Phonological Knowledge beyond the Lexicon in
Taiwanese Double Reduplication*

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Recent studies on productivity have shown that native speakers’ phonological knowledge not only includes statistical patterning of irregularities reflected in the lexicon, but also patterns that cannot be gleaned from the lexicon. This is demonstrated in speakers’ analytical bias towards abstract phonological representations (Davidson 2005) and perceptually motivated phonological scales (Zuraw 2007), as well as their difficulties with exceptionless opaque patterns in wug tests (Zhang et al., to appear). Based on the results of a wug test, we show in this paper that the tone pattern in Taiwanese double reduplication is a case in which the speakers’ knowledge is a combination of more than, less than, and exactly what their lexicon informs them of. We also provide a stochastic OT grammar based on the dual listing/generation model of Zuraw (2000) to account for our wug test results.

Key words: Taiwanese tone sandhi, opacity, double reduplication, wug test, productivity, stochastic OT, lexical listing

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