

Issue 1: What is a reasonable margin of harmony for a winning candidate?

Issue 2: What is a reasonable lower bound for the weight of a constraint (e.g. 0.01 on Onset and 0.02 on Uniformity?)

$\mu$  was increased at the rate  $\mu = 1/(1+i)$  where  $i$  is the iteration number. After 22 iterations we had  $\mu = 1/23 = .04$ . So Uniform phrases. For now, we took everything not designated as medium or low frequency to be high frequency. For medium frequency

ə on le  $t_1$   $z_1$   $n_1$   $z_{pl}$   $t_2$   $z_2$   $n_2$   
0.6 0.25 0.26 0.26 0.37 0.51 0.56 0.58

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Contig -0.6	Dep -0.65	AlignLV -1.09	AlignRC 0.64	NoCoda 0.61	-0.47
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### l'ami

$[^M(\epsilon \cdot \epsilon_1)] [^M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2)ami]$

lə.ami	0.6					-0.436			
<b>lə.mi</b>	1								
lə.na.mi	1.18					-0.8938			
lə.n.a.mi	1.18					-0.8938			-0.47

### le hasard

$[^M(\epsilon \cdot \epsilon_1)] [^M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2)aza\mathfrak{B}]$

<b>lə.azaz</b>	0.6					-0.436	0.64		
la.za\mathfrak{B}	1								

### le héros

$[^M(\epsilon \cdot \epsilon_1)] [^Me_{\mathfrak{B}}\mathfrak{B}o]$

<b>lə.e.\mathfrak{B}o</b>	0.6					-0.436	0.64		
lə.\mathfrak{B}o									

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Contig -0.6	Dep -0.65	AlignLV -1.09	AlignRC 0.64	NoCoda 0.61	-0.47
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### quel ami

$[^Mkel][^M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2)ami]$

<b>kel.la.mi</b>									
kel.ami								0.61	-0.47
kel.z <sub>2</sub> a.mi	0.56					-0.4796		0.61	-0.47
kelz <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.56		-1.5			-0.4796			-0.47

### quel hasard

$[^Mkel][^Maza\mathfrak{B}]$

<b>kel.azaz</b>							0.64	0.61	-0.47
kel.lazaz									

### quel héros

$[^Mkel][^Me_{\mathfrak{B}}\mathfrak{B}o]$

<b>kel.e.\mathfrak{B}o</b>							0.64	0.61	-0.47
kel.lə.\mathfrak{B}o									

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Contig -0.6	Dep -0.65	AlignLV -1.09	AlignRC 0.64	NoCoda 0.61	-0.47
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### petit ami

$[^Mp\epsilon ti(\lambda \cdot t_1)] [^M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2)ami]$

pə.ti.a.mi									
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .a.mi	0.25					-0.8175		0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.t <sub>1</sub> a.mi	0.25					-0.8175			

Sheet1					
pə.tit <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.51		-0.5341	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.51		-0.5341		
pə.tit <sub>12</sub> .a.mi	0.76		-0.2616	0.61	-0.47
<b>☞ pə.ti.t<sub>12</sub>.a.mi</b>	0.76		-0.2616		
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .z <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.81		-1.2971	0.61	-0.47
pə.tiz <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.56		-0.4796	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.z <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.56		-0.4796		

joli ami t = 0.54  
[ʒoli<sup>M</sup>] [<sup>M</sup>(τ·t<sub>2</sub>+ζ·z<sub>2</sub>+v·n<sub>2</sub>)ami]

<b>☞ zo.li.a.mi</b>					
zo.li.ta.mi	0.51		-0.5341		
zo.lit.a.mi	0.51		-0.5341		-0.47

petit copain

[<sup>M</sup>pəti(λ·t<sub>1</sub>)] [<sup>M</sup>kopē]

pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .ko.pē	0.25		-0.8175	0.61	-0.47
<b>☞ pə.ti.ko.pē</b>					

petite copine

[<sup>M</sup>pəti<sub>1</sub>] [<sup>M</sup>kopin] (Here we take the final t on petite to be a fixed consonant with a learned value. Further below we consider

<b>☞ pə.tit<sub>1</sub>.ko.pin</b>	0.85		-0.1635	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.ko.pin					

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Contig -0.6	Dep -0.65	AlignLV -1.09	AlignRC 0.64	NoCoda 0.61	
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petit héros

[<sup>M</sup>pəti(λ·t<sub>1</sub>)] [<sup>M</sup>eʁo]

pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .e.ʁo	0.25				-0.8175	0.64	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.t <sub>1</sub> .e.ʁo	0.25				-0.8175			
<b>☞ pə.ti.e.ʁo</b>						0.64		

joli héros

[ʒoli<sup>M</sup>] [<sup>M</sup>eʁo]

<b>☞ jo.li.e.ʁo</b>						0.64		
jo.le.ʁo								
jo.li.te.ʁo	0				-1.09			
jo.lit.e.ʁo	0				-1.09			

cafés extras Ignoring \*Complex here since they all violate.

Ignoring the NoCoda in tr

[<sup>M</sup>kafe] [<sup>M</sup>π·z<sub>p</sub><sup>PL</sup>] [<sup>M</sup>(τ·t<sub>2</sub>+ζ·z<sub>2</sub>+v·n<sub>2</sub>)εkstʁa] [<sup>M</sup>π·z<sub>p</sub><sup>PL</sup>]

<b>☞ ka.fe.z<sub>p2</sub>εk.stʁa</b>	0.93				-0.0763			
ka.fe.z <sub>p2</sub> εk.stʁaz	0.93	0.37			-0.763			-0.47
ka.fe.εk.stʁa								
ka.fe.z <sub>p</sub> εk.stʁa	0.37				-0.6867			
ka.fe.z <sub>2</sub> εk.stʁa	0.56				-0.4796			

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Contig -0.6	Dep -0.65	AlignLV -1.09	AlignRC 0.64	NoCoda 0.61	
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chers amis

[ʃεʁ<sup>M</sup>] [<sup>M</sup>π·z<sub>p</sub><sup>PL</sup>] [<sup>M</sup>(τ·t<sub>2</sub>+ζ·z<sub>2</sub>+v·n<sub>2</sub>)ami] [<sup>M</sup>π·z<sub>p</sub><sup>PL</sup>]

<b>☞ ʃεʁ.z<sub>p2</sub>a.mi</b>	0.93				-0.0763		0.61	-0.47
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$\int \epsilon_B a.mi$									
$\int \epsilon_B .a.mi$							0.61		-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B z_{p2}.a.mi$	0.93		-1.5			-0.0763	0.61		-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B z_{p2}.a.mi$	0.93					-0.0763	0.61		-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B .z_{p2}.a.miz_p$	0.93	0.37				-0.763	0.61		-0.94
$\int \epsilon_B .z_p.a.mi$	0.37					-0.6867	0.61		-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B .n_2.a.mi$	0.58					-0.4578	0.61		-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B .z_2.a.mi$	0.56					-0.4796	0.61		-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B z_{p2}.n_2.a.mi$	0.93	0.58				-0.5341	-0.61		-0.47

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Integrity -0.6	Contig -0.65	Dep -1.09	AlignLV 0.64	AlignRC 0.61	NoCoda -0.47
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**petits amis** The second candidate violates Integrity because input  $(t_2, z_2, n_2)$  gets split into two segments. It also v  
 $[^M p\acute{e}ti(\lambda \cdot t_1)] [^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}] [M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2) a_p mi] [^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}]$

<b>☞pə.ti.z<sub>p2</sub>.a.mi</b>	0.93					-0.0763			
<b>pə.tit<sub>1</sub>.z<sub>p</sub>.a.mi</b>	0.76	0.93		-0.6	-0.65	-0.3379	0.61		-0.47
pə.tit <sub>12</sub> .z <sub>p</sub> .a.mi	0.76	0.37			-0.65	-0.9483	0.61		-0.47
pə.ti.t <sub>12</sub> .a.mi	0.76					-0.2616			
pə.tiz <sub>p2</sub> .a.mi	0.93					-0.0763	0.61		-0.47
pə.tit <sub>12</sub> .a.mi	0.76					-0.2616	0.61		-0.47
pə.ti.z <sub>p</sub> .a.mi	0.37					-0.6867			
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .z <sub>p2</sub> .a.mi	0.25	0.93				-0.8938	0.61		-0.47
pə.ti.t <sub>1</sub> .a.mi	0.25					-0.8175			
pə.ti.t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.51					-0.5341			
pə.ti.z <sub>p2</sub> .t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.93	0.51	-1.5			-0.0763			-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .z <sub>p</sub> .a.mi	0.25	0.37				-1.5042	0.61		-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.25	0.51				-1.3516	0.61		-0.47
pə.ti.z <sub>p</sub> .t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.37	0.51	-1.5			-1.2208			
pə.ti.z <sub>p2</sub> .t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.93	0.51	-1.5	-0.6		-0.6104			-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .z <sub>p</sub> .t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.25	0.37	-1.5			-2.0383	0.61		-0.47
	0.51								
pə.tiz <sub>p</sub> .t <sub>2</sub> .a.mi	0.37	0.51				-0.90034		0.61	-0.47
pe.ti.a.mi									

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Integrity -0.6	Contig -0.65	Dep -1.09	AlignLV 0.64	AlignRC 0.61	NoCoda -0.47
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**petits chats**

$[^M p\acute{e}ti(\lambda \cdot t_1)] [^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}] [^M f\acute{a}] [^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}]$

**☞pə.ti.fə**

pə.ti.z <sub>p</sub> .a	0.37					-0.6867			
pə.ti.t <sub>1</sub> .fə	0.25		-1.5			-0.8175			
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .fə	0.25					-0.8175		0.61	-0.47
pə.tiz <sub>p</sub> .fə	0.37					-0.6867		0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.z <sub>p</sub> .fə	0.37		-1.5			-0.6867			
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .z <sub>p</sub> .fə	0.33	0.37	-1.5			-1.417		0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> .z <sub>p</sub> .fə	0.25	0.37	-1.5			-1.5042		0.61	-0.47

**chers chats**

$[^f \epsilon_B^M] [^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}] [^M f\acute{a}] [^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}]$

**☞fəB.fə**

$\int \epsilon_B .f\acute{a}z_p$	0.37					-0.6867		0.61	-0.47
$\int \epsilon_B z_p .f\acute{a}$	0.37		-1.5			-0.6867		0.61	-0.47

$\int \epsilon Z_p \cdot \int a$	0.37					-0.6867	0.61	-0.47
$\int \epsilon B \cdot Z_p \cdot \int a$	0.37		-1.5			-0.6867	0.61	-0.47
$\int \epsilon \cdot Z_p \cdot \int a$	0.37					-0.6867		
$\int \epsilon B Z_p \cdot \int a z_p$	0.37	0.37	-1.5			-1.3734	0.61	-0.94

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda	
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61	-0.47

## amis

 $[M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2) a_\beta mi] [{}^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}]$ 
 $\text{a.mi}$ 

a.miz <sub>p</sub>	0.37					-0.6867	0.61	-0.47
ta.mi	0.51					-0.5341		

est agé should behave the same as petit ami

serait agé: low frequency:  $\mu=1$ .
 $[{}^M s \partial \epsilon (\lambda \cdot t_1)] \mu_1 \cdot |^{PWD} [M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2) a_3 e]$ 
 $\text{s.s.a.3e}$ 

s.s.a.t <sub>1</sub> a.3e	0.25					-0.8175		
s.s.a.t <sub>2</sub> a.3e	0.51					-0.5341		
s.s.a.t <sub>12</sub> a.3e	0.76					-0.2616		
s.s.a.t <sub>12</sub> a.3e	0.76					-0.2616	0.61	-0.47

tamis énorme: medium frequency:  $\mu=0.8$ 
 $[{}^M tami(\lambda \cdot z_1)] \mu_1 \cdot |^{PWD} [M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2) en \partial \epsilon m]$ 
 $\text{ta.mi.e.no}\epsilon m$ 

ta.mi.z <sub>1</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.26					-0.8066		
ta.mi.z <sub>2</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.56					-0.4796		
ta.mi.z <sub>12</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.82					-0.1962		
ta.miz <sub>12</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.82					-0.1962	0.61	-0.47

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda	
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61	-0.47

momies énormes: medium frequency:  $\mu=0.8$  but with stronger activation on plural  $z_\mu$ .

They all violate NoCo  
They all respect Align

 $[{}^M momi(\lambda \cdot z_1)] [{}^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}] \mu_1 \cdot |^{PWD} [M(\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_2 + v \cdot n_2) en \partial \epsilon m] [{}^M \pi \cdot z_p^{PL}]$ 

mo.mi.e.no $\epsilon m$								
mo.mi.z <sub>p</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.37					-0.6867		
mo.mi.z <sub>2</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.56					-0.4796		
$\text{mo.mi.z}_{p2}e.no\epsilon m$	0.93					-0.0763		
mo.mi.z <sub>p2</sub> e.no $\epsilon m z_p$	0.93	0.37				-0.763		
mo.miz <sub>p2</sub> e.no $\epsilon m$	0.93					-0.0763		-0.47
mo.miz <sub>p2</sub> e.no $\epsilon m z_p$	0.93	0.37				-0.763		-0.47

bel/belle/beau alternations: These values of  $\beta$ ,  $\omega$  and  $\phi$  were learned at a second stage of learning after all the above.

$\beta$	$\omega$	$\phi$						
$b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2\}_3)ko\epsilon$	0.4	0.7	0.65					
beau copain								
$\text{bo}_{\omega}.ko.p\epsilon$	0.7			-0.65	-0.327			
$b\epsilon_{\beta o_{\omega}}.ko.p\epsilon$	1.1		-1.5		0			
$b\epsilon_{\beta o_{\omega}}.ko.p\epsilon$	0.4	0.7			-0.981			
$b\epsilon_{\beta l_{\omega}}.ko.p\epsilon$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		0.61	-0.47

## beaux copains

 $b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2 l_3\})[{}^M\pi \cdot z_5^{PL}] \text{kop} \epsilon [{}^M\pi \cdot z_5^{PL}]$ 

$\text{bo}_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{p} \epsilon$	0.7			-0.65	-0.327		
$\text{bo}_{\omega} z_p \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{p} \epsilon$	0.7	0.37		-0.65	-1.0137	0.61	-0.47
$\text{be}_{\beta} \cdot o_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{p} \epsilon$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{p} \epsilon$	0.4	0.7			-0.981	0.61	-0.47
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} z_p \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{p} \epsilon$	0.4	0.7	-1.5		-1.6677	0.61	-0.47
		0.37					

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61
							-0.47

I can't find a reason why the feminine ( $\phi \cdot \phi$ ) can't attach to o as well as  $\epsilon$  to increase its activation.

The only way I could think of to prevent beau copine from surfacing was to invoke a Contiguity constraint, where the b followed by o output is not contiguous in the input  $/b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2 l_3\})/$

We take the collocation belle/beau + feminine to have high frequency so Uniformity is reduced by multiplying by  $\mu$ .

To get this to work, we have to add feminine activation  $\phi$  to  $\epsilon$  rather than to o. This does not seem to violate contiguity or lir

I am taking the addition of feminine activation to a feature to be a violation of Uniformity here, as suggested by note on line

## belle copine

 $b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2 l_3\})(\phi \cdot \phi) \text{kopin}$ 

$\text{bo}_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	0.7			-0.65	-0.327		
$\text{bo}_{\omega \phi} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	1.35			-0.65	0		
$\text{be}_{\beta} o_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	1.1		-1.5		0		
$\text{be}_{\beta} o_{\omega \phi} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	1.75		-1.5		0		
$\text{be}_{\beta} \cdot o_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981	0.61	-0.47
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \phi \cdot \text{ko} \cdot \text{pin}$	1.05	0.7			-0.327	0.61	-0.47

## bel ami

 $b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2 l_3\}) \text{ami}$ 

$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981	0.61	-0.47
$\text{bo}_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.7			-0.65	-0.327		
$\text{be}_{\beta} o_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	1.1		-1.5		0		
$\text{be}_{\beta} \cdot o_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		
$\text{bo}_{\omega} t_2 \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.7	0.51		-0.65	-0.8611		
$\text{be}_{\beta} \cdot o_{\omega} t_2 \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-1.5151		
		0.51					

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61
							-0.47

## beaux amis

 $b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2 l_3\})[{}^M\pi \cdot z_5^{PL}] \text{ami} [{}^M\pi \cdot z_5^{PL}]$ 

$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981	0.61	-0.47
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} z_p \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7	-1.5		-1.6677	0.61	-0.47
		0.37					
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} z_p \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-1.6677	0.61	-0.47
		0.37					
$\text{be}_{\beta} l_{\omega} z_{p2} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-1.0573	0.61	-0.47
		0.93					
$\text{bo}_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.7			-0.65	-0.327		
$\text{be}_{\beta} \cdot o_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.4	0.7			-0.981		
$\text{bo}_{\omega} t_2 \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.7	0.51		-0.65	-0.8611		
$\text{bo}_{\omega} z_p \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.7	0.37		-0.65	-1.0137		
$\text{bo}_{\omega} z_{p2} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	0.7	0.93		-0.65	-0.4033		

## belles amies

 $b_0(\beta \cdot \epsilon_1)(\omega \cdot \{o_2 l_3\})(\phi \cdot \phi) [{}^M\pi \cdot z_5^{PL}] \text{ami} (\phi \cdot \phi) [{}^M\pi \cdot z_5^{PL}]$ 

$\text{be}_{\beta \phi} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	1.05	0.7			-0.327		
$\text{be}_{\beta \phi} l_{\omega} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{mi}$	1.05	0.7			-0.327	0.61	-0.47

Sheet1						
$b\epsilon_{\beta\phi}l_{z_p}.a.mi$	1.05	0.7	-1.5	-1.0137	0.61	-0.47
		0.37				
$b\epsilon_{\beta\phi}l_{\omega}.z_p.a.mi$	1.05	0.7		-1.0137	0.61	-0.47
		0.37				
<del><math>b\epsilon_{\beta\phi}l_{\omega}.z_{p2}.a.mi</math></del>	1.05	0.7		-0.4033	0.61	-0.47
		0.93				
$b\epsilon_{\beta}o_{\omega}.a.mi$	0.4	0.7		-0.981		
$bo_{\omega\phi}.a.mi$	1.35			-0.65	0	
$bo_{\omega\phi}.t_2.a.mi$	1.35	0.51		-0.65	-0.5341	
$bo_{\omega\phi}.z_p.a.mi$	1.35	0.37		-0.65	-0.6867	
$bo_{\omega\phi}.z_{p2}.a.mi$	1.35	0.93		-0.65	-0.0763	

### belle amie

$b_0(\beta\cdot\epsilon_1)(\omega\cdot\{o_2l_3\})(\phi\cdot\phi)ami(\phi\cdot\phi)$

<del><math>b\epsilon_{\beta\phi}l_{\omega}.a.mi</math></del>	1.05	0.7		-0.327		
$b\epsilon_{\beta\phi}l_{\omega}.a.mi$	1.05	0.7		-0.327	0.61	-0.47
$b\epsilon_{\beta\phi}o_{\omega}.a.mi$	1.05	0.7		-0.327		
$bo_{\omega\phi}.a.mi$	1.35			-0.65	0	
$bo_{\omega\phi}.t_2.a.mi$	1.35	0.51		-0.65	-0.5341	
$bo_{\omega}.t_2.a.mi$	0.7	1.16		-0.65	-0.327	
$bo_{\omega\phi}.t_{2\phi}.a.mi$ (split phi)	1	0.81	-0.6	-0.65	-0.2071	

It doesn't seem to be a problem to allow phi to attach to a following segment. We consider a higher weight on uniformity in Also splitting phi should be an integrity violation.

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex	Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61	-0.47

The candidate with no enchainement is not far behind. To prevent enchainement with these weights we would need to invo

### beau héros

$b_0(\beta\cdot\epsilon_1)(\omega\cdot\{o_2l_3\})ero$

$b\epsilon_{\beta}l_{\omega}.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-0.981	0.64	0.61	-0.47
$b\epsilon_{\beta}l_{\omega}.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-0.981			
<del><math>bo_{\omega}.e.ro</math></del>	0.7			-0.65	-0.327	0.64	
$b\epsilon_{\beta}o_{\omega}.e.ro$	1.1		-1.5	0	0.64		
$b\epsilon_{\beta}o_{\omega}.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-0.981	0.64		

In the two tableaux above, bo.e.ro fares better than bo.a.mi because the former respects AlignLV. bo.a.mi does not because And even though be.la.mi has the same harmony as be.le.ro, bo.a.mi provides much worse competition for it than bo.e.ro c

### beaux héros

$b_0(\beta\cdot\epsilon_1)(\omega\cdot\{o_2l_3\})[{}^M\pi\cdot z_3^{PL}]ero[{}^M\pi\cdot z_3^{PL}]$

$b\epsilon_{\beta}l_{\omega}.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-0.981	0.64	0.61	-0.47
$b\epsilon_{\beta}l_{\omega}.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-0.981			
<del><math>bo_{\omega}.e.ro</math></del>	0.7			-0.65	-0.327	0.64	
$b\epsilon_{\beta}o_{\omega}.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-0.981	0.64		
$b\epsilon_{\beta}l_{\omega}z_p.e.ro$	0.4	0.7	-1.5	-1.6677	0.64	0.61	-0.47
		0.37					
$b\epsilon_{\beta}l_{\omega}z_p.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-1.6677		0.61	-0.47
		0.37					
$bo_{\omega}z_p.e.ro$	0.7	0.37		-0.65	-1.0137		
$b\epsilon_{\beta}o_{\omega}z_p.e.ro$	0.4	0.7		-1.6677			
		0.37					

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda	
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61	-0.47

Feminine form derived by activation of liaison consonant plus phi instead of representing the final /t/ as a fixed consonant..

### petites lunes

$[{}^W[{}^M\pi\phi\epsilon i]([\lambda+\phi]\cdot t_1)][{}^M\pi\cdot z_B^{PL}] [{}^W[{}^M\pi y]([1+\phi]\cdot n)][{}^M\pi\cdot z^{PL}]$

pə.ti.lyn							
pə.ti.t <sub>1</sub> lyn	0.9				-0.109		
<b>☞pə.tit<sub>1</sub>lyn</b>	0.9				-0.109	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> lynz <sub>p</sub>	0.9	0.37	-1.5		-0.7957	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.z <sub>p</sub> lyn	0.37				-0.6867		
pə.tiz <sub>p</sub> lyn	0.37				-0.6867	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> z <sub>p</sub> lyn	0.9	0.37	-1.5		-0.7957	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> z <sub>p</sub> lyn	0.9	0.37	-1.5		-0.7957	0.61	-0.47

**petites amies** We could have a wider margin for the winner here if  $\phi$ , the feminine activation were further increased

$[^M pəti(\lambda \cdot t_1) \phi \cdot \emptyset_6^{fem}] [^M \pi \cdot z_5^{PL}] [^M (\tau \cdot t_2 + \zeta \cdot z_3 + v \cdot n_4) ami] [^M \pi \cdot z^{PL}]$

<b>☞pə.tit<sub>1</sub>z<sub>p2</sub>a.mi</b>	0.9	0.93			-0.1853	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> z <sub>p2</sub> a.miz <sub>p</sub>	0.9	0.93			-0.872	1.22	-0.94
		0.37					
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> z <sub>p</sub> a.mi	0.9	0.37			-0.7957	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>12</sub> z <sub>p</sub> a.mi	0.76	0.37		-0.65	-0.9483	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>12</sub> z <sub>p2</sub> a.mi	0.76	0.93		-0.65	-0.3379	0.61	-0.47
pə.tit <sub>1</sub> z <sub>p2</sub> a.mi	0.25	0.93			-0.8938	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.z <sub>p2</sub> a.mi	0.93				-0.0763		
pə.ti.z <sub>p2</sub> a.mi	1.58				0		
pə.tiz <sub>p2</sub> a.mi	0.93				-0.0763	0.61	-0.47
pə.ti.a.mi							

Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity	Contig	Dep	AlignLV	AlignRC	NoCoda
		-1.5	-0.6	-0.65	-1.09	0.64	0.61
							-0.47

Adjectives that alternate between -al/-ale/aux behave somewhat similarly to bel/belle/beau except that [o] only occurs in m

I wondered if for the al/aux alternation, there needed to be two different omega values on the /l/ and /o/ but it seems to wor

	$\beta_2$	omega1	on l	omega2	on o		
	0.55	0.55	0.55				
<b>un homme libéral</b>							
libeʁ(β <sub>2</sub> ·a)(ω <sub>2</sub> ·(o,l))							
<b>☞libeʁal</b>	0.55	0.55			-0.981	0.61	-0.47
libeʁo	0.55			-0.65	-0.4905		
<b>une femme libérale</b>							
libeʁ(β <sub>2</sub> ·a)(ω <sub>2</sub> ·(o,l)) (φ·Φ)							
<b>☞libeʁal<sub>φ</sub></b>	1.2	0.55			-0.4905	0.61	-0.47
libeʁo	1.2			-0.65	0		

Would splitting phi be considered a violation of integrity if it isn't an actual segment that is being split?

I'm taking it to be an integrity violation, consistent with making the addition of phi to another feature activation a uniformit

libeʁal <sub>φ</sub> (split φ)	0.9	0.85	-0.6	-0.2725	0.61	-0.47
--------------------------------	-----	------	------	---------	------	-------

The -al/-aux alternation looks similar to the bel/belle/beau alternation except that here, it is only in the masculine plural tha  
So we need different values of beta and omega to prevent the o from surfacing in the masculine singular with no feminine i

In order to get -aux in the plural, we need some further activation on o. It won't work just to add further activation with no i  
form.

Either the plural morpheme has an allomorph (ω<sub>3</sub>·o)(ζ<sub>p</sub>·z<sub>p</sub>) or else (ω<sub>3</sub>·o) always occurs underlyingly.

I wonder if (ω<sub>3</sub>·o) needs to be a floating feature with no segmental material or if it just won't surface unless it is preceded b

	ω <sub>3</sub>						
<b>les hommes libéraux</b>	0.6						
libeʁ(β <sub>2</sub> ·a)(ω <sub>2</sub> ·(o,l))(ω <sub>3</sub> ·o)(ζ <sub>2</sub> ·z <sub>p</sub> )							
libeʁal	0.55	0.55			-0.981	0.61	-0.47
libeʁalo	0.55	0.55			-1.417		
		0.6					

Sheet1									
libeʁo <sub>23</sub>	1.15				-0.65	0			
libeʁalz	0.55	0.55	-1.5			-1.6677	0.61	-0.47	
		0.37							
libeʁo <sub>23</sub> z	1.15	0.37			-0.65	-0.6867	0.61	-0.47	

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Integrity -0.6	Contig -0.65	Dep -1.09	AlignLV 0.64	AlignRC 0.61	NoCoda -0.47
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**les femmes libérales** The -al form wins because of added activation from the feminine morpheme. This activation doesn't  
 libeʁ(β<sub>2</sub>·a)(ω<sub>2</sub>·(o,l)) (φ·Φ)(ω<sub>3</sub>·o)(ζ<sub>2</sub>·z<sub>p</sub>)

libeʁal	1.2	0.55				-0.4905	0.61	-0.47	
libeʁalo	1.2	0.55				-0.9265			
		0.6							
libeʁo <sub>23</sub>	1.8				-0.65	0			
libeʁalz	1.2	0.55	-1.5			-1.1772	0.61	-0.47	
		0.37							
libeʁo <sub>23</sub> z	1.15	1.02			-0.65	0	0.61	-0.47	

**petits** Sanity check to make sure that a posited o in plural won't surface elsewhere.  
 pəti(ω<sub>3</sub>·o)(ζ<sub>2</sub>·z<sub>p</sub>)

pə.ti									
pə.ti.z <sub>1p</sub>	0.63					-0.4033	0.61	-0.47	
pə.ti.z <sub>1p</sub> o	0.37	0.6				-1.1227			

	Contrib to Max/Dep	Contrib of other features	*Complex Integrity -1.5	Integrity -0.6	Contig -0.65	Dep -1.09	AlignLV 0.64	AlignRC 0.61	NoCoda -0.47
--	-----------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------	-------------------	-----------------	--------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

**l'amie** If /la/ is a clitic, can we then posit partial activation on the /a/ as long as there is enough for it to surf  
 α = 0.8  
 [M(α·a<sub>1</sub>)] [M(τ·t<sub>2</sub>+ζ·z<sub>2</sub>+v·n<sub>2</sub>)a<sub>2</sub>mi]  
 la<sub>1</sub>·a<sub>2</sub>mi 0.8 -0.218  
**la<sub>2</sub>·mi** 1  
 la<sub>1</sub>·na<sub>2</sub>·mi 1.38 -0.6758  
 la<sub>1</sub>n·a<sub>2</sub>·mi 1.38 -0.6758 -0.47

**la hache**  
 [M(α·a<sub>1</sub>)] [M<sub>a</sub>z<sub>3</sub>]  
 la<sub>1</sub>·a<sub>2</sub>z<sub>3</sub> 0.8 -0.218 0.64  
 la<sub>2</sub>z<sub>3</sub>

Still to work on:  
 faux ami vs. fausse amie  
 mauvais ami vs. mauvaise idée (different syllabification)  
 Where nasalization occurs or doesn't occur before n.  
 Add more explicit URs to tableaux. (Some are copied from gradient liaison spreadsheet so may have different indexing.)  
 Elision of /a/ in la before vowels. This may pose less of a problem for explaining no elision before h-aspié if we are not posit



nity at -0.41 was effectively around -0.017 for high frequency  
 ency we took  $\mu=0.8$  and low frequency  $\mu=1.0$ .

$t_f$        $z_f$        $n_f$        $\mu$        $\mu_{med}$   
 0.85      0.8      0.8      0.0435      0.8

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

-0.28      0.26      0.09      -0.366  
 0  
 0.26      0.177      0.06      -0.3968  
 -0.28      0.177      -1.4668

0      -0.28      0.26      0.09      0.274  
 0      0

-0.28      0.26      0.09      0.274  
 0

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

-0.28      0.06      0      -0.08  
 0.084      -0.2556  
 -0.28      0.084      -2.6456

-0.28      0.5  
 0

-0.28      0.5  
 0

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

-0.28      -0.28  
 -0.28      0.0375      -0.92  
 0.0375      0.06      -0.72

	-0.28	0.0765		-0.5976
		0.0765	0.06	-0.3976
-0.01784	-0.28	0.114		-0.30544
-0.01784		0.114	0.06	-0.10544
		0.1215	0.06	-0.9756
	-0.28	0.084		-0.5356
		0.084	0.06	-0.3356

	-0.28	0.26		-0.02
		0.26	0.0765	0.06
	-0.28		0.0765	-1.2076

		0.0375	0.06	-0.58
			0.06	0.06

addition of phi activation to  $\lambda$ .

		0.1275	0.06	0.164
			0.06	0.06

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

	-0.28	0.0375		-0.28
		0.0375		-0.78
	-0.28			0.36

	-0.28	0.26		0.62
			-0.15	-0.15
		0.26		-0.83
			0.06	-1.03

ie .ex. syllable since they all violate it.

-0.01784		0.1395	0.06	0.105365
-0.01784		0.279	0.06	-0.91184
	-0.28			-0.28
		0.0555		-0.6312
		0.084	0.06	-0.3356

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

-0.01784		0.1395	0.06	0.245365
----------	--	--------	------	----------

0

	-0.28			-0.14
-0.01784	-0.28	0.1395		-1.59464
-0.01784	-0.28	0.1395		-0.09464
-0.01784		0.195	0.06	-0.85584
		0.0555	0.06	-0.4312
		0.087	0.06	-0.1708
		0.084	0.06	-0.1956
-0.01784		0.1395	0.06	-1.43244

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

iolates contiguity since  $t_2$  is no longer adjacent to a in ami.

-0.01784		0.1395	0.06	0.105365
-0.03567		0.2535	0.06	-1.17007
-0.01784		0.1695		-1.30664
-0.01784		0.114	0.06	-0.10544
-0.01784	-0.28	0.1395		-0.09464
-0.01784	-0.28	0.114		-0.30544
		0		-0.6867
-0.01784		0.177	0.06	-0.53464
		0		-0.8175
		0.0765	0.06	-0.3976
-0.01784		0.1395	0.06	-1.86464
		0.093		-1.2712
		0.114	0.06	-1.0376
		0.132	0.06	-2.5288
-0.01784		0.216	0.06	-2.92224
		0.093	0.06	-3.2453
		0.132	0.06	-0.56834
	-0.28			-0.28

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

	0.06	0.06
0.0555		-0.6312
0.0375		-2.28
0.0375	0.06	-0.58
0.0555	0.06	-0.4312
0.0555		-2.1312
0.0495		-2.7275
0.093		-2.7712

	0.06	0.2
0.0555	0.06	-0.4312
0.0555	0.06	-1.9312

0.0555	0.06	-0.4312
0.0555		-1.9912
0.0555		-0.6312
0.111	0.06	-3.0324

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

-0.28	0.26				-0.02
-0.28		0.0555			-0.7712
	0.26	0.0765	0.06		-0.1376

-0.28					-0.28
		0.0375			-0.78
		0.0765	0.06		-0.3976
-0.41		0.114	0.06		-0.4976
-0.41	-0.28	0.114			-0.6976

-0.28					-0.28
		0.039			-0.7676
		0.084	0.06		-0.3356
-0.328		0.123	0.06		-0.3412
-0.328	-0.28	0.123			-0.5412

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

da and \*Complex at the right edge.

RC either for the m on the stem or the z of the plural.

-0.28	0.26				-0.02
	0.26	0.0555			-0.3712
	0.26	0.084	0.06		-0.0756
-0.328		0.26	0.1395	0.06	0.0552
-0.328		0.26	0.195	0.06	-0.576
-0.328	-0.28		0.1395		-1.0148
-0.328	-0.28		0.195		-1.646

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

-0.01784		0.26	0.105		-0.612
		0.26	0.15		-1.10784
	-0.28	0.26	0.165		-0.836
			0.165		-0.676

		0.26	0.105	-0.612
			0.105	-1.4187
-0.28		0.26	0.165	-0.836
			0.165	-0.676
			0.2205	-2.8072

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

nearity if the morphemes are not ordered in the input.  
 e 500 in the gradient\_liaison spreadsheet.

		0.26	0.105	-0.612
-0.01784		0.26	0.15	-0.25784
-0.01784		0.26	0.15	-1.10784
-0.01784		0.26	0.15	-1.10784
	-0.28	0.26	0.165	-0.836
			0.165	-0.676
-0.01784			0.255	0.050165

			0.165		-0.816
	-0.28		0.165		-0.956
	-0.28	0.26	0.105		-0.892
-0.01784	-0.28	0.26	0.15		-1.38784
	-0.56	0.26	0.165		-1.116
			0.1815	0.06	-1.2696
	-0.28	0.26	0.2415	0.06	-1.2336

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

			0.165		-0.816
	-0.28		0.165		-0.956
	-0.28		0.2205		-3.0872
			0.2205		-1.3072
			0.3045	0.06	-0.5528
	-0.28	0.26	0.105		-0.892
	-0.56	0.26	0.165		-1.116
		0.26	0.1815	0.06	-1.0096
		0.26	0.1605		-1.2432
		0.26	0.2445	0.06	-0.4888
-0.01784			0.255		-0.08984
-0.01784	-0.28		0.255		-0.22984

-0.01784			0.3105		-2.08104
-0.01784			0.3105		-0.58104
-0.01784			0.3945	0.06	0.173365
	-0.56	0.26	0.165		-1.116
-0.01784	-0.28	0.26	0.15		-0.53784
-0.01784		0.26	0.2265	0.06	-0.65544
-0.01784		0.26	0.2055		-0.88904
-0.01784		0.26	0.2895 :w		-0.19464

-0.01784			0.255		-0.08984
-0.01784	-0.28		0.255		-0.22984
-0.01784	-0.56	0.26	0.255		-0.38984
-0.01784	-0.28	0.26	0.15		-0.53784
-0.01784		0.26	0.2265	0.06	-0.65544
-0.01784		0.26	0.255	0.06	-0.41984
-0.42784		0.26	0.2715	0.06	-1.29344

such a case, since it would be a less frequent collocation.

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

ke a split morpheme boundary.

	-0.28		0.165		-0.316
			0.165		-0.816
	-0.28	0.26	0.105		-0.252
-0.01784	-0.28	0.26	0.3		-0.59784
	-0.56	0.26	0.165		-0.476

of its liaison consonant.

loes for be.le.ro.

	-0.28		0.165		-0.316
			0.165		-0.816
	-0.28	0.26	0.105		-0.252
	-0.56	0.26	0.165		-0.476
	-0.28		0.2205		-2.4472
			0.2205		-1.3072
		0.26	0.1605		-1.2432
	-0.28	0.26	0.2205		-1.4672

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

		0.06	0.06
-0.01784	0.135		0.008165
-0.01784	0.135	0.06	0.208165
-0.01784	0.1905	0.06	-1.92304
	0.0555		-0.6312
	0.0555	0.06	-0.4312
-0.01784	0.1905	0.06	-1.92304
-0.01784	0.1905		-1.98304

d, which would not change the results for beau/bel/beau.

-0.42784		0.2745	0.06	-0.13864
-0.42784		0.33	0.06	-0.62984
-0.01784		0.1905	0.06	-0.42304
-0.41		0.1695	0.06	-1.6388
-0.82		0.2535	0.06	-1.3544
-0.41		0.177	0.06	-0.9268
-0.41		0.1395	0.06	-0.2868
-0.41		0.15	0.06	-0.2
-0.41	-0.28	0.1395		-0.4868
	-0.28			-0.28

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

asc.pl.

k keeping them the same.

		0.165	-0.676
0.26	0.0825		-0.798

-0.01784		0.2325	-0.13584
-0.01784	0.26	0.15	-0.25784

y violation.

0.2625	-0.47
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it we get the o pattern.  
activation to help -al.

featural content since that will also add activation to the -al

y an o just like a liaison consonant.

		0.165	-0.676
0.26	0.255		-0.902

-0.01784	0.26	0.15	-0.25784
		0.2205	-2.8072
-0.01784		0.2055	-1.00904

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

help the -aux form which has already maxed out on the o.

		0.2325	-0.118
	0.26	0.3225	-0.344
-0.01784	0.26	0.15	-0.25784
		0.288	-2.2492
-0.42784		0.3	-0.63784
	0.26		0
		0.0945	-0.1688
	0.26	0.1455	-0.7172

Unif	Onset	AlignRV	Max	AlignLC	H
-0.41	-0.28	0.26	0.15	0.06	

ace before a consonant or h-aspiré?

-0.28	0.26	0.12	-0.118
			0
	0.26	0.207	0.06
-0.28		0.207	-1.2188
-0.28	0.26	0.1656	0.5676
			0

ing left-edge schwa activation.