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Prosodic structure constrains word segmentation beyond the utterance edge factor

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Introduction

- Recent research has addressed the role of phrasal prosody in early word segmentation, focusing on the contrast between words at the edge and the middle of the utterance.
 - An effect of utterance edge as early as 6 months, due to its prosodic saliency (Seidl & Johnson, 2006; Johnson et al., 2014)
 - Later segmentation at utterance-internal position (Seidl & Johnson, 2006)
- In previous studies, phrasal prosody was not taken into account when testing infant's segmentation abilities in different languages (e.g., Jusczyk & Aslin, 1995; Jusczyk et al., 1999; Hohle & Weissenborn 2003, 2005; Bosch et al, 2013; Nazzi et al., 2006; Mersad et al., 2010; Nazzi et al., 2014)



Studies with more controlled prosodic phrasing (and no pause cue) are needed



- This study revisits infant word segmentation beyond the edge factor, looking at the effects of two different utteranceinternal prosodic conditions in European Portuguese:
 - Target monosylable next to a word boundary > Prosodic Word (PW)
 - Target monosylable next to a high phrasal boundary (without a pause) > Intonational Phrase (IP)
- Segmentation of monosyllabic words in EP (Butler et al., 2015, submitted)
 - Segmentation at utterance-edge > 6 month
 - Segmentation in utterance-medial position > improved at 9 month, but still not successful (pseudo-words placed at PW or lower phrase boundary - Phonological Phrase)



Introduction

- Albeit different, both IP and PW edges are marked by a clear prosodic cues in European Portuguese (unlike in other Romance languages - Vigário, 2003; Frota 2014)
 - PW: domain of word stress and prominence-related processes, such as vowel reduction; edge-phenomena, like phonotactic constrains, and many other processes (segmental and prominence cues) (Vigário, 2003).
 - IP: marked with a variety of strong cues: segmental processes, domain of sandhi and resyllibification (similar to other Romance languages), final lengthening and pause, left-edge strengthening, pitch accent distribution, nuclear accent and boundary tone (Frota 2000, 2014)
- Cues to prosodic edges may vary across languages, and infants show language-specific sensitivity (e.g., Wellmann et al., 2012)



Method: Participants

- 12 month-old infants from monolingual homes in the Lisbon area tested in two experiments
- Utterance-medial PW:
 - 20 infants (11 boys, mean age 12m 10d, range 10m 15d- 14m 22d)
 - 3 infants excluded: 2 due to fussiness, 1 experimenter error
- Utterance-medial IP:
 - 20 infants (10 boys, mean age 12m 2d, range 10m 24d 13m 19d)
 - 2 infants excluded due to fussiness



Method: Materials

- 4 monosyllabic pseudo words: Ful, Queu, Pis, Sau
- Familarization materials: 2 passages with 6 sentences each, one for PW edge, another for IP edge (range 11-13 syllables)
- Test materials: 4 isolated word lists
- 4 experimental conditions based on presentation onset in the familiarisation phase: Ful-Pis, Pis-Ful, Queu-Sau, Sau-Queu

A caixa contém ful vermelho na tampa.
Aquele grande ful branco é da Quica.
Comeram muito ful doce na praia.
Hoje vi um ful castanho mas duro.
O amigo do ful português fugiu.
O outro ful branco foi de mercedes.

PW edge > NOT Prominent

As rãs gostam de fresco.

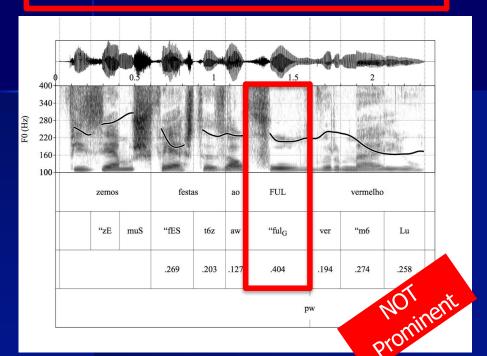
Comprado o fresco.

Comprado o fresco.

Desde que viu o fresco fresco fresco fresco.

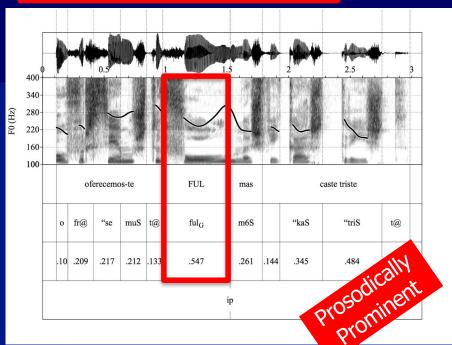
Oferecemos-te fresco fr

Non-prominent internal position, with absence of any phrase boundary



Sentence internal Intonational Phrase edge





PW boundary	sentence length (ms)	syllabic duration_before boundary (ms)	syllabic duration_after boundary (ms)	pitch range (hz)	pitch reset (hz)	tonal event	
average	2,338	0,289	0,260	-29,71	-31,33		
standard deviation	0,224	0,033	0,056	14,09	21,56		
IP boundary							
average	2,749	0,544	0,232	85,92	-93,45	– Н%	
standard deviation	0,224	0,043	0,054	37,43	34,06	П 70	

Procedure: modified version of the Visual Habituation Paradigm (Stager &

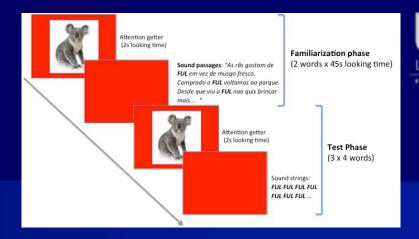


Werker, 1997; Altvater-Mackensen & Mani, 2013)





Procedure





	<u>Familiarisation</u>	<u>Test</u>								
	Alternating trials		Block 1		Block 2		Block 3			
	45 secs accumulated listening time to each		Randomised order	<u></u>	Randomised order		Randomised order			
F	Passage 1 - Exp.1: PW_ Exp.2: IP		Word 1 - Familiar PW boundary		Word 1 - Familiar PW boundary		Word 1 - Familiar PW boundary			
			Word 2 - Familiar PW boundary		Word 2 - Familiar PW boundary		Word 2 - Familiar PW boundary			
P	Passage 2 - Exp.1: PW_ Exp.2: IP		Word 3 - Novel PW boundary	•	Word 3 - Novel PW boundary		Word 3 - Novel PW boundary			
			Word 4 - Novel PW boundary		Word 4 - Novel PW boundary		Word 4 - Novel PW boundary			

Trials continue until infant looks away for more the 2 consecutive seconds, or sound file ends



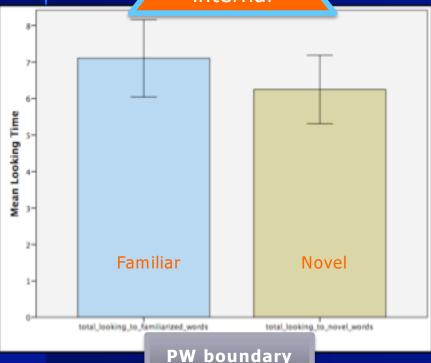
Similar behaviour, segmentation wise, to 5-6 month olds at final IP boundaries (=sentence edge):

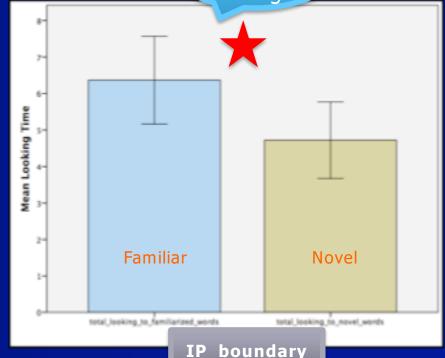




No! Plain internal

At internal IP edge





No significant effect of item status - F(1,18) = 1,776, p > .1, $\eta^2 = .090$

Significant effect of item status - F(1,18) = 23.6, p < .001, $\eta^2 = .57$



Discussion

- Portuguese 12-month-old infants were able to segment words in utterance-internal position, when the target word is aligned with an internal IP boundary not signaled with a pause, but NOT when it precedes a word level boundary (PW)
 - Clarifies the ability to use other prosodic cues besides the pause, such as pitch and duration cues.
 - In the utterance-edge studies a pause was always involved (Seidl & Johnson, 2006; Johnson et al., 2014)
- Segmentation abilities rely on the location of the word in the prosodic structure of the utterance, occurring first when high-level phrasal boundaries are involved.
- This shows a sensitivity to prosody in early segmentation, beyond the edge vs. internal position



Discussion

- More studies addressing the role of phrasal prosody in early word segmentation abilities are needed, in other languages.
- Examining early segmentation abilities at utteranceinternal IP boundaries, younger infants are being tested in ongoing work.





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