *desdén absoluto* because the noun consists of a subset of the overt morphemes of the phrase. The choice of analysis is thus underdetermined,