

Gemination and Degemination in English Prefixation: Lexical Strata, Semantics, and Phonetic Evidence

Sonia Ben Hedia

Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

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Morphological structure and phonetic detail

Claim:

- Phonetic detail entails information about morphological structure

Morphological Segmentability Hypothesis (Hay 2003)

- Strength of morphological boundary depends on ‘decomposability’ and is mirrored in phonetic detail

Morphological structure and phonetic detail

Decomposability:

Highly decomposable	Less decomposable
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Semantically transparent• Phonologically transparent• Easy to segment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Semantically opaque• Phonologically opaque• Difficult to segment

happiness

vs.

business

discernment

vs.

government

Morphological structure and phonetic detail

- Hay (2007): Gradient decomposability of affixed forms is reflected in phonetic detail
 - Decomposability measured in relative frequency (whole word frequency : base frequency)
 - The prefix *un* is pronounced longer when part of more decomposable word
- Other phonetic phenomena could also give us an insight about morphological structure

A test case: Gemination

- Due to affixational processes : sequence of two identical consonants at morphological boundaries, e.g.

un#natural

im#mature

- What happens on the phonetic level?
 - Longer duration than a singleton (= ‘gemination’)?
 - Same duration as a singleton (= ‘degemination’)?

Assumptions about gemination in English

Gimson's Pronunciation of English (2014):

“In general such prefixes result in a doubled consonant when the prefix-final and the stem-initial consonants are identical, e.g. *unnecessary* is pronounced with a double length [n:]. (This rule does not apply to *in-* and its variants, so for example *illogical* is pronounced with only a single /l/).” (p. 248)

Cohen-Goldberg (2013: 1055f):

“Similarly in English, although geminates are banned from monomorphemic words (*spaghe[tt]i) and words containing less productive affixes (e.g. *in-*: i[n]umerable), they are allowed in words containing more productive affixes and compounds (e.g. *un-*: u[nn]ecessary; boo[kk]eeper).”

Assumptions about gemination in English

- Gemination depends on the affix involved:
 - *un-* geminates
 - *in-* does not geminate
- Assumption is in line with theory of Lexical Phonology (cf. Kiparsky 1982, Mohanan 1986)
 - Affixes belong to different Lexical Strata
 - Level 1 (like *in-*) affixes display a weak morphological boundary and a great degree of integration with the base
 - Level 2 affixes (like *un-*) display a strong morphological boundary and a lesser degree of integration with the base

Kiparsky, P. (1982). Lexical morphology and phonology. In *Linguistics in the morning calm*.

Mohanan, K. P. (1986). *The theory of lexical phonology*.

Prediction for gemination

Strata/ Level	Affix	Prediction for gemination
Level 1	<i>in-</i>	in + numerous → i/n/umerous → i[n]umerous
Level 2	<i>un-</i>	un + natural → u/nn/atural → u[n:]atural

Previous phonetic research

- Only one study empirically investigated gemination in English (Oh and Redford 2012)
- They found some variation in the gemination of *in*-prefixed words:

immigrational: No gemination

immemorial: gemination

→ There seems to be variation within one affix!

→ So, what is the pattern of the variation in gemination?

Is it really the affix which determines gemination/degemination?

The research question

Is the /n/ in *unnatural* longer than the /n/ in *unable*?

If yes, *un-* geminates!

Is the /m/ in *immature* longer than the /m/ in *impossible*?

If yes, *in-* geminates!

→ Implications for theories of morpho-phonology, such as
Lexical Phonology

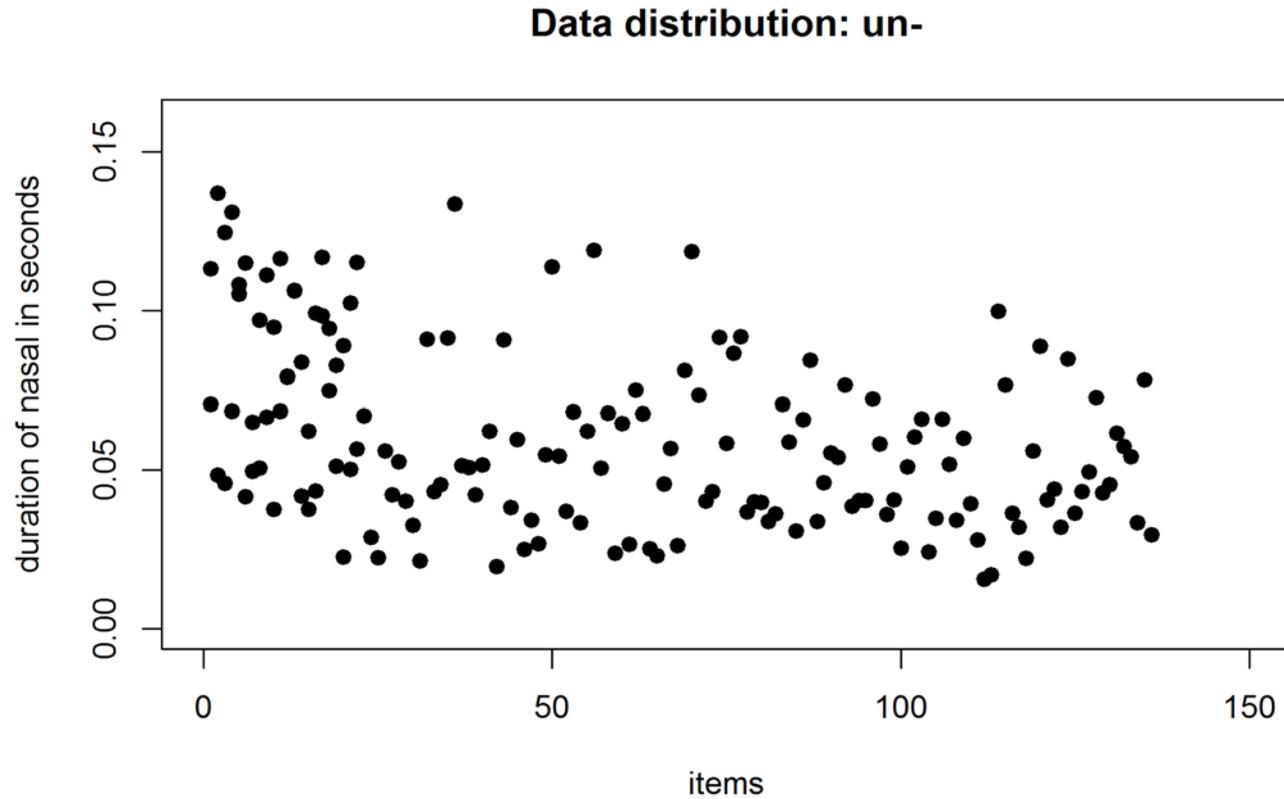
Methodology

- *in-* and *un-* prefixed words with a double or a single consonant at the morphological boundary
- Switchboard Corpus (Godfrey & Holliman 1997)
- Telephone conversations, North American English
- For the prefix *in* the allomorph /ɪm/ was investigated
- Manual segmentation and acoustic measurements in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2014)
- Coding of additional variables, e.g. frequencies, duration of the preceding segment, word duration

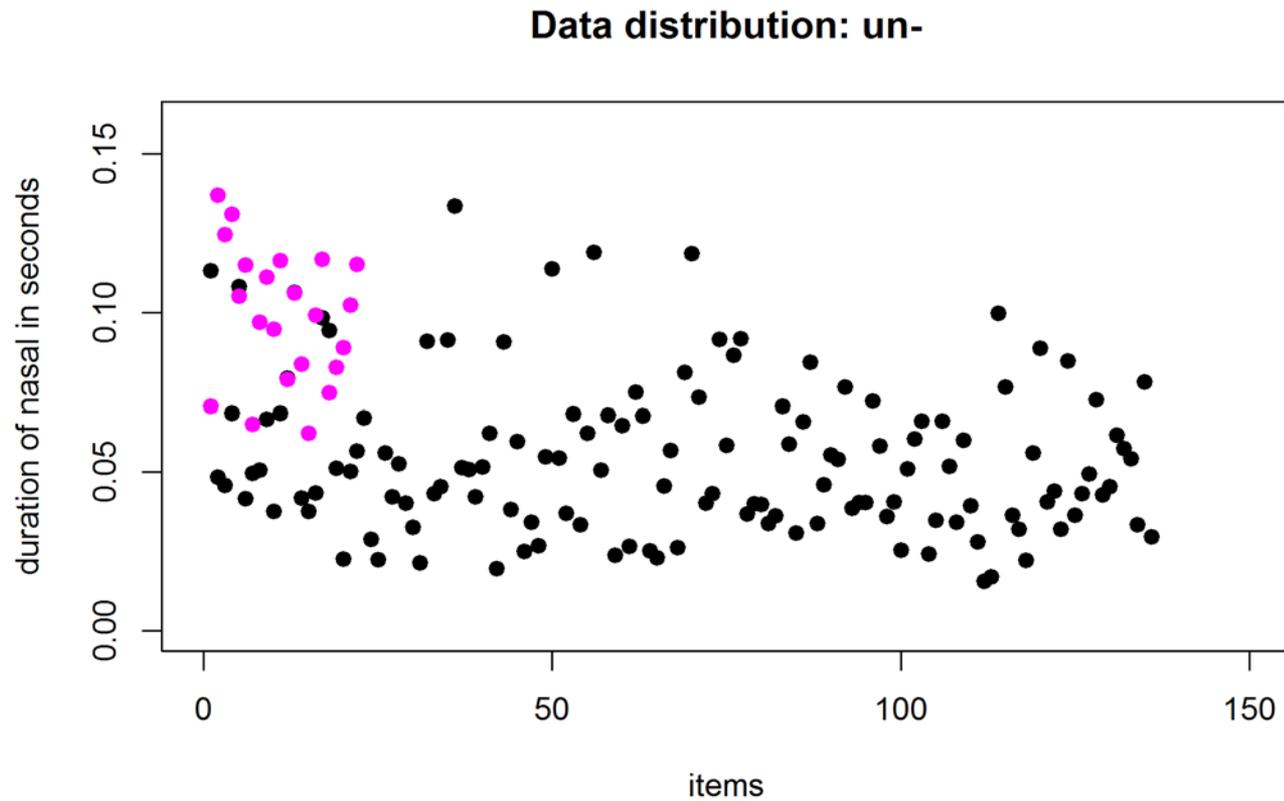
Overview of the data

	Double Consonant	Single Consonant	Total per affix
<i>In-</i>	94	65	159
<i>Un-</i>	22	133	155

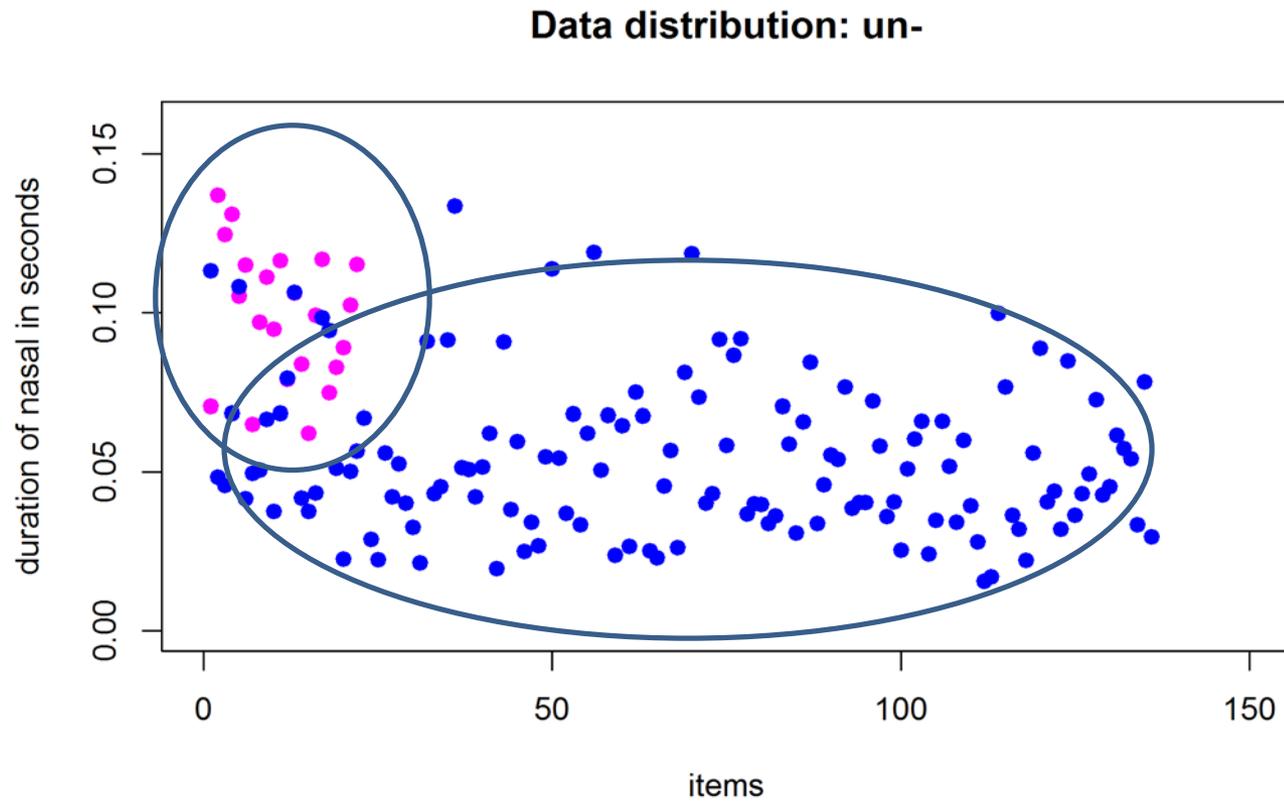
Overview of the *un*-data



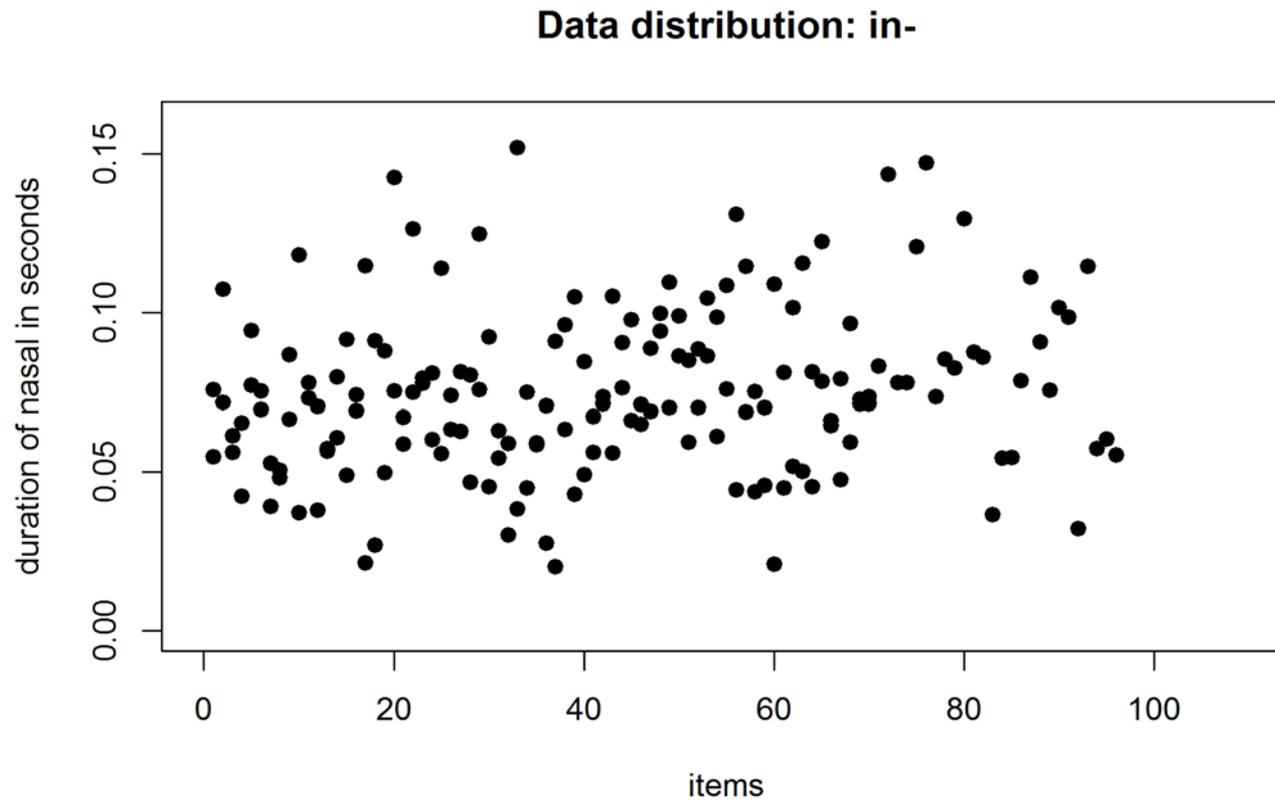
Overview of the *un*-data



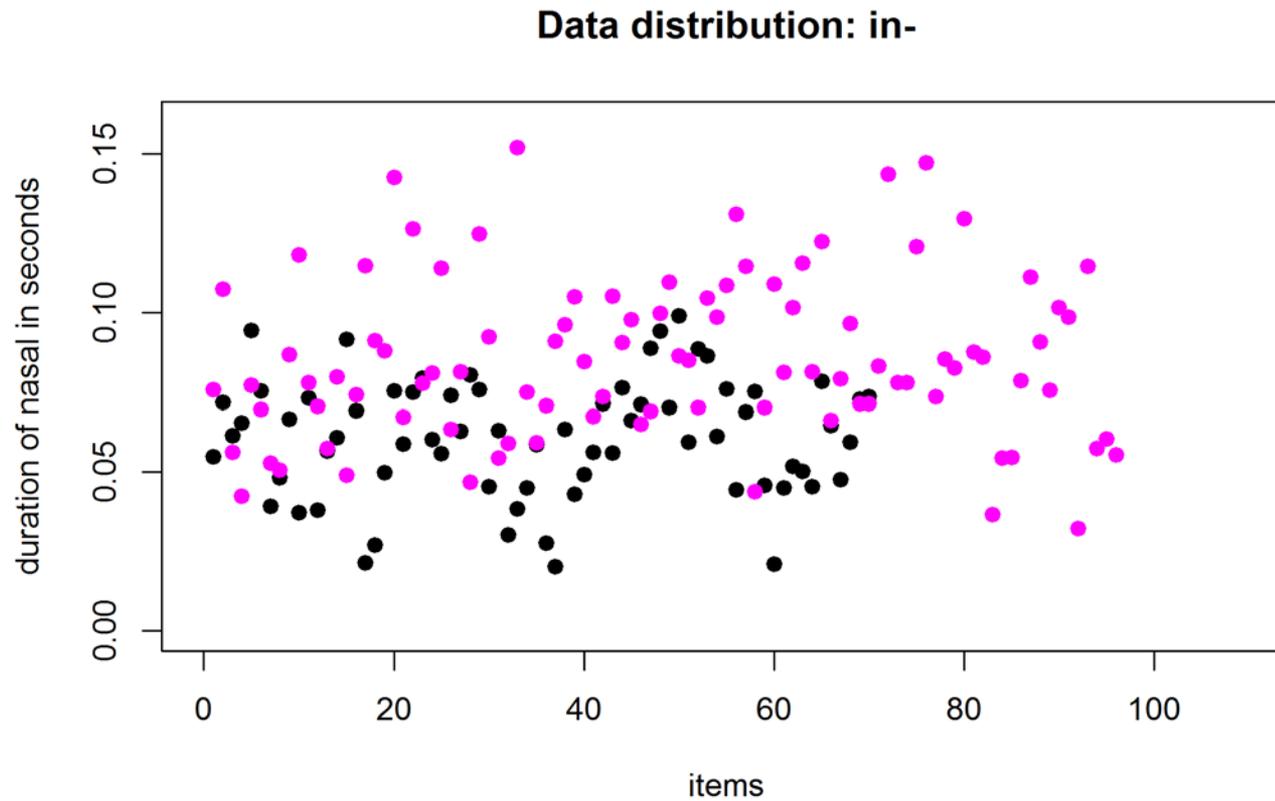
Overview of the *un*-data



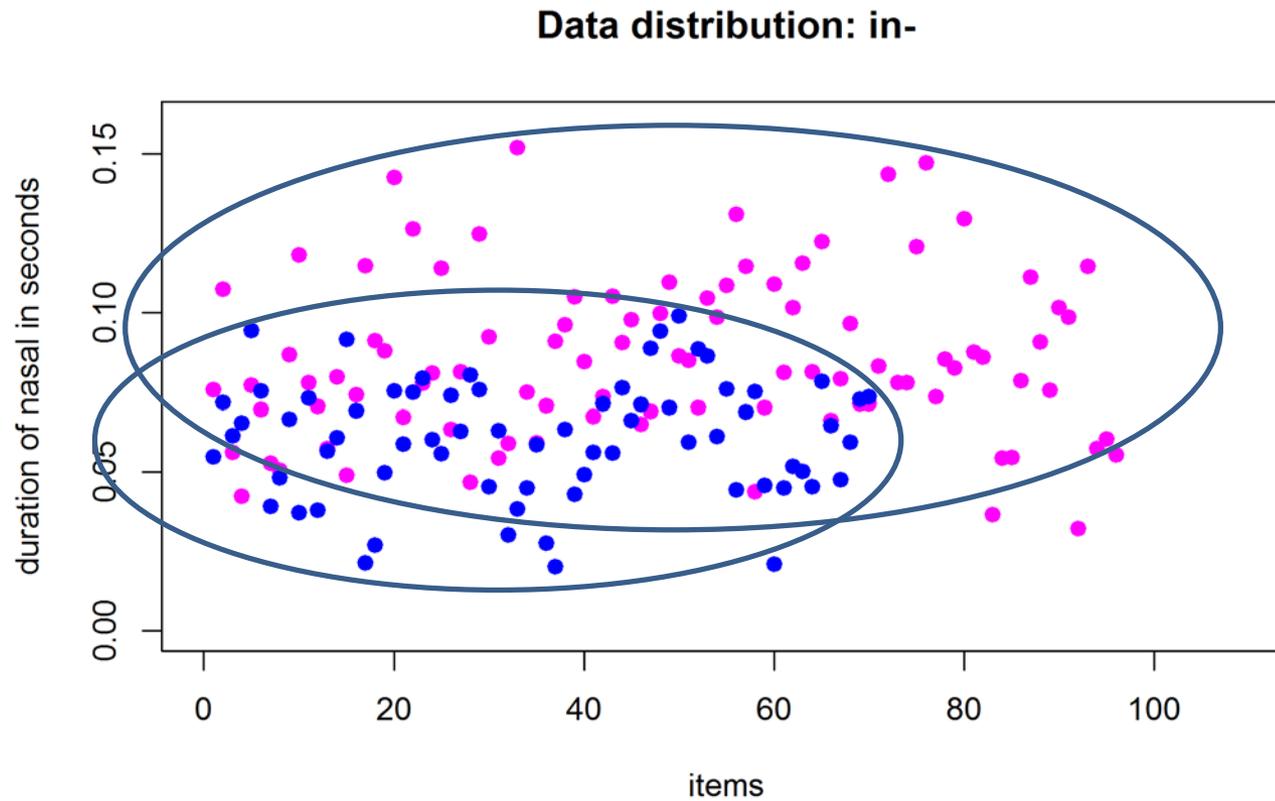
Overview of the *in*-data



Overview of the *in*-data



Overview of the *in*-data



Methodology: Statistical Analysis

- Linear regression:
 - look at the effect of one variable
 - while holding all others constant
- Predict duration of the nasal on the basis of the number of consonants

Methodology: Analysis Model 1 *un*

Dependent Variable: Absolute Duration of the Nasal in seconds

Variable of interest: Number of Nasals

Covariates: Word Form Frequency, Relative Frequency,
Preceding Segment Duration, Number of Segments in the Word

Methodology: Analysis Model 2 *in*

Dependent Variable: Absolute Duration of the Nasal in seconds

Variables of interest:

1. Number of Nasals
2. Semantic Transparency
3. Type of Affix

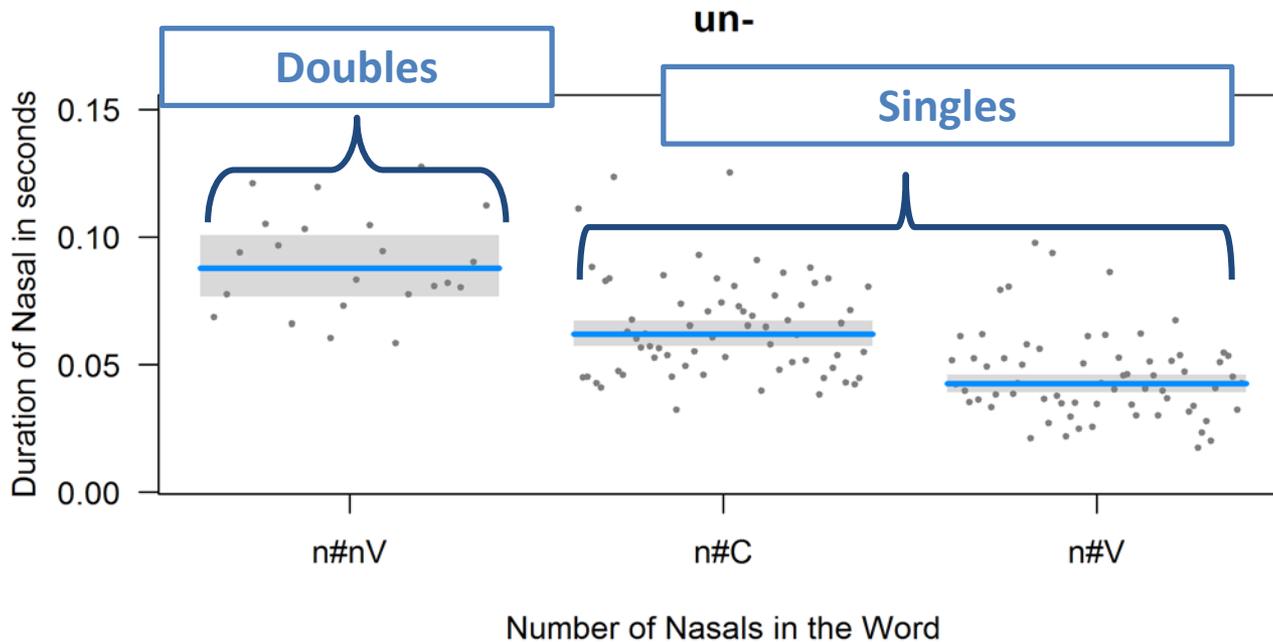
Covariates: Word Form Frequency, Relative Frequency, Preceding Segment Duration, Number of Segments in the Word

Results: Model 2 *in-*

Semantic Transparency and Type of Affix:

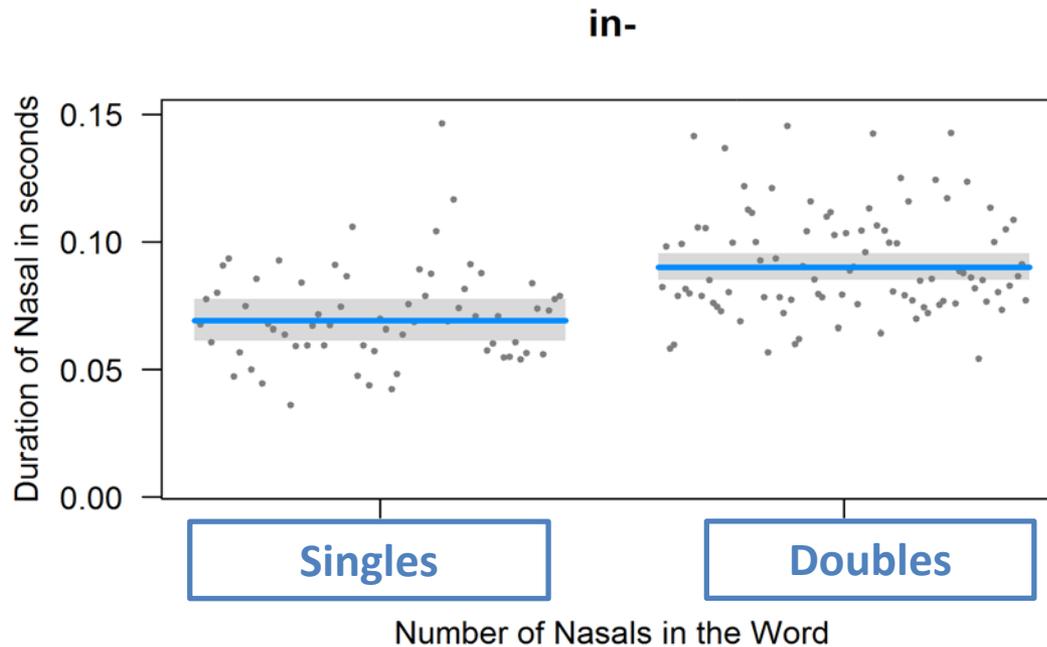
Type of affix Semantic Transparency	In-Locative	In-Negative
Transparent	<i>immigrate</i>	<i>immature</i>
Opaque	<i>imply</i>	<i>impunity</i>

Results: Model 1 *un-*



- **Doubles are longer than singles → Gemination**

Results: Model 2 *in-*



- **Doubles are longer than singles → Gemination**

Results: Model 2 *in-*

Interaction of Semantic Transparency with Type of Affix:



- Opaque: no effect (e.g. *imply* vs. *impunity*)
- Transparent: /m/ is shorter in locative *in* (e.g. *immigrate*) than in negative *in* (e.g. *immature*)

Summary: Results

There is a difference in duration between double consonants and singletons for ***un-***affixed and for ***in-***affixed words.

/n/ in *unnatural* is longer than the /n/ in *unable*!

AND

/m/ in *immature* is longer than the /m/ in *impossible*!

Both, *in-* and *un-* prefixed words can geminate!

Summary: Results

- Effect of semantic transparency in interaction with type affix for *in*-prefixed words
- These effects are robust in natural speech and also hold if we control for phonetic effects such as word duration

Implications

Both, *in-* and *un-* prefixed words can geminate!

- Challenges simple categorical effects of Lexical Strata as suggested by Lexical Phonology
- Demands for models of morpho-phonological interaction which take other factors into account

Effect of semantic transparency in interaction with type of affix for *in-*prefixed words

- Morphological structure is mirrored by phonetic detail
- Challenges models of speech production that state that post-lexical phonology has no access to morphological information (cf. Levelt 1999)

Future Research

- Replication of results with more data and different affixes
- Conduct production experiment and test the assumptions of different models of the phonology-morphology interaction (e.g. Morphological Segmentability Hypothesis, Hay 2003)

Thank you very much for your attention!

References

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Appendix

What is gemination?

- Gemination is used for related phenomena on different levels: Phonetic, Phonological, Orthographic
 - Phonetic: long consonants which can be distinguished from short consonants by their length
 - Phonological: Distinction of meaning in languages like Italian, Finnish, Arabic, e.g. *papa* vs. *pappa*
 - Orthographically: Doubling of consonants

What is gemination?

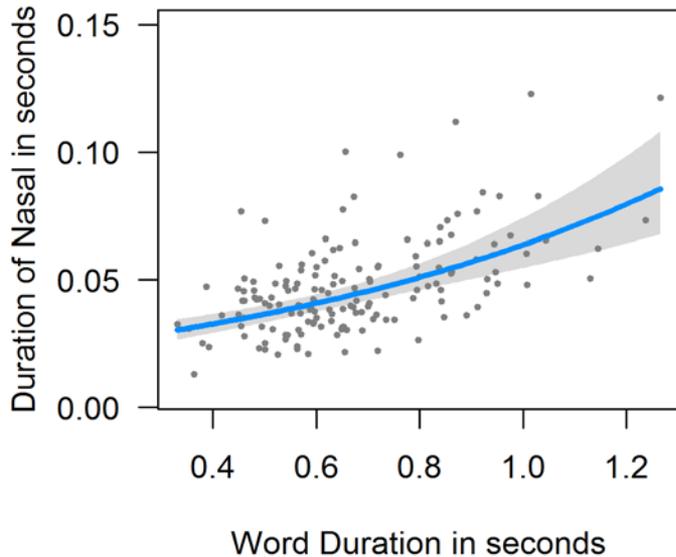
Level	Italian	English
Phonetics	[pap:a]	[ʌnnætrəl]? [ʌn:ætrəl]? [ʌnætrəl]?
Orthography	pappa	unnatural

Data Distribution

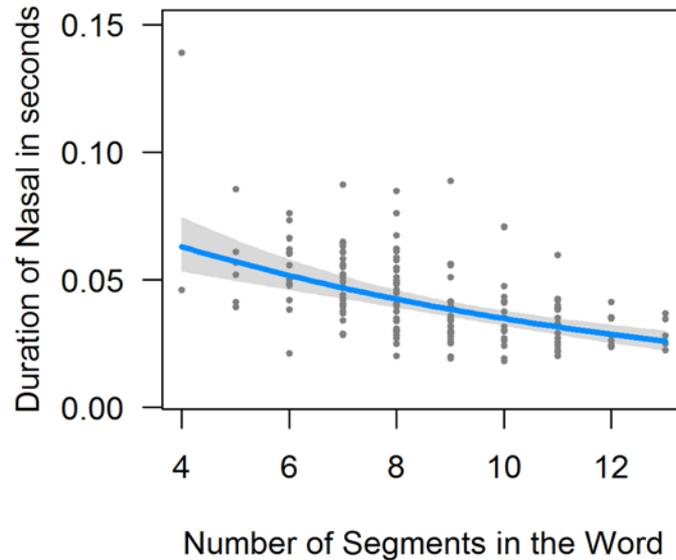
Segmental Sequence	Example	Number of Types	Number of Tokens
Un+n	<i>Unnecessary</i>	5	22
Un+C	<i>Unfit</i>	51	66
Un+V	<i>Unable</i>	43	67
Total		99	155
Im+m	<i>Immemorial</i>	22	94
Im+p/b	<i>impossible</i>	64	65
Total		86	159

Results: Model 1 *Un-*

un-



un-

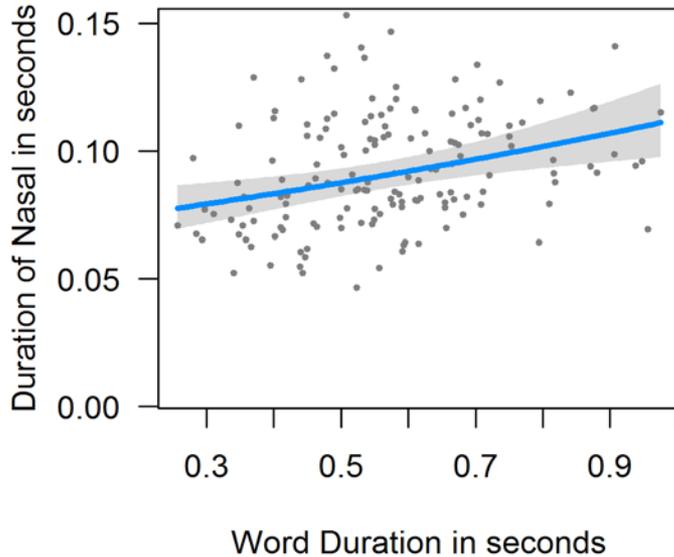


Effects of Covariates

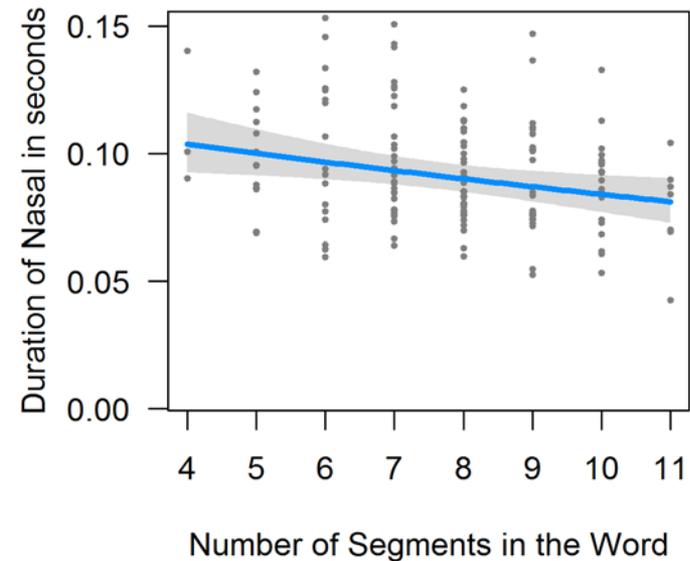
- Longer words → longer consonant duration
- More segments in a word → shorter consonant duration

Results: Model 2 *Im-*

in-



in-



Effects of Covariates

- Longer words → longer consonant duration
- More segments in a word → shorter consonant duration

Model 1: un

Call:

```
lm(formula = log(AbsDurCon) ~ TransitionType + WordDur + NoSegWord,  
    data = unComplex1)
```

Residuals:

Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
-0.89180	-0.21009	0.00323	0.21242	0.83250

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)	
(Intercept)	-2.34771	0.13833	-16.972	< 2e-16	***
TransitionTypeingle-C	-0.34597	0.08050	-4.298	3.09e-05	***
TransitionTypeingle-V	-0.72417	0.08119	-8.919	1.51e-15	***
WordDur	1.10768	0.17350	6.384	2.04e-09	***
NoSegWord	-0.09859	0.01554	-6.342	2.52e-09	***

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.3187 on 150 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared: 0.5626, Adjusted R-squared: 0.5509
F-statistic: 48.24 on 4 and 150 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

Model 2: im

Call:

```
lm(formula = log(AbsDurCon) ~ NoCons + WordDur + NoSegWord +  
MorphBound * Affix, data = imComplex2)
```

Residuals:

Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
-0.64335	-0.15523	-0.01938	0.15791	0.75189

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)	
(Intercept)	-2.84293	0.10155	-27.995	< 2e-16	***
NoConsdouble	0.26600	0.06236	4.266	3.49e-05	***
WordDur	0.50065	0.14642	3.419	0.000806	***
NoSegWord	-0.03508	0.01358	-2.584	0.010720	*
MorphBoundtransparent	-0.18686	0.08473	-2.205	0.028932	*
AffixinNeg	-0.00515	0.09343	-0.055	0.956118	
MorphBoundtransparent:AffixinNeg	0.36325	0.11229	3.235	0.001493	**

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.2435 on 152 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared: 0.4394, Adjusted R-squared: 0.4173
F-statistic: 19.86 on 6 and 152 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16