

INTERSECTING CONSTRAINT FAMILIES: AN ARGUMENT FOR HARMONIC GRAMMAR

KIE ZURAW

BRUCE HAYES

University of California, Los Angeles

University of California, Los Angeles

In the analysis of free variation in phonology, we often encounter the effects of INTERSECTING CONSTRAINT FAMILIES: there are two independent families of constraints, each of which has a quantifiable effect on the outcome. A challenge for theories is to account for the patterns that emerge from such intersection. We address three cases: Tagalog nasal substitution, French liaison/elision, and Hungarian vowel harmony, using corpus data. We characterize the patterns we find as across-the-board effects in both dimensions, restrained by floor and ceiling limits. We analyze these patterns using several formal frameworks, and find that an accurate account is best based on HARMONIC GRAMMAR (in one of its two primary quantitative implementations). Our work also suggests that certain lexical distinctions treated as discrete by classical phonological theory (e.g. ‘*h*-aspire’ vs. ordinary vowel-initial words of French) are in fact gradient and require quantitative treatment.*

Keywords: harmonic grammar, noisy harmonic grammar, maximum entropy grammars, Tagalog, French, Hungarian, intersecting constraint families

1. INTRODUCTION. A key debate in constraint-based linguistic frameworks concerns RANKING VERSUS WEIGHTING. OPTIMALITY THEORY (OT; Prince & Smolensky 2004 [1993]) uses strict ranking: candidate A is preferred to candidate B if the highest-ranked constraint that distinguishes between them prefers A. In HARMONIC GRAMMAR (Legendre et al. 1990, Legendre et al. 2006, Potts et al. 2010, and others), the constraints bear numeric weights, and the winner is the candidate with the best harmony value (a weighted sum of constraint violations).

In both approaches there are ways, discussed below, of elaborating the core ideas to assign probability distributions to outputs, rather than predicting a single winner. Such grammars can be used to model free variation and gradient intuitions, increasing the realism of analysis and its engagement with data. Some of the probabilistic frameworks are affiliated with learning algorithms, which make it possible to address more directly the core theoretical issue (e.g. Chomsky 1965) of how language is acquired. However, grammars constructed within these frameworks have similar behavior, capturing both extreme and intermediate rates of variation. This makes it hard to produce empirical arguments in favor of one particular framework. Until now, researchers have tended to adopt one framework or another on the grounds of computational ease or the convergence properties of the available learning algorithms (e.g. Pater 2008, Magri 2012). We address this difficulty here by examining how the frameworks fare on INTERSECTING CONSTRAINT FAMILIES.

We argue that the quantitative patterns we observe in three case studies have a natural account with constraint weighting, but not with constraint ranking. Results are similar for two implementations of harmonic grammar: noisy harmonic grammar and maximum entropy grammars. We also consider and reject models in which the con-

* We would like to thank Andy Lin of UCLA’s statistical consulting group for help without which the project would not have been feasible. Giorgio Magri kindly formulated and proved the theorem we use in §3.8. We also thank for their helpful advice Arto Anttila and Paul Smolensky, as well as audiences at the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (Santa Cruz), the Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics (Cornell), the UCLA-USC phonology seminar, Seoul National University, and Yale University. The authors take full responsibility for remaining errors.

straints from the two dimensions do not interact directly but instead are placed in different components (decision-tree models).

A secondary point we make concerns **LEXICAL PROPENSITY**, the tendency of individual lexical items toward one phonological behavior. We will see this particularly in the French case study below, where different words have different idiosyncratic tendencies to require a preceding syllable boundary, and in the Tagalog case study, where different prefixes have different tendencies to resist a phonological rule. We show that lexical propensity is well modeled with lexically specific constraint weights.

1.1. INTERSECTING CONSTRAINT FAMILIES. Intersecting constraint families arise when a phonological outcome is influenced by two independent dimensions, with each dimension referred to by a different set (**FAMILY**) of constraints. For instance, we will see below that the frequency of front or back suffix allomorphs in Hungarian vowel harmony is determined by one set of constraints that refer to the vowels of the stem, and a second that refer to the stem-final consonant(s). The two constraint sets are orthogonal because there is no necessary connection in Hungarian between what vowels a stem may have and what consonants it ends in. It is an empirical question how the vowel-constraint family and the consonant-constraint family interact in determining harmony.

The question of intersecting constraint families can be visualized as a rectangular array in which the rows and columns represent constraints of the two families, as schematized in Figure 1, where there are constraints applicable to different consonant places, and constraints applicable to different vowel heights. Each data cell (shown in dark gray) occurs at the intersection of two constraints and shows the rate of the phonological outcome for words that those two constraints apply to. In this hypothetical illustration, the outcome is vowel devoicing, and it depends on both consonant place and vowel height.¹

RATES OF VOWEL DEVOICING	constraint applying to high Vs	constraint applying to mid Vs	constraint applying to low Vs
constraint applying to aspirated Cs	/p ^h i/ → [p ^h ᶲ]: x%	/p ^h e/ → [p ^h ᶲ]: y%	/p ^h a/ → [p ^h ᶲ]: z%
constraint applying to voiceless unaspirated Cs	/pi/ → [pᶲ]: w%	/pe/ → [pᶲ]: v%	/pa/ → [pᶲ]: u%
constraint applying to voiced Cs	/bi/ → [bᶲ]: t%	/be/ → [bᶲ]: s%	/ba/ → [bᶲ]: r%

FIGURE 1. Intersecting families of constraints: a schematic view.

On standard scientific grounds, we would hardly want to set up a grammar that stipulates the outcome rate for each cell separately, with nine separate parameters. Rather, we would prefer a system that assigns the right properties (rankings or weights) to each row and column, and lets the behavior of the individual cells follow from the general theory of constraint interaction.

As we will see, the available theories make quite different predictions about how intersecting constraint families should behave. It emerges that harmonic grammar, in two

¹ We do not require that the structure of the constraint set be as simple as in Fig. 1: for example, there could be a constraint applying to more than one value of a dimension (such as non-mid vowels).

different versions (noisy harmonic grammar and maximum entropy grammars) makes predictions that match well with the data, and the alternative theories are considerably less successful.

1.2. CASES EXAMINED. To make our inquiry possible, we require phenomena with the following four properties. First, there must be variable output that depends predictably on some factors. Second, the factors must belong to two (or more) orthogonal families of constraints. Third, the degree of variation should be substantial in both families, ideally reaching floor and ceiling levels (0 and 1) for both. Lastly, there must be ample corpus data: if the intersecting constraint families have n and m members, respectively, the corpus must be large enough to populate each cell of an n -by- m rate matrix with a substantial number of observations.

We present case studies from Tagalog, French, and Hungarian that meet or approximate the above criteria. We will see that harmonic grammar is successful regardless of whether the intersecting constraint families are antagonistic (one dimension consists of constraints favoring one candidate, and the other dimension of constraints favoring the other candidate), synergistic (both dimensions consist of constraints favoring the same candidate, against a single opposing constraint that applies in all cases), or a mix. The French case involves synergistic constraint families, and Hungarian and Tagalog both involve a mix.

2. TAGALOG NASAL SUBSTITUTION.

2.1. NASAL SUBSTITUTION. The process known as nasal substitution is widespread in Western Austronesian languages (Newman 1984, Pater 2001, Blust 2004). In the Tagalog version, analyzed in detail in Zuraw 2010, the final /ŋ/ of a prefix fuses with the initial obstruent of a stem to form a nasal that has the original obstruent's place of articulation.

(1) Tagalog nasal substitution

/maŋ-bigáj/	→	[ma-migáj]	'to distribute'
/maŋ-súlat/	→	[mà-nulát]	'to write professionally'
/ma-paŋ-kamkám/	→	[ma-pa-ŋamkám]	'rapacious'

Nasal substitution can apply to /p/ and /b/, yielding [m], to /t, d, s/, yielding [n], and to [k, g, ?], yielding [ŋ]. When nasal substitution does not apply, the prefix /ŋ/ generally assimilates in place to the following obstruent (RED: reduplication).

(2) Tagalog nasal substitution: examples of nonapplication

/paŋ-poʔók/	→	[pam-poʔók]	'local'
/paŋ-súlat/	→	[pan-súlat]	'writing instrument'
/maŋ-RED-kúlam/	→	[maŋ-ku-kúlam]	'witch'

Although every Tagalog obstruent has the possibility of undergoing nasal substitution or not, there are two strong phonological trends: voiceless obstruents undergo more than voiced, and, especially within the voiced obstruents, fronter (labial) consonants undergo at higher rates and backer (velar) at lower rates. The mosaic plot in Figure 2, taken from Zuraw 2010, shows dictionary data (English 1986). For each place/voicing combination, the number of words listed in the dictionary as substituted or unsubstituted is plotted; words listed with two pronunciations are omitted in this plot. For example, the dictionary lists 253 words whose stem begins with /p/ that undergo nasal substitution, and ten whose stem begins with /p/ that do not. The width of each column is proportional to the number of words making it up. Data from a corpus of mixed web text (blogs, discussion forums, newspapers; Zuraw 2009) show similar trends; see Zuraw 2010.

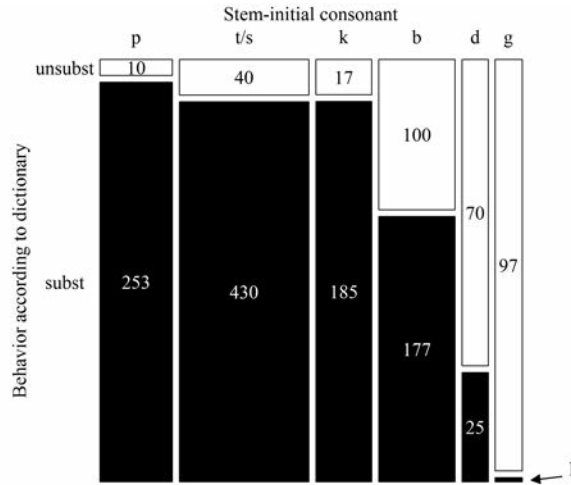


FIGURE 2. Rates of Tagalog nasal substitution by consonant—dictionary data.

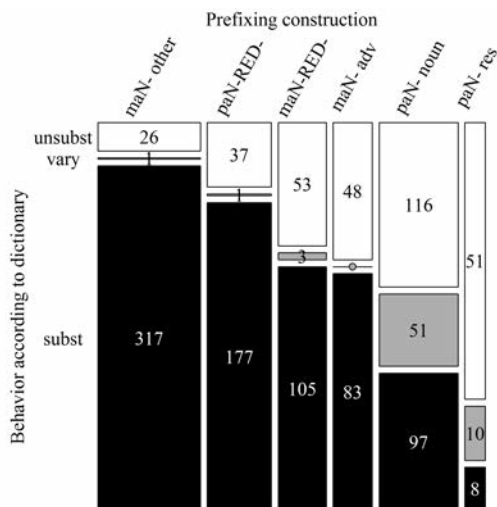
2.2. NASAL SUBSTITUTION RATES WITH DIFFERENT PREFIXES. We have now seen the first of our constraint families, phonological constraints that concern consonant place and voicing. The second family concerns morphology. Figure 2 included all relevant words in the dictionary, regardless of morphology. If we split up the data by morphology, however, we find that the prefix constructions differ greatly in the frequency with which they trigger nasal substitution. Figure 3 is a mosaic plot, based on Zuraw 2010,² that shows nasal substitution rates for the six most type-frequent prefixing constructions in the dictionary, and includes words listed in the dictionary as having both substituted and unsubstituted pronunciations (in gray).

2.3. INTERACTION OF THE TWO FACTORS. Since both consonant identity and prefix identity strongly influence the frequency of substitution, we can examine how they interact, with the ultimate goal of modeling this interaction in various frameworks. The interaction data are given in Figure 4, where stem-initial consonant is plotted on the horizontal axis and each trace represents one prefix construction. If a word is listed in the dictionary as variable, it contributes 0.5 to the nonsubstituting count for the relevant consonant and prefix, and 0.5 to the substituting count.

There are two essential observations to be made. First, by and large, both the voicing and place effects hold **ACROSS THE BOARD**: they hold true not just of the data as a whole, but to a fair extent for each individual prefix. This can be seen in the roughly parallel course of the lines plotted in Fig. 4. The prefix effects are also, to a fair degree, across the board: they hold for most of the consonants taken individually, which can be seen in the dearth of crossing lines. Thus, particular combinations of consonant and prefix do not overturn the general patterns.

Our second point is that where across-the-board patterning is not complete, this is because it is limited by **FLOOR** and **CEILING** effects. For instance, the prefix with the highest rate (*maŋ-*) flattens out place differences among /p, t, s, k/ against the ceiling of 100%, and the prefix with the lowest rate (*paŋ-* reservational) flattens out most of the

² There is a minor correction: Zuraw 2010 gives a count of one substituting /g/-initial word for *maŋ-RED-*, but the correct count is zero.



Key (RED = reduplication):
 PREFIX CONSTRUCTION
 /maŋ-*other*/ nonadversative verbs
 /paŋ-RED-/ mainly gerunds
 /maŋ-RED-/ professional or habitual nouns
 /maŋ-*adv*/ adversative verbs
 /paŋ-*noun*/ various nominalizations
 /paŋ-*res*/ reservational adjectives

FIGURE 3. Rates of Tagalog nasal substitution by prefix construction.

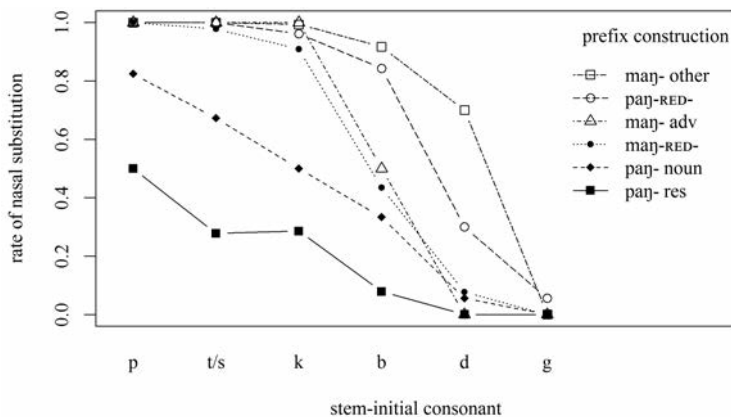


FIGURE 4. Rates of Tagalog nasal substitution collated.

place differences among /b, d, g/ against the floor. The intermediate prefixes show greater consonantal distinctions. By the same token, morphological differences are greatest for consonants with intermediate rates of nasal substitution (e.g. /b/), whereas the consonant with the highest rate (/p/) compresses four of the prefixes against the ceiling, and the consonant with the lowest rate (/g/) compresses all of the prefixes nearly against the floor.

The basic pattern—across-the-board effects in both dimensions, restrained by floor and ceiling effects—is found, we claim, in all of the data we examine in this article. Our

goal is to study how grammar models can capture such effects. To start, we must set up a constraint system that permits the models to engage with the Tagalog data.

2.4. CONSTRAINTS FOR GRAMMAR MODELING. The Tagalog models below all use the same constraint set, adapted from Zuraw 2010. The basic setup is a standard one in OT: markedness constraints that favor a particular change are opposed by faithfulness constraints. We set up the following markedness constraint as the fundamental force behind nasal substitution.

- (3) *NAS_{SUB}*: Assess one violation for any nasal + obstruent sequence, where + is a morpheme boundary within a word.

When the stem begins with a voiceless obstruent, an additional markedness constraint further favors substitution.

- (4) **NC_o*: Assess one violation for every sequence of a nasal and a voiceless obstruent.

This constraint is responsible for higher rates of nasal substitution seen in /p, t, s, k/. See Zuraw 2010 for its phonetic motivation, and Pater 1999 and 2001 for its role in nasal substitution crosslinguistically.

The opposing faithfulness constraints, following Pater (1999), are all *UNIFORMITY* constraints (McCarthy & Prince 1995) that ban merging two input segments into one output segment, hence penalizing nasal substitution. Our *UNIFORMITY* constraints are indexed to each prefix construction, to capture the prefix differences observed above.

- (5) Faithfulness constraints penalizing nasal substitution

- a. *UNIF-maŋ-_{OTHER}*: One segment from input *maŋ-_{other}* and a distinct input segment must not correspond to the same output segment.
- b. *UNIF-paŋ-RED-*: similarly for *paŋ-RED-*
- c. *UNIF-maŋ-RED-*: similarly for *maŋ-RED-*
- d. *UNIF-maŋ-_{ADV}*: similarly for *maŋ-_{adv}*
- e. *UNIF-paŋ-_{NOUN}*: similarly for *paŋ-_{noun}*
- f. *UNIF-paŋ-_{RES}*: similarly for *paŋ-_{res}*

We capture the place-of-articulation differences with markedness constraints that militate against nasal substitution by penalizing roots that begin with the nasal segments that result.

- (6) Markedness constraints penalizing nasal substitution

- a. **_[root] m/n/ŋ*: Assess one violation for every root that begins with a nasal.
- b. **_[root] n/ŋ*: Assess one violation for every root that begins with [n] or [ŋ] (penalizes substitution on coronals and velars).
- c. **_[root] ŋ*: Assess one violation for every root that begins with [ŋ] (penalizes substitution on velars).

These constraints express a general tendency for Tagalog roots not to begin with nasals: only 5% of disyllabic native roots in English's (1986) dictionary begin with a nasal, while 22% of root-medial and 16% of root-final consonants are nasal. This trend is stronger for backer nasals. We regard the **_[root] NASAL* constraints as special cases of general constraints against domain-initial sonorants (e.g. Prince & Smolensky's (2004 [1993]) family of *MARGIN/λ* constraints; see Flack 2007 on domain-initial [ŋ] in particular). Their formulation assumes that the nasal resulting from nasal substitution is root-initial; for support for this assumption from reduplication see Zuraw 2010. The consonant-sensitive constraints in 4 and 6 can be thought of as one constraint family, and the prefix-sensitive constraints in 5 as another.

We provide sample tableaux used in our simulations below in 7, showing the input, both output candidates, and all constraint violations. For the full set of thirty-six tableaux, see the OTSoft input files provided as online supplemental materials.³

(7) Sample Tagalog tableaux

	<i>frequency</i>	NASUB	*NC ₆	*[_{root} m/n/ŋ]	*[_{root} n/ŋ]	*[_{root} ʔ]	UNIF-maŋ- _{OTHER}	UNIF-paŋ-RED-	UNIF-maŋ-RED-	UNIF-maŋ- _{ADV}	UNIF-paŋ- _{NOUN}	UNIF-paŋ- _{RES}
/maŋ- _{OTHER} + p.../												
[ma-m...]	65			*			*					
[mam-p...]	0	*	*									
/paŋ- _{RES} + p.../												
[pa-m...]	4.5			*								*
[pam-p...]	4.5	*	*									
/maŋ- _{OTHER} + t.../												
[ma-n...]	71			*	*		*					
[man-t...]	0	*	*									
/maŋ- _{OTHER} + k.../												
[ma-ŋ...]	74.5			*	*	*	*					
[maŋ-k...]	0.5	*	*									
/maŋ- _{OTHER} + b.../												
[ma-m...]	66			*			*					
[mam-b...]	6	*										
/maŋ- _{OTHER} + d.../												
[ma-n...]	7			*	*		*					
[man-d...]	3	*										
/maŋ- _{OTHER} + g.../												
[ma-ŋ...]	0			*	*	*	*					
[maŋ-g...]	13	*										

With these constraints in place, we can now turn to a variety of models and see how they perform in accounting for the data pattern.

2.5. ANALYSIS IN HARMONIC GRAMMAR. Harmonic grammar is rooted in early work in general cognition by Smolensky (1986); the first application to language is Legendre, Miyata, & Smolensky 1990. The key idea behind all forms of harmonic grammar is that constraints are not RANKED but WEIGHTED; that is, each constraint bears a real number that reflects its importance in the selection of winning candidates.

All forms of harmonic grammar start with the weighted sum of the constraint violations of each candidate, often called the HARMONY of the candidate. The two flavors of harmonic grammar we cover here, MAXIMUM ENTROPY (MAXENT) and NOISY HAR-

³ The online supplemental materials can be accessed at <http://muse.jhu.edu/resolve/23>.

MONIC GRAMMAR (NOISY HG), differ in how the harmony values are cashed out as quantitative predictions about frequency.

MAXIMUM ENTROPY MODEL. The roots of MaxEnt can be seen in a variety of fields: physics and information theory (Jaynes 1957), cognitive science (Smolensky 1986), and computer science (Berger et al. 1996, Della Pietra et al. 1997). The implementation of basic MaxEnt ideas within the GEN + EVAL architecture of OT (Prince & Smolensky 2004 [1993]) first appeared in Goldwater & Johnson 2003.⁴ MaxEnt renders harmonic grammar probabilistic by means of a formula that converts harmony values to output probability; this is given in 8 (Della Pietra et al. 1997:1) and unpacked immediately below.⁵

$$(8) \text{ Formula for probability in MaxEnt: } p(\omega) = \frac{1}{Z} e^{-\sum_i w_i C_i(\omega)},$$

$$\text{where } Z = \sum_j e^{-\sum_i w_i C_i(\omega_j)}$$

We illustrate how this works with an annotated example tableau in 9. When a /t/-initial stem is prefixed with noun-forming *paŋ-*, the nasal-substituted output candidate wins for about two-thirds of words. An example is /paŋ + tanim/ ‘something used for planting’. This particular word can surface as either [pananim] or [pantanim], but the 67% figure represents the behavior of the language as a whole: in the dictionary data there are 60.5 words with substitution (counting free variants by halves) and 29.5 without. Instead of asterisks, each cell shows a candidate’s number of violations.

(9) Sample MaxEnt tableau⁶

<i>weight:</i>	2.3	4.9	0.0	2.1	1.2	0.0	0.8	1.9	2.3	4.1	6.0			
	NASUB	*NC	* _[root m/n/ŋ]	* _[root n/ŋ]	* _[root ŋ]	UNIF-map ^{-OTHER}	UNIF-paŋ-RED-	UNIF-map ^{-ADV}	UNIF-map-RED-	UNIF-paŋ ^{-NOUN}	UNIF-paŋ ^{-RES}	Harmony (10)	eHarmony (11)	probability (8, 12)
/paŋ _{noun} + t.../														
[pa-n...] (subst.) 60.5 words (67%)	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1 × 0.0 + 1 × 2.1 + 1 × 4.1 = 6.2	e ^{-6.2} = 0.0020	<u>.0020</u> .0020+.0008 = 0.73
[pan-t...] (unsubst.) 29.5 words (33%)	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 × 2.3 + 1 × 4.9 = 7.2	e ^{-7.2} = 0.0008	<u>.0008</u> .0020+.0008 = 0.27

The purpose of the grammar is to generate the probabilities in the rightmost column of 9. The first step is to compute each candidate’s harmony, which as noted above is a weighted sum of the candidate’s constraint violations.

⁴ The reference to entropy is explicated by Jaynes (1957:620), who stated that ‘the maximum-entropy estimate ... is the least biased estimate possible on the given information; i.e. it is maximally noncommittal with regard to missing information’. For example, in an OT-style MaxEnt grammar, a tableau with nothing but zeros for the constraint weights results in equal probability for all candidates—the least committal, most entropic distribution.

⁵ Our notation gives constraints positive weights and negates the weighted sum prior to exponentiation, so that ‘harmony’ is in effect a penalty score. This is a notational variant (more intuitive to us, and apparently to its originator; Wilson 2006). The alternative, which is widely used and has historical priority (Smolensky 1986), is to let the constraint weights be negative and avoid the negative sign in the formula for probability; this lets ‘harmony’ be related directly to higher probability—as the word connotes—though the harmony values are themselves negative. Absolutely nothing empirical hinges on this distinction.

⁶ We assume that all unincluded candidates are penalized by constraints whose weights are high enough to make their predicted probabilities negligible.

$$(10) \text{ Formula for harmony: } H(x) = \sum_{i=1}^N w_i C_i(x)$$

Here, $H(x)$ designates the harmony of candidate x ; w_i is the weight of the i th constraint (weights appear in the top row of 9), and $C_i(x)$ is the number of times x violates the i th constraint. $\sum_{i=1}^N$ denotes summation over all N constraints.

The next step is to negate the harmony values and take e (the base of natural logarithms, about 2.718) to the result. The resulting number, which Wilson (2014) calls eHARMONY, is then used in the next stage of the computation.

$$(11) \text{ Formula for eHarmony: } \text{eHarmony}(x) = e^{-H(x)}$$

The last step is to total up the eHarmony of all candidates; this sum is labeled Z . The predicted probability of any candidate is then its share of Z .

(12) Formula for computing probability

$$\text{a. Computing } Z: Z = \sum_j \text{eHarmony}(j)$$

$$\text{b. Computing predicted probability of candidate } x: p(x) = \frac{\text{eHarmony}(x)}{Z}$$

In our annotated sample tableau in 9, the nasal-substituted candidate thus receives a probability of 0.73, and the unsubstituted one 0.27, not far off from the observed probabilities of 0.67 (60.5/90 words) and 0.33 (29.5/65 words).

The substance embodied in the MaxEnt calculations is as follows. First, negation of harmony means that it acts as a kind of penalty score, so that heavily penalized candidates get lower eHarmonies and thus ultimately lower probabilities (see n. 5). Second, constraints with higher weights have more powerful effects, in that candidates that violate them are assigned lower probabilities. Third, as with all forms of harmonic grammar (and unlike in strict-ranking OT), there is pervasive CUMULATIVITY (Jäger & Rosenbach 2006): violations of two weaker constraints (or multiple violations of a single weak constraint) can outweigh a violation of a stronger constraint. The cumulative property emerges as crucial in the studies to follow.

Readers often ask for an intuitive explanation of why harmony must be exponentiated (as in 11). Exponentiation performs two functions: it keeps probability from ever going negative (which is logically impossible), and it implements our human intuition that a great deal of evidence is needed when we are aiming at certainty. For example, it can be shown by the equations above that when, in a two-candidate system, candidate C_1 is already at probability 0.99, then we would have to penalize its opponent C_2 by an additional harmony of 2.3 to get $P(C_1)$ to move up to 0.999. To reach $P(C_1) = 0.9999$, we need yet another 2.3 units of harmony. In the medial regions, by contrast, comparable linear shifts of probability come cheaply: it only takes 0.0036 units of harmony added to C_2 to promote $P(C_1)$ from 0.5 to 0.5009; and only 0.00036 more units to get $P(C_1)$ up to 0.50099. Such differences show up geometrically in the sigmoid curves seen below.

THE ROLE OF THE GRAMMAR. What does it mean to formulate a grammar that predicts that two-thirds of the words in a particular class will undergo a phonological process? Individual words have a particular behavior (substitution, nonsubstitution, or variation) that must be encoded somehow in the lexicon, seemingly obviating the need for a grammar. Following earlier work (Zuraw 2000, 2010), our model is intended as an account of the productive behavior of Tagalog speakers when they apply /ŋ/-final prefixes in creating novel forms. In a nonce-probe (wug) test (Berko 1958), Tagalog speakers showed preferences for substitution that reflected the statistics of their lexicon. The same held for Spanish loanwords that have been incorporated into Tagalog, in effect a real-life wug test over time.

The tendency of productive behavior to match lexical frequencies has been documented in a variety of languages, leading us to give the phenomenon a name, the LAW OF FREQUENCY MATCHING (Hayes et al. 2009). In the Hungarian example below, we model experimental behavior as well as the lexicon.

LEARNING AND THE MAXENT GRAMMAR. The weights used in 9 were fitted using OTSoft (Hayes et al. 2014). Weights are fitted so as to maximize the model’s predicted probability for the observed data. We set σ^2 , the parameter that determines how willing the weights are to deviate from zero (or another default value), to 10,000, so that there is essentially no penalty on large weights, and the learner’s only goal is to fit the data. The weights learned are listed in Table 1, and the resulting predicted probabilities are plotted in Figure 5.

CONSTRAINT	WEIGHT
NAS _{SUB}	2.31
*N _C	4.85
*[_{root} m/n/ŋ]	0.00
*[_{root} n/ŋ]	2.13
*[_{root} ŋ]	1.16
UNIF-manj- _{OTHER}	0.00
UNIF-pañ-RED	0.82
UNIF-manj- _{ADV}	1.92
UNIF-manj-RED	2.29
UNIF-pañ- _{NOUN}	4.06
UNIF-pañ- _{RES}	6.01

TABLE 1. MaxEnt weights fitted to Tagalog.

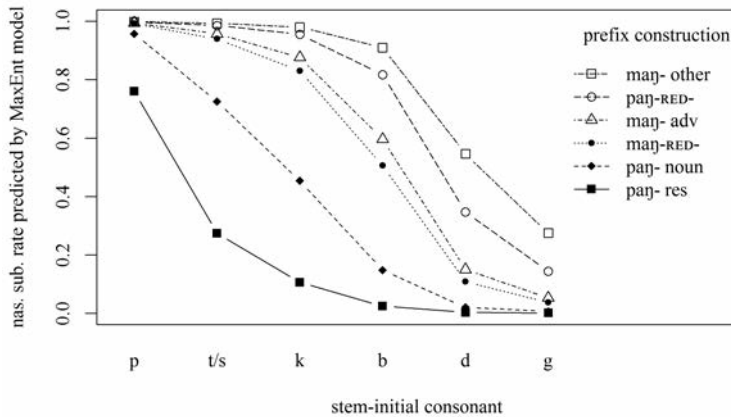


FIGURE 5. MaxEnt grammar’s probabilities of nasal substitution.

The predicted probabilities should be compared with the observed probabilities given earlier in Fig. 4. It can be seen that the MaxEnt grammar grossly captures the observed ceiling and floor effects: consonantal differences are biggest for the intermediate prefixes, and prefix differences are biggest for the intermediate consonants, flattening out for the most extreme consonants on both ends, although the model does not succeed in producing uniformly low nasal substitution rates for /g/. (Fit of this and other models is quantified in §2.7.)

MATHEMATICAL BASIS OF THE FLOOR AND CEILING EFFECTS. The reason that MaxEnt produces floor and ceiling effects has to do with the sigmoid shape of candidate proba-

bility as a function of constraint-weight difference. For each consonant, there is a certain markedness difference between the substituted and unsubstituted candidates—specifically, the weights of the applicable $*[\text{root} \text{NASAL}]$ constraints (which favor the unsubstituted candidate) minus the weights of NAS_{SUB} and $*\text{NC}_{\text{C}}$ (which favor the substituted candidate), if applicable. In the tableau in 9 for $/\text{pa}\eta\text{-}_{\text{noun}} + \text{t...}/$, this was $(0.00 + 2.13) - (2.31 + 4.85) = -5.0$ (after rounding). The probability of nasal substitution for each prefix at each consonant is a function of the markedness difference for that consonant and of the relevant UNIFORMITY constraint’s weight. The function is logistic, of the form $p(\text{subst}) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\text{markedness_difference} + \text{weight}(\text{UNIFORMITY})}}$. Details of how this function is derived are shown in 13, for the example consonant $/b/$.

- (13) Probability of nasal substitution for $/b/$: Exponentiated constraint violations of substituted candidate, divided by sum of exponentiated violations for both candidates:

$$\frac{e^{-\text{weight}(\text{UNIFORMITY}) - \text{weight}(*[m/n/\eta])}}{e^{-\text{weight}(\text{UNIFORMITY}) - \text{weight}(*[m/n/\eta])} + e^{-\text{weight}(\text{NAS}_{\text{SUB}})}}$$

Divide top and bottom by the numerator:

$$= \frac{1}{1 + e^{\text{weight}(*[m/n/\eta] - \text{weight}(\text{NAS}_{\text{SUB}}) + \text{weight}(\text{UNIFORMITY})}}$$

With the fitted weights in our grammar, the probability function for $\text{ma}\eta\text{-}_{\text{other}}$, the most-substituting prefix, is $p(\text{subst}) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\text{markedness_difference} + 0.06}}$, and for $\text{pa}\eta\text{-}_{\text{res}}$, the least-substituting prefix, $p(\text{subst}) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{\text{markedness_difference} + 6.01}}$. These two versions of the function are plotted in Figure 6. Dashed vertical lines show the markedness difference for each consonant. The plot shows that the prefixes are best distinguished—that is, the two sigmoids are the farthest apart—for the intermediate consonants, and begin to collapse together against the ceiling or floor for the consonants at each extreme. As the markedness difference becomes more negative, both denominators converge toward $1 + 0$. Thus, the two probabilities converge toward $1 / (1 + 0) = 1$. As the markedness difference becomes more positive, both denominators grow so large that both probabilities are indistinguishably close to 0.

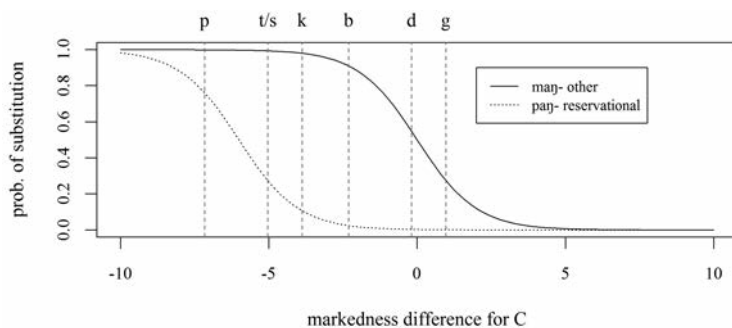


FIGURE 6. Nasal substitution probabilities for two prefixes, as a function of consonants’ markedness differences.

In general, a function of the form $\frac{1}{1 + e^n}$ is very close to either 1 or 0 for most values of n . In order to see a value between 0.99 and 0.01, n must be between about -5 and 5 , and to see a value between 0.90 and 0.10, n must be between about -2.2 and 2.2 . In our example, this means that if either group of constraints is contributing a large negative or positive value to n —such as $/p/$ ’s markedness difference of -7.2 —then it will take a

large opposing value contributed by the other group—UNIFORMITY—to pull the probability of the substituted candidate away from the ceiling or floor. The result is that choice of prefix matters less for the extreme consonants /p/ and /g/ than for the intermediate consonants /k/ and /b/.

Similar calculations show that consonant differences are greatest for UNIFORMITY constraints with intermediate weights, and smallest for those with extreme weights (see the online supplemental materials for examples).

In this example, we have two dimensions of variation: constraints relevant to the consonant were grouped into the MARKEDNESS DIFFERENCE, and constraints relevant to the morphology were in the UNIFORMITY family. We have shown that when the difference (in weighted constraint violations) between two candidates is already large in one dimension, the other dimension has little effect. In sum: the ability of MaxEnt to describe across-the-board patterns constrained by floor and ceiling effects is not accidental, but is a general prediction of the model, a direct consequence of the equations it employs. As we see next, the same is true of noisy HG.

NOISY HG MODEL. Another method for making harmonic grammar probabilistic is noisy HG (Boersma 1998a, Boersma & Pater 2016). This system likewise starts by computing a harmony score for each candidate, as given above in 10. Instead of exponentiating and normalizing to obtain a probability, however, noisy HG simply designates the candidate with the best score as the winner. What makes the model noisy (i.e. probabilistic) is that at each evaluation time, some Gaussian noise is added to each constraint's weight, potentially changing the winning candidate. A candidate's probability of winning is most easily determined by simulation: run the grammar some large number of times, and observe how often each candidate wins.

An example is shown in 14 for one evaluation instance.⁷ In this example, the winner after noise (substitution) is the same as the winner before noise. The farther apart the harmonies before noise, the less likely it is that noise can overturn the before-noise preference.

(14) Sample noisy HG tableau—one evaluation

<i>weight</i>	6.2	10.6	0.4	4.4	2.2	0.4	2.1	4.3	5.0	8.9	13.6		
<i>noise (Gaussian)</i>	0.2	-0.7	0.3	1.2	0.1	0.0	-0.5	-0.2	-0.4	-0.4	-1.2		
<i>weight + noise</i>													
												<i>weighted sum of constraint violations before noise</i>	<i>weighted sum of constraint violations after noise</i>
/paŋ _{noun} + t.../	N _{AS} SUB	*N _C	*[_{root} m/n/ŋ]	*[_{root} n/ŋ]	*[_{root} ɲ]	UNIF-map _{-OTHER}	UNIF-paŋ-RED-	UNIF-map _{-ADV}	UNIF-map _{-RED-}	UNIF-paŋ _{-NOUN}	UNIF-paŋ _{-RES}		
[pa-n...] (subst.) 60.5 words	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14.0	13.1 <i>winner</i>
[pan-t...] (unsubst.) 29.5 words	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.8	16.3

Boersma and Pater (2016) have put forth an algorithm similar to Boersma's (1998b) GRADUAL LEARNING ALGORITHM and have shown that it is effective for learning weights in noisy HG. We used this algorithm to fit a noisy HG grammar to the Tagalog

⁷ Violations are often expressed as negative numbers instead. Either way, the best weighted sum is the one closest to zero.

data, with the same constraints as in the previous section and using OTSoft (Hayes et al. 2014).⁸ The resulting weights (used in the example above) are given in Table 2, and the model’s probabilities are shown in Figure 7.

CONSTRAINT	WEIGHT
NASSUB	6.17
*NC _o	10.61
*[_{root} m/n/ŋ]	0.42
*[_{root} n/ŋ]	4.36
*[_{root} ŋ]	2.17
UNIF-maj- _{OTHER}	0.37
UNIF-paj-RED	2.12
UNIF-maj- _{ADV}	4.31
UNIF-maj-RED	5.01
UNIF-paj- _{NOUN}	8.94
UNIF-paj- _{RES}	13.61

TABLE 2. Noisy HG weights, fitted to Tagalog.

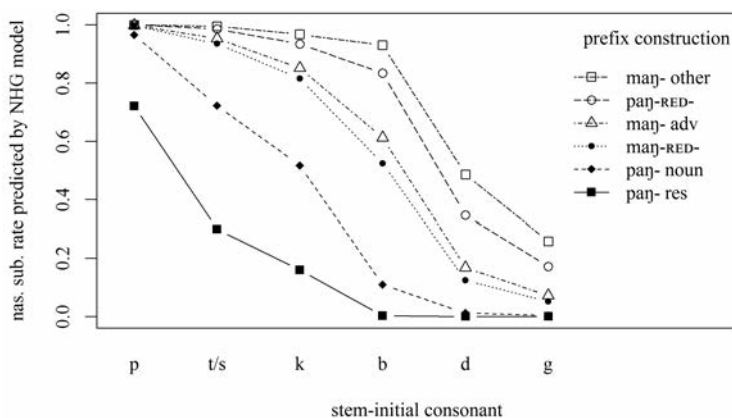


FIGURE 7. Noisy HG grammar’s probabilities of nasal substitution.

The noisy HG model captures the ceiling and floor effects, for similar reasons as in the MaxEnt model. To take just the simple case of /p/, the probability of substitution is the probability that the weights-plus-noise of *[_{root} m/n/ŋ] and UNIFORMITY are together smaller than those of *NC_o and NASSUB, as in 15.

(15) probability of nasal substitution for /p/ = probability that the following inequality holds:

$$\text{weight}(*[_{\text{root}} \text{m/n/}\eta]) + \text{noise} + \text{weight}(\text{UNIF}) + \text{noise} < \text{weight}(*\text{NC}_o) + \text{noise} + \text{weight}(\text{NASSUB}) + \text{noise}$$

i.e.

$$\text{noise} + \text{noise} - \text{noise} - \text{noise} < \text{weight}(*\text{NC}_o) + \text{weight}(\text{NASSUB}) - \text{weight}(*[_{\text{root}} \text{m/n/}\eta] - \text{weight}(\text{UNIF}))$$

In other words, the probability of nasal substitution on /p/ is the probability that the sum⁹ of four independent, Gaussian, random variables is less than a certain number

⁸ Default initial weights: all 0. Initial plasticity: 0.01; final plasticity: 0.001. Number of learning trials: 10,000,000. Noise imposed is a Gaussian random variable (mean 0, standard deviation 1), multiplied by 2 (Boersma 1998a). The only bias imposed is that weights may not be negative.

⁹ Because the noise variables are distributed symmetrically around zero, the distribution of *noise + noise - noise - noise* is the same as the distribution of *noise + noise + noise + noise*.

(which will vary according to which UNIFORMITY constraint is in play). The sum of four independent Gaussians is itself a Gaussian, and the probability that it is less than some number—known as the cumulative distribution function—is sigmoid (Peters 2002:4–5). Figure 8 shows this sigmoid function for /p/, and the analogous one for /k/. We can see that /p/'s probability of substituting clings to the ceiling until high values of UNIFORMITY (about 10), and that at hypothetical even higher values of UNIFORMITY, both consonants' rates hit the floor. Vertical lines indicate the actual UNIFORMITY weights for our six prefixes.

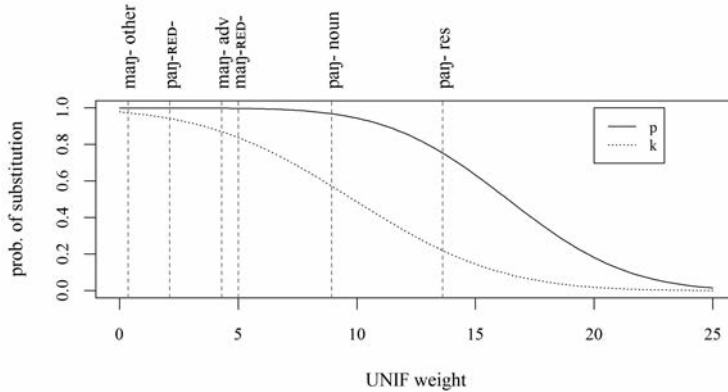


FIGURE 8. Probability of nasal substitution as a function of UNIF weight in noisy HG.

As in the MaxEnt model, it is only when the two candidates (substituted and unsubstituted) are otherwise close competitors that prefix or consonant differences can be seen. When, for example, faithfulness is weighted too low to resist *N_C and *N_{ASSUB}, giving a large advantage to the substituted candidate, little difference between /p/ and /k/ is observed. Only when the substituted and unsubstituted candidates' scores are otherwise reasonably close do the weights of *[_{root} n/ŋ] and *[_{root} ŋ] affect the outcome enough for a difference between /p/ and /k/ to emerge.

To sum up: noisy HG, just like MaxEnt, naturally generates sigmoid curves as a consequence of its basic mathematical form. These sigmoids, though not identical to the MaxEnt sigmoids, serve the same function in accounting for across-the-board effects, overridden by floor and ceiling effects.

2.6. SOME UNSUCCESSFUL MODELS. We now consider some models that are less successful in capturing the Tagalog data.

STOCHASTIC OT MODEL. In contrast to our two harmonic grammar models, which employ constraint weighting, a STOCHASTIC OT grammar (Boersma 1998a) is a probability distribution over strict-ranking (classical) OT grammars. These probability distributions are quite restricted: they must be expressible by assigning each constraint a ranking value, such that the probability of a given constraint ranking is the probability that the ranking values, after adding noise, fall into the corresponding order. In other words, at evaluation time, Gaussian noise is added to each constraint's ranking value, the constraints are ranked according to the resulting numbers, and strict-ranking OT applies as usual. Two constraints whose ranking values are far apart effectively have a fixed ranking, and those that are closer together vary appreciably in ranking.

The gradual learning algorithm (GLA; Boersma 1998a) can be used to learn stochastic OT grammars, although as Pater (2008) discusses, the algorithm is not guaranteed to

converge, and even if it does converge the result is not guaranteed to be the stochastic OT grammar that best matches the data. To help address this problem, we used a modified version of OTSoft (Hayes et al. 2014) to run 999 learning simulations.¹⁰ We also ran 999 simulations using a slightly different version of the GLA, incorporating an update rule devised by Magri (2012) in response to Pater’s (2008) criticism of the original update rule. We picked the grammar that was the best fit (assigns the greatest log likelihood to the observed data) out of these, though it is still possible that a better-fitting grammar exists.

The ranking values for the best grammar, which was one of the Magri-fitted grammars, are listed in Table 3, and its predicted probabilities, derived by simulation in OTSoft, are plotted in Figure 9.

CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE
NAS _{SUB}	-310.72
*N _Ç	-304.15
*[_{root} m/n/ŋ]	-2,355.49
*[_{root} n/ŋ]	-315.55
*[_{root} ŋ]	-308.22
UNIF-maŋ- _{OTHER}	-314.59
UNIF-paŋ- _{RED}	-312.71
UNIF-maŋ- _{ADV}	-309.02
UNIF-maŋ- _{RED}	-309.96
UNIF-paŋ- _{NOUN}	-306.99
UNIF-paŋ- _{RES}	-302.22

TABLE 3. Best GLA-learned stochastic OT ranking values for Tagalog.

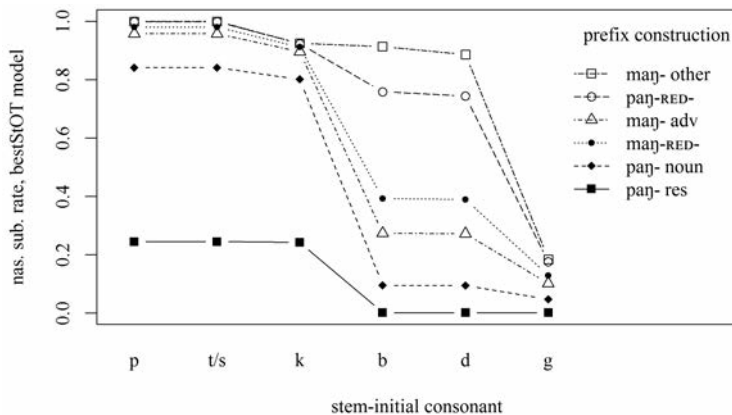


FIGURE 9. Stochastic OT model of Tagalog nasal substitution.

The strongly negative weights (and one weight much lower than the rest) indicate that the learner is failing to converge; in particular, the weight of *[_{root} m/n/ŋ] continues to be pushed downward, even after its weight is so low that it will never outrank a competing constraint. The extremely low ranking of *[_{root} m/n/ŋ]—too low for it ever to be decisive—means that there is virtually no difference between labials and coronals: /p/ and /t, s/ have nearly the same predicted behavior, and, more problematically, so do /b/

¹⁰ It was computationally convenient to implement 999 trials rather than 1,000. Initial ranking values: 100 for all constraints (i.e. no biases). Number of learning trials: 1,000,000. Starting plasticity: 2; ending plasticity: 0.01. Noise: 2.

and /d/, although they are quite different in the training data. There is little difference among the voiceless consonants at all, because $*_{\text{root}} \eta$ is not ranked high enough to compete with $*\text{NC}$ more than slightly; the competition is almost entirely between $*\text{NC}$ and UNIFORMITY constraints, none of which care about place of articulation. If $*_{\text{root}} \text{m/n/}\eta$ were ranked higher, however, then the model would do even worse at capturing /p/'s ceiling-ward tendency, and if $*_{\text{root}} \eta$ were ranked higher, then it would pull down substitution rates for /k/, not so much for the less-substituting prefixes, but for the most-substituting prefixes, whose ranking values are closest to $*_{\text{root}} \eta$'s; this would be a poor match to the training data. More generally, the model encounters repeated contradictions in finding a suitable placement for constraints on the ranking scale; they cannot be in two places at once, as we now discuss.

WHY DOES THE STOCHASTIC OT MODEL FAIL FOR TAGALOG? In certain instances it is possible to construct a stochastic OT grammar that captures a family-of-sigmoids shape, but only with a set of constraints that is otherwise undesirable. We illustrate this by adopting an alternative constraint set for Tagalog that gives up on the goal of characterizing the voicing and place effects as interacting dimensions, and rather treats each voice/place combination as independent. We first show that this constraint set succeeds, and then show why the preferred set of constraints fails: for our alternative constraint set, we simply adopt one markedness constraint demanding nasal substitution for each underlying consonant, $*\text{N+p}$, $*\text{N+t/s}$, and so on. Training the GLA with these constraints on the observed data (using the same procedure of selecting the best-fit model from 999 runs each, with and without Magri's update rule), we obtain the ranking values shown in Table 4 and the predictions seen in Figure 10.

CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE	CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE
$*\text{N+p}$	105.4	$\text{UNIF-paj}_{\text{-RES}}$	105.3
$*\text{N+t/s}$	104.2	$\text{UNIF-paj}_{\text{-NOUN}}$	102.5
$*\text{N+k}$	103.1	$\text{UNIF-maj}_{\text{-RED-}}$	99.9
$*\text{N+b}$	100.1	$\text{UNIF-maj}_{\text{-ADV}}$	99.2
$*\text{N+d}$	96.1	$\text{UNIF-paj}_{\text{-RED-}}$	97.1
$*\text{N+g}$	91.0	$\text{UNIF-maj}_{\text{-OTHER}}$	95.9

TABLE 4. Stochastic OT grammar with consonant-specific constraints: ranking values learned.

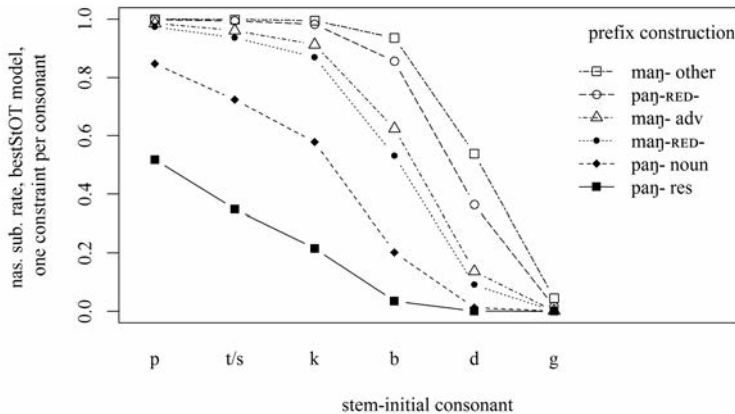


FIGURE 10. Stochastic OT grammar with consonant-specific constraints: predictions for nasal substitution.

The grammar works because each data point is modeled as the interaction of just two opposing constraints. Convergence toward 0 or 1 at the extremes is possible if the relevant markedness constraint is either extremely weak ($*\text{N+g}$) or quite strong ($*\text{N+p}$). In

the middle, *N+b has an intermediate ranking value, producing a wide range of probabilities that it can outrank each UNIFORMITY constraint.

But our strawman grammar misses the generalizations about voicing and place, which have typological support (Newman 1984, Pater 2001, Blust 2004, Zuraw 2010). It works only because each dimension—prefixes and consonants—lacks any internal structure. If we introduce internal structure, through constraints like *NC_o (which is relevant for multiple consonant places) or *_[root]η (relevant for both /k/ and /g/), then the stochastic OT architecture can no longer fit a family of converging sigmoids, as we saw in Fig. 9.

The failure can be diagnosed with standard forms of ranking argumentation. We now build up a grammar to fit observed data points one by one, and arrive at a ranking paradox. First, to ensure near-zero nasal-substitution rates for /g/ with all prefixes, we need *_[root]η to have a ranking value far above that of NAS_{SUB} (the only constraint favoring substitution for /g/). A seven-point difference will keep substitution rates for /g/ below 1% (matching the empirically observed value).

This difference is shown in the grammar on the left in Figure 11 below, where NAS_{SUB}'s ranking value is 93 and *_[root]η's is 100. The diagram is similar to a Hasse diagram used to depict the known ranking relation in a nonprobabilistic OT grammar. The difference is that in a typical Hasse diagram, a line between two constraints indicates that the constraint on top outranks the one on the bottom, and the length of the line is irrelevant. Here, such a line indicates instead a ranking tendency, and the longer the line, the stronger the tendency.

Consider next /b/. It has a high rate of substitution with *maŋ_{-other}*, so NAS_{SUB}, the only constraint favoring substitution of /b/, must tend to outrank both *_[root]m/n/ŋ and UNIF-*maŋ_{-OTHER}*. A difference of four points (as shown in Fig. 11) means that each substitution-penalizing constraint has an 8% chance of outranking NAS_{SUB}, and the combined probability that one or the other outranks it is a little higher, 13%, giving /*maŋ_{-other}* + b.../ an 83% rate of substitution.

As for /b/ with *paŋ_{-noun}*, we want a lowish rate of substitution, around 33%. *_[root]m/n/ŋ cannot do the job of enforcing this low rate, because we have just established that it is ranked well below NAS_{SUB}. The task therefore falls to UNIF-*paŋ_{-NOUN}*; we can give it a ranking value of 94, so that NAS_{SUB} outranks it 36% of the time (the actual rate of substitution will be a little lower, because even when UNIF-*paŋ_{-NOUN}* does not outrank NAS_{SUB}, occasionally *_[root]m/n/ŋ will do so).

Next we consider the input /*maŋ_{-other}* + k.../. We need a high substitution rate despite *_[root]η's objection. NAS_{SUB} cannot be responsible, because at six points below *_[root]η, it is unlikely to outrank *_[root]η. The only constraint besides NAS_{SUB} that favors substitution is *NC_o, so it must have a ranking value substantially higher than *_[root]η's (and also higher than UNIF-*maŋ₋*'s, but this is ensured transitively by what we have already established). This is again shown in the grammar on the left in Fig. 11.

But now we have predicted, incorrectly, that all nasal-substitution rates for /p/ and /k/ will be very close to 100%, because *NC_o nearly always comes out as the top-ranked relevant constraint. The contradictory ranking fragment needed to fit voiceless consonants with the *paŋ_{-noun}* prefix is shown on the right in Fig. 11. We need UNIF-*paŋ_{-NOUN}* to have a good chance of outranking both *NC_o and NAS_{SUB}, which happens if we increase its ranking value to 103. (This yields a nasal-substitution rate of around 85% for /*paŋ_{-noun}* + p.../. We also have to promote *_[root]η high enough to produce a lower rate for /*paŋ_{-noun}* + k.../, about 60%.)

Thus we have the probabilistic version of a ranking paradox: UNIF-*paŋ_{-NOUN}* cannot be in two places at once. On the one hand, in the grammar on the left, its ranking value

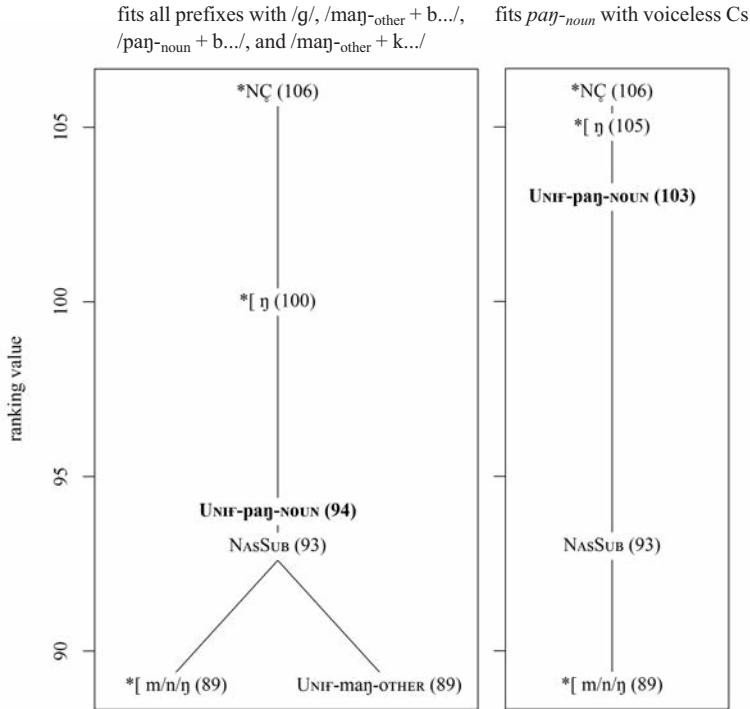


FIGURE 11. Contradictory hand-built stochastic OT grammar fragments.

must be just a little above *NASSUB*'s (to model /paŋ_{-noun} + b.../), and *NASSUB* must be far below **NÇ* (to model /maŋ_{-other} + k.../)—but on the other hand, in the grammar on the right, its ranking value should be close to **NÇ*'s, in order to model voiceless stops with *paŋ_{-noun}*.

To summarize, if we model complexity of the consonant dimension using constraints that were previously proposed (Zuraw 2010) on crosslinguistic, language-internal, and phonetic grounds, stochastic OT is not able to capture the quantitative pattern of Tagalog nasal substitution. In other words, the constraint set matters. With just the right constraints—in this case, one for each consonant—it is possible to produce a family of sigmoids in stochastic OT. MaxEnt and noisy HG, by contrast, produce a family of sigmoids regardless of constraint set. They are persistently sigmoidal, where stochastic OT is only sporadically sigmoidal. If our three case studies are typical, this makes MaxEnt and noisy HG more promising as quantitative models of constraint interaction.

ANTTILIAN PARTIAL ORDERING. As in stochastic OT, in Anttila's theory of partial ordering (1997a,b), a grammar is a probability distribution over total rankings. The distribution is defined by a partial ordering of constraints. All total orderings that are consistent with that partial ordering are taken as equally probable. For example, if the grammar is the partial ordering $A \gg \{B, C\} \gg D$, then the total rankings $A \gg B \gg C \gg D$ and $A \gg C \gg B \gg D$ are each used 50% of the time. If those two rankings produce different output candidates, then each of those candidates is predicted to occur 50% of the time.

In the original research that established the theory, Anttila generally adhered to a more restrictive version of partial ordering in which the ordering is STRATIFIED (Boersma 2001): constraints within the same stratum are ranked freely, but rankings across strata

are fixed.¹¹ In the example just given there are three strata: top-ranked {A}, middle-ranked {B, C}, and bottom-ranked {D}. We adopt stratification here because (unlike for partial ordering) there is an accessible learning procedure for stratified grammars.¹²

Specifically, stratified grammars can be learned using the GLA by setting the learning increment to a high number such as twenty. This means that all constraints will either have the same ranking value (be in the same stratum) or be at least twenty units apart in ranking value, which is tantamount to an absolute ranking. As before, we ran the GLA 999 times and selected the grammar with the best fit to the data. That grammar is given in Table 5; it has seven strata. We also include ranking values from which the strata were inferred (these values have no status in this theory, but were included to illustrate how this is a special case of a stochastic OT grammar). The grammar’s predictions are plotted in Figure 12.

	CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE
Stratum 1	*N ₀	2,480
	UNIF-paŋ-NOUN	2,480
	UNIF-paŋ-RES	2,480
Stratum 2	*[_{root} ŋ]	2,440
Stratum 3	*[_{root} n/ŋ]	2,400
	NAS _{SUB}	2,400
	UNIF-maŋ-RED-	2,400
Stratum 4	UNIF-maŋ-ADV	2,380
Stratum 5	UNIF-paŋ-RED-	1,960
Stratum 6	*[_{root} m/n/ŋ]	-2,200
Stratum 7	UNIF-maŋ-OTHER	-13,400

TABLE 5. Best stratified Antilian model.

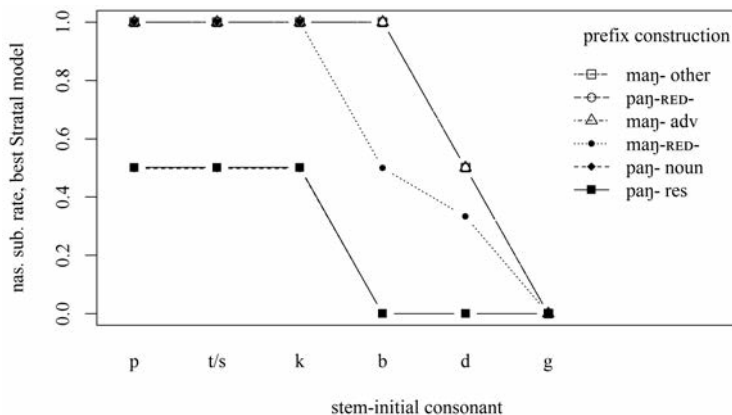


FIGURE 12. Best stratified Antilian model predictions for nasal substitution.

¹¹ We define stratification more explicitly as follows: if constraints B and C are unranked, then every constraint that outranks B must also outrank C, and every constraint that B outranks must also be outranked by C. Then we can say that B and C are in the same ranking stratum, as in A >> {B, C} >> D.

The full version of Antila’s theory is more powerful because it allows a grammar like A >> B, with C unranked. This means that there are three equally probable rankings: C >> A >> B, A >> C >> B, A >> B >> C. This is not possible in stochastic OT, where if A’s ranking value is so much higher than B’s that A effectively always outranks B, then there is no possible ranking value for C that makes it likely to outrank A but also to be outranked by B. Since the GLA only learns possible stochastic OT grammars, it follows that such rankings cannot be learned by the GLA.

¹² See Djalali 2013 for an algorithm that inputs nonquantitative data (candidates either are legal or not), finds the compatible partial orderings, and calculates predicted frequencies. Limitations in the software implementation available to us have prevented us from testing this algorithm on the three cases examined here.

For voiceless consonants /p, t, s, k/, the choice is made in the first stratum: if the prefix is *paŋ-noun* or *paŋ-res*, then there is a fifty-fifty competition between UNIFORMITY and *NC₆, with a resulting 50% rate of nasal substitution. For other morphology, *NC₆ prevails, and the substitution rate is 100%. As a result, there are no differences at all among voiceless consonants, and only two different rates of nasal substitution observed.

The modeling of the voiced consonants is more successful, though only three classes of prefix are distinguished. Voiced consonants /b, d, g/ have a zero rate of substitution for *paŋ-noun* and *paŋ-res*, chosen in stratum 1. For /g/ with other prefixes, the choice is made in the next stratum by *_[root]ŋ, yielding 0% substitution. For /b/, there is fifty-fifty competition in stratum 3 for *maŋ-RED-*, and 100% substitution enforced by NAS_{SUB} at stratum 3 for the remaining morphology. The most complex case is /d/, where there are two relevant constraints at stratum 3 for most prefixes, producing fifty-fifty competition between NAS_{SUB} and *_[root]n/ŋ. But for *maŋ-RED-*, there are two constraints favoring nonsubstitution against one constraint favoring substitution; whichever constraint is ranked at the top will make the decision, and each has an equal probability of being ranked at the top, so the resulting substitution rate is 33%.

In sum, the best stratified Antillian model that could be learned was highly defective: it fails to distinguish the voiceless consonants from one another, and it distinguishes at most three prefixes. We have not located ANY circumstances under which the Antillian model is able to generate a family of sigmoids, although we cannot rule out the possibility that some such circumstances may exist.

More generally, with our constraint set, it is not possible for substitution rates to converge toward 1 for /p/—that is, within the voiceless consonants, it is not possible for prefix differences to be smallest for /p/ and biggest for /k/. The prefix differences can be identical across the voiceless consonants, as in the best model we found, or they can be largest for /p/ and smallest for /k/, if some or all of the *_[root]NASAL constraints are promoted into the top stratum.

DECISION-TREE MODEL. Our next model is based on a radically different premise from the others: suppose that the Tagalog pattern is the consequence of sequenced modules, as in the classical feed-forward model of generative grammar. The modules themselves may well involve interacting constraints, but the two intersecting constraint families would reside in separate components.

We can flesh out this idea as follows. A morphology/syntax module first probabilistically assigns structure, which is then fed into a phonology module. Schematically, the structures assigned would be [prefix [root]_{domain}] contrasting with [prefix root]_{domain}, with the details depending on the particular theoretical framework employed (see Gref 2008 for a concrete proposal for a cognate prefix). [prefix [root]_{domain}] is a LOOSE structure (only the root is within a certain domain), and [prefix root]_{domain} is a CLOSE structure (prefix and root are together in that domain).

Let us further suppose that if a word is assigned the loose structure, there is no possibility of nasal substitution in the phonological module—the prefix and stem fail to be together in nasal substitution's domain of application—but if a word is assigned the close structure, then the phonology probabilistically decides whether to apply nasal substitution.

We can describe this sequence of probabilistic choices using a DECISION TREE (Breiman et al. 1984), illustrated in Figure 13 for a hypothetical prefix and consonant.

Assuming this tree, a novel word's probability of undergoing nasal substitution is its probability of getting the close structure (which depends on the prefix), multiplied by its probability of then undergoing nasal substitution in the phonology (which depends on the consonant).

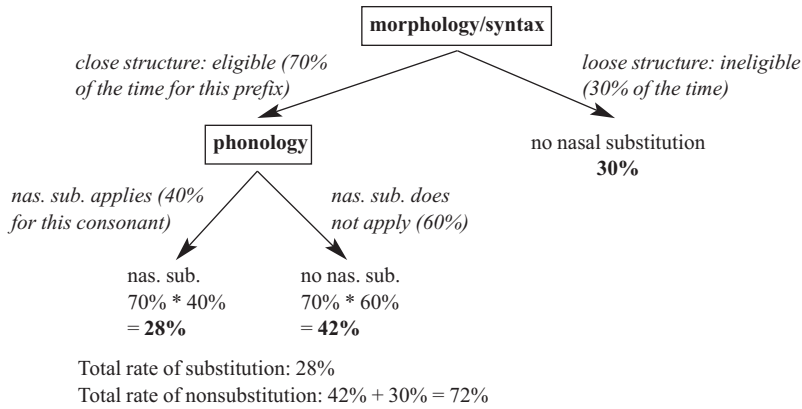


FIGURE 13. Decision tree: morphosyntactic decision feeds phonological decision.

We implemented a decision-tree model of the Tagalog data. To give the model the benefit of the doubt, we allowed it to assign independent probabilities of substitution for each consonant, ignoring the general patterns based on voicing and place; the model also included a separate probability of close structure for each prefix. To obtain the best-fit probabilities, we used the `optim()` function in R (R Core Team 2014), with the objective of maximizing likelihood (the probability that the model assigns to the observed data). The best-fit probabilities were as given in Table 6.

MORPHOLOGY	PROBABILITY OF CLOSE STRUCTURE	CONSONANT	PROBABILITY OF SUBSTITUTION, GIVEN CLOSE STRUCTURE
maŋ _{-other}	1.00	p	1.00
paŋ _{-RED-}	1.00	t/s	1.00
maŋ _{-adv}	1.00	k	0.98
maŋ _{-RED-}	0.95	b	0.74
paŋ _{-noun}	0.65	d	0.21
paŋ _{-res}	0.27	g	0.01

TABLE 6. Component probabilities fitted for decision-tree model.

As Figure 14 shows, this model fit the data poorly. (Only four lines can be seen, because the top three prefixes were assigned identical probabilities of close structure.)

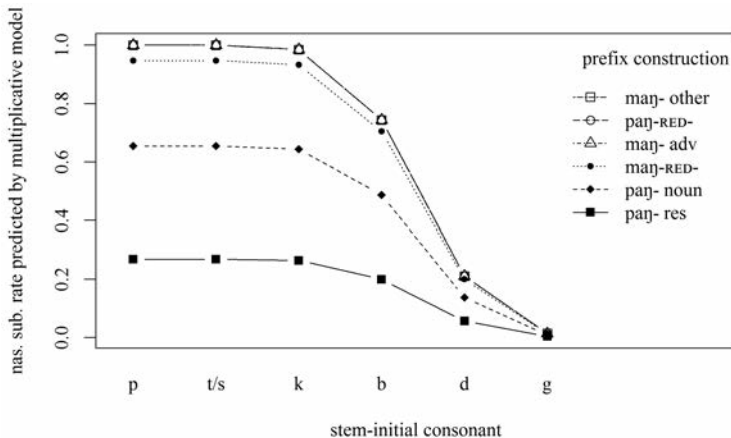


FIGURE 14. Predictions of the decision-tree model for nasal substitution.

The model succeeds in having probabilities converge near 0 at the right end of the consonant scale. This is because, given close structure, the fitted probability of substitution for /g/ is low, 0.01, imposing an upper limit on how often /g/ can undergo substitution: multiplying such a low number by even *manj-other*'s high probability of close structure (1.00) still results in a very small probability (0.01). But the model necessarily fails to achieve convergence near 1 at the left end of the consonant scale. The prefix *panj-res* has the lowest probability of close structure, 0.27, so that no consonant can ever achieve a rate of substitution higher than 0.27 with that prefix. Even though /p/'s probability of substitution, given close structure, is high (1.00), multiplying by 0.27 still results in a low probability (0.27). Multiplying two probabilities can never produce a probability larger than either of the two. Thus differences among prefixes become AMPLIFIED at the left end of the scale, rather than reduced toward 1 as in the observed data.

Because the decision-tree model cannot generate the desired family-of-sigmoids pattern, we conclude that this modular account is not plausible for Tagalog. Instead, the constraints that depend on the morphology and those that depend on the consonant must interact within a single module. We see this result as support for an emerging view that phonology and morphosyntax are not in a strictly modular, strictly feed-forward relationship (see Shih 2014 for novel data and arguments and a literature review).

2.7. COMPARISON OF MODELS. To summarize the results in this section, we give a quantitative comparison of the models' fit to the Tagalog data in Table 7.¹³ To provide a baseline for comparison, we also include a PERFECT MODEL, which simply matches the observed probability of nasal substitution for each consonant/prefix combination. No model that discriminates only consonants, prefixes, and/or their combinations could perform better than this. Our measure of fit is log likelihood: we sum the natural-log probability that the model assigns to each data point. The closer to 0 this value is, the more accurate the model.

	LOG LIKELIHOOD closer to 0 is better	# OF FREE PARAMETERS
MaxEnt	-284.82 (best)	11
Noisy HG	-294.48	11
Stochastic OT	-314.64	11
Stratified version of partial-ordering OT	-645.72	11
Decision tree	-292.31	12
<i>perfect model (correct rate for each C-by-prefix category)</i>	-254.66	36

TABLE 7. Comparison of model fits for Tagalog.

We include a column in Table 7 giving the number of free parameters in each model. All else being equal, the more free parameters a model has, the more able it is to fit a variety of data, and the less we should be impressed by its log likelihood. The four OT-based models all have eleven free parameters (one weight or ranking value for each constraint); the decision-tree model has twelve (one probability for each consonant and one for each prefix); the 'perfect' model given for comparison simply lists the correct rate for each of the thirty-six cases (six consonants times six prefixes). This is not a perfect measure of model complexity, because all else is NOT equal. For example, STRATIFIED PARTIAL ORDERING has the same number of free parameters as stochastic OT, but the values of those parameters are not as free, because they are constrained to be multi-

¹³ The partial-ordering model predicts some 0 rates, whose log cannot be taken. We applied a backoff of 1/100,000 (because there were 100,000 test trials), treating 0 as 0.00001 (and the other candidate's 1 as 0.99999). We did the same for the baseline perfect model.

ples of twenty. Constraint structure can also matter: the strawman model that we created in Table 4 with a separate constraint for each consonant (log likelihood: -269.55) has just twelve constraints—only one more than the other constraint models—but the model is far less constrained than its number of parameters suggests, because each consonant gets its own constraint rather than being subject to the same constraints as consonants that share its voicing or place.

2.8. TAGALOG CONCLUSIONS. We have shown in this section that Tagalog nasal substitution requires a model where each dimension—consonant or prefix—has its main effect in the intermediate range of the other. At the extremes of each dimension, behavior hits a floor or ceiling. Graphically, this appears as a family of sigmoid curves. The two varieties of harmonic grammar we examined, MaxEnt and noisy HG, succeed in capturing this pattern.

The other models we examined were far less successful. With the constraint set used, models based on strict ranking (stochastic OT, partial ordering) failed to generate sigmoid curve families. With a different constraint set—abandoning crucial generalizations about voicing and place—stochastic OT can succeed. Multiplying two probabilities, as in the decision-tree model, cannot generate a sigmoid curve family.

The Tagalog case involves a morphological and a phonological dimension. In the remainder of the article we examine two more cases: French liaison/elision, where morphosyntax interacts with lexical marking, and Hungarian vowel harmony, where purely phonological dimensions interact.

3. FRENCH LIAISON/ELISION: LEXICAL MARKING VERSUS MORPHOSYNTAX. Our second case study examines two-word sequences in French, abbreviated word1 + word2, where word1, one of various function words or adjectives, has two allomorphs, chosen according to phonological and lexical properties of word2. We examine the interaction pattern between constraints that distinguish the word1s and constraints that distinguish the word2s. Although this is well-plowed ground, we do make novel empirical claims about differences among word1s.

3.1. LIAISON AND ELISION. The alternations in word1 are cases of French's well-known liaison and elision phenomena. Some examples are shown in Table 8. The default allomorph of the word1s under consideration ends in a vowel and is used in citation form or when followed by a word2 that begins with a consonant. When word2 begins with a vowel, word1 has a different allomorph that is consonant-final, either through addition of a final consonant (liaison¹⁴) or deletion of the final vowel (elision).

WORD1	DEFAULT ALLOMORPH		LIAISON/ELISION ALLOMORPH	
'the.M'	le sapin	'the fir tree'	l' if	'the yew tree'
	[lɔ sapɛ̃]		[l if]	
'the.F'	la courgette	'the zucchini'	l' aubergine	'the eggplant'
	[la kuʁʒɛt]		[l obɛʁʒin]	
'of'	de jonquilles	'of daffodils'	d' iris	'of irises'
	[dɔ ʒɔ̃kij]		[d iris]	
'of the.M'	du petit	'of the small one'	de l' enfant	'of the child'
	[dy pɛtit]		[dɔ l ɑ̃fɑ̃]	
'at/to the.M'	au lac	'at the lake'	à l' étang	'at the pond'
	[o lak]		[a l etɑ̃]	

TABLE 8. Two allomorphs of word1.

¹⁴ Some authors reserve the term *liaison* for words with a single spelled form, whose final consonant is pronounced or not according to context, and call the cases in Table 8 allomorphy.

This simplified, nonprobabilistic description is easily captured in any of the grammar models discussed above for Tagalog, given suitable constraints. The challenge comes in capturing variation, which we demonstrate below exists.

Before moving on, we give for reference the full list of word1s whose two allomorphs are spelled differently; see Table 9. Because we use written data (discussed below), we cannot study any word1s whose allomorphs are spelled the same, such as *mon* ‘my.M’, which alternates between [mō] and [mōn]. The word1s are a variety of function words and a small number of adjectives that, counter to the general pattern in French, can precede the noun.

	__ C FORM		__ V FORM	
le	[lə]	l’	[l]	‘the.M’
du	[dy]	de l’	[də l]	‘of the.M’
au	[o]	à l’	[a l]	‘to the.M’
de	[də]	d’	[d]	‘of’
que	[kə]	qu’	[k]	‘that’ (complementizer)
se	[sə]	s’	[s]	‘it/him/her/one-self’
te	[tə]	t’	[t]	‘you’
me	[mə]	m’	[m]	‘me’
je	[ʒə]	j’	[ʒ]	‘I’
ne	[nə]	n’	[n]	‘not’
la	[la]	l’	[l]	‘the.F’
ce	[sə]	cet	[set]	‘this’
ma	[ma]	mon	[mōn]	‘my.F’
ta	[ta]	ton	[tōn]	‘your.F’
sa	[sa]	son	[sōn]	‘his/her/its.F’
beau	[bo]	bel	[bel]	‘pretty.M’
nouveau	[nuvo]	nouvel	[nuvel]	‘new.M’
vieux	[vjø]	vieil	[vjɛj]	‘old.M’
fou	[fu]	fol	[fɔl]	‘crazy.M’
mou	[mu]	mol	[mɔl]	‘limp.M’

TABLE 9. Full list of word1s.

3.2. LEXICALLY SPECIFIC BEHAVIOR. Idiosyncratically, some vowel-initial word2s take the preconsonantal allomorph of word1.

(16) Vowel-initial word2s that behave as though consonant-initial

la hache	[la aʃ]	‘the axe’
du haricot	[dy aʁiko]	‘of the bean’
le uhlan	[lə ylã]	‘the uhlan (central/east European lancer)’

Most of these words are spelled with an initial silent¹⁵ <h>, known as *h*-aspiré (‘aspirated *h*’), and the word’s behavior is often a vestige of an earlier or foreign-language pronunciation that did have an initial consonant. Only a portion of words spelled with initial <h> behave this way; the rest behave as ordinary vowel-initial words. In keeping with the analysis to be adopted below, which relies on syllable alignment, we coin the terms *ALIGNANT* to refer to words like those in 16 and *NONALIGNANT* to refer to ordinary vowel-initial words. In brief, alignant words prefer to begin with a syllable boundary—that is, to be aligned at their beginning with a syllable boundary; one way to enforce this is to use the preconsonantal allomorph of word1.

Words that begin with a glide likewise behave idiosyncratically as either alignant or nonalignant in their choice of word1, as seen in Table 10.

¹⁵ There can be an overt [h] in some dialectal, theatrical, and emphatic contexts.

ALIGNANT			NONALIGNANT		
le yodle	[lə jɔdl]	‘yodels it’	P'iode	[l jɔd]	‘the iodine’
le yaourt	[lə jaʊʁt]	‘the yogurt’	P'yeuse	[l jøz]	‘the oak’
la hiérarchie	[la jɛʁakʁi]	‘the hierarchy’	P'hiatus	[l jatys]	‘the hiatus’
la huée	[la ɥe]	‘the booing’	P'huître	[l ɥitʁ]	‘the oyster’
le huitième	[lə ɥitjem]	‘the eighth’	P'huile	[l ɥil]	‘the oil’
			P'huissier	[l ɥisje]	‘the bailiff’
le ouistiti	[lə wistiti]	‘the marmoset’	P'ouest	[l west]	‘the west’

TABLE 10. Glide-initial words exemplifying each behavior (Walker 2001:105–6).

3.3. PREVIOUS CLAIMS OF VARIATION. If a word begins with a vowel or glide, French speakers must memorize whether it behaves as alignant. Spelling is but an approximate guide: vowel-initial words spelled with <h> can easily fall into either category, and a few alignant words are not spelled with <h>. Glide-initial alignant words tend to be spelled with <y> or <w> (rather than *(h)i*, *(h)ou*, etc.), but again the correlation is imperfect.

It is not surprising, then, that there is widespread variation, as prescriptive grammarians and linguists have long noted. To avoid getting bogged down in examples and citations, we have placed them in the appendix.

Many authors have claimed that there is not only across-speaker disagreement as to lexical entries, but also intraspeaker variation. Most important for our purposes, however, are the numerous claims in the literature of tendencies for a given word2 to behave differently depending on word1 (again, see the appendix). For example, it has been claimed that *oui* ‘yes’ usually behaves as alignant, but tends to behave as nonalignant with *que* ‘that’. Generalizations about such differences are rare in the literature (e.g. claims about *de* in general vs. *que* in general), though we claim below that such generalizations can be made.

The distinct behavior of different word1s becomes particularly evident when a word2 changes its alignant status over time. The word *hiatus* ‘hiatus’ has shifted in recent decades from nonalignant to alignant. The plot in Figure 15 shows rates of use over time—as a percentage of all text—for *le/l'+ hiatus* and *de/d'+ hiatus* in the Google n-grams corpus, using its visualization interface (see §3.5).¹⁶ Alignant *de hiatus* overtakes *d'hiatus* around 1950, but *le hiatus* does not overtake *l'hiatus* until about 1970. This is in line with our finding below that word1 *le* is in general more likely than *de* to treat the following word as alignant.

FIGURE 15. Change over time for *hiatus* ‘hiatus’.

¹⁶ Smoothing set to 3, which means that each value plotted is the average of the year shown and three years on either side.

3.4. ANALYTIC APPROACH. We do not attempt a full review of the extensive and long-running literature on lexical effects in French phrasal sandhi. The main approaches are, as surveyed by Tranel (1995), representational, diacritic, and prosodic; we adopt a prosodic approach.

In representational approaches, the lexical entry of an alignant word begins with some kind of consonant, such as an [h] or [ʔ], that is deleted late (e.g. Schane 1968, 1978, Dell 1973, Selkirk & Vergnaud 1973, and one option considered in Boersma 2007) or an empty consonantal slot (e.g. Clements & Keyser 1983). For example, *arbre* ‘tree’, which behaves as a normal vowel-initial word, would have the lexical entry /aʁbʁ/ and so select *l’*, *d’*, and so on, but *haricot* ‘bean’ would be /haʁiko/, selecting *le*, *de*, and so on. Glide-initial words can be treated in the same way (alignants begin with /h/ or some other consonant, and nonalignants begin with an underlying high vowel; e.g. Martinet 1933) or by treating alignant words as beginning with an underlying glide and nonalignant as beginning with an underlying high vowel (e.g. Clements & Keyser 1983, Kaye & Lowenstamm 1984).

The motivation for employing an abstract consonant is that alignant words largely behave as though they were consonant-initial. However, several authors have pointed out that this is not entirely the case. The best-known challenge involves schwa/zero alternations (see appendix for full examples). Unlike either an ordinary consonant-initial word or an ordinary vowel-initial word, an alignant word optionally causes a schwa to appear before it (the schwa either is inserted or resists deletion, depending on the underlying form assumed): for example, alignant *une* [ynə] *hache* ‘an axe’, versus consonantal *une* [yn] *tache* ‘a spot’ and nonalignant *une* [yn] *honnête femme* ‘an honest woman’ (Grammont 1914:124, Fouché 1956:135–39, Schane 1968, Selkirk 1972:329, 379, Dell 1973:84–93, Grevisse & Goosse 2011:55, 63). Tranel (1981) argues that there is an optional rule of schwa insertion. The representational analysis provides no explanation of why schwa insertion should occur, but as we will see, it is entirely expected under the alignment account.

Diacritic approaches mark alignant words as exceptionally undergoing, resisting, triggering, or not triggering rules (e.g. [-LIAISON]). Tranel (1981) advocates diacritics because they provide the needed flexibility to mark some words as, for example, triggering liaison but not schwa insertion. But this misses the overall bundling tendency of properties. Most crucially, the diacritic approach fails to capture the prosodic commonality of the rules in question, unlike the prosodic approach, to which we now turn.

The prosodic approach has a long history (see Frei 1929, Damourette & Pichon 1930, Malmberg 1943 in the appendix). The key idea is that alignant words carry a requirement to begin with a syllable boundary. In the analysis developed below, alignant words are characterized by being subject to the alignment constraint ALIGN(Word, Left; Syllable, Left): the beginning of the word must also be the beginning of a syllable (McCarthy & Prince 1993, Prince & Smolensky 2004 [1993]). Tranel (1981:299) discusses this possibility in pre-OT terms; OT analyses along these lines have been pursued by Tranel and Del Gobbo (2002) and Boersma (2007).

The prosodic approach has three benefits. First, as compared to the diacritic approach, it explains why liaison, elision, resyllabification, and schwa insertion strongly tend to pattern together. In essence, the prosodic approach substitutes a single diacritic—propensity to align—for a set of independent diacritics.

Second, as compared to the representational (latent-consonant) approach, the prosodic approach explains why alignant words act as consonant-initial in most but not all respects. When they act as though consonant-initial by suppressing liaison, it maintains a

syllable boundary before the word: *beau hérisson* [bo.e.ʁi.sɔ̃] versus **bel hérisson* [bɛ.le.ʁi.sɔ̃] ‘nice hedgehog’; so does suppressing elision: *le hérisson* [lɛ.e.ʁi.sɔ̃] versus **l’hérisson* [le.ʁi.sɔ̃]. As Cornulier (1981:184–85) points out, glide formation is also suppressed before alignant words just as before consonants, as in *qui hasarde* [ki.a.zaʁd] rather than *[kja.zaʁd] ‘who hazards’, again maintaining the syllable boundary. Omitting schwa, however, as before a consonant-initial word, does not maintain a syllable boundary, as illustrated in 17: *une hache* ‘an axe’, if pronounced without a schwa, must violate either ALIGN or a prohibition on having a syllable boundary between a consonant and vowel, *C.V (see Tranel & Del Gobbo 2002). Including a schwa avoids both of these problems. There is thus a competition, leading to variation, among ALIGN, *C.V, and DEP-ə/*ə (see Gabriel & Meisenburg 2009 for some data on this variation).

(17) Optional schwa before alignant words

/yn(ə) aʃ/	ALIGN	*C.V	DEP-ə/*ə
yn. aʃ		*	
y.n aʃ	*		
y.nə . aʃ			*

Another way that alignant words do not behave like normal consonant-initial words is a paradigm gap claimed by Cornulier (1981): a consonant-final prefix cannot combine with an alignant stem: **ex-héros* ‘ex-hero’, **mal-hanté* ‘mis-haunted’, **super-hâlé* ‘super-tanned’, **sur-housse* ‘over-cover’. Although tokens of some of these can be found on the internet, Cornulier’s intuition of a gap presumably indicates that they are degraded. According to Cornulier, the reason for these gaps is the misalignment of morpheme boundary and syllable boundary. These prefixes freely combine, by contrast, with nonalignant and consonant-initial stems.

The third benefit of the prosodic approach, as compared to either the diacritic or the representational approach, is that it ties in well with a set of observations scattered throughout the literature on ‘setting apart’ certain types of words in French (Ehrhard 1965, Gaatone 1978, and Cornulier 1981 draw together many of these observations; see the appendix for full examples and citations). First, any vowel-initial word can be treated as alignant when used metalinguistically, as in *diminutif de aube* ‘diminutive of dawn’ (Grevisse & Goosse 2011:64). Second, archaic, technical, and foreign words have a greater tendency to be alignant. And third, short words—whose recognizability in running speech is under greater threat—are more likely to behave as alignant. The length effect also interacts with the other two factors. For example, metalinguistic uses and foreign words are especially likely to be alignant when monosyllabic.

To sum up these effects, there are various pragmatic or processing reasons for a word to need to be set apart—that is, to begin with a syllable boundary. What is special about alignant words is that they share this behavior as a pure lexical idiosyncrasy.¹⁷ Malmberg (1943:44) writes: ‘The *h* aspiré is a sort of halt that one makes before certain words because one has once learned—at school or elsewhere—that they are dangerous and that one must be careful’.

Thus, we follow earlier researchers in treating alignant words as subject to an alignment constraint. We go beyond this work in proposing that words occupy a spectrum from alignant to nonalignant, so that the strength of ALIGN differs word by word. To im-

¹⁷ In a similar spirit, Tranel (1981) proposes that emphasis and citation are reasons for a word to be exempt from normal syllabification rules; being lexically alignant means having a lexical requirement to be similarly exempt.

plement this, we break ALIGN into a small number of copies, with different strengths and associated to different sets of words, rather than giving each word its own constraint. We propose that phonological theories should incorporate a notion of LEXICAL PROPENSITY, defined as the affiliation of individual lexical items with particular copies of a constraint. The six copies of UNIFORMITY, used for different prefixes in Tagalog above, could likewise be seen as instances of (sub)lexical propensity. In a word1 + word2 combination like *le homard* ‘the lobster’, word1 will bear its own constraint (favoring citation form [lɑ]), and word2 will be subject to one of the ALIGN constraints, reflecting its own propensity to align.¹⁸

We do not attempt to account for specific combinations with lexicalized behavior (see appendix)—they will have the effect of noise in our data—but we assume them to be listed as separate lexical entries. We assume that the child acquiring French begins by listing multiword chunks such as *fromage d’Hollande* ‘type of cheese’ (cf. *de Hollande* ‘of Holland’, which shows that *Hollande* is typically alignant) and later begins to extract generalizations about each word1 and word2, but with lexicalized chunks still able to override productive combination.

3.5. DATA. To investigate more systematically how alignancy behavior differs according to word1 and word2, we looked at a large set of potentially varying word2s. We used the Google n-grams corpus for French (Michel et al. 2011, Lin et al. 2012), which includes only sequences that occur at least forty times in the Google Books corpus; we limited results to publications since 1900. We identified 358 word2s of interest in the corpus: words with identifiable part of speech and gender (through dictionary lookup); that occur in the corpus with two or more of our target word1s (that are appropriate for word2’s part of speech and gender); and are either spelled with initial <h>, pronounced as glide-initial, or listed in the dictionary and other prescriptive sources as alignant or varying.

To get a general feel for the data, we first plot a histogram of the mean rate at which each word2 behaves as nonalignant (averaging over all the word1s that it happens to occur with). Although rates cluster near 0 and 1, a healthy number of word2s falls somewhere in between.

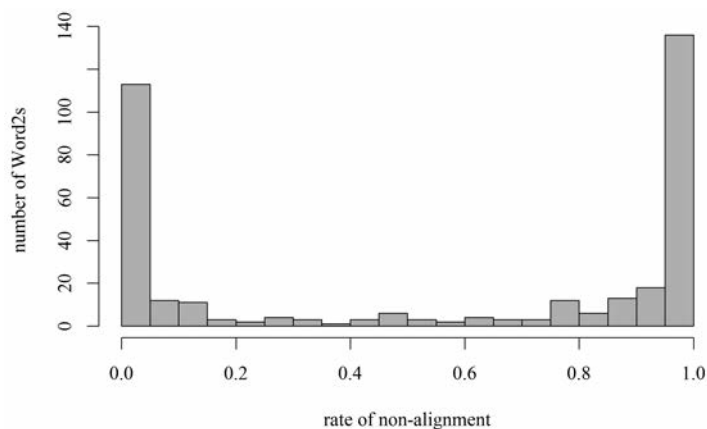


FIGURE 16. Histogram of nonalignant behavior.

¹⁸ Our analysis below does not explicitly distinguish vowels and glides, though they do have some differences in behavior, not detectable in the written data we use. For example, Tranel (1981:304) points out that optional schwa deletion occurs before consonants but not alignant vowels in spoken French: *ce vin* [s(ə) vɛ̃] ‘this wine’, but *ce hasard* [sə azɑʁ] ‘this coincidence’; but, he notes, optional schwa deletion is allowed be-

The challenge for plotting word1 + word2 behavior by word2's degree of alignancy is that the degree to which a word2 is alignant can only be observed empirically; there is no a priori way to determine it. To assign each word2 an empirical degree of alignancy, we fitted a mixed-effects logistic regression model (using function `glmer()` from package `lme4` (Bates et al. 2014) in R (R Core Team 2014)). Each observation is a word1 + word2 sequence; the dependent variable is the rate at which word1 in that sequence undergoes liaison/elision (i.e. behaves as though word2 is nonalignant). Only the best-attested and least-problematic word1s were used: *au/à l'*, *la/l'*, *de/d'*, *le/l'*, *du/de l'*, *beau/bel*, *vieux/vieil*, *ma/mon*. The independent variables are the identity of word1 and the log frequency of the word1 + word2 combination, and each word2 receives a random intercept. It is unusual to use logistic regression with a dependent variable that is a rate ranging from 0 to 1 (although these rates do cluster strongly around 0 and 1), but the more usual approach, treating each token as an observation with an outcome of aligned or nonaligned, produced models that failed to converge. For comparison, we also performed beta regression (in SAS with the GLIMMIX procedure (SAS Institute Inc. 2014) to allow random effects, as this was not available in R), and results were quite similar.

Following Fruehwald (2012), we treat the random intercept that the model assigns to each word2 as an index of its alignment propensity; positive is nonalignant and negative is alignant. Examples for one slice of the alphabet are given in Table 11, along with, for comparison, each word's normative category and its rate of nonalignant behavior averaged across all word1s that it happens to occur with.

WORD2	RANDOM INTERCEPT	NONALIGNMENT RATE	NORMATIVE BEHAVIOR	GLOSS
habituel	2.425	96.9%	nonalignant	'habituel.M'
habituelle	1.649	99.0%	nonalignant	'habituel.F'
habitus	2.208	97.1%	nonalignant	'habitus'
hache	-4.861	0.1%	alignant	'axe'
hachette	-3.862	0.0%	alignant	'hatchet; moth sp.'
hacienda	-0.446	78.6%	nonalignant	'hacienda'
haddock	-2.729	0.0%	alignant	'haddock'
Hadès	1.047	85.3%	nonalignant	'Hades'
hadji	-3.052	0.0%	alignant	'haji'
Hadrien	0.633	98.6%	nonalignant	'Hadrian'

TABLE 11. Sample nonalignancy index values.

This single measure of a word2's propensity to behave as nonalignant collapses possible phonological sources of word2 differences, such as vowel quality; nonphonological systematic sources, such as propensity for metalinguistic use; and true item-specific idiosyncrasy.

For the word1 dimension, we examine the results of the regression model to compare word1s' tendencies to appear in their preconsonantal/isolation allomorph. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons on the two regression models find three groups of significantly different word1s: *beau/bel*, *ma/mon*, and *vieux/vieil*, with the highest nonalignant

for an alignant glide (*ce whisky-là* [s(ə) wiski la]), in violation of ALIGN. Another way in which alignant glides differ from alignant vowels is that in dialects where *cing* 'five' loses the final consonant of its citation form before a consonant-initial word, it also can lose it before an alignant glide, but not an alignant vowel (Cornulier 1981:206).

rates; *du/de* and *le/l'* with the lowest; and *au/à l'*, *de/d'*, and *la/l'* in the middle.¹⁹ We are agnostic on why word1 differences should exist, but we speculate that they arise from a variety of sources: syntactic closeness of word1 and word2, degree to which word1 + *X* tends to be a lexicalized unit, and each word1's arbitrary, idiosyncratic tendency to appear in its citation form versus in its elision or liaison form. Our constraint model below subsumes any syntactic or processing systematicity under each word1's individual tendency toward nonalignant behavior.

We now have, just as in Tagalog, two cross-cutting dimensions: word2 alignancy and word1 identity. We combine the word1s into three groups according to their coefficients in the regression model (high, medium, and low), as discussed above. We divide the word2s into five groups of equal size, along the alignancy continuum, using their random intercepts in the regression model. This grouping facilitates interpretation by providing a reasonable number of items in each word1-group/word2-group combination. (Two bins are fairly small, with nine and eighteen items, but the rest are more robust, ranging from thirty-three to 172 items.) We plot alignment propensity across these two dimensions, as in Figure 17.

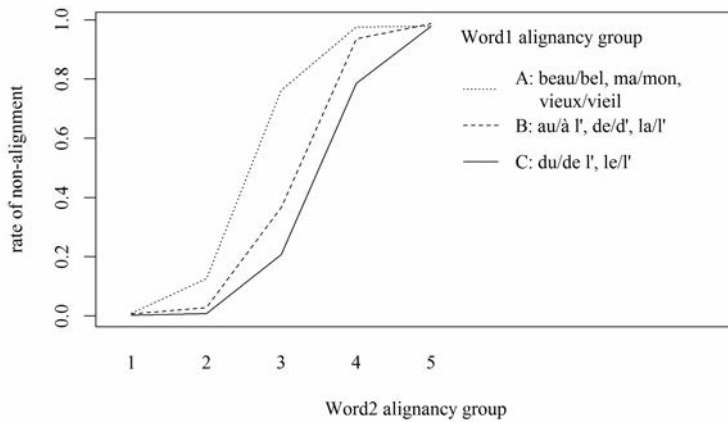


FIGURE 17. Observed nonliaison/elision rate as a function of word2 and word1.

Although the differences among word1s in French are smaller than the differences among prefixes in Tagalog, we see the same basic pattern. At extreme values of word2 alignancy (1 and 5), word1 differences disappear: all items hit a floor or ceiling; but in between, word1 differences are substantial, from about 20% nonalignant behavior to 80% for the middle group of word2s. Because the word1 differences are small, we see only minor floor and ceiling effects in this dimension: the difference between the two lowest word2 alignancy categories, 1 and 2, is smaller for the lower two word1 categories, B and C, than for the highest category, A, suggesting a floor effect for B and C; and the difference between word2 categories 4 and 5 is greater for the lowest word1 category, C, than for A and B, suggesting a ceiling effect for A and B.

3.6. CONSTRAINTS FOR OT-BASED MODELING. Our constraint models all use the same constraint set, listed in Table 12. There is just one constraint encouraging liaison/elision (NOHIATUS). The rest encourage the citation form of word1, either directly (the word1

¹⁹ In the logistic regression model, the coefficients are: *beau/bel* 2.46, *ma/mon* 2.40, *vieux/vieil* 1.76; *au/à l'* 0.00, *de/d'* 0.31, *la/l'* -0.16; *du/de l'* -0.49, *le/l'* -0.37. For details on exactly which pairwise differences are significant and according to what criteria, see the online supplemental files for French.

family USEAU, etc.) or indirectly (the word2 family ALIGN). That is, both constraint families favor alignment, and they work against a single constraint that applies in all cases.

General phonological constraint

NoHIATUS

- A syllable may not begin with a vowel or glide.
- Combines ONSET and the MARGIN family (both Prince & Smolensky 2004 [1993]).
- Promotes nonalignant behavior.

Constraints enforcing propensities of word1 and word2

USEAU

- For each word1, there is a constraint preferring its citation allomorph.

USEDU

- Promote alignant behavior (use of citation/pre-C form).

USEDE

USELE

...

ALIGN(MORPHEME, L; SYLL, L)

- A morpheme (in particular, word2) should begin with a syllable boundary (McCarthy & Prince 1993).
- There are five versions of this constraint, one for each alignancy group.
- Promote alignant behavior (use of citation/pre-C form).

TABLE 12. Constraints for French analysis.

We illustrate how these constraints work with two tableaux that abstract away from variation: one for a regular, nonalignant word (*hiver*), and one for an alignant word (*hibou*).

(18) Illustration of analysis for *l’hiver* ‘the winter’ and *le hibou* ‘the owl’

/lə ivɛʁ/ _{group 5}	ALIGN(Morph, L; Syll, L) group 2	NoHIATUS	USELE	ALIGN(Morph, L; Syll, L) group 5
lə.i.vɛʁ		*!		
^{ES} li.vɛʁ			*	*

/lə ibu/ _{group 2}	ALIGN(Morph, L; Syll, L) group 2	NoHIATUS	USELE	ALIGN(Morph, L; Syll, L) group 5
^{ES} lə.i.bu		*		
li.bu	*!		*	

3.7. MAXENT MODEL AND NOISY HG MODEL. As in Tagalog, the two models based on constraint weighting produce very similar results. Weights are shown in Table 13.

NAME	MAXENT WEIGHT	NOISY HG WEIGHT
ALIGN-group 1	10.13	17.51
ALIGN-group 2	8.01	14.91
ALIGN-group 3	4.95	9.58
ALIGN-group 4	2.06	3.75
ALIGN-group 5	0.00	0.19
NoHIATUS	6.20	12.13
USEMA	0.00	0.01
USEBEAU	0.28	0.22
USEVIEUX	0.88	1.95
USELA	1.34	2.91
USEDE	1.56	3.30
USEAU	2.26	4.61
USELE	2.54	5.07
USEDU	2.78	5.52

TABLE 13. Constraint weights fitted for MaxEnt and noisy HG models.

Both grammars do a good job of capturing the sigmoid shape of the data (and produce nearly identical predictions), with rates converging at 0 and 1 for the extreme word2 groups, and maximal word1 differences for the medial word2 group, as shown in Figure 18 and Figure 19.

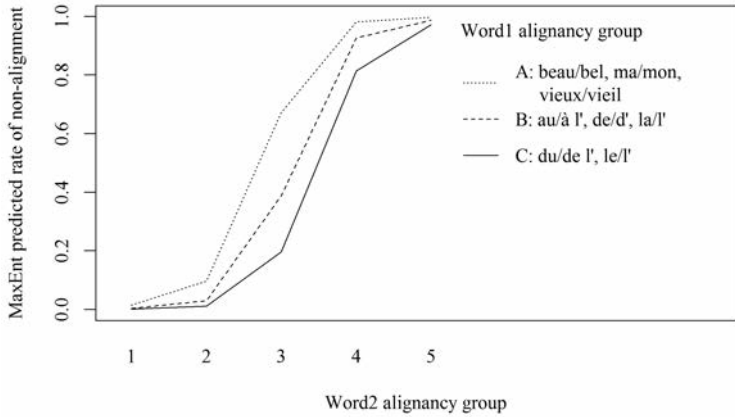


FIGURE 18. MaxEnt model predictions for French liaison/elision.

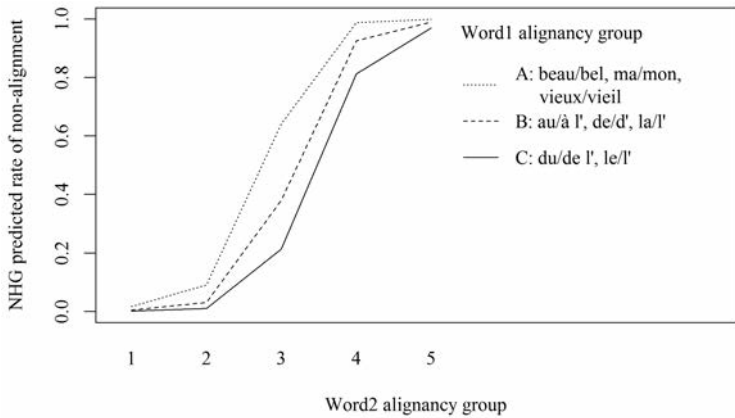


FIGURE 19. Noisy HG model predictions for French liaison/elision.

3.8. STOCHASTIC OT MODEL. As in Tagalog, to give the GLA a better chance of finding the best stochastic OT grammar, we ran it 999 times with the Magri update rule and 999 times with the standard, symmetrical update rule, and chose from that set the grammar with the best log likelihood. The best model overall here was one fitted with the standard update rule; its ranking values are listed in Table 14. The large differences in ranking values (e.g. -344.23 vs. -34.52 for the two lowest-ranked constraints, or 90.67 vs. the next value up, 181.11) indicate a failure to converge.

As shown in Figure 20, the model does a poor job of capturing word1 differences. For word1 groups 1–2, the ALIGN constraints practically always outrank NOHIATUS and the USE constraints. For group 3, there is a real competition between ALIGN–group3 (ranking value 188) and NOHIATUS (187), leading to a substantial rate of nonalignant behavior, but none of the USE constraints has a high enough ranking value to compete seriously with ALIGN–group3, so there are no word1 differences. In group 5, ALIGN–group5 is out of the picture (-344), so the decision depends on the ranking of NOHIATUS versus the USE

CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE
ALIGN-group 1	193.52
ALIGN-group 2	192.39
ALIGN-group 3	188.27
ALIGN-group 4	182.86
ALIGN-group 5	-344.23
NOHIATUS	187.18
USEMA	-34.52
USEBEAU	11.77
USEVIEUX	21.09
USELA	76.75
USEDE	90.67
USEAU	181.11
USELE	182.89
USEDU	183.06

TABLE 14. Ranking values of the best stochastic OT model.

constraints; the USE constraints from group C provide NOHIATUS with some competition, but there is hardly any difference between the A and B groups (which is why only two traces are clearly visible; A's and B's traces are nearly superimposed), because all of their USE constraints are ranked too low to compete with NOHIATUS.

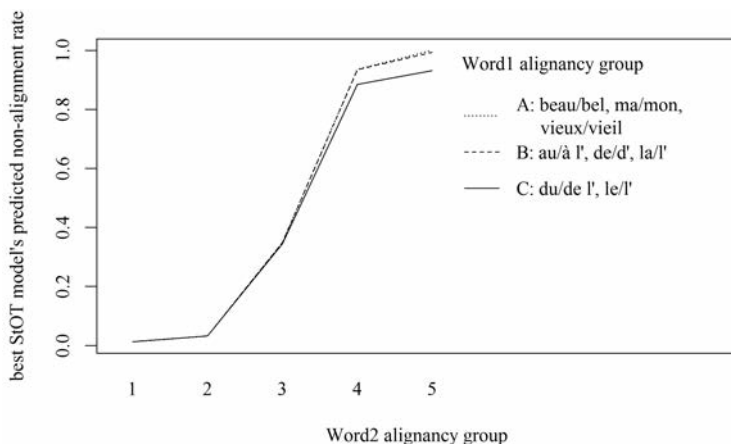


FIGURE 20. Predictions of the best stochastic OT model for French liaison/elision.

WHY DOES STOCHASTIC OT FAIL FOR FRENCH? In Tagalog, we argued that stochastic OT fails because of the phonologically motivated internal structure of the constraint set. In French, the problem is much more fundamental: the word1 and word2 constraint families are synergistic, both favoring the same candidate (e.g. *la hache*), because it preserves both the citation form of word1 and syllable alignment for word2. The only constraint favoring the other candidate (*l'hache*) is NOHIATUS.

Our strawman grammar for Tagalog in Table 4, where each consonant had its own constraint, was ANTAGONISTIC: the consonants' constraints favored nasal substitution and the prefixes' constraints penalized it. (Our actual grammar for Tagalog is nearly synergistic: the prefix constraints all penalize nasal substitution, and so do most of the consonant constraints. But one member of the consonant family, *N₀, favors substitution.)

In unpublished work, Giorgio Magri (p.c.) has proven a property of all grammars of this type, that is, with two synergistic constraint families that are simple (in the sense that for each input, exactly one constraint from each family is applicable) and one op-

posing constraint. He shows that in such cases, the frequency patterns generated in stochastic OT will be uniformly converging in one direction and diverging in the other. We saw this for French in Fig. 20, where word1 differences, though always small, grow monotonically toward the right of the plot, instead of being largest for the middle alignment groups.

To understand this result, we can think of generation in stochastic OT as a race between constraints that prefer each candidate. In the French case, there are three runners: the anti-alignment team consists of just NOHIATUS, who runs in every trial, and the pro-alignment team sends one ALIGN constraint and one USE constraint. Whoever crosses the finish line first wins the race for their team. If the ALIGN constraint is a fast runner and will probably finish first (as on the left side of Fig. 20, where ALIGN-group 1 prevents nonalignment), then it matters little how fast its USE teammate is. The slower ALIGN is, the more it matters which USE constraint is running, because USE bears more responsibility for winning the race. Crucially, this pattern is monotonic: as we move rightward along the alignment axis in Fig. 20, to weaker ALIGN constraints, all word1 differences become (asymptotically) greater.

By contrast, harmonic grammar is like a tug-of-war: NOHIATUS pulls the rope in one direction, and an ALIGN constraint and a USE constraint team up to pull it in the other. If ALIGN is strong enough (like ALIGN-group 1) to reliably overpower NOHIATUS on its own, then it matters little which USE constraint is helping it—the help is not needed. If ALIGN is similar in strength to NOHIATUS (ALIGN-group 3), then even small differences between weak USE constraints greatly affect the outcome. But unlike in stochastic OT, for the weakest ALIGN constraints (ALIGN-group 5), USE differences can decrease again. This will happen when the USE constraints being compared are both substantially weaker than NOHIATUS: without a good boost from ALIGN to move the ALIGN/USE team into competitive territory, the team loses to NOHIATUS nearly all the time anyway. The sigmoid curve families that we saw in Figs. 18 and 19—which successfully match the data—are the result.

3.9. ANTILIAN PARTIAL-ORDERING MODEL. As we did for Tagalog, we used the multiple-run technique to identify the best out of 999 partially ordered (stratified) OT grammars, by training the GLA but forcing ranking values to remain at least twenty units apart. Because the set of possible stratified grammars is a strict subset of the set of possible stochastic OT grammars, we expect the best stratified model to be a poorer fit than the best stochastic OT grammar, but we can still assess its qualitative fit to the data.

The best stratified model is shown in Table 15. Although the lower strata appear puzzling—the word1s are out of order—this is because the rankings of the strata in which the USE constraints appear never matter. For word2s of groups 1 and 2, the decision to be alignant is made by the first stratum (0% nonalignant behavior). For groups 3 and 4, the decision is made in the second stratum by the ranking of ALIGN and NOHIATUS (50% nonalignant). For group 5, the decision is made in whatever stratum the relevant USE constraint occurs (100% nonalignant)—that is, the USE constraints could all be placed in the same stratum, and there would be no change in the grammar's behavior. There is thus no opportunity for word1 differences to manifest.

The plot of model predictions, in Figure 21, illustrates this lack of word1 effects; only one trace is visible, because all word1s behave the same.

3.10. DECISION-TREE MODEL. A decision-tree model is conceptually attractive here, as it was in Tagalog: let the morphosyntax give each word1 a probability of creating either a loose or a close syntactic or prosodic configuration: [word1]_{domain} [word2]_{domain} (loose), or [word1 word2]_{domain} (close). The loose structure does not allow liaison or eli-

	CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE
Stratum 1	ALIGN-group 1	3,460
	ALIGN-group 2	3,460
Stratum 2	ALIGN-group 3	3,420
	ALIGN-group 4	3,420
Stratum 3	NOHIATUS	3,420
	USEAU	3,400
	USELE	3,400
Stratum 4	USEDU	3,380
Stratum 5	USELA	-1,260
Stratum 6	USEDE	-1,820
Stratum 7	USEVIEUX	-1,880
Stratum 8	USEBEAU	-3,100
Stratum 9	USEMA	-4,640
Stratum 10	ALIGN-group 5	-16,580

TABLE 15. Best stratified partial-ordering OT model.

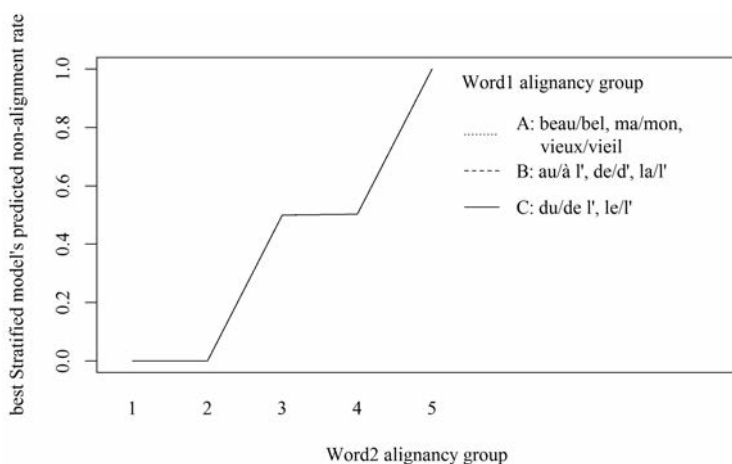


FIGURE 21. Predictions of best stratified partial-ordering OT model for French liaison/elision.

sion—alignment is always respected. In the close structure, nonalignment is possible. Let the phonology give each word2 a probability of triggering liaison or elision if in the close structure. The probability of a word1 + word2 combination behaving as nonalignant is then the product of two probabilities: the probability that word1 triggers a close structure and the probability that word2 triggers liaison or elision.

A decision-tree model was fitted using the `optim()` function in R, maximizing likelihood. The fitted component probabilities are in Table 16, and the result is plotted in Figure 22. For the same reasons as in Tagalog, a decision tree fares poorly: it can capture the ‘pinch’ at one end of the scale—in this case, a very low nonalignment probability for group 1, as desired—but it predicts that rates will spread out (and only slightly) at the other end (group 5), rather than in the middle. It is possible to create a decision tree in which the word1s spread out more toward the right of the plot (though the resulting likelihood is lower) by giving the word1s a greater variety of close-structure probabilities. But it is not possible to achieve the greatest word1 differentiation at intermediate values of word2. Differences between word1s are best preserved when word2 has the nonalignment probability, 1—that is, at the right end of the plot.

3.11. COMPARISON OF MODELS. In Table 17, we compare the log likelihoods of the models. MaxEnt and noisy HG achieve similarly good fits, and the rest do less well. As

WORD1	PROBABILITY OF CLOSE STRUCTURE	WORD2 GROUP	PROBABILITY OF NONALIGNMENT, GIVEN CLOSE STRUCTURE
beau/bel	1.00	1	0.01
ma/mon	1.00	2	0.03
vieux/vieil	0.96	3	0.34
au/à l'	1.00	4	0.94
de/d'	0.98	5	1.00
la/l'	1.00		
du/de l'	0.97		
le/l'	0.96		

TABLE 16. Component probabilities fitted for decision-tree model for French liaison/elision.

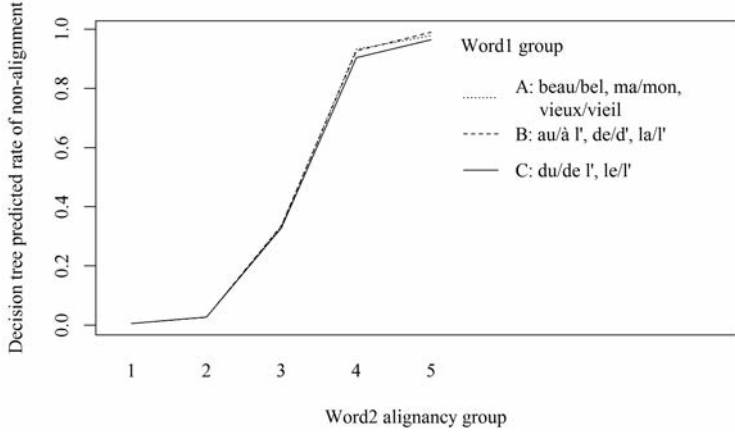


FIGURE 22. Results of fitting decision tree for French liaison/elision.

a baseline, we again include the log likelihood for a hypothetical model that achieves perfect frequency matching for each combination of word1 and word2-group.

MODEL	LOG LIKELIHOOD (closer to 0 is better)	# OF FREE PARAMETERS
MaxEnt	-197.71 (best)	14
Noisy HG	-198.80	14
Stochastic OT (best fit)	-233.61	14
Stratified partial-ordering OT (best fit)	-410.64	14
Decision tree	-207.95	13
<i>perfect model (baseline)</i>	-189.36	40

TABLE 17. Comparison of model fits for French.

3.12. FRENCH CONCLUSIONS. French involves an interaction between a lexical propensity (word2’s propensity to behave as alignant) and unknown morphosyntactic factors or lexical propensities (word1’s propensity to behave as though word2 is alignant). These two dimensions interact in a pattern correctly modeled by harmonic grammar, as either MaxEnt or noisy HG: at high and low levels of word2’s scale, rates stick to the floor or ceiling; at intermediate levels of word2’s scale, word1 has its greatest effects. A decision-tree model fails to capture this basic pattern, as do models employing probability distributions over strict-ranking OT (stochastic OT and STRATIFIED PARTIAL-ORDERING OT). We showed that the failure of stochastic OT is a general result for any analysis in which the two intersecting constraint families (here ALIGN constraints and USE constraints) favor the same candidate.

4. HUNGARIAN VOWEL HARMONY: PHONOLOGY VERSUS PHONOLOGY. In our third example, Hungarian vowel harmony, we introduce two further elements. First, the intersecting constraint families are both phonological: one family concerns the stem's vowel pattern, and the other concerns its final consonants. Second, for Hungarian we have not just corpus data, but experimental data to support the psychological reality of the patterns observed in the lexicon.

4.1. THE DATA: VOWEL AND CONSONANT EFFECTS AND THEIR INTERSECTION. We have written on Hungarian vowel harmony before (Hayes et al. 2009) and will rely heavily on that material, as well as on the extensive earlier analytic literature cited therein. As in that article, we rely on the dative suffix, which has allomorphs back *-nak* ([nɔk]) and front *-nek* ([nek]).

Backness harmony in Hungarian is largely predictable according to whether the stem's vowels are back (B), front rounded (F), or front unrounded (N, for neutral). Stems whose last vowel is B take back suffixes ([bi:ro:nɔk] 'judge-DAT'); stems whose last vowel is F take front suffixes ([sɛmɔlt-nɛk] 'wart-DAT'); and some other stem types also invariably take front suffixes.²⁰ Stems that end in a sequence BN or BNN show variation driven by the conflict between the local, phonetically front trigger N and the distal back trigger B ([hɔvɛr-nɔk] 'pal-DAT', [ko:deks-nɛk] 'codex-DAT', [bohe:m-nɔk] ~ [bohe:m-nɛk] 'easy-going-DAT'). There is also a fair amount of variation in monosyllabic stems with a neutral vowel (N) ([tsi:m-nɛk] 'address-DAT', [hi:d-nɔk] 'bridge-DAT').

Among the stem types that vary, we observe two vowel-driven tendencies: the HEIGHT EFFECT (Hayes et al. 2009:831), where stems ending in [ɛ] take front suffixes more often than stems ending in [e:], which take front suffixes more often than stems ending in [i] or [i:]; and the COUNT EFFECT (Hayes et al. 2009:830), where BNN stems, having two Ns as front triggers, take front suffixes more often than BN stems.

Surprisingly, there are also tendencies driven by the stem's final consonants (Hayes et al. 2009:836). There are four factors that favor front harmony, given in 19.

- (19) Consonant environments favoring front-voweled suffixes in Hungarian
- a. final bilabial noncontinuant ([p, b, m])
 - b. final sibilant ([s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ts, tʃ, dʒ])
 - c. final coronal sonorant ([n, ɲ, l, r])
 - d. final two-consonant cluster

There is little reason to think that these patterns have any sensible basis in the theory of markedness (phonetic or otherwise), but they do hold true at a statistically significant level in the Hungarian lexicon (Hayes et al. 2009:839).

To examine the interaction of these two dimensions—vowel pattern and final consonants—we sort the data in a way not employed in Hayes et al. 2009, according to the number of final-consonant factors present: zero (fails to match any of the environments of 19); one (matches one of *a*, *b*, *c*, or *d* in 19), and two (*d* plus one of *a*, *b*, or *c*).²¹

²⁰ We use F both for stems that end in F and for stems that end in F followed by any number of N, because all such stems consistently take front suffixes. NNN, NNNN, and BNNN stems are also consistently front in our data.

²¹ In principle, there are eight possible consonantal-constraint patterns (viz.: has none of the properties in 19; has just *a*, just *b*, just *c*, just *d*; has *a* and *d*, *b* and *d*, or *c* and *d*), and it would be ideal to treat each one separately. But 12% of the points in such a plot would be missing because there is no data, and another 28% would be based on fewer than ten stems. By grouping the consonantal dimension into the three values used here, we end up with just one missing data point in Fig. 23, and only three more (12%) based on fewer than ten stems.

In Figure 23, we plot the rate, averaged over stems, at which stems take the back suffix allomorph for each vowel pattern and each number of final-consonant properties present, using the same web data as in Hayes et al. 2009. (The data come from 8,915 stems.) The consonant factors show consistent effects within each vowel category: the highest backness rates are found when zero consonant factors are present, and the lowest when two consonant factors are present. We also see the familiar floor and ceiling effects, with backness rates converging to 1 for B stems and to 0 for F stems.

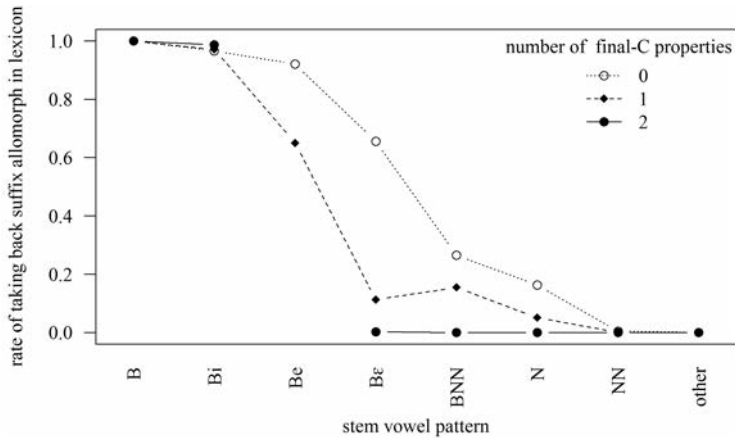


FIGURE 23. Hungarian lexical data.

Hayes et al. 2009 used a survey to test nonce BN, BNN, and N stems, and the results, plotted in Figure 24, support the productivity of both the vowel and the consonant effects, and show rates starting to converge to 0 for N. (The data come from 1,703 trials and 1,602 distinct stems.) The experiment was designed to test vowel patterns expected to show appreciable variation, with no items of the type B, NN, F, and so on. Therefore Fig. 24 shows no data for the extremes of the scale. Earlier nonce-probe testing (Hayes & Londe 2006:71) showed that experimental participants essentially treat B as invariantly back and NN and F as invariantly front; we assume that including these patterns in Fig. 24 would complete the familiar sigmoid curve family seen earlier for Tagalog and French. The overall rate of taking the back suffix is shifted lower in the nonce-word data as compared to the lexicon (perhaps because, in the lexicon, lower-frequency words tend to take more front suffixes, and nonce words are the lowest-frequency words of all; Hayes et al. 2009:830). While in the lexicon, backness rates are close to ceiling for Bi words, in the nonce-word data we can observe the effect of final-consonant properties among Bi words. Conversely, in the lexicon, final-consonant properties have a noticeable effect within N words, but in the nonce words, rates are already close to the floor. Overall, the nonce-word data show that the effects of stem vowel and final consonant carry over to novel items.

4.2. HUNGARIAN MODELING: CONSTRAINTS EMPLOYED. The constraints used in the models to follow are taken directly from Hayes et al. 2009 and shown in Table 18; for detailed discussion of the constraints and their rationale, see Hayes et al. 2009:834, 836.

There is some overlapping structure within each family. Within the consonant family, it is possible for both CLUSTER and one of the other three constraints to apply. Within the vowel family, more than one AGREE constraint can apply, especially when the stem ends in a front, unrounded vowel. When the MONOSYLL-[i:] constraint (which is a mem-

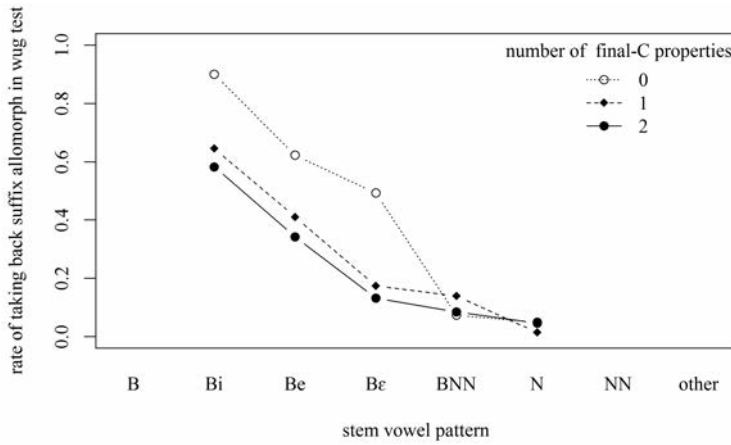


FIGURE 24. Hungarian nonce-stem data.

I. Vowel family

CONSTRAINT	SCHEMATICALLY, IN FEATURES	COMMENT
a. AGREE(back, local)	*[+back][-back]	Vowels must agree in backness with a preceding back vowel.
b. AGREE(back, nonlocal)	*[+back] N ₀ [-back]	Nonlocal version of (a)
c. AGREE(front rounded)	*[-back, +round] N ₀ [+back]	Vowels must agree in backness with a preceding front rounded vowel, even if neutral vowels intervene.
d. AGREE(front, local)	*[-back][+back]	Vowels must agree in backness with a preceding front vowel.
e. AGREE(nonhigh front, local)	*[-back, -high][+back]	Specific version of (d), limited to non-high triggers
f. AGREE(low front, local)	*[-back, +low][+back]	Specific version of (e), limited to low triggers ^a
g. AGREE(double front, local) ^b	*[-back][-back][+back]	Two-trigger harmony
h. MONOSYLL-[i]: prefer back suffixes when the stem is monosyllabic with the vowel [i].		An unnatural constraint; relevant stems arise from historical back unrounded vowels.

II. Consonant family

- a. BILABIAL: Prefer front suffixes when the stem ends in a bilabial noncontinuant ([p, b, m]).
- b. SIBILANT: Prefer front suffixes when the stem ends in a sibilant ([s, z, ʃ, ʒ, ts, tʃ, dʒ]).
- c. CORSON: Prefer front suffixes when the stem ends in a coronal sonorant ([n, ɲ, l, r]).
- d. CLUSTER: Prefer front suffixes when the stem ends in a sequence of two consonants.

TABLE 18. Constraints for Hungarian.

^a We treat [ɛ], the lowest front vowel of Hungarian, as [+low]: in suffixes it alternates with a low vowel, and phonetically it is often rather lower than the IPA symbol suggests.

^b We assign two violations to BNNN-*nɔk* and NNN-*nɔk*, and three violations to NNNN-*nɔk*.

ber of the vowel family because it depends on stem vowels) applies, AGREE(front, local) will also apply. In terms of the synergistic/antagonistic distinction introduced in §3.8, Hungarian is a mixed case. All of the constraints in the consonant family favor the front suffix, and so do most of the constraints in the vowel family, but two of the vowel constraints favor the back suffix.

4.3. HARMONIC GRAMMAR MODELS: MAXENT AND NOISY HG. Once again, the two constraint-weighting models produce very similar results. Weights are shown in Table

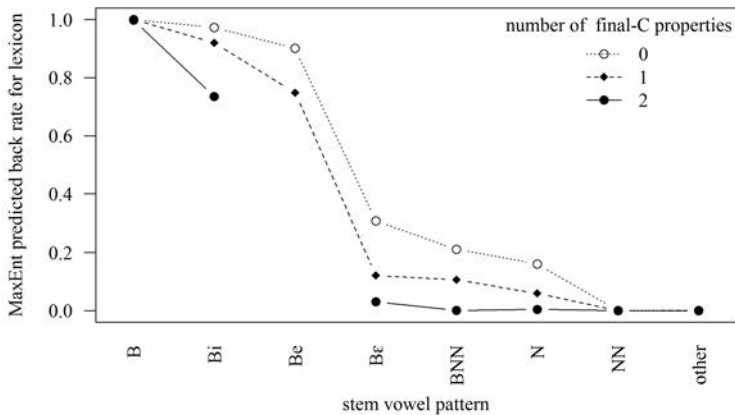
19, and model predictions for lexical items and nonce probes are shown in Figures 25 and 26. Both models capture the basic pattern: rates of taking *-nak* converge at 100% for B stems, and at 0% for NN and ‘other’ (NNN, BNNN, F, FN, FNN, FNNN), while in the intermediate categories, the consonantal properties show their influence.

The model predictions plotted are for the actual lexicon or wug stems found in each category, allowing comparison to the observed data plotted above. For example, the Bi stems in the lexicon with two final-consonant properties bear a mix of consonantal properties: they all end in a consonant cluster, but some also end in a bilabial, others in a sibilant, and others in a coronal sonorant. This mix is a little different for the Bi stems in the lexicon than for the Bi wug stems, and thus the model’s predictions averaged over those two mixes are a little different. (There is no prediction shown for Be lexical data with two consonant properties, because there are no real words in the lexicon of this type.)

CONSTRAINT	MAXENT WEIGHT	NOISY HG WEIGHT
AGREE(back, local)	3.96	6.18
AGREE(back, nonlocal)	5.23	7.41
AGREE(front rounded)	4.03	3.32
AGREE(front, local)	1.66	1.59
AGREE(nonhigh front, local)	1.37	1.71
AGREE(low front, local)	3.01	6.72
AGREE(double front, local)	3.77	6.53
MONOSYLL-[i:]	2.36	2.27
BILABIAL	2.38	3.34
SIBILANT	0.84	0.65
CORSON	1.04	1.02
CLUSTER	1.71	2.28

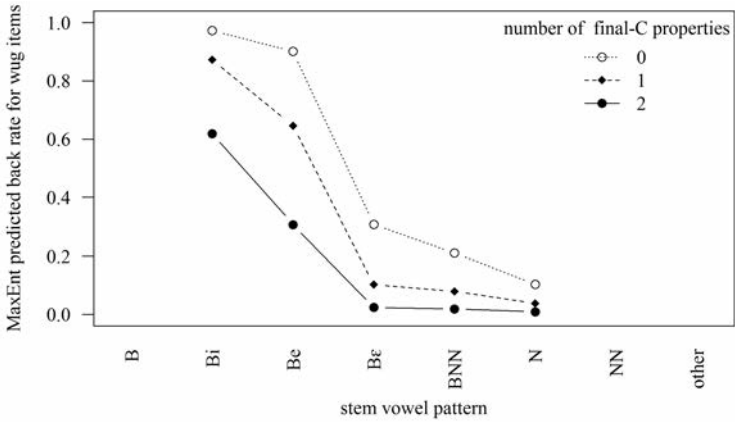
TABLE 19. Constraint weights fitted for MaxEnt and noisy HG models.

4.4. STOCHASTIC OT MODELS. As in the Tagalog and French cases, we fitted 999 stochastic OT grammars with the standard update rule and 999 with the Magri update rule, and chose the grammar that was the best fit to the lexical data it was trained on (in this case, one found with the standard update rule). The ranking values are shown in Table 20. The extremely low ranking of one constraint indicates that the learner failed to converge.



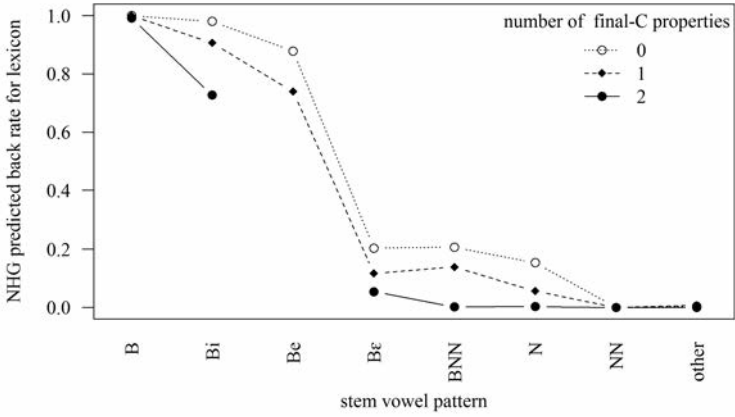
a. Predictions for lexical data.

(FIGURE 25. *Continues*)

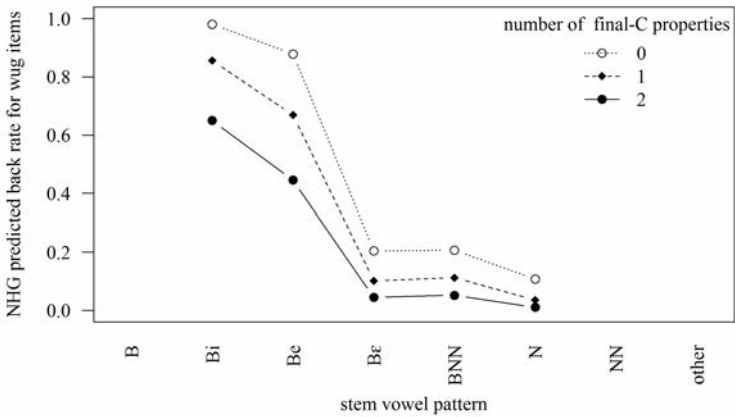


b. Predictions for nonce-probe data.

FIGURE 25. MaxEnt model predictions for Hungarian vowel harmony.



a. Predictions for lexical data.



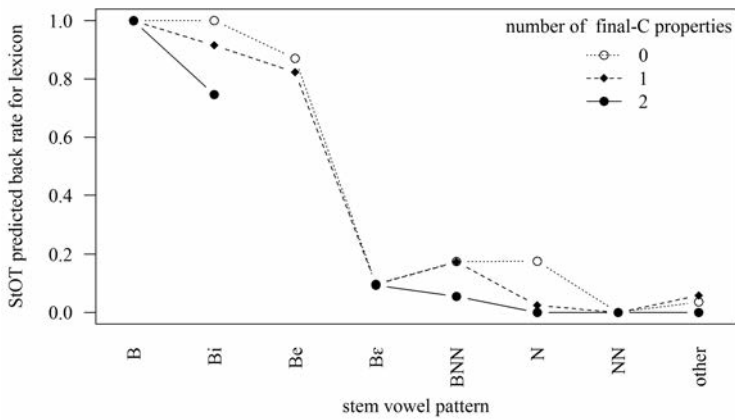
b. Predictions for nonce-probe data.

FIGURE 26. Noisy HG model predictions for Hungarian vowel harmony.

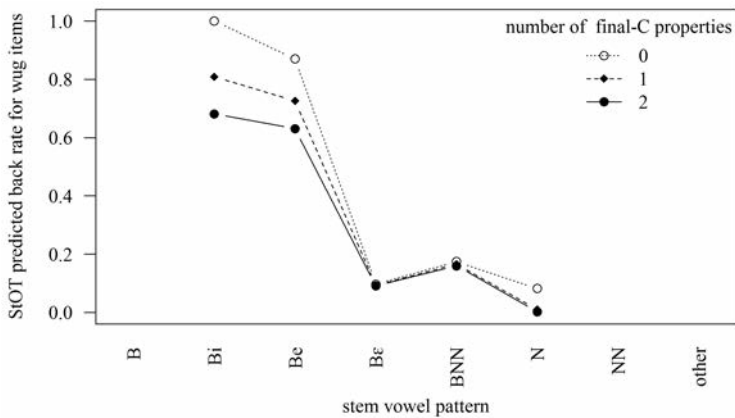
CONSTRAINT	STOT RANKING VALUE
AGREE(back, local)	89.90
AGREE(back, nonlocal)	82.75
AGREE(front rounded)	85.97
AGREE(front, local)	-214.14
AGREE(nonhigh front, local)	79.58
AGREE(low front, local)	86.38
AGREE(double front, local)	84.78
MONOSYLL-[i:]	76.24
BILABIAL	82.07
SIBILANT	78.21
CORSON	78.24
CLUSTER	80.69

TABLE 20. Constraint ranking values fitted for stochastic OT model.

The grammar’s predictions for the lexical and nonce-probe data are shown in Figure 27. While some aspects of the pattern are captured—overall higher backness rates on the left sides of the plots; overall higher backness rates when fewer final-consonant properties hold—the grammar incorrectly predicts that final-consonant effects are wiped out completely in the Bε category, and backness rates do not quite fall to 0 for the ‘other’ category.



a. Predictions for lexical data.



b. Predictions for nonce-probe data.

FIGURE 27. Stochastic OT model predictions for Hungarian vowel harmony.

Why does the stochastic OT grammar fail? In the Be category, there is one constraint favoring *-nak* (AGREE(back, nonlocal)), and two or more favoring *-nek* (AGREE(low front, local), AGREE(nonhigh front, local), and, if applicable, BILABIAL, CLUSTER, SIBILANT, and CORSON). Whichever of these constraints is top-ranked—usually AGREE(low front, local)—determines the outcome on each trial. The strongest consonantal constraint, BILABIAL, will be top-ranked about 5% of time, which at first seems often enough to matter. But even when BILABIAL is the top-ranked constraint, the second-ranked constraint is nearly always (about 95% of the time) AGREE(low front, local), meaning that it actually does not matter whether the stem ends in a bilabial consonant: if it does, BILABIAL will choose *-nek*, and if it does not, AGREE(low front, local) will also choose *-nek*. It is only in the approximately 0.5% of cases that BILABIAL ranks first, followed by AGREE(back, nonlocal), that it actually matters whether the stem ends in a bilabial consonant. The situation is even starker for the other, weaker, consonantal constraints. As in Tagalog and French, we have a soft ranking paradox: to assure low rates of *-nak* for Be overall, the ranking-value gap between AGREE(low front, local) and AGREE(back, nonlocal) has to be fairly large; but for the consonantal constraints to make a difference, that gap would have to narrow.

The stochastic OT grammar's more minor failing, having appreciably nonzero *-nak* rates for some of the 'other' stems, is due to the BNNN stems in this category. Adding *-nak* to these stems results in two violations of AGREE(double front, local). In the harmonic grammar models, each violation contributes to BNNN-*nak*'s harmony score, pushing its probability very close to zero. But in the stochastic OT models, BNNN behaves no differently from BNN—the ranking of AGREE(double front, local) is important, but not its number of violations (the competition, for both BNN and BNNN, is always between a candidate that fully satisfies AGREE(double front, local) and one that violates it, whether once or twice). This does not reflect any general failing of stochastic OT, because the problem could easily be addressed with a constraint like AGREE(triple front, local) that is violated by BNNN-*nak* but not BNN-*nak*.

4.5. PARTIAL-RANKING MODEL. As for Tagalog and French, we approximated a partial-ranking model by running the GLA on the lexical data, using a plasticity of twenty, so that all rankings are effectively strict. We did this 999 times and chose the grammar that best fit the lexical data it was trained on. The resulting grammar is shown in Table 21.

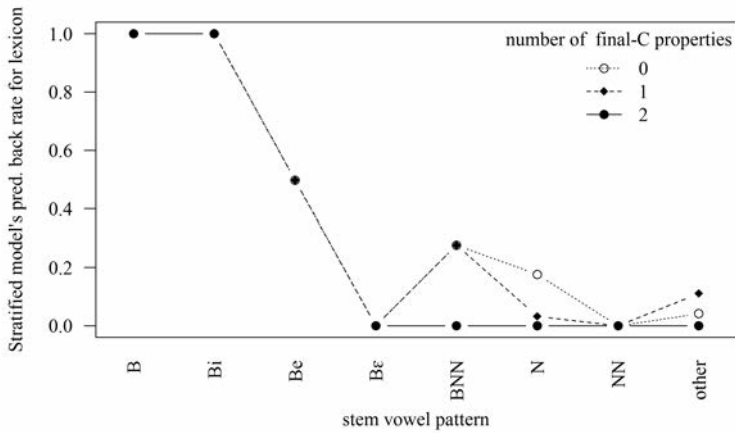
	CONSTRAINT	RANKING VALUE
Stratum 1	AGREE(front rounded)	-100
Stratum 2	AGREE(back, local)	-880
	AGREE(low front, local)	-880
Stratum 3	AGREE(back, nonlocal)	-900
	AGREE(nonhigh front, local)	-900
	AGREE(double front, local)	-900
Stratum 4	BILABIAL	-920
	CLUSTER	-920
Stratum 5	SIBILANT	-940
Stratum 6	MONOSYLL-[i:]	-980
	CORSON	-980
Stratum 7	AGREE(front, local)	-10,620

TABLE 21. Best stratified partial-ranking OT model.

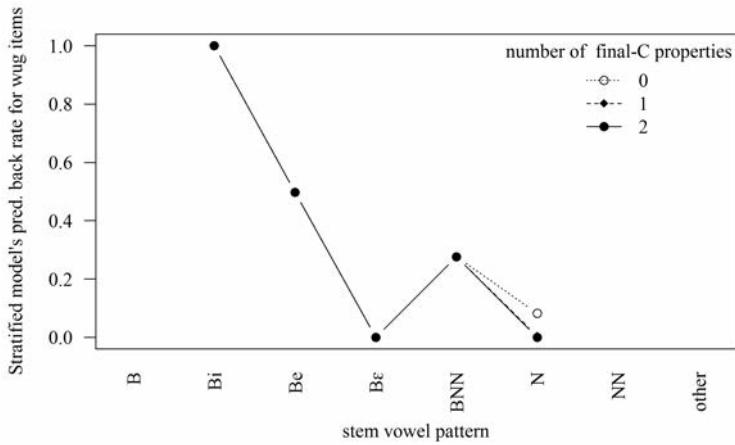
As illustrated in Figure 28 below, the grammar allows little scope for the consonantal properties to affect backness rates. B words correctly have their fate decided in stratum 2 and always take the back suffix. Bi words' fate is decided in stratum 3, again always in favor of backness. Be words are subject to fifty-fifty competition between two constraints in stratum 3. Be words are assigned a 0% backness rate in stratum 2. In none of

these cases do the consonantal constraints come into play. BNN words are more complex. If the final vowel is low, they are never back (stratum 2); if the final vowel is mid, all three constraints of stratum 3 are relevant, and the back-favoring constraint AGREE(back, non-local) has a one-in-three chance of choosing the back suffix; if the final vowel is high then there is a fifty-fifty competition in stratum 3. The apparent variety of rates seen in the plot for lexical BNN results from this variety of final N heights, not from consonantal effects; in the wug data, by contrast, N heights were balanced, so there is no spurious consonantal effect predicted.

N words that are not monosyllables with [i:] have no constraints favoring backness. Those that are monosyllables with [i:] finally show some consonantal effects: if BILABIAL, CLUSTER, or SIBILANT is relevant, the backness rate will be zero. If none of these three is relevant but CORSON is, there will be fifty-fifty competition in stratum 6. And if none of the consonantal properties hold, backness will be 100%. NN words, and NN and NNNN (grouped under ‘other’), have a predicted backness rate of zero. The variety seen within the ‘other’ category comes from BNNN words, subject to the same constraints as BNN words.



a. Predictions for lexical data.



b. Predictions for nonce-probe data.

FIGURE 28. Stratified partial-ordering OT model's predictions for Hungarian vowel harmony.

4.6. COMPARISON OF MODELS. We summarize the models' performance quantitatively in Table 22. As before, we used a backoff of 1/100,000 for predicted probabilities of 0 or 1 that were generated by the non-MaxEnt models. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, we do not include a decision-tree model, because all of the constraints in the Hungarian analysis are purely phonological. In the Tagalog and French cases it was plausible for a morphosyntactic component to feed into a phonological component—with probabilistic decisions being made within each component—but here the constraints must all interact within a single component.

MODEL	LOG LIKELIHOOD FOR	LOG LIKELIHOOD FOR	# OF FREE PARAMETERS
	LEXICAL DATA (closer to 0 is better) <i>n</i> of stems = 8,915	WUG DATA (closer to 0 is better) <i>n</i> of stems = 1,602	
MaxEnt	-187.06 (best)	-823.28 (tied for best)	12
Noisy HG	-196.76	-823.29 (tied for best)	12
Stochastic OT (best fit)	-280.83	-971.28	12
Stratified partial-ordering OT (best fit)	-432.68	-2,685.75	12
<i>perfect model (baseline)</i>	<i>-164.06</i>	<i>-648.50</i>	232

TABLE 22. Comparison of model fits for Hungarian.

For all models, the fit to the wug data is worse—even more so in terms of average log likelihood per stem. The reason is that log likelihood is most hurt at intermediate rates, and the wug data, by design, are rich in stems with intermediate backness rates.

4.7. HUNGARIAN CONCLUSIONS. The special aspects of the Hungarian study are as follows. First, Hungarian is a case in which the two intersecting constraint families are both phonological, but the overall data pattern is the same: we find that backness rates for consonant category converge at the extremes of the vowel categories. This is best matched with some version of harmonic grammar. Second, unlike in the other cases, we have wug-test data to validate the psychological reality of both dimensions of the lexical pattern.

5. CONCLUSION. In this work, we compared competing frameworks of stochastic grammar by examining how they handle the problem of intersecting constraint families. We did this by finding appropriate examples in which the data are analyzable with intersecting constraint families, and large enough corpora are available.

Figures 4, 17, and 23 give the essential pattern of floor and ceiling effects, where differences in one constraint family are seen only at medial values of the other. As we showed, this qualitative pattern is a direct prediction of harmonic grammar, in either of its stochastic versions (MaxEnt or noisy HG). Floor and ceiling effects result when the influence of one family is so strong that the other family makes no difference. Distinctions made in the medial region result from the addition of constraint weights that is at the core of this approach.

Other theories were far less successful. The decision-tree theory (§2.6, §3.10) derives not parallel sigmoids but 'claws' (Figs. 14, 22), with pinching at only one end of the range. Stochastic OT can partially derive the crucial pattern in one case (Hungarian), but for Tagalog and French it fails (Figs. 9, 20). In the case of Tagalog, the failure arises from a language-specific ranking paradox (§2.6). In French, the failure is more general: Magri's theorem shows that convergence at both ends of one dimension cannot be obtained with simple, synergistic constraint families (§3.8). The version of partial ordering examined here offers a small subset of the grammars available under stochastic OT

and thus suffers from the same limitations. In addition, the coarseness of the model leads it to collapse distinctions more often than the others.

We conclude that if these three case studies are representative, harmonic grammar has the empirical advantage over other constraint models of variation. Results for noisy HG and MaxEnt were too similar for us to say which flavor of probabilistic harmonic grammar captures the data better.

We comment briefly on the generality of our claim. An assumption of both noisy HG and MaxEnt is that ALL grammatical phenomena are to be derived with weighted constraints: the theory is not some kind of patch on a basically nonstochastic theory of grammar; rather, nongradient behavior is simply the limiting case that arises when unanimous acquisition data result in extreme weights. Likewise, we do not think it likely that weighted constraints govern only some parts of the grammar; the research tradition arising from Kroch's pioneering work on syntactic change (1989, 2001) suggests that the sigmoid curves derived by MaxEnt and noisy HG models are likely to arise in syntax as well.

A subsidiary finding of our research was the existence of LEXICAL PROPENSITY (first introduced in §3.4): the continuous, not categorical, tendency of a lexical item to behave in a particular phonological way—for example, to require a preceding syllable boundary or not. Lexical propensity was treated in classical generative phonology through binary approximations, using diacritics or abstract representations (ghost consonants, floating autosegments, etc.). Examining large corpora indicates that such treatment is insufficiently nuanced: it predicts all-or-nothing variation across stems rather than the gradient patterns we found for Tagalog prefixes and French word2s. To better fit the data, we have encoded lexical propensity as a range of lexically specific constraint weights in harmonic grammar.

As a direction for future research, we suggest psycholinguistic testing of the generalizations for their productivity, beyond what we have already done for Hungarian. Our corpora do represent real language use rather than laboratory data, but they are the result of folding together the speech of a great number of individuals.

APPENDIX: EVIDENCE ON FRENCH FROM THE LITERATURE

CLAIMS THAT THERE IS VARIATION

- Encrevé (1988:199) observes that the lists of alignant words in four prescriptive sources 'are far from agreeing—and far from agreeing with what one hears'.²²
- Dubroca's (1824:150) pronunciation manual justifies a supplemental chapter on *h*-initial words as follows: 'Errors are so frequent and so crude in this respect; there are so few men who have sure principles on it'.
- Fouché (1956:258–65), in a prescriptive manual, notes variation ('*flottement*') for several categories of proper names and loans, as well as *hyène* 'hyena'.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:56), in a widely used prescriptive manual, note that 'popular speech barely respects disjunction [i.e. lack of liaison or elision] before *h aspiré*' and that 'lapses have slipped by authors'. They note cases of:
 - prescriptively nonalignant words that are often treated as alignant (e.g. *hameçon* 'hook'), and vice versa (e.g. *handicap*);
 - 'hesitation' and 'confusion', especially in foreign names;
 - published contradictions, including a dictionary that lists *holisme* 'holism' as nonalignant, but uses *du holisme* in that very entry.
- Lively discussions can be found on French-language internet forums as to whether a given word is alignant (e.g. *Haitien* 'Haitian' and *haricot* 'bean').

CLAIMS THAT THERE IS INTRASPEAKER VARIATION

- Cohen (1963:140) cites a government flyer that includes, just two paragraphs apart, both *de un mois* and *d'un mois* 'of one month'.

²² All translations are our own.

- Cohen (1963:140) also cites a well-regarded history manual that varies between *de Henri IV* and *d'Henri IV* 'of Henry IV'.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:57–63) note several examples of variation within an individual author.
- Cornulier (1981:203) claims that 'a sentence containing both *de Hugo* and *d'Hugo* ['of Hugo'] would not be remarkable in conversation'.
- Cornulier (1981:203) sums up the situation thus: 'many people supposed to speak well seem to flip a coin each time' when it comes to producing liaison or not in *un handicap* 'a handicap', *un HLM* 'a social housing project', or *un hameçon* 'a hook', 'but, when questioned, decide in a definitive and sincere fashion, like the grammarians'.
- Gabriel and Meisenburg (2009) found intraspeaker variation in a reading-aloud task.

CLAIMS OF WORDĪ DIFFERENCES

Interjections, metalinguistic uses, and other special words

- Fouché (1956:137) and Grevisse and Goosse (2011:61): *oui* 'yes' usually behaves as alignant, but *que* sometimes undergoes elision before it.
- Ehrhard (1965:22): *le oui*, *les oui*, *mais oui* (no elision or liaison), but *je crois qu'oui* 'I think so' in speech (though generally written *je crois que oui*).
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:63): *onze* 'eleven' normally is alignant (takes *le*, *du*), but can behave as non-alignant with specific wordĪs—liaison of *est* 'is' is possible in *il est onze heures* 'it is eleven o'clock', and *que* and *de* can undergo elision before *onze*.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:65): names of letters are more likely to behave as nonalignant with wordĪs that potentially undergo liaison than with wordĪs that potentially undergo elision.

Proper names

- Fouché (1956:260): personal names that normally are alignant nevertheless trigger liaison of preceding *ces*, *des*, *les*, *chez*.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:66–67): there is a tendency for any personal name to behave as alignant (even those spelled without <h>, such as *Octave*), the more so if wordĪ is *que*, among other factors.
- Malmberg (1943:44): *Hitler*, as it was becoming more common, was triggering more elision, especially with *de*.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:57, seeming to contradict Malmberg, though writing in a different period): 'We have noted *de Hitler* more often than *d'Hitler*, but the opposite with *que*' (though see Malmberg 1943:44).
- Tranel (1981:201, n. 4): liaison is marginal in *le petit Hollandais*, worse in *les petits Hollandais*, and rejected in *des Hollandais*.
- Durand (1986:201): Durand's parents say *le* [lɑ] *Hollandais* 'the Dutch person' (no elision); *les* [le(z)] *Hollandais* 'the Dutch people' (variable liaison); and *petite* [pøti.t] *Hollandaise* 'little Dutch woman' (enchaînement).
- Durand (1986:201): four of ten participants in a reading task said *le* [lɑ] *hongrois* 'the Hungarian language' (no elision) but *e[n]* *hongrois* 'in Hungarian' (liaison).

Ordinary words

- Cohen (1963:140): Cohen's own speech has no elision in *la ouate* 'the cotton wool', but elision in *d'ouate*. Cohen (1972:103): the same people who say *la ouate* (which Cohen deems more frequent than *l'ouate*) say *un tampon d'ouate* 'a cotton ball'.
- Ehrhard (1965:22): hesitation between *la ouate* and *l'ouate*, but *un tampon d'ouate* is preferred.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:61): '*L'ouate*, not long ago considered outdated ... , is today more common [than *la ouate*], but *la ouate* and especially *de ouate* are still said and written'.
- Tranel (1981:201, n. 4) himself accepts liaison in *ils sont hors jeu* 'they are off-side' but not *les hors jeux* 'off-sides' (though there is a part-of-speech difference here).
- Cohen (1963:140): Cohen's own speech has no liaison in *les hyènes* 'the hyenas' and no elision in *la hyène*, but elision in *d'hyènes*.

LEXICALIZATION OF PARTICULAR WORD COMBINATIONS

- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:63): *onze* 'eleven' normally behaves as alignant, but triggers elision in the expressions *belle/dame-d'onze-heures* 'grass lily' and, variably, *bouillon-d'de-onze-heures* 'poisoned beverage'.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:63): *un* 'one' behaves as unaspirated just in *ne faire qu'un* 'to be as one' and *c'est tout un* (with liaison of *tout*) 'it's all the same'.
- Many authors (e.g. L'Huillier 1999:37): *huit* 'eight' behaves as unaspirated only within certain compound numerals (e.g. *dix-huit* 'eighteen' (liaison), *vingt-huit* 'twenty-eight' (liaison), *trente-huit* 'thirty-eight' (schwa deletion)); but as aspirated, with no liaison, in *cent huit* 'one hundred and eight'.

- Dubroca (1824:158): *Hollande* ‘Holland’ is normally aspirated, but behaves as unaspirated in the expressions *toile d’Hollande* ‘type of cloth’ and *fromage d’Hollande* ‘type of cheese’.
- Dubroca (1824:159): *Hongrie* ‘Hungary’ is unaspirated just in *point d’Hongrie* ‘type of parquetry’ and *eau de la reine d’Hongrie* ‘type of perfume’, though we find that texts show variation for all of these.
- Cohen (1963:138): *hameçon* ‘hook’ is normatively aspirated and greatly varying in speech, but is always unaspirated in *mordre à l’hameçon* ‘to bite the hook’.

THE WORD *HIATUS*

Prescriptive sources used to list this word as unaspirated, but many now give it as aspirated.

- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:60) note that the dictionary of the Académie française made the switch in its 1997 edition.

SCHWA/ZERO ALTERNATIONS

- Grammont (1914:124): schwa in alignant *une* [ynə] *hache* ‘an axe’, versus no schwa in consonantal *une* [yn] *tache* ‘a spot’ and nonalignant *une* [yn] *honnête femme* ‘an honest woman’.
- Prescriptive sources and analyses of normative French find this schwa largely when the preceding word is spelled with final *e*, and analyze the phenomenon as blocking of deletion: Fouché (1956:135–39), Schane (1968), Selkirk (1972:329, 379), Dell (1973:84–93), Grevisse and Goosse (2011:55, 63).
- Tranel (1981:287) has observed schwa in *quel hasard* ‘such a coincidence’, has obtained schwa in direct elicitation of *sept haies* ‘seven hedges’, and cites Martinon (1913:249) for schwa in *avoir honte* ‘to be ashamed’.
- Pagliano (2003) notes that schwa is possible for *quel hublot* ‘which porthole’.
- Cohen (1963:137) reports that his own speech has schwa in *une hâte* ‘a haste’ and *une haie* ‘a hedge’, but not in *une hallebarde* ‘a halberd’ (all *h-aspiré* words).

PREGENERATIVE ALIGNMENT ANALYSES

- Frei (1929:96–100), in a study of errors and nonnormative pronunciations, puts forth the general principle that clarity is enhanced when elements of an utterance are sufficiently separated. In particular, a word boundary should coincide with a syllable boundary—this is frequently untrue in French, because of rampant resyllabification across syllable boundaries (*enchaînement*), but nonetheless, Frei proposes, French speakers are subject to this drive. He writes: ‘such is the real *raison d’être* of the so-called *h-aspiré*, which is in reality a separator designated to make the syllable boundary correspond with the word boundary; popular language has a tendency to extend it: *un | huissier*’ (i.e. without liaison, although *huissier* ‘bailliff’ is, normatively, nonalignant) (p. 97). Frei relates the lack of liaison and elision, as well as the insertion/nondeletion of preceding schwa seen in alignant words, to similar ‘errors’ seen with ordinary words, as in the popular lack of elision in *quelque chose de ample* ‘something full’ (p. 97).
- Damourette and Pichon (1930:198) characterize *h-aspiré* as an ‘assurance of hiatus’.
- Malmberg (1943:35–36) writes of ‘a tendency to isolate the word from its context and not let it be part of a phonetic group, to better conserve its individuality’.

OBSERVATIONS ON ALIGNMENT AS A WAY TO SET APART CERTAIN WORDS

Metalinguistic uses

- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:64): any vowel-initial word can be treated as alignant when used metalinguistically, as in *diminutif de aube* ‘diminutive of dawn’.
- Fouché (1956): *de* is normally used before citing a word when one wishes to draw attention to its initial vowel (*l’a de « avoir »* ‘the *a* of *to have*’), but there is variation when one wants to draw attention to a later sound (*le double f d(e) « effet »* ‘the double *f* of *effect*’).
 - Our interpretation is that *avoir* has even stronger reasons to begin with a syllable boundary than *effet*, because not only the word as a whole but also the initial sound specifically is being set apart.

Foreign, archaic, or technical character

- Martinet (1933:201–2): many alignant words are archaic or technical.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:66–67): alignancy of a personal name is more likely when the name sounds particularly foreign.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:67): there is a tendency toward alignancy when a word or phrase is felt to be foreign, even if not spelled with <h> (*la upa-upa* ‘the upa-upa [‘Tahitian dance]’).

A foreign word might be expected to lose its alignant character as it becomes more familiar.

- Ehrhard (1965:23): Sartre wrote alignant *le ukuléle* ‘the ukulele’ in 1945, but twenty years later, with the word having become common, nonalignant *l’ukuléle* was the norm.²³

²³ Though it is possible that, under English influence, there is variation between [jukulele] and [ukulele].

Length, alone and in interaction with metalinguistic uses or foreign/archaic/technical character

- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:56): popular speech often fails to respect a word's status as alignant, but 'the shorter the word, the better disjunction is maintained, as liaison and elision would render it difficult to identify'.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:66–67): disjunction before a personal name is more likely when the name is short, and especially if it is only an initial (e.g. *A. Meillet*).
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:64): while alignancy is generally optional in metalinguistic uses, it is nearly obligatory when the item is a monosyllabic function word or affix.
- Grevisse and Goosse (2011:65): similarly, when another part of speech is used as a noun, it often becomes alignant if monosyllabic (*le on 'the one/we'*).
- Fouché (1956:264–65): foreign-origin names of French persons are alignant if monosyllabic (e.g. *Hahn*), but tend to be nonalignant if polysyllabic. The same applies to German geographic names in France and is the tendency for indigenous names in French overseas territory.
- Malmberg (1943:44) conjectures, following Gougenheim (1938), that the real reason behind instances where a base word is alignant and its derived forms nonalignant is length: alignant *Hanse* 'Hanseatic League', *hile* 'hilum', *héros* 'hero', *Hitler*, *Hégel* are shorter than their nonalignant or varying derivatives *hanséatique* 'Hanseatic', *hilifère* 'hiliferous', *héroïne* 'heroine', *héroïsme* 'heroism', *hitlérien* 'Hitlerian', *hégélianisme* 'Hegelianism' (see also Fouché 1956:258, 263).
- Plénat (1995:7): words formed by the language disguise Verlan are alignant if monosyllabic, such as *ouf* from *fou* 'crazy'.
- Dell (1970:86–90) and Tranel (1981): schwa insertion is more common for alignant words that are monosyllabic than for longer alignant words (Dell's analysis is in terms of stress).

REFERENCES

- ANTTILA, ARTO. 1997a. Deriving variation from grammar. *Variation, change, and phonological theory*, ed. by Frans Hinskens, Roeland van Hout, and W. Leo Wetzels, 35–68. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- ANTTILA, ARTO. 1997b. *Variation in Finnish phonology and morphology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University dissertation.
- BATES, DOUGLAS; MARTIN MAECHLER; BEN BOLKER; and STEVEN WALKER. 2014. lme4: Linear mixed-effects models using 'Eigen' and S4. R package version 1.1–6. Online: <http://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lme4>.
- BERGER, ADAM L.; STEPHEN A. DELLA PIETRA; and VINCENT J. DELLA PIETRA. 1996. A maximum entropy approach to natural language processing. *Computational Linguistics* 22.39–71. Online: <http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=234289>.
- BERKO, JEAN. 1958. The child's learning of English morphology. *Word* 14.150–77. DOI: 10.1080/00437956.1958.11659661.
- BLUST, ROBERT. 2004. Austronesian nasal substitution: A survey. *Oceanic Linguistics* 43. 73–148. DOI: 10.1353/ol.2004.0004.
- BOERSMA, PAUL. 1998a. *Functional phonology: Formalizing the interaction between articulatory and perceptual drives*. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.
- BOERSMA, PAUL. 1998b. Spreading in functional phonology. *Proceedings of the Institute of Phonetic Sciences* 22.1–20. Online: http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/archive/1998/Proc22Boersma_spreading.pdf.
- BOERSMA, PAUL. 2001. Review of Anttila 1997b. *GLOT International* 5.33–40.
- BOERSMA, PAUL. 2007. Some listener-oriented accounts of *h*-aspire in French. *Lingua* 117. 1989–2054. DOI: 10.1016/j.lingua.2006.11.004.
- BOERSMA, PAUL, and JOE PATER. 2016. Convergence properties of a gradual learning algorithm for harmonic grammar. *Harmonic grammar and harmonic serialism*, ed. by John J. McCarthy and Joe Pater, 389–434. Sheffield: Equinox.
- BREIMAN, LEO; JEROME FRIEDMAN; CHARLES STONE; and RICHARD A. OLSHEN. 1984. *Classification and regression trees*. 1st edn. Boca Raton: Chapman and Hall/CRC.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- CLEMENTS, GEORGE N., and SAMUEL JAY KEYSER. 1983. *CV phonology: A generative theory of the syllable*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- COHEN, MARCEL. 1963. *Nouveaux regards sur la langue française*. Paris: Éditions Sociales.
- COHEN, MARCEL. 1972. *Une fois de plus des regards sur la langue française*. Paris: Éditions Sociales.

- CORNULIER, BENOÎT DE. 1981. H-aspirée et la syllabation: Expressions disjonctives. *Phonology in the 1980s*, ed. by Didier L. Goyvaerts, 183–230. Ghent: Story-Scientia.
- DAMOURETTE, JACQUES, and ÉDOUARD PICHON. 1930. *Des mots à la pensée: Essai de grammaire de la langue française*, vol. 1. Paris: Éditions d'Artrey.
- DELL, FRANÇOIS. 1970. *Les règles phonologiques tardives et la morphologie dérivationnelle du français*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation.
- DELL, FRANÇOIS. 1973. *Les règles et les sons*. Paris: Hermann.
- DELLA PIETRA, STEPHEN; VINCENT J. DELLA PIETRA; and JOHN D. LAFFERTY. 1997. Inducing features of random fields. *IEEE Transactions on Pattern Analysis and Machine Intelligence* 19.380–93. DOI: 10.1109/34.588021.
- DJALALI, ALEX J. 2013. A constructive solution to the ranking problem in partial order optimality theory. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, ms.
- DUBROCA, LOUIS. 1824. *Traité de la prononciation des consonnes et des voyelles finales des mots français, dans leur rapport avec les consonnes et les voyelles initiales des mots suivants; suivi de la prosodie de la langue française*. Paris: chez l'Auteur, Delaunay, and A. Johanneau.
- DURAND, JACQUES. 1986. French liaison, floating segments and other matters in a dependency framework. *Dependency and non-linear phonology*, ed. by Jacques Durand, 161–201. London: Croom Helm.
- EHRHARD, JEAN. 1965. *Remarques sur trois difficultés de la prononciation française*. Saigon: J. Aspar.
- ENCREVÉ, PIERRE. 1988. *La liaison avec et sans enchaînement: Phonologie tridimensionnelle*. Paris: Seuil.
- ENGLISH, LEO. 1986. *Tagalog-English dictionary*. Manila: Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; distributed by Philippine National Book Store.
- FLACK, KATHRYN GILBERT. 2007. *The sources of phonological markedness*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts dissertation.
- FOUCHÉ, PIERRE. 1956. *Traité de prononciation française*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- FREI, HENRI. 1929. *La grammaire des fautes: Introduction à la linguistique fonctionnelle, assimilation et différenciation, brièveté et invariabilité, expressivité*. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner.
- FRUEHWALD, JOSEF. 2012. Redevelopment of a morphological class. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 18(1):10. Online: <http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol18/iss1/10>.
- GAATONE, DAVID. 1978. Phonologie abstraite et phonologie concrète: A propos de h-aspiré en français. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 2.3–21. DOI: 10.1075/li.2.1.03gaa.
- GABRIEL, CHRISTOPH, and TRUDEL MEISENBURG. 2009. Silent onsets? An optimality-theoretic approach to French *h aspiré* words. *Variation and gradience in phonetics and phonology*, ed. by Frank Kügler, Caroline Féry, and Ruben van de Vijver, 163–84. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GOLDWATER, SHARON, and MARK JOHNSON. 2003. Learning OT constraint rankings using a maximum entropy model. *Proceedings of the Stockholm Workshop on Variation within Optimality Theory*, ed. by Jennifer Spenader, Anders Eriksson, and Östen Dahl, 111–20. Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- GOUGENHEIM, GEORGES. 1938. *Système grammatical de la langue française*. Paris: Bibliothèque du Français moderne, J. L. L. d'Artrey A. Ronteix-d'Artrey.
- GRAMMONT, MAURICE. 1914. *Traité pratique de prononciation française*. Paris: Delagrave.
- GREF, EMILY. 2008. Biphasal and monophasal spellout: Evidence from Austronesian nasal substitution. Montreal: McGill University B.A. thesis.
- GREVISSE, MAURICE, and ANDRÉ GOOSSE. 2011. *Le bon usage: Grammaire française*. 15th edn. Bruxelles: De Boeck-Duculot.
- HAYES, BRUCE, and ZSUZSA CZIRÁKY LONDE. 2006. Stochastic phonological knowledge: The case of Hungarian vowel harmony. *Phonology* 23.59–104. DOI: 10.1017/S0952675706000765.
- HAYES, BRUCE; BRUCE TESAR; and KIE ZURAW. 2014. OTSoft 2.3.3. Online: <http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/hayes/otsoft/>.
- HAYES, BRUCE; KIE ZURAW; PÉTER SIPTÁR; and ZSUZSA CZIRÁKY LONDE. 2009. Natural and unnatural constraints in Hungarian vowel harmony. *Language* 85.822–63. DOI: 10.1353/lan.0.0169.

- JÄGER, GERHARD, and ANETTE ROSENBACH. 2006. The winner takes it all—almost: Cumulativity in grammatical variation. *Linguistics* 44.937–71. DOI: 10.1515/LING.2006.031.
- JAYNES, EDWIN T. 1957. Information theory and statistical mechanics. *Physical Review, series II* 106.620–30. DOI: 10.1103/PhysRev.106.620.
- KAYE, JONATHAN, and JEAN LOWENSTAMM. 1984. De la syllabicit . *Forme sonore du langage: Structure des repr sentations en phonologie*, ed. by Fran ois Dell, Daniel Hirst, and Jean-Roger Vergnaud, 123–59. Paris: Hermann.
- KROCH, ANTHONY S. 1989. Reflexes of grammar in patterns of language change. *Language Variation and Change* 1.199–244. DOI: 10.1017/S0954394500000168.
- KROCH, ANTHONY S. 2001. Syntactic change. *Handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*, ed. by Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, 699–729. Oxford: Blackwell.
- L'HUILLIER, MONIQUE. 1999. *Advanced French grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LEGENDRE, G RALDINE; YOSHIRO MIYATA; and PAUL SMOLENSKY. 1990. Harmonic grammar—a formal multi-level connectionist theory of linguistic well-formedness: An application. *Proceedings of the 12th annual conference of the Cognitive Science Society (CogSci 1990)*, 884–91.
- LEGENDRE, G RALDINE; ANTONELLA SORACE; and PAUL SMOLENSKY. 2006. The optimality theory–harmonic grammar connection. *The harmonic mind*, ed. by Paul Smolensky and G raldine Legendre, 339–402. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- LIN, YURI; JEAN-BAPTISTE MICHEL; EREZ LIEBERMAN AIDEN; JON ORWANT; WILL BROCKMAN; and SLAV PETROV. 2012. Syntactic annotations for the Google Books ngram corpus. *Proceedings of the ACL 2012 System Demonstrations*, 169–74. Online: <http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2390499>.
- MAGR , GIORGIO. 2012. Convergence of error-driven ranking algorithms. *Phonology* 29.213–69. DOI: 10.1017/S0952675712000127.
- MALMBERG, BERTIL. 1943. *Le syst me consonantique du fran ais moderne:  tudes de phon tique et de phonologie*. ( tudes romanes de Lund 7.) Lund: Alf Lombard.
- MARTINET, ANDR . 1933. Remarques sur le syst me phonologique du fran ais. *Bulletin de la Soci t  de Linguistique de Paris* 34.191–202.
- MARTINON, PHILIPPE. 1913. *Comment on prononce le fran ais: Trait  complet de prononciation pratique avec les noms propres et les mots  trangers*. Paris: Larousse.
- MCCARTHY, JOHN J., and ALAN PRINCE. 1993. Generalized alignment. *Yearbook of Morphology* 1993.79–154. DOI: 10.1007/978-94-017-3712-8_4.
- MCCARTHY, JOHN J., and ALAN PRINCE. 1995. Faithfulness and reduplicative identity. *Papers in optimality theory* (University of Massachusetts occasional papers 18), ed. by Jill N. Beckman, Laura Walsh Dickey, and Suzanne Urbanczyk, 249–384. Amherst, MA: GLSA Publications.
- MICHEL, JEAN-BAPTISTE; YUAN KUI SHEN; AVIVA PRESSER AIDEN; ADRIAN VERES; MATTHEW K. GRAY; THE GOOGLE BOOKS TEAM; JOSEPH P. PICKETT; DALE HOIBERG; DAN CLANCY; PETER NORVIG; JON ORWANT; STEVEN PINKER; MARTIN A. NOWAK; and EREZ LIEBERMAN AIDEN. 2011. Quantitative analysis of culture using millions of digitized books. *Science* 331(6014).176–82. DOI: 10.1126/science.1199644.
- NEWMAN, JOHN. 1984. Nasal replacement in western Austronesian: An overview. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 15.1–17.
- PAGLIANO, CLAUDINE. 2003. *L' penth se consonantique en fran ais: Ce que la syntaxe, la s mantique et la morphologie peuvent faire   la phonologie: Parles-en de ta num rotation   impossible*. Nice: University of Nice Sophia-Antipolis dissertation.
- PATER, JOE. 1999. Austronesian nasal substitution and other NC effects. *The prosody-morphology interface*, ed. by Ren  Kager, Harry van der Hulst, and Wim Zonneveld, 310–43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PATER, JOE. 2001. Austronesian nasal substitution revisited: What's wrong with *N  (and what's not). *Segmental phonology in optimality theory: Constraints and representations*, ed. by Linda Lombardi, 159–82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PATER, JOE. 2008. Gradual learning and convergence. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39.334–45. DOI: 10.1162/ling.2008.39.2.334.
- PETERS, CATHERINE A. 2002. Statistics for analysis of experimental data. *Environmental engineering processes laboratory manual*, ed. by Susan E. Powers, 1–25. Champaign, IL: Association of Environmental Engineering and Science Professors Foundation.

- PLÉNAT, MARC. 1995. Une approche prosodique de la morphologie du verlan. *Lingua* 95. 97–129. DOI: 10.1016/0024-3841(95)90103-5.
- POTTS, CHRISTOPHER; JOE PATER; KAREN JESNEY; RAJESH BHATT; and MICHAEL BECKER. 2010. Harmonic grammar with linear programming: From linear systems to linguistic typology. *Phonology* 27.77–117. DOI: 10.1017/S0952675710000047.
- PRINCE, ALAN, and PAUL SMOLENSKY. 2004 [1993]. *Optimality theory: Constraint interaction in generative grammar*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- R CORE TEAM. 2014. R: A language and environment for statistical computing. Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. Online: <https://www.r-project.org/>.
- SAS INSTITUTE INC. 2014. SAS software. Cary, NC: SAS Institute Inc. Online: <https://www.sas.com>.
- SCHANE, SANFORD. 1968. *French phonology and morphology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- SCHANE, SANFORD. 1978. L'emploi des frontières de mots en français. *Etudes de phonologie française*, ed. by Benoît de Cornulier and François Dell, 133–47. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- SELKIRK, ELISABETH. 1972. *The phrase phonology of English and French*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation.
- SELKIRK, ELISABETH, and JEAN-ROGER VERGNAUD. 1973. How abstract is French phonology? *Foundations of Language* 10.249–54. Online: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25000715>.
- SHIH, STEPHANIE. 2014. *Towards optimal rhythm*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University dissertation.
- SMOLENSKY, PAUL. 1986. Information processing in dynamical systems: Foundations of harmony theory. *Parallel distributed processing: Explorations in the microstructure of cognition. Vol. 1: Foundations*, ed. by David E. Rumelhart, James L. McClelland, and the PDP Research Group, 194–281. Cambridge, MA: Bradford Books/MIT Press.
- TRANEL, BERNARD. 1981. *Concreteness in generative phonology: Evidence from French*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- TRANEL, BERNARD. 1995. Current issues in French phonology: Liaison and position theories. *The handbook of phonological theory*, ed. by John A. Goldsmith, 798–816. Oxford: Blackwell.
- TRANEL, BERNARD, and FRANCESCA DEL GOBBO. 2002. Local conjunction in Italian and French phonology. *Romance phonology and variation: Selected papers from the 30th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Gainesville, Florida, February 2000*, ed. by Caroline R. Wiltshire and Joaquim Camps, 191–218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- WALKER, DOUGLAS C. 2001. *French sound structure*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- WILSON, COLIN. 2006. Learning phonology with substantive bias: An experimental and computational study of velar palatalization. *Cognitive Science* 30.945–82. DOI: 10.1207/s15516709cog0000_89.
- WILSON, COLIN. 2014. Maximum entropy models. Tutorial presented at the Annual Meeting on Phonology, MIT.
- ZURAW, KIE. 2000. *Patterned exceptions in phonology*. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles dissertation.
- ZURAW, KIE. 2009. Frequency influences on rule application within and across words. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 43(2).283–309. Online: <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/contentone/cls/pcls/2007/00000043/00000002/art00019>.
- ZURAW, KIE. 2010. A model of lexical variation and the grammar with application to Tagalog nasal substitution. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28.417–72. DOI: 10.1007/s11049-010-9095-z.

Department of Linguistics
3125 Campbell Hall
UCLA
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1543
[kie@ucla.edu] (Zuraw)
[bhayes@humnet.ucla.edu] (Hayes)

[Received 24 May 2015;
revision invited 11 November 2015;
revision received 21 May 2016;
accepted with revisions 1 August 2016;
accepted 12 September 2016]