

Pronouncing the Zs

EPENTHESIS IN ENGLISH PLURAL POSSESSIVES

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Plurals and possessives

- Both underlyingly /z/
 - I like the boys (PL)
 - I like the boy's kite (POSS)
- When co-occurring, only one /z/ is realized
 - I like the boys' kite (PL+POSS)
- POSS is suppressed; why?

(Jespersen, 1954; Zwicky, 1975, 1987; Stemberger, 1981; Menn & MacWhinney, 1984; Yip, 1998; Bernstein & Tortora, 2005; Nevins, 2011)

The big picture

 How much structural information is retained between (apparent) stages of a derivation?

None Bracketing Erasure (Pesetsky, 1979) All
Optimality Theory
(Prince & Smolensky, 2004)

POSS-suppression accounts

What conditions POSS-suppression?

HOST

Morphophonological composition of the host word

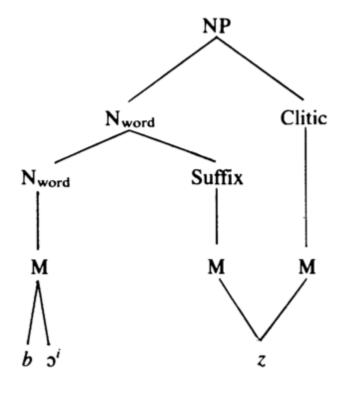
 All structural information required

HEAD

- Morphosyntactic features of (the head of) the possessor phrase
- No structural information required

Host-based account

- POSS inspects its host
 - If host ends in PL /z/,
 POSS is suppressed
 - Otherwise,
 POSS is realized as /z/
- Epenthesis separates adjacent sibilants



(Stemberger, 1981)

Head-based account

- The form of POSS is determined by the number feature of (the head of) the possessor phrase
 - Singular possessor: POSS = /z/
 - Plural possessor: POSS = Ø
- POSS is akin to number-marking in verbs

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the boy's kite \sim the boy plays the boys's kite \sim the boys plays
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(Bernstein & Tortora, 2005)

Predictions of accounts (hard)

Where can POSS be realized?

	HOST	HEAD
the boys's kite	×	×
one of the boys's kite	×	\checkmark
two of the boys's kite	×	×
the blue-eyed boys's kite	×	×

Predictions of accounts (soft)

```
Embedded (E)
```

(E1) one of the boys's kite

Unembedded (U)

(US) the boys's kite

(E2) two of the boys's kite (UL) the blue-eyed boys's kite

Where is POSS-realization more preferred?

	HOST	HEAD
E _ U	=	>
E1_E2	=	>
US _ UL	=	=

Testing predictions

- Must explore embedded PL+POSS
 - But must ensure the intended parse
 - And must overcome rarity of construction
 - → Experiment
- Question: how natural is a pronunciation featuring POSS-suppression relative to one featuring POSS-realization (via epenthesis)?

Procedure

In the playground, you see a group of boys. Two boys among this group are together holding onto a single kite with a long string. The string of this kite is longer than the string of the kite that a nearby woman is holding onto.

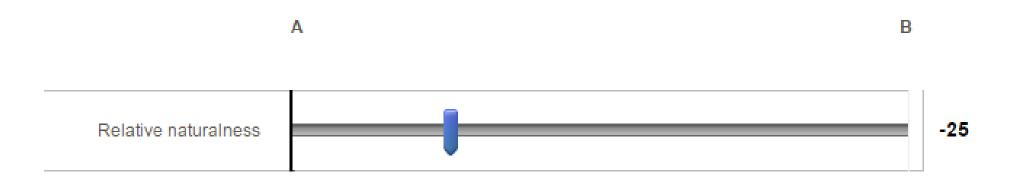
You will describe this situation as follows:

Two of the boys' kite has a longer string than the woman's one.

Indicate with the slider the relative naturalness of the following two pronunciations of the phrase two of the boys' kite:

- A. tuw ahv THah boyz kaiyt
- B. tuw ahv THah boyz-ahz kaiyt

Procedure

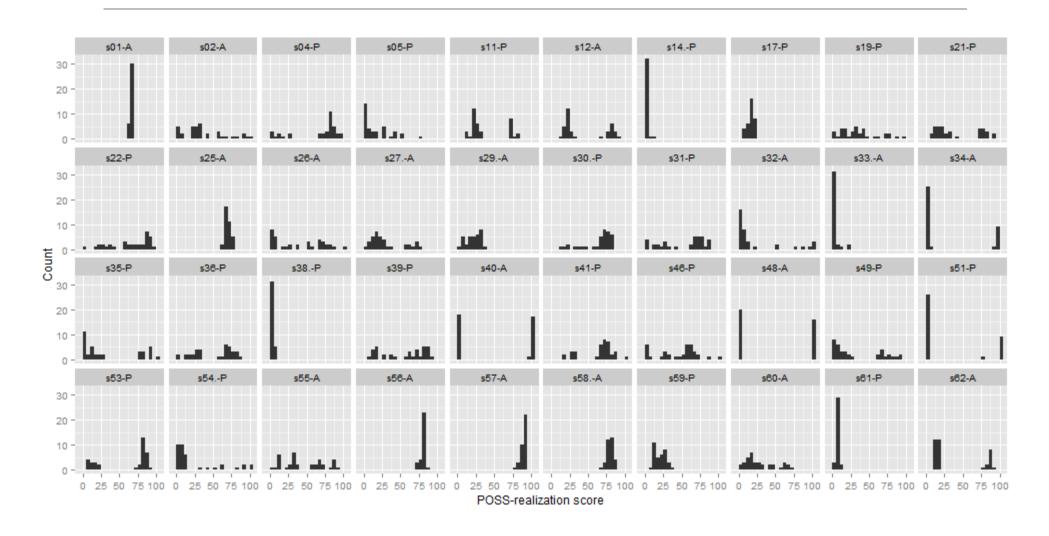


(Following Bresnan, 2007)

Data

- 61 participants, via Amazon Mechanical Turk
- 36 responses each
- Excluded:
 - Participants who took < 5min (9)
 - Participants with invariant responses (12)
 - Isolated outlier responses (19)
- Final data: 1416 responses, 40 participants

Results



Predictions of accounts (soft)

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Embedded (E)
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Where is POSS-realization more preferred?

	HOST	HEAD
E _ U	=	>
E1_E2	=	>
US_UL	=	=

Results

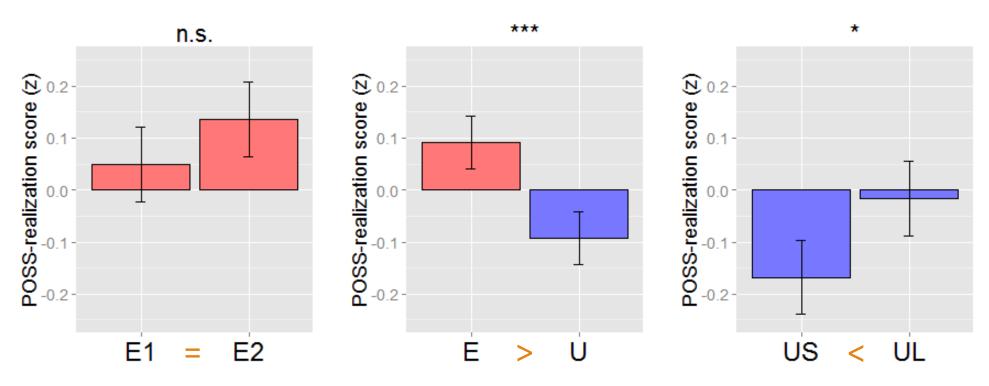
Embedded (E)

(E1) one of the boys's kite

Unembedded (U)

(US) the boys's kite

(E2) two of the boys's kite (UL) the blue-eyed boys's kite



Discussion

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Embedded (E)
```

(E1) one of the boys's kite (US) the boys's kite

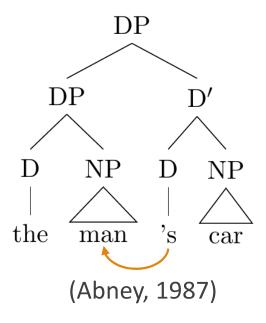
Unembedded (U)

(E2) two of the boys's kite (UL) the blue-eyed boys's kite

Where is POSS-realization more preferred?

A sketch

 Idea: generalize host-based account to create variable sensitivity to syntactic distance



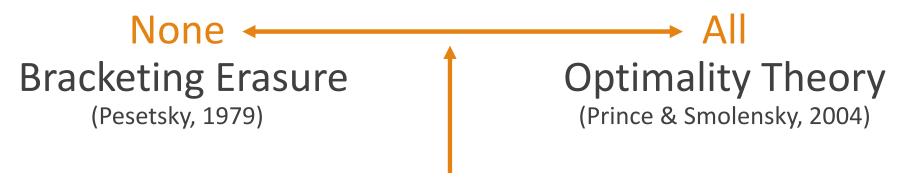
[the [boys]]'s kite [one of [the [boys]]]'s kite [the [blue-eyed [boys]]]'s kite

A sketch

- Upon attaching, POSS inspects its host
- If POSS sees the host ends in PL/z/, it is suppressed
- Intervening syntactic brackets partially obscure the internal structure of the host
- If a host ending in /z/ has its structure obscured,
 POSS cannot see if /z/ is PL, and is not suppressed
- Epenthesis separates adjacent sibilants
- Variation: inspection is stochastic & sometimes fails

The big picture: implications

 How much structural information is retained between (apparent) stages of a derivation?



 Results suggest intermediate position: information from previous stages is available, but may be successively weakened

Thank you!

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References

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