1. INTRODUCTION

- “Phonological teamwork” (Lionnet in prep.a): two segments aspiring to trigger the same phonological process (here assimilation), but too weak to trigger it on their own, may “join forces” and together pass the threshold necessary for that process to occur.
- Two logical ways of dealing with such phenomena:
  - Phonetically grounded: relying on a weak phonetic effect to make a strong influence (e.g. Flemming 1997, 2002; Lionnet in prep.b)
  - Grammatically derived: a weak phonological effect brought into play by other, more strongly attended rules (Lionnet in prep.b)

2. DATA: LAAL

   - Labial: isolate, ca. 750 speakers, two villages, southern Chad
   - Doubly triggered rounding harmony:
     - (1) **V*[red]**, Lab, Height, Front > Rounding:
       - a. /fəːr + uː / > fəːr-ɨː 'hook-pl'
       - b. /təːb + ʊː / > təːb-ɨː 'fish(sp)-pl'
       - c. /cəːrm + uː / > cəːrm-ɨː 'tree(sp)-pl'
       - d. /pəːd + uː / > pəːd-ɨː 'cobra-pl'
     - (2) **No Rounding**:
       - a. /gəːbəː / > gəːbəː 'cloud'
       - b. /pəːrmən / > pəːrmən 'dust'
       - c. /ɡɪn + ɨː / > ɡɪn-ɨː 'net-pl'
       - d. /fəːr + ɨː / > fəːr-ɨː 'plant.sp-pl'
       - e. /bɨːr / > bɨːr 'burn'

3. DATA: WOLEAIAN

   - Micronesian language (Sohn 1975)
   - Short vowels vs Long vowels
     - a. e / V1[lab] / V2[lab] / (C) / (C) V1[lab] / e
     - b. ū / V1[lab] / e

4. AGREEMENT BY CORRESPONDENCE

   - Used to account for:
     - Tentative evaluation of HG account
     - Grammatically derived
     - Long-distance agreement
     - Two logical ways of dealing with such phenomena:
       - Phonetically grounded: using a weak phonetic effect to make a strong influence (Lionnet 2002, 2006)
       - Grammatically derived: using a weak grammatical effect brought into play by other, more strongly attended rules

5. ANALYSIS: LAAL (cn’î’d)

   - "[LAB] + [LAB] / [GH, FR] - A labial segment may not be preceded by a non-labial segment in an open string if both segments agree in height and [front].
   - Assign one violation for each pair of neighboring segments that meet the criteria but fail to correspond.

   - Labial: Maximal distinctness: 33 segments

   - "No Rounding":
     - a. /gəːbəː / > gəːbəː 'cloud'
     - b. /pəːrmən / > pəːrmən 'dust'
     - c. /ɡɪn + ɨː / > ɡɪn-ɨː 'net-pl'
     - d. /fəːr + ɨː / > fəːr-ɨː 'plant.sp-pl'
     - e. /bɨːr / > bɨːr 'burn'

6. ANALYSIS: WOLEAIAN

   - Woleaian: counting cumulativity (Woleaian: counting cumulativity)

   - Short vowels vs Long vowels
     - a. e / V1[lab] / V2[lab] / (C) / (C) V1[lab] / e
     - b. ū / V1[lab] / e

7. DISCUSSION

   - Analysis of HG and LCC accounts would work with or without this phonetic effect
   - Hypothesis: weak constraint = weakly active?
   - E.g., O*(C)[lab] > O*(lab) > V*[lab] > V1[lab] > V2[lab]
   - Can scalar effects be translated into a weight scale in OT?