Frequency and stress preservation: Encoding *Frequency* in OT

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Cho, Hye-Sun. 2004. Frequency and stress preservation - Encoding Frequency into OT. *SNU Working Papers in English Language and Linguistics* 3, #-#. This paper attempts to show frequency effect on English word stress with corpus-based study, and to incorporate frequency into Optimality Theoretic grammar. I propose the constraint ID-Stress ($f \le$ and the hierarchy ID-Stress ($f \le$ >> *Clash-Head >> ID-Stress. Even though frequency alone is not the absolute factor in stress assignment in that other factors such as morpheme-specificity are also influential, it is clearly an interesting aspect in English stress phenomena. (Seoul National University)

Keywords: frequency, stress, cyclicity, ID-Stress, Stress Clash, primary stress, secondary stress, reduction

1. Introduction

Since English stress is involved with various idiosyncratic patterns, it is almost impossible to give a complete account despite the volume of studies that have been done so far. The first pioneering work by Chomsky and Halle (1968) explains English stress as a product of interaction between cyclic and non-cyclic rules. This account, however, cannot be applied to all English word; it is not difficult to find apparent exceptions. The rule-based theory like this is destined to fail especially in case of English stress since it has abundant exceptions that cannot be measured by only a set of rules. In this sense, it is not exaggeration that Optimality Theory is more suitable than rule-based approach in explaining English stress pattern. Optimality Theory has succeeded in giving more improved account for, for example, metrical stress by Generalized Alignment (McCarthy and Prince 1993). Nevertheless, English stress is yet far from being fully explained. Since English stress is basically involved with lots of lexical-idiosyncrasies, we need a tool to handle these lexical differences.

Against this backdrop, Pater (2000) proposes a lexically-specific constraint, which is applied to a set (S1 or S2) of words to explain lexically-specific English secondary stress. This is one-step advanced

approach in that we can apply different constraints and rankings to different lexical items. However, how do we know whether a word belongs to S1 or S2? If the answer is that S1 tolerates violation of *Clash-Head while S2 does not, it can be circular reasoning.

To avoid hasty generalization that lexically-specific constraints exist, we should consider factors that should not be overlooked. One of them is *frequency*, as proposed by Hammond (2003), which proves that the more frequent the form is, the more likely it is to undergo vowel reduction. This paper further investigates frequency effects on English stress by corpus-based study and proposes how to incorporate frequency into grammar.

2. Previous studies

2.1 Chomsky and Halle (1968)

Chomsky and Halle (1968) shows the effect of stressed vowel in the first cycle on the stresses in the second cycle. They illustrate phonetic effects of the rules of the transformational cycle. The vowel in the second syllable of *condense* is stressed, and this is reflected in the nominalized word *condensation* in the next cycle. Another effect of cyclicity is vowel reduction. Consider the examples below.

(1) (a) $[N_{\text{v}}(\text{condens})]_{\text{v}}(\text{tion}]_{\text{N}}$ (b) $[N_{\text{v}}(\text{devastAt})]_{\text{v}}(\text{tion}]_{\text{N}}$

	1	_		1	2
	2	1		2	1
2	3	1		3	1
3	4	1			

The second vowel in (1a) *condensation* is unstressed but remains unreduced because it is the primary stress in the first cycle. The corresponding vowel of (1b) *devastation*, in contrast, is reduced, as it bears no stress in the first cycle. Thus, it seems that the primary stress in the first cycle is preserved in the second cycle. However, the cyclic stress preservation approach has been criticized by Halle and Vergnaud (1987) and Halle and Kenstowicz (1991) since it should assume considerable exceptions.

2.2 Halle and Kenstowicz (1991)

Contrary to Chomsky and Halle (1968), Halle and Kenstowicz (1991) indicates that the cyclic stress preservation occurs only in a limited set of words such as *condense -condensátion*. It also applies to the words like *contemplátion* which does not bear any stress in the first cycle *contempláte*. However, this is not true for the cases like the following.

(2) (a) àffirmátion, cònfirmátion, cònservátion, cònsultátion, cònversátion, informátion, làmentátion, prèservátion, trànsportátion, ùsurpátion
 (b) affirm, confírm, consérve, consúlt, convérse, infórm, lamént, presérve, transpórt, usúrp

The second syllables of (2a) have no stress though they are the primary stresses in the previous cycle as in (2b). Cyclic stress preservation of Chomsky and Halle (1968) is awkward for these cases.

Halle and Kenstowicz (1991) propose that the subsidiary stresses are assigned by a noncyclic rule that metrifies the string of unstressed syllables preceding the cyclically assigned stress. Therefore, they view the stress rules of English as (3). English primary and secondary stresses are assigned in the different levels of cycle: cyclic and noncyclic respectively. The metrification direction for the primary stress is from right to left, and vice versa for the secondary stress.

(3) Cyclic Stress Erasure Convention

Stress heavy syllables Metrification (right to left)

Conflation

Noncyclic Stress heavy syllables (lexically restricted)

Metrification (left to right)

The rule assigning stress to heavy syllables operates in both the cyclic and the noncyclic blocks but its operation in the latter stratum is *lexically* restricted, applying in *condensation*, *deportation*, *incantation*, *Halicarnassus*, but not in *compensation*, *transportations*, *information*, *serendipity*. In sum, cyclic and noncyclic rules are applied partially on the lexical basis.

2.3 Pater (2000)

Let us now turn to an Optimality-theoretic account for English secondary stress. Since Optimality Theory does not admit the concept of derivation, cyclic and noncyclic rules cannot mean a lot any more. Only surface form is important to decide whether a syllable is stressed or not. Whether the syllable of the base form has stress or not is far from the focus. Yet still, the stress of the base form can be considered even though not always respected in the form of OO constraints (Benua 1997)1). English has a tendency to avoid clash between adjacent syllables, which is translated into the constraint like *Clash-Head. The interaction of these two constraints is the main force that decides whether a syllable bears subsidiary stress or not.

The examples in Pater (2000) can be classified as follows. The words in (4) never preserve the base stress, (5) preserve the stress of the base, and stem-stress is variably preserved in (6).

(4) Stem-stress NOT preserved

inform - informátion trànspórt - trànsportátion trànsfórm - trànsformátion ségment - sègmentátion consúlt - cònsultátion consérve - cònservátion

(5) Stem-stress preserved

commúnal - còmùmnálity cònglòbáte - cònglòbátion crèáte - crèàtivity denóte - dènòtátion èxclúsive - èxclùsivity exhúme - èxhùmátion immóbile - ìmmòbílity

(6) Variably preserved

advántage - àdvàntágeous (K-,W-) àugment - àugmèntátion (K+, W-) convérse - cònversátion confírm - cònfirmátion lamént - làmentátion phonétic - phònetcian cosmétic - còsmetcian

condénse - còndènsátion contést - còntèstátion detést - dètàstátion doméstic - dòmèstícity elástic - èlàstícity incrúst - incrùstátion infést - ìnfèstátion

Clearly, this must be an improvement from rule-based theory. In rule-based point of view, stress preservation should take place in all words. If some do not observe the rule, they must be regarded as exceptions.

àuthéntic - àuthènticity (K-, W+)

In (5), stem-stress is preserved even though first and second syllables induce stress clash. In terms of constraint, Ident-Stress is ranked higher than *Clash-Head.

(7) Ident-Stress

If a; stressed, then f(a) must be stressed.

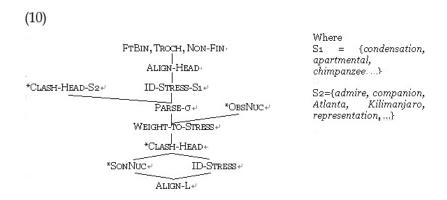
(8) *Clash-Head

No stressed syllable may be adjacent to the head syllable of the Prosodic Word.

The higher-ranked Ident-Stress in this case is applied only to the words like (5). Pater (2000) proposes a lexically-specified constraint ID-Stress-S1 and lists the words like (5) in the set S1, and S1 = {condensation, apartmental, chimpanzee}. The ranking is as follows:

(9) ID-Stress-S1 >> Parse- >>*Clash-Head >> ID-Stress

Conversely, stem-stress is never preserved in the examples (4), nor the stresses clash each other. It means that to avoid stress clash is more important than to preserve stem-stress. For the lexical items like this example, Pater (2000) proposes another lexically-specific constraint, *Clash-Head-S2. S2 contains lexical words such as (4). What follows is the overall grammar proposed by Pater (2000).



2.4 Hammond (2003)

The main idea of Hammond (2003) is that lexical frequency of the stem can affect the pronunciation of a derived word. He cites Fidelholtz (1975): frequency affects reduction of initial heavy syllables. Compare the high-frequency word *astronomy* with the lower-frequency word *gastronomy*. The initial vowel of the former high-frequency word is reduced while the latter is not. Besides that, he argues rhythm is more likely in higher-frequency phrases than in lower-frequency phrases, as in *bámboo cúrtain* (high frequency) and *bámbóo ténce* (lower frequency).

To test frequency effect on vowel reduction, he collected English nouns ending in -ation, along with their putative bases, e.g. transform - transformation from the Brown Corpus²). The result is that the more frequent the base form is, the more likely the derived form is to undergo reduction. Note that Hammond (2003) argues this kind of frequency effect is not what we would expect. Rather, a naive relation of frequency and reduction should be deemed such that the more frequent the base form is, the less likely the corresponding vowel of the derived word undergoes reduction, for we hear the full vowel of the base form more often. This is exactly an inverse of what really happens. He states it as an inverse function of lexical frequency. However, this is doubtful, which I will discuss later in 3.2.

The next task is to encode frequency in the grammar. He did not directly incorporate frequency into the grammar, but merely make it *heeded* by the grammar. Citing Pater (2000), the effect of cyclicity is obtained through the correspondence constraint Ident-Stress-S1, where specific lexical items are specified in the constraint. The words listed in S1 are those that preserve stem-stress, following the inverse function of lexical frequency.

For example, the word *representation* has sufficiently high frequency enough to undergo vowel reduction, and thus it is not included in S1. On the other hand, the word *exaltation* is sufficiently infrequent to block vowel reduction. Hence it is included in S1. In this way, frequency has become incorporated or at least heeded in the grammar.

Hammond indicates some problems involving Pater (2000). First, it does not generalize to new words. For maximally infrequent forms (i.e. a new word that has not yet been heard), how can they be listed among the forms referred to by ID-Stress-S1 when the form has not been even heard yet? The

²⁾ Brown Corpus has approximately 1 million American English words, developed in 1960's

second problem is that it cannot be applied to phrasal rhythm.

The solution proposed by Hammond is as follows: Instead of listing lower-frequency words in the faithfulness constraint Ident-Stress (...), list high-frequency words in the markedness constraint Clash-Head (...). The difference is that now the *most* frequent items are indicated by the constraint. This solution can treat the new-word problem mentioned above, for we do not need to consider a new word at all. Look at the tableau (11).

(11)

	transformation/	Clash-Head()	IDENT-STR
Œ	[trànsfor][má]tion		*
	[tràns][fòr][má]tion	*!	
	/exaltation/	CLASH-HEAD()	IDENT-STR
I		S 5	200 000
	[èxal][tá]tion		*

Since *transformation* is more frequent than *exaltation*, *transformation* is listed in the constraint Clash-Head (), but *exaltation* is not. Therefore, *exaltation* vacuously satisfies Clash-Head().

In this respect, I will answer to these problems: i) in my solution, more marked items (i.e. less frequent items) will be affected by the specific constraint, ii) frequency will be *directly* encoded in the grammar. Let us turn to the next section for my proposal.

3. Research and Results

This section pursues answering two questions: "Is *frequency* an effective factor in English secondary stress?" and "If so, how can the frequency factor

be encoded in the grammar?" Each subject is discussed in the following subsections 3.1 and 3.2 respectively. The tool and corpora used are as follows:

> Tool: WordSmith 4.0.0.93 (2003-11-24) for Windows 95/98/NT/2000/XP

> Corpora:

	Brown Corpus of				1 million words	
FROWN	Freiburg-Brown English	Corpus	of	American	1 million words	1990's

For larger data size, I use two corpora, BROWN and FROWN together (total 2 million words). They are American English words from 1960's and 1990's.

3.1 Frequency effect

The fact that frequency is influential in stress assignment is apparent on the basis of the previous studies such as Fidelholtz (1975) and Hammond (2003). To verify that frequency is influential, I perform a corpus-based research with the data from Pater (2000: 264). The original data is slightly modified: I reclassified the words that show variations in both (12a) and (c) into (b). Three groups are classified according to stressness of initial vowel: (a) stressless (b) stressless or stressed (variable) and (c) stressed. The number on the right of each word is raw counts searched in BROWN and FROWN Corpus. The assumption is that less frequent words have initial stress in order to make the word distinctive and sound clear.

(12) (a) Stressless:

example	639	exact	61	enlarge	12	endeavour	1
except	319	extend	60	compose	9	enjoin	1
entire	275	congressional	57	compulsion	9	extinguish	1
concern	208	excuse	57	condemn	9	extravagance	1
advantage	146	companion	45	concur	7	admonitory	0
executive	140	observe	45	confer	5	combust	0
advance	109	embrace	41	convention	5	confection	0
exetreme	106	exceed	35	endow	5	conflate	0
protect	106	convenient	34	propel	5	excrete	0
convention	99	engage	34	embody	4	exhume	0
conduct	97	propose	28	compress	3	obtrude	0
express	84	expose	21	enlighten	2	obtuse	0
enjoy	77	advise	19	entice	2	obvert	0
promote	71	compassion	15	excursion	2		
obtain	65	admire	14	prolong	2		

(b) Stressless / stressed (variable):

project	269	eccentric	19	accentuate	2	exhale	0
produce	186	accessible	18	admonish	2	pronominal	0
conflict	172	accelerate	9	adverbial	2	obsess	0
accept	153	administer	8	proliferate	2	obstetric	0
object	146	adversity	8	absolve	1	concretion	0
concrete	81	abnormal	7	abstruse	1	conglobate	0
admit	68	profess	7	concoct	1	empire	0
abstract	62	adhere	6	concordance	1	emporium	0
profound	49	abdominal	5	obverse	1	enteric	0
acknowledge	38	obscene	5	progenitor	1	protract	0
obscure	37	emphatic	4	abduct	0		
proceed	35	extraneous	4	abhor	0		
absurd	31	obstruct	4	abstemious	0		
adverse	28	accessory	3	admixture	0		
absorb	25	obsequious	3	concelebrate	0		

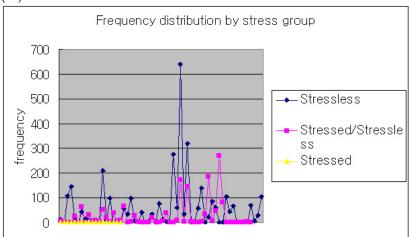
(c) Stressed

exogamy	2	advection	0
abscissa	1	excreta	0
agnomen	1	expropriate	0
excursus	1	exsect	0
extrinsic	1	extorse	0
protrude	1	obtest	0
abscond	0	obtund	0
admeasure	0	proscenium	0
adsorb	0	prosector	0

What we expect is the frequency average to be (a)>(b)>(c). The result average is (a) = 55.03, (b)=25.53, (c) = 0.39. This is exactly as we expected. The more frequent a word is, the more likely the initial vowel is reduced.

We can also see that the distribution of frequency is different from each group as shown in the following graph (13). Each dot represents each word in (12). The words with no stress in the initial position (12a) show wide distribution and the highest frequency. The words in (12b) appear in between two groups. The words of (12c) have strikingly low frequency, emerging at the bottom line.





The graph (13) apparently shows the tendency that stress-initial words are infrequent. Now let us turn to English secondary stress, which is the

main concern of this paper.

3.2 English Secondary Stress

To prove the relation of frequency and English secondary stress, I counted each word in the examples above (4) and (5) in 2.3. (4) is the examples of stress non-preservation, and (5) is those of stress preservation. Therefore, we expect (4) to be frequent and (5) to be infrequent. Look at the count result below (14) and (15). The number on the right to the word means its count in corpora.

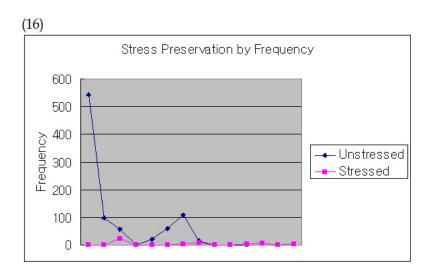
Frequency Average (for derived words only) =81.82

crèáte166 -crèàtivity 24 èxclúsive 50 - èxclúsívity 1 condénse2 -condensation 8 exhúme 0 -exhúmátion 0 elástic 8 -èlstícity 5 immóbile 2 -immòbility 4 doméstic 159 -dòmèsticity 4 contést 49 -contestation 0 immóbile 2 - immóbility 4 detést 1 -dètèstátion 0 communal 16 -communality 0 incrést 0 -incrèstátion 0 cònglòbáte 0 -cònglòbátion 0 infést 1 -infèstátion 2 denóte 19 -dènòtátion 0

Frequency Average (for derived words only) = 3.43

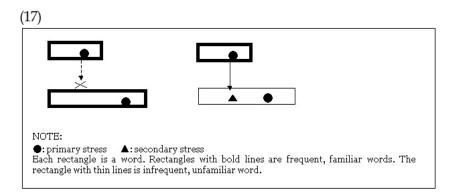
Following is the graph showing the frequency distribution by secondary-unstressed group (14) and stressed group (15). Each dot represents each word in (14) and (15). Similarly to the graph (13) in 3.1, the frequency of the stressed group of words is very low. The words in (14) that

do not preserve the stem-stress are distributed with high frequency.



What differs from Hammond is that only the frequency of *derived word* is the concern. I assume that the frequency of stem has nothing to do with the stress of derived word, which means stem and derived word exist independently. There is possibility that this may be wrong. However, the advantage of my assumption is that we do not have to worry about the inverse function of lexical frequency, mentioned 2.4. In other words, secondary stress that takes place despite of stress clash depends on how frequent *that* derived word is, not how frequent the *stem* of the derived word is.

The diagram (17) below will make clear what I argue. Frequency means familiarity. If we are familiar to a word, we do not need to refer to its stem any more. Conversely, if we are not familiar to a word, which means that the word has lower-frequency, we should depend on any related word, i.e. stem.



The stress of the stem does not need to be preserved when we are familiar with the derived words. For infrequent words, however, the stem stress should be preserved in order to make the derived word easier to recognize. Assumably, we depend on the more familiar words to understand less familiar words. To prove this requires considerable work in cognitive science field, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

3.3 Encoding frequency in the grammar

As we have seen, frequency is an influential factor for stress assignment. Now the final task is to incorporate frequency into the grammar. To do this, I propose the following constraint and ranking.

(18) ID-Stress($f \le t$)

Preserve stem-stress if the frequency x of the input is smaller than t (threshold).

Threshold is the minimum frequency that stem-stress may not be preserved.

(19) ID-Stress (
$$f \le >> *Clash-Head >> ID-Stress$$

Instead of lexically-specifying a constraint, frequency determines whether the ID- Stress ($f \le constraint$ is applied or not. The value t is the

threshold, and it should be determined before evaluation. If the frequency of the input is lower than the threshold, it should obey ID-Stress ($f \le In$ this way, if the frequency is not as high as the threshold, stem-stress will be preserved at the cost of stress clash.

It is most reasonable to use the highest frequency value in the stress-preservation group as threshold, for if the frequency is higher than that, stress will not be preserved. The highest count of the stem-stress preservation group (15) is 24 for *creativity*. To normalize, this raw count is divided by total number of words, 20000. Therefore, the normalized frequency is 24/20000 = 0.0012 = 0.12%. I will use this percentage value to mean frequency (f), for example, f=0.12 for *creativity*. Since this is the highest frequency in the stress preservation group, this f is the threshold frequency (t=0.12). Now we have the constraint ID-Stress (f ≤ 12) in CON.

Look at the following tableau. Since f value (0.28) of *transformation* is bigger than t (0.12), the ID-Stress ($f \le 12$) is non-applicable. Therefore, the candidate that violates *Clash-Head cannot be selected as optimal, so the (20a) is selected. On the other hand, the f value (0.01) of *exaltation* is smaller than t (0.12). Thus ID-Stress ($f \le 12$) is activated in evaluation, and candidate (d) is selected as optimal output.

(20)

/ti	ransformation/f=0.28	ID-Stress (f≤0.12)	*CLASH-HEAD	ID-STRESS
a.©	[trànsfor][má]tion	N/A		*
b.	[tràns][fòr][má]tion	N/A	*!	
	/exaltation/f=0.01	ID-STRESS (f≤0.12)	*CLASH-HEAD	ID-STRESS
c.	[èxal][tá]tion	*!		*
d.©	[èx][àl][tá]tion		*	

Note that frequency is crucial, but not absolute. According to my analysis, the stress non-preservation examples above in (14) should have considerably high frequency. Problem arises in the cases of *phonetician* and *cosmetician*. The corresponding vowels have primary stress as follows.

(21) phonétic phònetician (f=0.00) cosmétic còsmetician (f=0.00)

They both belong to (14) and must be frequent since they do not preserve stress of the stem. However, contrary to expectation, neither of them is found in the current corpora, which means they are infrequent word. The following tableau selects the wrong output if we use the same constraints as (20). The leftward indicates wrong output.

(22)

/cosmetician/f=0.00	ID-STRESS (f ≤ 0.12)	*Clash-Head	ID-STRESS
[còsme][tí]cian	*!	*	
প্ত [còs][mè][tí]cian			*

This can be explained in morphology. Let us assume that a morpheme-specific constraint *Clash-Head (-ian), ranked higher than the frequency constraint ID-Stress (f<0.12). Because f value of cosmetician is 0.00, ID-Stress (f \leq 12) is applied and violated. However, higher-ranked *Clash-Head (-ian) is applied since cosmetician ends with ian. In (23), the correct output is selected because it satisfies the highest ranked constraint *Clash-Head (-ian). The same explanation holds in case of phonetician.

(23)

/cosmetician/f=0.00	*CLASH-HEAD (-ian)	ID-Stress (f≤0.12)	*Clash- Head	Id- Stress
☞ [còsme][tí]cian		*	*	
[còs][mè][tí]cian	*!			*

It may seem problematic if you notice the frequency of confirmation and *transformation* in (14). The frequency of both words is as follows.

(24)

	Raw data	Frequency	
a. cònfirmátion	14	f=0.07	f < t
b. trànsformátion	56	f = 0.28	f > t

The frequency of (24a) is smaller than t and (24b) is bigger than t. However, they belong to the same group of words, that is, stress

non-preservation examples. Both of them have the same ending *-ation,* which means that morphology cannot explain them as in the case of *cosmetician*.

In our theory, *f* should be bigger than *t*, for both (24a) and (24b) belong to the same stress non-preservation group. Therefore, we can assume that the frequency of (24a) *confirmation* is counted wrong in the first place. To prove this, I extended corpora with LOB and FLOB in addition to BROWN and FROWN³).

The total number of words is now 40000, doubled from 20000. I search for *confirmation* again and get the raw count of 44. The f value is then 44/40000=0.0011=0.11% (f=0.11).

Since the corpora are extended double, the threshold must also be recalculated on the basis of 40000 words. The threshold word *creativity* is researched in the extended corpora and found the raw count of 33. The f value is then 33/40000=0.0008=0.08% (f=0.08=t). Now that t=0.08, ID-Stress(f \leq 08) is not applicable to *confirmation* since f=0.11 (f>t).

What we know from the above is that the larger and more precise the corpus is, the more correct result we get. We have seen that the frequency of *confirmation* is different when researched with 2000 words and with 40000 words. Thus the problem is with the size and preciseness of the corpora, not with the frequency theory in this paper.

4. Conclusion

Chomsky and Halle (1968) and Halle and Kenstowicz (1991) provide cyclicity account for English primary and secondary stress. To account for English secondary stress, Pater (2000) proposes the lexically-specific constraint. Recently, Hammond (2003) argues that frequency is crucial in determining stress placement. English secondary stress is a result of interaction of two forces: one for stem-stress preservation, the other for avoidance of stress clash. To avoid stress clash is more natural. However, infrequent words keep stem-stress to make them distinctive, tolerating stress clash.

This paper tried to show frequency effect on English word stress with

3) LOB and FLOB are British English corpora, which contains 1 million words each.

LOB	London-Oslo-Bergen Corpus	1 million words	1960's
FLOB	Freiburg-LOB	1 million words	1990's

corpus-based study, and to incorporate frequency into Optimality Theoretic grammar, proposing the constraint ID-Stress ($f \le$ and the hierarchy ID-Stress ($f \le$ >> *Clash-Head >> ID-Stress. Even though frequency alone is the absolute element in stress assignment in that other factors such as morpheme-specificity are also influential, it is clearly an interesting aspect in English stress phenomena.

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