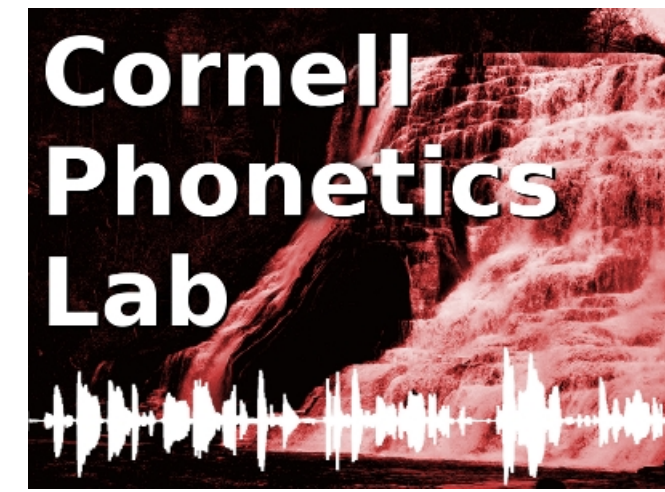


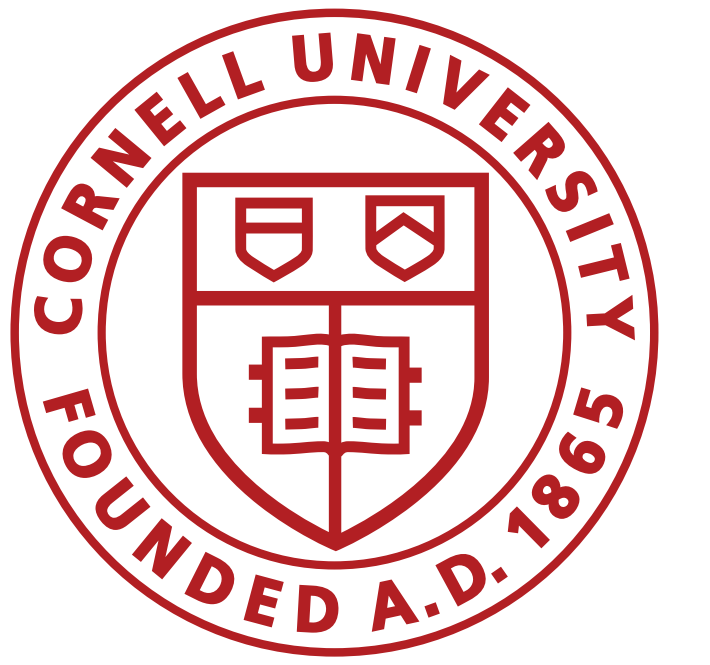
Categorical and gradient dimensions of stress in English compounds



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Berkeley Linguistics Society Workshop, February 2020



Introduction

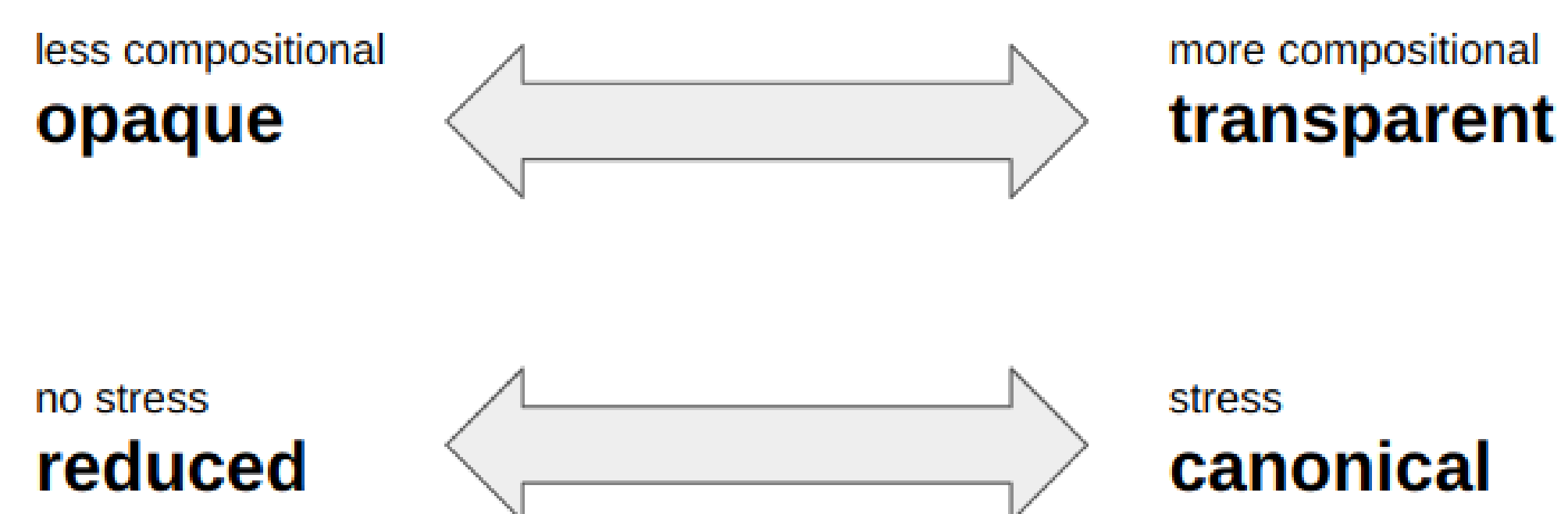
reduced
cúpboard

not reduced
sóngbird

- **Compositionality** Degree that the meaning of a compound is the sum of its parts (e.g. *humbug* vs. *blueberry*)
- Standard assumption: Highly opaque compounds **listed in the lexicon** and highly transparent compounds **produced online** (Kiparsky, 1982)

$[[AB]]_{\text{pwd}}$ $[[A]_{\text{pwd}} [B]_{\text{pwd}}]_{\text{pwd}}$

Prior Work



- Opaque/transparent and reduced/unreduced shown to be **gradient** in naturalistic corpus data (Davis and Cohn, 2019)
- Moreover, these effects are correlated (and distinct from other factors commonly associated with reduction, i.e. frequency)
- Is this evidence for gradient phonology? Is this gradience manifested as gradient well-formedness (Cohn 2006)?

Research Questions

- Are the lexical representations of compounds homogeneous?
- What is the relationship between gradient phonological reduction and the perception of compound stress?

Hypothesis

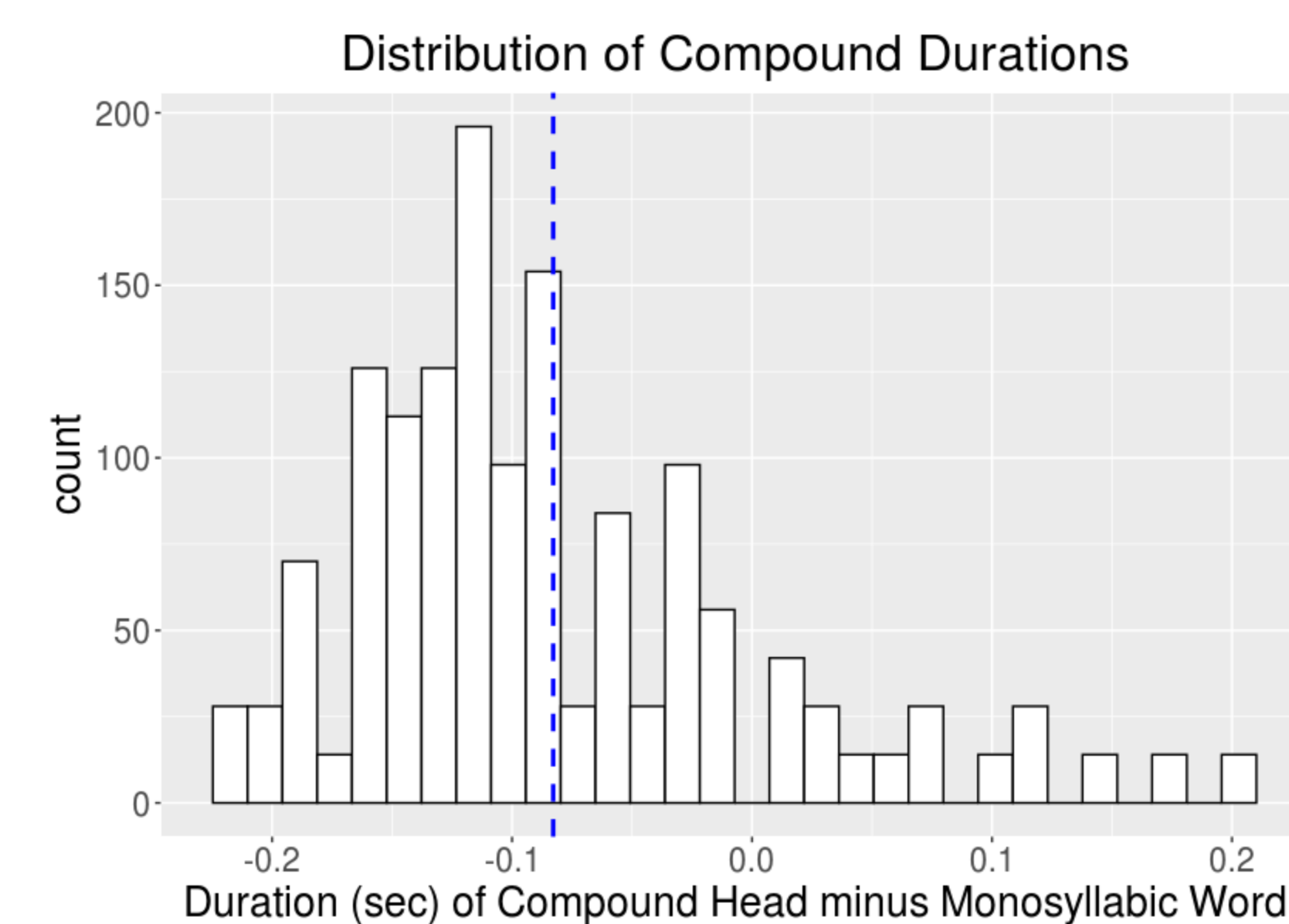
Gradient phonological reduction in compound heads will be **perceived categorically** relative to higher level prosodic organization (i.e. stress)

Data

- 248 words from Boston University Radio News Corpus (Ostendorf et. al, 1995)
- **133** bisyllabic nominal compounds including *tax plan*, *bathroom*, *chairman*
- Fillers - 2 or 3 syllables with initial, medial, or final (citation) stress including *restaurant*, *official*, *result*
- 14 listeners asked to assign no stress, secondary stress, or primary stress to each syllable

Measures

- Calculate consistency of judgements using Fleiss's kappa
- Duration of compound head minus monomorphemic word (e.g. relativized distance from primary stress)



Stress Rating Results

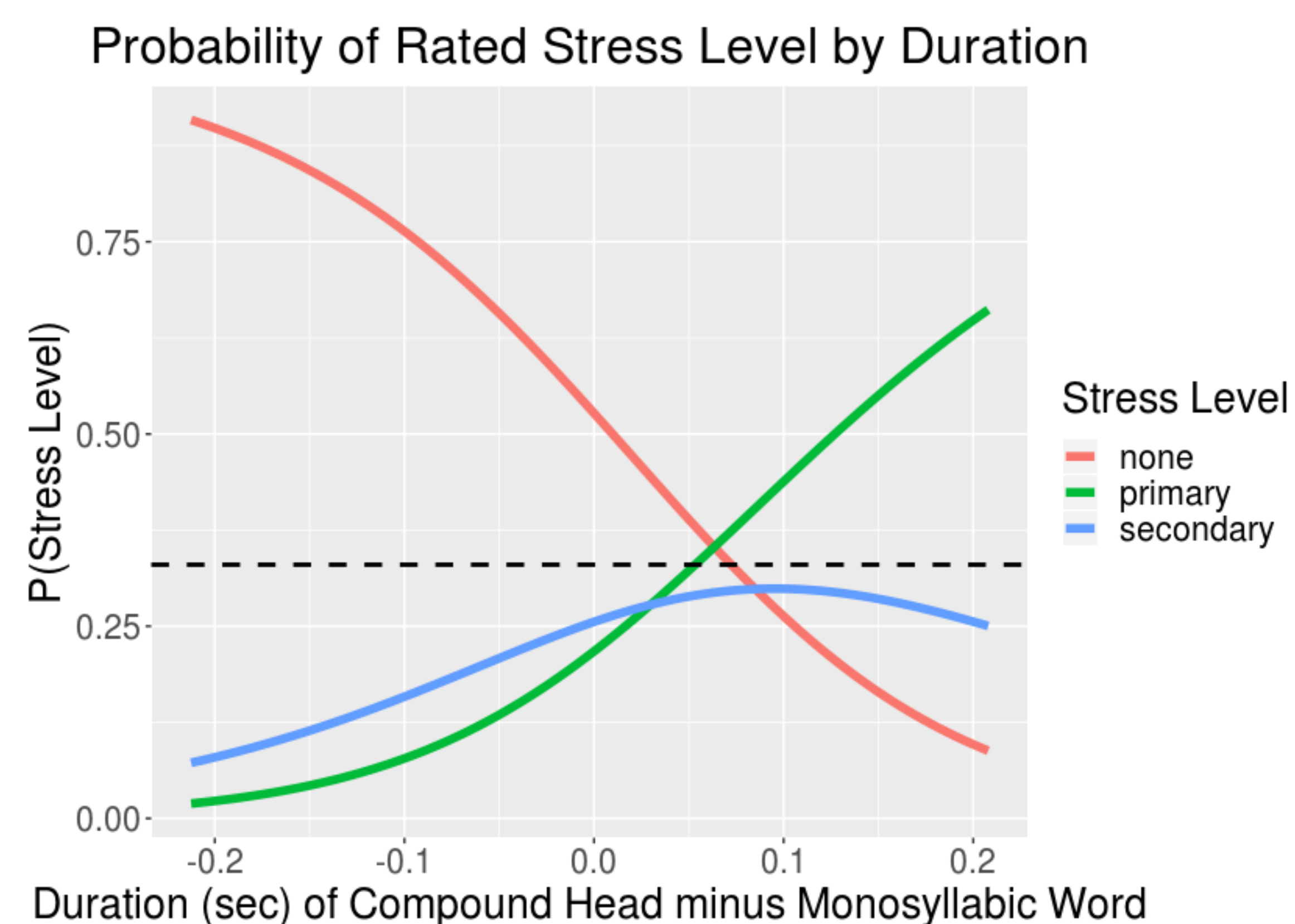


Figure 1: Probability of the three stress categories given duration from multinomial logistic regression

Main Results

- The no stress rating is overwhelmingly preferred to secondary stress
- Secondary stress is never rated above chance
- Duration is significant predictor of assigned stress level

Implications

- Raters make use of end points of ratings (no stress vs. primary stress) suggesting differing but categorical lexical representations (cf. Compound Stress Rule)
- What gradient phonetic cues do higher levels of grammatical organization have access to (Pierrehumbert, 2002; Hay, 2004; Ladd, 2006)?
- A reanalysis or reorganization of lexical items suggesting an anti-Paradigm Uniformity effect, where compound heads are distanced from monomorphemic forms (cf. Steriade, 2000)

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