

THE PROSODIC SYSTEM OF OCCITAN
IN A ROMANCE SCOPE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ABSTRACTS	4
1.1. THE PROSODIC SYSTEM OF OCCITAN IN A ROMANCE SCOPE	4
1.2. EL SISTEMA PROSÒDIC DE L' OCCITÀ EN EL SEU CONTEXT ROMÀNIC.....	5
2. THESIS PROJECT	6
2.1. RESEARCH OBJECT: THE PROSODIC SYSTEM OF OCCITAN IN A ROMANCE SCOPE..	6
2.1.1. The Occitan language within Romance	6
2.1.2. Prosody: phrasing, accentuation and intonation.....	6
2.2. STATE OF THE QUESTION	7
2.3. GOALS OF THE THESIS	10
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	12
3.1. PROSODIC STRUCTURE.....	12
3.2. THE AUTOSEGMENTAL METRICAL (AM) MODEL.....	12
4. FIRST HYPOTHESES AND OPEN QUESTIONS.....	14
5. METHODOLOGY	15
5.1. DATA TYPES	15
5.1.1. Intonation survey	15
5.1.2. Map Task.....	16
5.1.3. Fable summary	16
5.2. CORPUSES.....	16
5.2.1. IntOcFr corpus.....	17
5.2.1.1. The IntOcFr project.....	17
5.2.1.2. Locales and speakers	17
5.2.1.3. Data collection procedure	18
5.2.2. AIIO corpus.....	18
5.2.2.1. The AIIO project.....	19
5.2.2.2. Locales and speakers	19
5.2.2.3. Data collection procedure	19
5.3. ANNOTATION OF THE DATA	19
5.3.1. Annotation of intonation surveys	20
5.3.2. Annotation of Map Tasks.....	21
5.3.3. Annotation of fable summaries	22
5.4. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS.....	22
5.4.1. Intonation surveys.....	22
5.4.2. Map Tasks	23
5.4.3. Fable summaries.....	23
5.5. PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS	24

6. PLANNING.....	25
CHRONOGRAM	28
7. REFERENCES	29
WEB RESOURCES	38
COMMENTED REFERENCES.....	39
1. HUALDE, J.I. (2003b).....	39
2. JUN, S.-A. & FOUGERON, C. (2002).....	39
3. POST, B. (2000).....	40
4. PRIETO, P. (in press).....	40
5. SICHEL-BAZIN, R. (2009)	41
APPENDIX 1: INTONATION SURVEY	42
A. OCCITAN QUESTIONNAIRE	42
B. ENGLISH TRANSLATION	50
APPENDIX 2: MAP TASK.....	58
A. INFORMATION FOLLOWER’S MAP	58
B. INFORMATION GIVER’S MAP.....	58
APPENDIX 3: FABLE “THE NORTHWIND AND THE SUN”	59

1. ABSTRACTS

1.1. The prosodic system of Occitan in a Romance scope

Occitan is a highly threatened Romance language that occupies a bridge position between French to the north and the Ibero- and Italo-romance languages to the south. It shares prosodic properties with both of these two prosodically very different groups of languages. On the one hand, the location of primary stress is lexically distinctive as in the southern Romance languages, even though Occitan stress can only hit final and prefinal syllables (Meisenburg 2001), whereas French has lost any such distinction developing a phrase final stress or accent (already Delattre 1938). On the other hand, it has been pointed out (Hualde 2003b, 2004; Sichel-Bazin 2009) that Occitan shows tonal movements on syllables that do not bear primary accents, similar to French initial rises (Jun & Fougeron 2000, 2002, among others).

Though it appears to be crucial for a better understanding of Romance as a whole, Occitan prosody has been the object of very little work. The present thesis project aims to provide an overall description of the prosodic system of Occitan in the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) framework (Pierrehumbert 1980), on the basis of its phrasing, accentuation and intonation. The relevant units of the prosodic hierarchy will be characterized, starting from the phonetic, phonological and/or syntactic cues identifying them. This will then enable a description of the different types of accents, their location properties and their acoustic correlates. An inventory of the pitch accents and boundary tones of the language will be drawn up, and the main nuclear configurations and contours will be associated to the different pragmatic meanings.

This study will rely mainly on the close-to-standard Lengadocian dialect spoken in La Cauna / Lacaune (Tarn, France), in which spontaneous and semi-spontaneous data (intonation surveys, Map Tasks and fable summaries) of more than 40 native speakers were recorded for this purpose. The results for this variety will be confronted to dialectal variation within Occitan using the data of the *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan* (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin 2007-2010). Moreover, in order to specify its bridge position, Occitan prosody will be compared to French and Iberoromance. Since southern French has developed in close contact with Occitan, the prosodic influences of Occitan on this variety will be given a special emphasis.

1.2. El sistema prosòdic de l'occità en el seu context romànic

L'occità és una llengua romànica greument amenaçada que ocupa una posició de pont entre el francès al nord i les llengües ibero- i italo-romàniques al sud. Comparteix propietats prosòdiques amb aquests dos grups de llengües, prosòdicament força diferents. D'una banda, la posició de l'accent primari és lèxicament distintiva com en les llengües romàniques del sud, tot i que l'accent només pot recaure en les síl·labes finals i prefinals en occità (Meisenburg 2001), mentre que el francès ha perdut tal distinció desenvolupant un accent de final de sintagma (ja Delattre 1938). D'altra banda, s'ha senyalat (Hualde 2003b, 2004; Sichel-Bazin 2009) que l'occità presenta moviments tonals en síl·labes que no reben l'accent primari, similars a les pujades inicials del francès (Jun & Fougeron 2000, 2002, entre d'altres).

Tot i que sembla crucial per a un millor enteniment de les llengües romàniques en el seu conjunt, la prosòdia de l'occità ha estat l'objecte de molt pocs treballs. El present projecte de tesi vol proporcionar una descripció general del sistema prosòdic de l'occità en el marc del model Mètric Autosegmental (AM) (Pierrehumbert 1980), basant-se en el fraseig, l'accentuació i l'entonació. Es caracteritzaran les unitats de la jerarquia prosòdica rellevants, partint dels indicis fonètics, fonològics i/o sintàctics que les identifiquen. Això permetrà descriure els diferents tipus d'accents, les seves propietats de localització i els seus correlats acústics. S'establirà un inventari dels accents tonals i dels tons de frontera de la llengua, i s'associaran les principals configuracions nuclears i contorns als diferents sentits pragmàtics.

Aquest estudi reposarà principalment en el dialecte llenguadocià parlat a La Cauna / Lacaune (Tarn, França) proper a l'estàndard, en el qual es varen enregistrar per a aquest propòsit dades de parla espontània i semiespontània (enquestes d'entonació, Map Tasks i resums d'una faula) de més de 40 parlants nadius. Els resultats per a aquesta varietat es confrontaran a la variació dialectal al si de la llengua occitana utilitzant les dades de l'*Atlàs de l'intonacion de l'occitan* (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin 2007-2010). A més a més, per tal d'especificar la seva posició de llengua pont, es compararà la prosòdia de l'occità al francès i a llengües iberoromàniques. Com que el francès meridional es va desenvolupar en contacte estret amb l'occità, es posarà una especial èmfasi en les influències prosòdiques de l'occità aquesta varietat.

2. THESIS PROJECT

2.1. Research object: The prosodic system of Occitan in a romance scope

2.1.1. The Occitan language within Romance

Occitan is a highly threatened Romance language, still spoken in the southern third of France, in the Aran Valley in Catalonia, Spain –where it is co-official with Catalan and Spanish– and in twelve valleys in the Alps of the Piedmont region of Italy. The sociolinguistics of this language is marked by the phenomenon of diglossia in the whole linguistic area: all Occitan native speakers are also highly competent in at least another language, namely French for the majority of them, Italian and sometimes also the Piedmont dialect for those from the ‘Valadas Occitanas’ in Italy, and Catalan and Spanish for people from the Aran Valley. The linguistic substitution process of Occitan by wider expanded languages is very ripe, mostly in France, and this language has become minority; therefore its study is quite urgent. Occitan occupies a bridge position between French to the north and the Ibero- and Italo-romance languages to the south, and shares linguistic features with both of these groups of languages, so the study of this language may help to better understand the organization of the Romance languages.

2.1.2. Prosody: phrasing, accentuation and intonation

The present thesis project aims to provide an account of how the prosodic system of Occitan is organized. Prosody can be defined as the set of phenomena involving variations in pitch, duration and intensity during the speech act, often referred to as suprasegmental phenomena. It is well known that though the speech flow is continuous throughout time, more or less independent chunks can be identified in it. This grouping into chunks of a variable degree of relative (in-)dependence is called phrasing. The prosodic breaks that separate chunks or prosodic constituents may be instantiated by different means, such as silent pauses, but also lengthening of certain segments and/or tonal marking. Beside this, some syllables are perceived as more prominent than others within an utterance; these syllables are said to be accented or stressed. Accent or stress may be marked by different acoustic factors, such as an increase in pitch or fundamental frequency (F0), in duration and/or in intensity or amplitude. The distribution of accents in an utterance is subject to different rules, which can arise from lexical, syntactic,

pragmatic and/or prosodic constraints. Intonation *stricto sensu* consists in variations in pitch, which are instantiated by the pitch contour of utterances. Prosody is the result of the interaction of all these suprasegmental phenomena, namely phrasing, accentuation and intonation, and is used to express both linguistic and paralinguistic information. Paralinguistic features such as emotions or speaker's attitude will not be treated in this thesis project. The object of the present study is to define and describe the prosodic phenomena that encode linguistic information in Occitan, such as illocutory force, sentence type, focus and topic marking and pragmatic meaning.

2.2. State of the question

Though it appears to be crucial for a better understanding of Romance, the prosody of Occitan has been the object of very little work.

As stated above, Occitan occupies the position of a bridge language between two groups within the Romance languages: the Ibero- and Italo-romance languages to the south and French to the north. At the prosodic level, the group of the southern Romance languages (henceforth SRL) and French differ from each other in many aspects, and the prosodic characteristics of Occitan may be common with either one or the other group, or particular to it.

On the one hand, one of the prosodic characteristics that tease apart French and the SRL is their accentuation patterns. In the SRL, stress may hit one of the last three syllables of a lexical word, and the location of stress may serve to distinguish different words. These lexically defined stressed syllables constitute anchoring points for pitch accents. On the contrary, French has developed what has been called a phrase final stress or accent, which occurs on the last syllable of a phrase¹ whose nucleus is not a schwa (Delattre 1938), losing thus any lexical distinction due to stress position. In Occitan, even though Occitan stress can only hit final and prefinal syllables, this distinctive location of stress is lexically defined as in the SRL (Meisenburg 2001).

¹ This crucial unit of the French prosody has been referred to as Phonological Phrase (Post 2000), Accentual Phrase (Jun & Fougeron 2000, 2002) or Rhythm Unit (Di Cristo & Hirst 1993) in the literature, among other denominations. It has been defined in many different ways according to the authors, ranging from pure syntactic to mainly prosodic approaches.

On the other hand, French shows tonal movements that align with syllables that are not phrase-final. Unlike the final accent, these rises, often referred to as initial or secondary accents, are not obligatory. They may occur on one of the first syllables of lexical words, or even on clitics under certain conditions. Originally used to signal emphasis (*'accent d'insistance'*, Fouché 1969, Carton et al 1976), they seem to be quite generalized today (Lyche & Girard 1995) and used to mark the left edge of accentual or phonological phrases (APs/PPs) (Astésano et al 2007). Although some tonal rises on not primarily stressed syllables have been reported in SRL (Hualde 2006, 2007, 2010), mostly in broadcasting or didactic speech, these phenomena are far from being as important as in French, and their conditions of appearance are quite restricted. By contrast, it has been pointed out that Occitan shows initial rises similar to the French ones (Hualde 2003b, 2004; Sichel-Bazin 2009), which seem to be quite generalized as in French, though their role and characteristics within the prosodic system of this language have not been explored yet.

Hualde (2003b, 2004) draws up an overall view of the intonational organization of Occitan on the basis of the analysis of a folk tales corpus in a close-to-standard Lengadocian dialect. He establishes that as in SRL the nuclear accented syllable in declaratives may display two different tonal patterns: a rise, which he labels (L)+H*, in cases of narrow focus on the last constituent, or a fall in broad focus conditions, which he labels (H)+L*. He points out that this kind of fall differs from that found in other SRL in that the H leading tone may be subsumed under a preceding H* or H_i of a prenuclear accent. As far as prenuclear accents are concerned, he observes that the first one is normally a rise (L+H*) and the following ones may be analyzed as simple H*, that is, level high plateaus. Hualde also signals that yes-no questions in his corpus normally present only one rising pitch accent, the nuclear one, followed by a low boundary tone (L%), the other words of the sentence being deaccented. This is the normal contour for checks in many SRL, applied to queries in this case. However, he clarifies that because of nature of his corpus (folk tales) nearly all yes-no questions were provided with an answer, which might have an incidence on their intonation.

Beside the study of Hualde (2003b, 2004), the only work on Occitan prosody within an Autosegmental Metrical approach is the master thesis of Sichel-Bazin (2009), which deals with leading tone alignment in Occitan disapproval statements in the Limousin

variety of Moissida / Mussidan (Dordonha / Dordogne, France). It describes the alignment properties of a determinate type of pitch accent that displays a rise on the pre-accentual syllable and a fall within the accented one and shows that the pre-accentual rise consists in two leading tone targets aligned with the boundaries of the pre-accentual syllable; this pitch accent is thus labeled as LH+L*.

The study of the cross-linguistic variation in the prosody of Romance languages has started in the early 21st century, and some corpuses have been collected that contain data for Occitan²: there are two different projects of online geoprosodic atlases in which Occitan is represented, and a research project investigates prosody in the contact situation between Occitan and French.

One of the two Romance prosodic atlases is the AMPER project (*Atlas Multimédia Prosodique de l'Espace Roman*), which aims to collect comparable data in the different Romance varieties, namely declarative and interrogative sentences in SVO order with constituents of different lengths and accentuation patterns. The results are presented in the form of mean pitch contours obtained by extracting the mean F0 value for each syllable of utterances read by several speakers, and plots of the mean duration of the syllables. Three locales have been the object of a survey in Occitan up to now within this project, giving rise to two monographic articles that describe the prosodic patterns used in these different types of utterances in the Occitan spoken in Gap (Nauts Aups / Hautes Alpes, France) (Lai 2005) and in Sant Jurvèva / Sainte-Geneviève-sur-Argence (Avairon / Aveyron, France) (Lai & Rilliard 2007). Overall, the tonal patterns have been found to be falling in declaratives and rising in interrogatives. The main characteristics described for the variety of Sant Jurvèva are the presence of a tonal valley on the subject and one or two peaks on the object in the interrogative sentences analyzed, and high duration values for the stressed syllables of oxytones and for the pre-accentual syllables of paroxytones in both declarative and interrogative sentences.

The other geoprosodic online Atlas project started concentrating on the prosodic dialectal variation of Catalan (Prieto & Cabré 2007-2010). Later, it was extended to Occitan (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin 2007-2010) and then to Spanish, aiming eventually to

² The only previous oral corpus in Occitan is the Corpus Occitano-Gascon collected by Claus Pusch (2001).

cover the whole Romance space. These online Atlases analyze prosody within the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) framework. The data that they provide consist in recordings of semi-spontaneous speech of three types: intonation surveys, Map Tasks and video interviews³. The corpus of the *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan* (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin 2007-2010) (henceforth AIIO) contains data from 32 locales up to now, distributed throughout the different dialectal areas, 13 of which are available online. No further analysis of these data has been done for the moment.

The project *Intonation im Sprachkontakt: Okzitanisch und Französisch* (henceforth IntOcFr) studies the contact situation between Occitan and French and its consequences on the prosody of the varieties in contact. The corpus used for this project contains intonation surveys, Map Tasks and fable summaries⁴ from one locale in both Occitan and southern French, another locale in southern French, and two locales in northern French, with between 20 and 40 speakers per locale. This corpus is presently being analyzed at the University of Osnabrück.

So, the studies on Occitan prosody are just starting and very little has been said on the prosodic properties of this language. Whereas primary accentuation in Occitan has been quite clearly explained, further research is needed on secondary or initial accents. As far as we know, nothing has been said so far on phrasing in Occitan. In intonational phonology, the results of the AMPER project are still poor for Occitan, and Sichel-Bazin (2009) only focuses on one type of pitch accent; the most complete study is that of Hualde (2003b, 2004), which describes the main features of Occitan intonation. A much deeper study is needed in order to give a correct account of Occitan prosody.

2.3. Goals of the thesis

The present thesis project aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the prosodic system of Occitan, describing how phrasing, accentuation and intonation are used in this language to convey linguistic meaning.

³ See the part “Methodology” and the Appendix for more information.

⁴ See the part “Methodology” and the Appendix for more information.

An inventory of the phonological relevant units of each subsystem will be drawn up, with a description of their characteristic realizations. The systematic annotation tool Oc_ToBI⁵ will enable prosodic patterns comparisons within and across varieties and sentence types, which will give rise to an overall account of the Occitan prosodic system.

To characterize the phrasing system, an inventory of the relevant units in the prosodic hierarchy involved in phrasing will be established, describing the phonetic, phonological and/or syntactic cues that characterize each one. As far as accentuation is concerned, the different types of accents will be described, with the acoustic correlates of each accent type and the rules that determine their location. The exploration of the Occitan intonation will imply the establishment of an inventory of the phonologically contrastive pitch accents and boundary tones, including a description of the phonetic realization of each type. Finally, the different pragmatic meanings will be related to specific prosodic patterns.

The study will be centered on the close-to-standard Lengadocian variety of Occitan spoken in the locale of La Cauna / Lacaune (Tarn, France), where more than 40 native speakers were recorded. The data of the *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan* (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin 2007-2010) will be used in order to make the analysis extensive to the whole language through its dialectal variation. Moreover, in order to define the position of Occitan within Romance at the prosodic level, it will be compared with French and Iberoromance varieties. Because of the long-lasting situation of diglossia, southern French developed in close contact with Occitan and displays a certain amount of characteristics that it has inherited from its Occitan substrate. This thesis projects also intends to characterize the Occitan prosodic footprint on southern French by determining the prosodic features of Occitan that interfered in this variety.

⁵ Oc_ToBI stands for “Occitan Tone and Break Indices”, in the line of the ToBI prosodic annotation systems in the Autosegmental Metrical framework elaborated for many other languages or varieties. For more information, see the part “Theoretical framework: prosodic structure and Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model”.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Prosodic structure

The Strict Layer Hypothesis (SLH; Selkirk 1984, 1986; Nespor & Vogel 1986) assumes that the prosodic units are organized in a hierarchy, and that units of a given level assemble into a unit of the immediately superior level, in which they are entirely included. Thus, morae (μ) are organized in syllables (σ), σ in feet (Σ), Σ in prosodic words (Pw) or clitic groups, Pw or clitic groups in phonological phrases (PP) or accentual phrases (AP), PP or AP in intermediate phrases (ip), ip in intonational phrases (IP), IP in utterances (U) and U in paragraphs (§). Although their realization and role within the system of a given linguistic variety may be different, all of these units are assumed to be universal and thus instantiated in all languages.

However, it has been claimed that some units may not be present in some languages. For example, no evidence for the presence of intermediate phrases has been found in European Portuguese (Frota 2000, 2002) nor in standard French (Post 2000, Jun & Fougeron 2002), Catalan and Spanish seem not to show clear prosodic markers for phonological phrases (Prieto et al 2009, Beckman et al 2002), and the existence of syllables in the prosodic structure of Japanese is object of controversy (Poser 1990, Labrune 2010). Therefore, we agree that the units of the prosodic structure are hierarchically organized, yet we consider that all these units may not be relevant in a determinate linguistic variety, so that some units may not have to be described in an account of the prosodic structure of a given linguistic variety.

3.2. The Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model

The Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model was first elaborated by Pierrehumbert (1980) in order to give an account of how English prosody is structured. It is now probably the model that is more likely to become a standard in intonation studies and has been adopted by a majority of researchers worldwide and adapted to many languages. One of its main premises is that intonation relies on only two discrete tonal units, a low (L) and a high (H) tones, that associate with determinate points of the segmental stream, the general tune of an utterance being the result of an interpolation between these tonal targets. The L and H tones are organized in pitch accents, phrase accents and boundary

tones. Pitch accents can be monotonal (L*, H*) or bitonal (L+H*, L*+H, H+L*, H*+L) and associate with metrically strong syllables. The star sign (*) following a tone signals that this tone is the one associated with the accented syllable. If a tone precedes it, it is a leading tone; if it follows it, it is a trailing tone. Phrase accents and boundary tones associate with the edges of prosodic constituents: boundary tones (L%, H%) associate with the right edge of an intonational phrase (IP), and phrase accents (L-, H-), with the right edge of an intermediate phrase (ip).

The many studies that have been done in the AM framework have helped improve the model. For example, it has been shown that mid (M) tones are necessary to account for some phonological contrasts (Prieto, Torres & Vanrell 2008). Moreover, it has been shown that tritonal structures may be needed to account for the realization of certain pitch accents in some varieties (Gili-Fivela 2002, 2006; Sichel-Bazin 2009).

The AM model has been applied to the study of prosody in the majority of Romance languages. As far as French is concerned, Di Cristo & Hirst (1993) give an account for French prosody from an autosegmental point of view. In a strictly AM approach, Post (2000) proposes a phonological model for the French intonational phrase prosodic organization, and Jun & Fougeron's (2000, 2002) account is centered on the intonational pattern of accentual phrases, which assemble into intonational phrases. In the southern Romance languages, prosodic studies in the AM framework are numerous, and language-specific prosodic transcription systems in the line of ToBI⁶ have started to be developed for many languages in the first decade of the 21st century. Moreover, researchers working on prosody in different Romance varieties in the AM framework are intending to go towards an agreement on a Romance ToBI annotation system that would enable cross-linguistic comparisons. One of the aims of the present thesis is to provide an Oc_ToBI annotation system, integrating Occitan in this wider Romance perspective.

⁶ ToBI stands for "Tone and Break Indices". The first ToBI system was elaborated for English by Silverman et al (1992), and other languages followed: German (GToBI), Japanese (X-JToBI) and Korean (K-ToBI) are complete; Dutch has a similar tool (ToDI); other ToBI systems are being elaborated for Catalan (Cat_ToBI), Greek (GRToBI), Portuguese (P_ToBI) and Spanish (Sp_ToBI).

4. FIRST HYPOTHESES AND OPEN QUESTIONS

Since Occitan occupies the position of a bridge language between French and the southern Romance languages (SRL), we expect some of its prosodic features to be common with either one or the other group.

The first question concerns primary accentuation. In the SRL, primary stressed syllables are anchors for pitch accents and constitute the head of prosodic words (Pw) or clitic groups. By contrast, in French, primary stress is instantiated at the accentual or phonological phrase (AP/PP) level, a higher prosodic constituent that may include more than one lexical word. The question is whether a primary accented syllable in Occitan constitutes the head of a Pw or clitic group as in SRL or of an AP/PP as in French. As far as primary accentuation is concerned, Occitan has conserved two distinctive lexical accent positions, and in this way is more similar to SRL than to French. So we expect primarily accented syllables to occur at the Pw level, and this unit (Pw or clitic group) should be a relevant one in the prosodic hierarchy of Occitan.

As far as secondary accentuation is concerned, Occitan displays initial rises that seem to be quite similar to those described for French. As the latter have been said to mark the left edge of PPs or APs (Astésano et al 2007), it will be interesting to determine whether the same holds for Occitan or if initial accents in this language rather mark the beginning of prosodic words.

Other tonal events observed in the data seem to align with constituents edges below the intonational phrase (IP) level, and are likely to be interpreted as intermediate phrase (ip) boundary tones. Whereas ips have been claimed not to be relevant in standard French, we found this type of boundary tones also in southern French data, where their presence could be an influence of Occitan. The relevance of ips in these varieties should thus be further investigated.

Furthermore, observations on tonal alignment in our data allow for certain hypotheses on the configuration of tonal specification. For example, some peaks aligned with accented syllables have been found to be preceded by a low turning point at the onset of the preaccentual syllable. The question arises whether, in spite of its early alignment, this L tonal target constitutes a leading tone, and thus be part of a bitonal pitch accent. When it coincides with the Pw-initial syllable, it might also be interpreted as a tonal

specification of the Pw left edge, since this position is also the anchor for secondary accents. The LH+L* pitch accent that I studied in my master thesis (Sichel-Bazin 2009) also presents a low target at the onset of the preaccentual syllable. However, in words with two preaccentual syllables that present an initial accent, this L target was not instantiated. This was interpreted as a result of tonal crowding, but the L tone might have to be considered as a Pw-initial tonal specification. Further research is needed to confirm one or the other hypothesis.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1. Data types

To study the prosodic system of Occitan, we will use the data from three types of materials: an intonation survey, a Map Task and the summary of a fable.

5.1.1. Intonation survey

The first task the speakers performed was an intonation survey that consisted in eliciting the production of natural utterances of different illocutory forces and pragmatic meanings, by presenting everyday-life situations to speakers and prompting them to say what they would say in such situations.

For example, to get a neutral yes-no question, the following situation was presented to the speaker: s/he had to imagine that s/he was entering a store where s/he had never gone before. S/He then was prompted to ask the seller whether they have tangerines. So the expected utterance was: “Do you have any tangerines?”. And thus each situation was designed to get an utterance with a given pragmatic meaning.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) contains 47 situations that correspond to 10 declarative sentences (4 neutral and 6 biased), 15 yes-no questions (6 neutral and 9 biased), 11 wh-questions (5 neutral and 6 biased), 6 echo questions (4 neutral and 2 biased), 3 imperative sentences (2 orders and 1 request) and 2 vocatives (1 neutral and 1 insistent). The overall palette of different intonational contours obtained with this questionnaire enables to study how intonation is used to express different pragmatic

meanings in a given linguistic variety, establishing which phonological categories of pitch accents and boundary tones are used contrastively for pragmatic purposes.

5.1.2. Map Task

The second task that the speakers performed consisted in Map Task recordings. Two speakers were given a map each, with drawings on them (see Appendix 2). The information-giver's map presents a path linking the drawings whereas the information-follower's map lacks this path. Moreover, the two maps display slight differences with respect to the each other in the location and nature of some drawings. The information-follower had to ask the information-giver how to draw the path on his/her map. This methodology enables to get spontaneous dialogues with interrogative and exclamation utterances of different types.

5.1.3. Fable summary

To record these materials, the speakers listened to a recording of the Aesop fable "The North Wind and the Sun" read by a speaker of a dialectal variety similar to their own one. After the listening they were prompted to sum it up in their own words. This enabled to get small texts that present a similar organization and common lexical items, which helps comparisons.

5.2. Corpuses

These materials were collected within two research projects: the project *Intonation im Sprachkontakt: Okzitanisch und Französisch* (IntOcFr) of the University of Osnabrück (Germany), and the *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan* (AIIO) (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin (coords.) 2007-2010) of the *Grup d'Estudis de Prosòdia* of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain).

5.2.1. IntOcFr corpus

The data of the IntOcFr corpus include intonation surveys, Map Tasks and fable summaries in Occitan, and intonation surveys and fable summaries in southern and northern French.

5.2.1.1. The IntOcFr project

The project *Intonation im Sprachkontakt: Okzitanisch und Französisch* (IntOcFr) of the University of Osnabrück (Germany), which will fund this research, studies the prosody of Occitan and French in a comparative way in order to characterize the influences that the contact situation may have had on the prosodic systems of Occitan and southern French. This research project is funded by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

5.2.1.2. Locales and speakers

The data of the IntOcFr project consist in recordings in Occitan, in southern French and in northern French.

The Occitan data were recorded with 41 native speakers of the close-to-standard Lengadocian dialect spoken in region of La Cauna / Lacaune (Tarn, France). The subjects were between 40 and 90 years old, male and female, farmers and working class, mainly retired. They were all bilingual in Occitan and French.

The southern French data were collected in two locales: La Cauna and Tolosa / Toulouse (Nauta Garona / Haute Garonne, France). The 40 speakers from La Cauna were mainly the bilingual subjects of the Occitan recordings, plus some French monolinguals. The 15 speakers from Tolosa were French monolingual university students on the one hand, and working class people, some of them bilingual in Occitan and French, on the other hand. Moreover, 6 students of Occitan at the University of Toulouse-le Mirail were recorded both in French and in Occitan.

Surveys were also realized in two other locales in northern French: 33 speakers in Lille (Nord, France) and 35 in Orleans (Loiret, France). The speakers were French

monolingual university students and working class people. These data will serve as a control for French varieties with no contact with Occitan.

5.2.1.3. Data collection procedure

The Occitan and southern French data from La Cauna were recorded in August 2009 by Trudel Meisenburg (who co-directs this thesis project and is responsible for the IntOcFr project) and me. The interviews took place mainly at the speakers' homes or on their work place, in a quite silent room. The appointment was fixed a few days before, and the speakers were told that the interviews would last between 1 and 2 hours. For the Occitan interviews, we started speaking in Occitan as soon as possible before starting the recordings so that the speakers felt comfortable to speak in this language. Free spontaneous conversations were also recorded, before, during and after the tasks.

The other French data were recorded by Carolin Buthke, PhD student at the University of Osnabrück who also works in the IntOcFr project, and me. The recordings were carried out in October 2009 in Lille, in November 2009 in Toulouse and in April 2010 in Orleans. The interviews took place mainly in a silent office at the University, or on the speakers' work place. The interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes.

All the speakers were paid 10€ for their participation in French and 15€ in Occitan.

The data were recorded in WAV format in mono with a TASCAM DR-100 portable digital recorder connected to a SENNHEISER MKH 40 P 48 high-frequency condenser microphone with cardioid characteristics fixed on a metal desk stand. The microphone was set on a table in front of the speaker. When two speakers were involved, the data were recorded in stereo with two microphones.

5.2.2. AIO corpus

The data of the AIO corpus include intonation surveys, Map Tasks recordings, and also free video interviews of a length of about 3 minutes each (which we will not use for this thesis), in different Occitan dialects.

5.2.2.1. The AIO project

The *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan* (AIO) (Prieto & Sichel-Bazin (coords.) 2007-2010) of the *Grup d'Estudis de Prosòdia* of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain) aims at covering the whole Occitan speaking space with surveys in order to study the prosodic dialectal variation of Occitan. It was funded by the Euroregió Pirineus-Mediterrània.

5.2.2.2. Locales and speakers

The data of the AIO were recorded in 32 locales throughout all the dialectal areas of Occitan with one to three native speakers per locale, between 50 and 80 years old, male and female, farmers and working class, mainly retired. They were all equally competent in Occitan and in the official language(s) of the country.

5.2.2.3. Data collection procedure

The data were recorded between 2007 and 2008. The data of two locales were recorded by Adrià Baiona, a student at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, of one locale by Olitiana Martin, a Master student at the University Paul Valéry in Montpellier, and I recorded all the other data. The interviews were carried out exactly in the same way as for the IntOcFr project, with the only difference that the fable was not included but instead about 3 minutes of free interviews were videotaped.

The data were recorded in WAV format in mono or in stereo with a MARANTZ PMD-660 portable digital recorder connected to one or two microphones AKG C 1000 S and/or RODE NTG 2, fixed on a metal desk stand. The microphone(s) was/were set on a table in front of the speaker(s).

5.3. Annotation of the data

The three types of materials will be annotated in the Praat program (Boersma & Weenink 2010) creating a TextGrid file for each sound file.

5.3.1. Annotation of intonation surveys

The intonation surveys will be annotated with 6 different tiers (see Fig. 1 below):

- 1) ORTH: interval tier for the orthographic transcription separated by words.
- 2) PHON: interval tier for phonetic transcriptions in IPA separated by syllables.
- 3) PHRAS: point tier for the annotation of the prosodic boundaries with an index from 0 to 5 corresponding to the prosodic independence of each word with respect to the following one.
- 4) TONE: point tier for the annotation of the phonetic tonal targets instantiated by low and high turning points in the F0 curve.
- 5) LABEL: point tier for a provisory phonological labeling proposition.
- 6) MISC: interval tier for miscellaneous annotation of any useful comment.

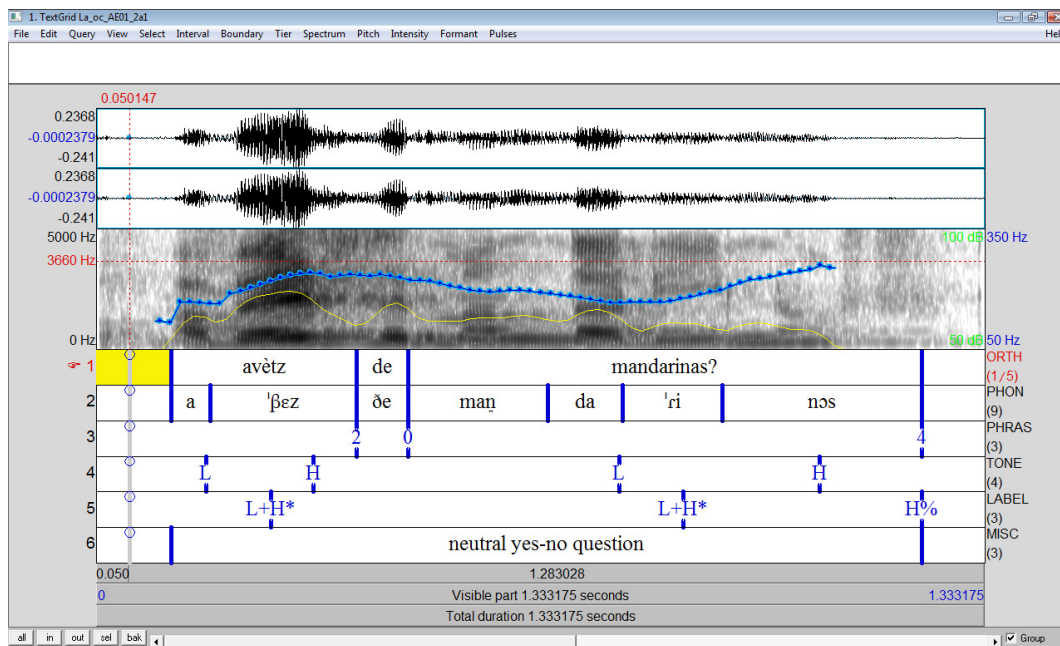


Fig. 1 – Annotation of a sound file of the intonation survey in a TextGrid with Praat (La_oc_AE01_2a1: Occitan neutral yes-no question from La Cauna, speaker AE01)

5.3.2. Annotation of Map Tasks

The Map Task data will be annotated with 7 tiers (see Fig. 2 below):

- 1) ORTH: interval tier for the orthographic transcription of the interrogative sentences, isolated by intonational phrases.
- 2) TONE: point tier for the phonological labeling of the nuclear configuration (pitch accent plus boundary tone).
- 3) TYPE: interval tier for the systematic annotation of the type of question (query, check...)
- 4) INFO: interval tier for the description of the kind of information asked for.
- 5) ACCESS: interval tier for the systematic annotation of the informational status of the piece of information asked for (new, given, inferential...)
- 6) SPEAKER: interval tier for the specification of the speaker (information follower, information giver)
- 7) MISC: interval tier for miscellaneous annotation of any useful comment.

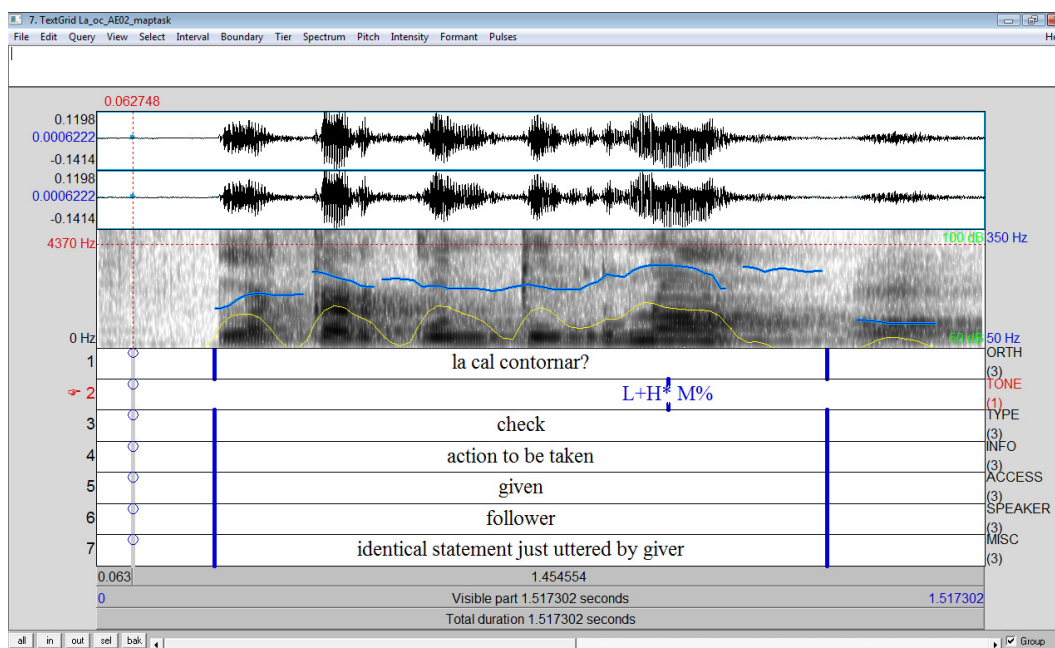


Fig. 2 – Annotation of an interrogative sentence of a Map Task in a TextGrid with Praat (La_oc_AE01_maptask: Occitan check from La Cauna, speaker AE01)

5.3.3. Annotation of fable summaries

The fable summaries will basically be annotated in the same way as the intonation surveys, with the same 6 tiers. The main difference between the two types of files is their length: fable summaries are much longer than the utterances elicited in the intonation surveys. This enables to better consider different levels of phrasing within a rather spontaneous text of certain duration. So, attention will be paid mainly to durational cues and boundary tones, as markers of prosodic breaks, in order to analyze the prosodic interdependence of constituents of different levels, even higher than the intonational phrase, in relation with the information structure of the whole text.

5.4. Analysis of the results

The analysis of the results must lead to the elaboration of the Oc_ToBI annotation tool for Occitan prosody, for which I have already been working on a very first proposal during the last years. The intonation surveys were devised to get a sample of the intonational and pragmatic variation of a linguistic variety and their analysis will help to find out the phonological categories of the Occitan intonation system. The Map Tasks will be used to fine-grain the study of the intonation of interrogatives in relation to pragmatics and information structure. The analysis of the fable summaries will serve to analyze the phrasing system of Occitan.

The first data to be analyzed will be the ones of the La Cauna variety and then the comparison with other Occitan dialects and other Romance varieties will be carried out.

5.4.1. Intonation surveys

Praat scripts will be used to extract automatically the annotations of the TextGrid files as well as measurements of F0 and timing. The parameters that will be taken into account will be pitch height of tonal targets, their timing alignment with respect to segmental landmarks, and if necessary duration of syllables and of higher prosodic constituents.

First of all, the extracted parameters will be compared across the different utterances corresponding to the same pragmatic meaning within the data of the La Cauna variety. From this first phonetic comparison, we expect to be able to extract common patterns throughout utterances in tonal targets alignment and scaling, and in the phrasing below the intonational phrase level, teasing apart what belongs to phonetic variation. Then, the comparison of these patterns with those found in other types of utterances should help determine which prosodic factors the difference in pragmatic meaning relies on. This will lead to a proposal of contrastive phonological categories for pitch accents and boundary tones, as well as of a hierarchy of lower level prosodic constituents. The general patterns of surface realization will be described for each intonational and phrasing unit.

It will then be possible to compare between linguistic varieties, first within Occitan and then within Romance, in order to determine which patterns are shared to express a given pragmatic meaning and to point out cross-linguistic differences.

5.4.2. Map Tasks

Praat scripts will be used to extract automatically the annotations of the TextGrid files. The different types of utterances will be analyzed separately in function of the interrogative type (query, check...). The different nuclear configurations found for each type will be related to information status and accessibility in the discourse. The repartition of intonational patterns with respect to pragmatics and information structure in the La Cauna variety will then be compared to that in the other Occitan dialects.

5.4.3. Fable summaries

Praat scripts will be used to extract automatically the annotations of the TextGrid files as well as measurements of F0 and timing. The parameters that will be taken into account will be duration of syllables and of higher prosodic constituents, and also pitch height of tonal targets, and their timing alignment with respect to segmental landmarks.

The duration of syllables will be related to their position within constituents and to their stressed or unstressed condition. The timing and scaling of tonal targets will be related

to the position of metrically strong syllables and to that of boundaries of syntactic constituents. These measurements will help determine on the one hand how prosodic constituents of different levels are mapped onto the syntactic structure and how they are organized in relation to the semantics and pragmatics, and on the other hand, which features are used to mark their edges.

5.5. Presentation of the results

The results will be organized in four main chapters, corresponding to the phrasing, the accentual and the intonational systems of the Occitan variety spoken in La Cauna, and a comparison with the other Occitan dialects as well as with neighboring Romance varieties. The chapter on phrasing will present the units of the prosodic hierarchy relevant in Occitan with a description of the cues in the surface realization that enable to identify them. The chapter on accentuation will deal with the different types of accents found in Occitan; it will describe the acoustic parameters that characterize them and provide a series of rules that condition their realization. The chapter on the intonational system will draw up an inventory of the basic units of Occitan intonational phonology, namely pitch accents and boundary tones, with a description of their general surface realization; it will also present the main contour(s) associated to each pragmatic meaning. The last chapter will deal with diatopical variation; the Occitan variety of La Cauna will be confronted to the different dialects of that language –leading to the elaboration of dialectal maps and intonational isoglosses within Occitan–, to southern French and to other Romance varieties.

6. PLANNING

1) **Data recordings:** From summer 2009 to spring 2010

2) **Phrasing system:**

- Analysis of the fable summaries: Summer 2010
 - Labeling of the data
 - Extraction of the results
 - Determination of the relevant prosodic grouping units and description of their characteristics
- Writing of the chapter on the phrasing system of Occitan variety spoken in La Cauna: Summer 2010

Inventory of the relevant units of the prosodic hierarchy involved in the phrasing system and description of their characteristics

3) **Accentual system:**

Writing of the chapter on the accentuation system of Occitan variety spoken in La Cauna: Summer 2011

- Inventory of accent types
- Establishment of the rules that determine their position
- Description of the acoustic correlates for each accent type

4) **Intonational system:**

- Chopping of the sound files: Summer 2010
 - Analysis of the intonation survey, sentence types by sentence type:
 - Labeling of the data
 - Extraction of the results
 - Determination of the intonational phonological units (pitch accents and boundary tones) involved in the expression of each pragmatic meaning
 - Writing of the subsection
 - a. Vocatives (2 types): Spring-summer 2010
 - b. Neutral declarative sentences (4 types): Autumn 2010
 - c. Biased declarative sentences (6 types): Winter 2010-11
 - d. Neutral yes-no questions (6 types): Spring 2011
 - e. Biased yes-no questions (9 types): Spring-summer 2011
 - f. Neutral wh-questions (5 types): Autumn 2011
 - g. Biased wh-questions (6 types): Winter 2011-12
 - h. Echo question (6 types): Spring 2012
 - i. Requests and orders (3 types): Spring-summer 2012
 - Analysis of the Map Tasks: Summer 2012
 - Labeling of the data
 - Extraction of the results
 - Comparison with the results of the intonation survey and the fable summaries
 - Writing of the chapter on the intonational system of the Occitan variety spoken in La Cauna: Autumn 2012
- Inventory and description of the realization of each type of:
- Pitch accents
 - Boundary tones
 - Contours associated to each pragmatic meaning

5) **Diatopical variation:**

The analysis of the dialectal data of the AIO will be done at the same time as the data from La Cauna.

Writing of the chapter on diatopical variation: Autumn 2012

- Dialectal variation
- Interferences with the contact variety of French
- Situation of Occitan within the Romance space

6) **Final revision:** Autumn-winter 2012

CHRONOGRAM

YEAR	MONTH	LABELING	ANALYSIS AND WRITING	
2010	June	Vocatives (2 types)	Intonational phonology: Vocatives	
	July	Fable summaries		
	August		Phrasing	
	September			Chop sound files
	October	Neutral statements (4 types)		
	November			
	December	Biased statements (6 types)		
January				
2011	February			Intonational phonology: Declaratives
	March	Neutral yes-no questions (6 types)		
	April			
	May	Biased yes-no questions (9 types)		
	June			
	July			
	August		Intonational phonology: Yes-no questions	
	September		Accentuation	
	October	Neutral wh-questions (5 types)		
	November			
	December	Biased wh-questions (6 types)		
January				
2012	February		Intonational phonology: Wh-questions	
	March	Echo questions (6 types)		
	April			
	May		Intonational phonology: Echo questions	
	June	Imperatives (3 types)		
	July		Intonational phonology: Imperatives	
	August	Map Tasks		
	September			
	October		Intonational phonology: Pitch accents, boundary tones (Writing of the results) Contours and pragmatic meanings (revision and conjunction)	
	November		Diatopical variation: Dialectal variation Comparison with southern French Situation of Occitan within Romance	
	December		Global revision Introduction and conclusion	

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WEB RESOURCES:

Online prosodic atlases:

AMPER Project (Atlas Multimédia Prosodique de l'Espace Roman). Webpage:
<http://w3.u-grenoble3.fr/dialecto/AMPER/amper.htm>

PRIETO, P. & CABRÉ, T. (coords.) (2007-2010). *Atles interactiu de l'entonació del català*. Webpage: **<http://prosodia.upf.edu/atlesentonacio/>**

PRIETO, P. & SICHEL-BAZIN, R. (coords.) (2007-2010). *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan*. Webpage: **<http://prosodia.upf.edu/atlasintonacion/>**

ToBI systems:

AGUILAR, L.; DE-LA-MOTA, C & PRIETO P. (coords.) (2009). *Cat_ToBI Training Materials*. Webpage: **http://prosodia.upf.edu/cat_tobi/en/**

AGUILAR, L.; DE-LA-MOTA, C & PRIETO P. (coords.) (2009). *Sp_ToBI Training Materials*. Webpage: **http://prosodia.upf.edu/sp_tobi/en/**

English ToBI. Webpage: **http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~tobi/ame_tobi/**

P_ToBI (Portuguese ToBI). Webpage: **<http://www.fl.ul.pt/dlgr/SonseMelodias/P-ToBI/P-ToBI.htm>**

ToBI (Tone and Break Indices). Webpage: **<http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~tobi/>**

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1. HUALDE, J.I. (2003b). "Remarks on the diachronic reconstruction of intonational patterns in Romance with special attention to Occitan as a bridge language". *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 2: 181-205.

This is a study that points out the importance of studying Occitan in order to better understand Romance as a whole, and to give a better account of the different prosodic status of French within the group of the Romance languages. This is the first article on Occitan prosody within the AM framework. Hualde identifies secondary accents in Occitan that he relates with the French initial rises, and analyzes them following Post's (2000) and Jun & Fougeron's (2002) model for French.

(Main results developed in section 2.2. State of the question)

2. JUN, S.-A. & FOUGERON, C. (2002). "Realizations of Accentual Phrase in French Intonation". *Probus* 14: 147-172.

This article gives an account of French intonation within the AM framework. According to the authors, the underlying intonational pattern of the accentual phrase (AP) is LHiLH*, constituted of two rises, one initial (LHi) and one final (LH*). All the tones of this pattern may not be present in the surface realization. APs, which may contain more than one lexical word, assemble into IPs whose right edge is marked by a boundary tone. Since Occitan displays initial accents that seem to be similar to the French ones, an adaptation of this model will be of a great utility to analyze the Occitan data.

3. POST, B. (2000). *Tonal and phrasal structures in French intonation*. Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, PhD Dissertation. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.

This PhD thesis gives an overall account of French prosody within the AM framework. It provides a phonological model that explains the prosodic organization of the French IP. IPs are marked by initial (%L or %H) and final (L%, 0% or H%) boundary tones and contain at least one pitch accent. Nuclear pitch accents may be H* or H+H* and prenuclear are H*. A low tone may be inserted between pitch accents and prevents the following H target from being downstepped. According to the author, phonological phrases are defined syntactically and are the domain for clash resolution, a process that she considers to be responsible for the appearance of initial accents and for which she gives in an Optimality Theory account. It will be interesting to confront this model to the Occitan to data.

4. PRIETO, P. (in press). "The Intonational Phonology of Catalan". *Prosodic Typology 2. The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*. Jun, S.-A. (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This chapter presents an analysis of the prosodic system of Catalan within the Autosegmental-Metrical (AM) framework, referring to the Cat_ToBI system for the prosodic annotation of Catalan. After describing how stress, rhythm and phrasing are organized in Catalan, it gives an inventory of the contrastive categories of its intonational phonology, namely pitch accents and boundary tones, explaining their phonetic realizations and distributional properties. It then explains how intonation is used in Catalan to convey meaning by associating nuclear configurations to determinate pragmatic meanings. Since Catalan is a Romance language very similar to Occitan, this chapter will be very useful to make comparisons between the two languages and the Cat_ToBI system will be used as a reference for the elaboration of the Oc_ToBI.

5. SICHEL-BAZIN, R. (2009). Leading tone alignment in Occitan disapproval statements. Unpublished master thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

In this master thesis I analyzed the alignment properties of a special type of pitch accent in Occitan, namely LH+L*, which is characterized by the presence of two leading tone targets that align with the edges of the preaccentual syllable. The first L target was found not to be realized in the presence of an initial accent on the previous syllable. These results were explained within Grice's (1995) model for tonal structure of pitch accents. This is the first description of a pitch accent type in Occitan. However, the results might have to be reinterpreted in the light of new findings. Word-initial syllables are the anchor for secondary accents and may thus be specified for tone. If we consider that not only H tones but also L tones can be associated with word-initial syllables, the L target that was taken for the first leading tone target of the LH+L* pitch accent could be considered as a L tone associated with the word left edge. The target words used in the data analyzed for this master thesis did not contain enough syllables to investigate whether this L target was consistently aligned with the left edge of the preaccentual syllable or with the word-initial syllable. If the latter were the case, this would enable not to need a tritonal pitch accent in order to account for this phenomenon.

APPENDIX 1: INTONATION SURVEY

A. OCCITAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Instruccions:

Vos anam presentar qualques situacions. Vos caldrà imaginar cossí fariatz se i vos trobèssetz. Ensajatz de respondre per de frases las mai cortas possible.

1. INTONACION DECLARATIVA

1.1 De tipe neutre

Frasas d'una unitat tonala

- **1a1.** Vos an demandat çò que vos agrada mai: los iranges o las mandarinas. Vos respondètz que son las mandarinas.

Las mandarinas.

- **1a3.** Agachatz la fòto e digatz çò que fa la Maria.

La Maria manja una banana.

Enumeracion

- **1b1.** Digatz los jorns de la setmana.

Diluns, dimars, dimècres, dijòus, divendres, dissabte e dimenge.

Element periferic

- **1c1.** Imaginatz-vos qu'avètz viscut fòrça annadas as Albi. En vacanças a l'estrangièr fasètz la coneissença de qualqu'un que vos ditz que ven d'Albi; aquò vos suspren e sètz plan content/-a. Digatz-li que vos tanben i avètz viscut longtemps, aval.

Ieu tanben i ai viscut longtemps, as Albi.

1.2. De tipe non neutre

Focalizacion contrastiva

- **1d1.** Dintratz dins una botiga ont la femna es un pauc sorda. Vos a pas plan ausit, e, quand li avètz demandat un quilo d'iranges, vos demanda s'es de mandarinas que volètz. Digatz-li que non, que çò que volètz, es d'iranges.

Non! Vòli D'IRANGES.

Emfasi

- **1d2.** Dintratz dins una pastissariá e sentètz una olor fòrça bona. Digatz-o a la vendeira.

Ò que sent bon aici!

Declarativa categorica

- **1d3.** Amb una amiga sètz a parlar d'autres amics que vòlon crompar un ostal. Vòstra amiga vos ditz que viuràn a Marselha, tota segura, mas vos, sabètz que viuràn a Nimes. Digatz-li, convençut/-da, que non, que viuràn a Nimes.

Non pas! viuràn a Nimes!

Declarativa dubitativa

- **1d4.** Un amic vos encarga de crompar un present per qualqu'un que coneissètz pas gaire e avètz paur de mal lo causir. Digatz-li que çò que li cromparetz, benlèu li agradarà pas.

Benlèu aquò li agradarà pas...

Declarativa d'evidéncia

- **1d5.** Sètz amb una amiga e li explicatz que la Maria, una amiga comuna, espèra un enfant. Ela vos demanda de qui es lo dròlle. Vos sètz espantat/-da qu'o sapcha pas pr'amor que tot lo monde sap qu'es del Jòrdi, son òme. Qué li respondètz, a vòstra amiga?

E ben, del Jòrdi!

Exclamativa

- **1d6.** Vos convidan a manjar un caçolet e es lo melhor qu'avètz jamai manjat, e sètz esbalausit. Qué disètz?

Qué bon qu'es, aqueste caçolet!

2. INTONACION INTERROGATIVA (interrogativas absolutas)

2.1. De tipe neutre

Frasas d'una unitat tonala

- **2a1.** Dintratz dins una botiga ont èretz pas jamai dintrat/-da e demandatz s'an de mandarinas.

Bonjorn! Avètz de mandarinas?

- **2a2.** Deviatz portar vòstre filh/felen al fotbòl, mas sètz fòrça preissat/-da. Demandatz a un amic se i lo poiriá menar.

I lo menariás?

Frasa de mai d'una unitat tonala

- **2a4.** Avètz telefonat en çò d'una amiga que se sona Magdalena mas son òme vos a dich que i èra pas. Pus tard, la tornatz apelar. Es son òme que vos respond tornarmai. Demandatz-li s'es tornada.

Es tornada, la Magdalena?

Disjoncion

- **2b1.** Volètz crompar una camiseta e sabèt看 pas se val mai la roja o la verda. Demandatz a la persona que vos acompanha quina vos va melhor, la roja o la verda.

Quina me va melhor, la roja o la verda?

Enumeracion

- **2b3.** Un amic a besonh de vos per far quicòm. Vos i podètz anar diluns, dimars, dijòus o divendres. Demandatz-li quora vòl que i anetz, diluns, dimars, dijòus o divendres.

Quora vòls que venga? diluns, dimars, dijòus o divendres?

Element periferic

- **2c1.** Sèt看 a sopar amb d'amics. Servissèt看 un bocin de carn a un amiga que se sona Alina. Vos ditz que ne vòl pas. Demandatz-li susprés/-esa se ne manja pas, de carn.

Ne manjas pas, de carn?

2.2. De tipe non neutre

Focalizacion e emfasi

- **2d1.** Parlàvètz de la Maria amb qualqu'un e ausissèt看 una persona qu'arriba. Demandatz s'es la Maria, aquela qu'arriba.

Es la Maria, aquela qu'arriba?

Exclamativas

- **2d2.** I a de mond a dinnar en çò vòstre. Aprèp lo dessèrt, vos en anatz far una comission, mas eles demòran per prene lo cafè. Quand tornatz al cap de tres oras, son pas encara partits. Qué lor diriatz per mostrar que sèt看 estonat/-da de los veire encara aquí?

Sèt看 encara aici, vosautres?!

- **2d4.** Venètz de dinnar amb un amic e sèt看 plan confles d'aver tant manjat. Vesètz que s'arrèsta davant una pastissariá. Demandatz-li (tot/-a estonat/-da perque venètz de dinnar) s'a encara talent.

As talent?!

Questions confirmatòrias

- **2d6.** Lo Joan a dich que vendrà dinnar. Demandatz-li per o confirmar.

Vendràs dinnar(, non)?

- **2d10.** Son tres oras e mièja e sabètz plan qu'es ja tard per dinnar. Vesètz que la Joana arriba tota preissada del trabalh e se'n va cap a la cosina. Deu pas encara aver manjat, la paura. Demandatz-li s'a talent.

As talent?

Question imperativa

- **2e1.** Vòstres nebots cridan fòrça en jogant e podètz pas quitament ausir la television. Demandatz-lor despacientat/-da se se pòdon pas calar.

Vos podètz pas calar, un pauc?!

Proposicions

- **2e4.** Sèt看 amb un amic a charrar. Demandatz-li se vòl venir beure un còp amb vos.

Venes beure un còp?

- **2e5.** Avètz vòstres pichons nebots a l'ostal. Prepausatz-lor se vòlon una limonada.

Volètz una limonada?

Question retorica

- **2e9.** Volètz èsser tranquil/-la, mas sèt看 al mièg d'un tarrabastal impressionant. Demandatz-vos a vos meteis/-sa se i aurà jamai un pauc de tranquillitat, dins aquel ostal.

I aurà jamai un pauc de tranquillitat, dins aqueste ostal?

3. INTONACION INTERROGATIVA (interrogativas parciais)

3.1. De tipe neutre

Frasas d'una unitat tonala

- **3a2.** Faretz un viatge en Itàlia e volètz portar un sovenir a una persona que coneissètz pas gaire mas que vos interessa de marcar plan amb ela. Ne parlatz amb un amic e volètz que vos conselhe: demandatz-li çò que li portariá.

Qué li portariás?

- **3a3.** Imaginatz-vos que dins la cambra i aviá un armari que fasiá longtemps que la pòrta tampava pas pus. Dintratz dins la cambra e vesètz que la pòrta es plan tampada. Demandatz a vòstra femna/vòstre òme qual l'a adobada.

Qual l'a adobada?

Frasa de mai d'una unitat tonala

- **3a6.** Un òme es vengut en çò vòstre e vos a dich que veniá far una revision de l'installacion de gas, mas l'avètz pas daissat dintrar perque vos en fisàvètz pas. L'òme vos a dich que tornarà deman. Demandatz a un amic çò que fariá a vòstra plaça, s'aquel òme tornèsse.

Qué fariás, a ma plaça, se tornèsse?

Enumeracion

- **3b1.** Vòstra pichona filha de 16 ans ditz qu'aqueste ser vòl sortir per far la fèsta. Es pichona e la cal susvelhar... Demandatz-li ont va, cossí i va e quora tornarà.

Ont vas, cossí i vas e quora tornaràs?

Element periferic

- **3c1.** Trobatz un paquet sus la taula en çò vòstre. Demandatz a vòstre filh Pèire qual es que l'a portat, aquel paquet.

Pèire, qual es que l'a portat, aquel paquet?

3.2. De tipe non neutre

Exclamativa

- **3d1.** Un amic vos conta que lo Joan, una coneissença que deviá fòrça argent a la banca, a fach encara un autre emprunt. Demandatz (susprés/-esa perque sabiatz ja que ne deviá fòrça) quant deu d'argent ara.

E quant deu d'argent, ara?!

Question dubitativa

- **3d2.** A doas oras del matin truan a la pòrta e sèt看 al lièch. Vos desrevelhan. Demandatz-vos qual pòt èsser a aquela ora.

Qual pòt èsser a aquela ora?

Question imperativa

- **3e1.** Demandatz a vòstre fraire que vos faga una comission e sèt看 pas gaire segur/-a que la farà, perque li avèt看 ja demandat fòrça còps e vos a pas jamai ajudat. Demandatz-li, un pauc enervat/-da, quora o vos farà.

Quora o me faràs?!

Question exortativa

- **3e2.** Avèt看 fòrça enveja que d'amics vengan sopar en çò vòstre. Demandatz-lor gaireben en los suplicant (perque vos an dich que pòdon pas venir) perqué venon pas.

Perqué venèt看 pas?

Question imperativa

- **3e3.** Qualqu'un vos tira per la camisa dos o tres còps e quand vos viratz, vesèt看 qu'es una coneissença fòrça charraire e plan pesuc que vos enquina totjorn e quand vos trapa vos daissa pas pus. Demandatz-li çò que vòl.

Qué vòls?!

Question retorica

- **3e4.** Aviatz dich al monde que trabalhan amb vos que faguèsson quicòm, e en arribar descobrissèt看 que o an pas fach perque vos esperavan. Demandatz-vos a vos meteis/-sa çò que farián sens vos.

Qué farián, sens ieu?

4. INTONACION INTERROGATIVA (interrogativas reïterativas)

4.1. De tipe neutre

Question reïterativa absoluta

- **4a2.** Vos an balhat l'ora, mas avèt看 pas plan comprés. Cresèt看 que vos an dich qu'èra una ora, mas ne sèt看 pas segur/-a. Tornatz-li demandar s'es una ora.

Es una ora?

Question reïterativa parciala

- **4b1.** Sètz a explicar a un amic una istòria que vos es arribada pendent qu'anàvètz en veitura. Vòstre amic vos a demandat ont anàvètz, mas sètz pas segur/-a d'aver plan comprés la question. Tornatz-li demandar se vos a plan demandat ont anàvètz.

Ont anavi?

Disjoncion

- **4c1.** Après, vos a demandat per ont sètz passat/-da, mas avètz pas plan comprés se vos a demandat per ont sètz passat/-da o ben çò que s'es passat. Demandatz-li se vos a demandat l'una o l'autra causa, çò es, se vos a demandat per ont sètz passat/-da o çò que s'es passat.

Per ont soi passat o qué s'es passat?

Element periferic

- **4c2.** Vòstre fraire vos ditz qu'una amiga de la familha, la Magdalena, vòl venir far a las cartas (e vos sabètz qu'a ela li agrada pas tròp, far a las cartas). Vos, aquò vos estona e volètz verificar que vos parla plan de la Magdalena que cresètz, aquela qu'a una veitura roja. Demandatz-li s'es plan la Magdalena, la de la veitura roja.

La Magdalena, la de la veitura roja?

4.2. De tipe non neutre

Focalizacion e emfasi

- **4d1.** Vos dison qu'un amic, lo Jòrdi, se presenta a las eleccions municipalas. Aquò vos estona fòrça de sa part e o tornatz demandar.

Lo JÒRDI, se presenta a las municipalas?

Question reïterativa exclamativa

- **4d2.** Vòstra vesina vos conta qu'es anada al restaurant e qu'a comandat de conilh a la mostarda. Afirmar tota convençuda que çò que li an donat èra pas de conilh, èra de cat. Plan solide, la cresètz pas. Per li mostrar que sètz fòrça estonat/-da, tornatz-li demandar çò qu'a dich que li an donat.

Qué dises que t'an donat?

5. INTONACION IMPERATIVA

Òrdres

- **5a1.** Imaginatz-vos que trabalhatz a la recepcion dins una ostalariá e dintra un coble que vòl una cambra. Per poder far la reservacion, cal que garniscan un formulari. Damandatz-lor d'o far.

Garnissètz aquel formulari.

- **5a3.** Sètz dins un jardin public amb vòstra neboda. Corre e sortís del jardin. Vos sètz inquiet/-a perque sus l'avenguda que i a a costat del jardin i a fòrça circulacion. Cridatz-li que venga.

Vèni aici!

Pregària

- **5b2.** Volètz anar al cinemà amb un amic. Vos ditz qu'a de trabalh, mas vos sabètz que fa pas res se lo daissa per pus tard. Digatz-li que venga, per ensajar de lo convèncer.

Ane, vèni!

6. VOCATIUS

- **6a1.** Dintratz en çò d'una amiga, la Magdalena, mas quand avètz acabat d'intrar, la vesètz pas. Pensatz que deu èsser dins lo membre d'a costat. Sonatz-la.

Magdalena!

- **6a2.** Al cap de dètz segondas, degun es pas sortit. Pensatz qu'es benlèu ennaut. Tornatz-la sonar amb insisténcia.

Magdalena!!

B. ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Instructions:

We are going to present you some situations. You will have to imagine how you would react if you were in such a situation. Please try to answer with as short as possible sentences.

1. STATEMENTS

1.1 Neutral

One prosodic group

- **1a1.** You have been asked whether you prefer oranges or tangerines, and you prefer tangerines. Say what you prefer.

Tangerines.

- **1a3.** Look at the picture and say what Maria is doing.

Maria is eating a banana.

Enumeration

- **1b1.** List the days of the week.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

Right peripheral element

- **1c1.** Imagine that you have been living for years in Albi. On holidays in another country you meet someone who tells you he comes from Albi. You are surprised and happy. Tell him that you lived there for a long time, too.

I have been living in Albi for a long time, too.

1.2. Biased

Contrastive focus

- **1d1.** You are in a store where the shopkeeper is a little bit deaf. You have asked her for a kilo of oranges, but she starts to give you tangerines instead. Tell her that what you want is oranges.

No! I want ORANGES.

Emphatic statement

- **1d2.** You enter a bakery and it smells really good. Tell the baker.

It smells really good!

Categorical statement

- **1d3.** You are talking with a friend about two mutual friends of yours who want to buy a new house. You are disagreeing about the location of the house they plan to buy: you are sure that they are going to live in Nimes, but your friend is convinced that they are moving to Marselha (Marseille) instead. Tell your friend with conviction that they are not, that they are going to live in Nimes.

No! They are moving to Nimes!

Hesitation statement

- **1d4.** A friend of yours wants you to buy a present for someone whom you do not know very well, and you are afraid you might not be able to choose an appropriate gift. Tell your friend that that person may not like what you are going to buy him/her.

Maybe s/he won't like it...

Obvious statement

- **1d5.** You are talking with a friend of yours and you have just explained that Maria, a mutual friend, is pregnant. Your friend asks you who the father is. You are astonished that she would ask you, since everybody knows that the father is Jòrdi, Maria's husband. How do you reply to your friend's question?

Jòrdi, of course!

Exclamation

- **1d6.** A friend is serving you a home-made *caçolet* (a typical Occitan dish) and this is the best *caçolet* you have ever eaten. You are amazed. What would you say in such a situation?

What a good caçolet!

2. YES-NO QUESTIONS

2.1. Neutral

One prosodic group

- **2a1.** You enter a store that you have never been in before and ask whether they have any tangerines.

Do you have tangerines?

- **2a2.** You were supposed to drive your (grand)son to a football practice, but you are in hurry. Ask your friend if s/he would mind driving him there.

Would you mind driving him there?

Two prosodic groups

- **2a4.** You call a friend named Magdalena at her home but her husband answers and tells you that she is not there. Later, you call again, but it is again her husband who answers. Ask him if she is back.

Is Magdalena back?

Disjunctive yes-no question

- **2b1.** You are in a clothing shop because you want to buy a shirt, but you can't decide between a red one and a green one that you see. Ask the person who has come with you which one suits you better, the red one or the green one.

Which one suits me better, the red one or the green one?

Enumeration

- **2b3.** A friend of yours needs you to help him with some work. You can go and help him on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday or Friday. Ask him when he wants you to come: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday or Friday.

When do you want me to come: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday or Friday?

Peripheral element

- **2c1.** You are having dinner with some friends. You are serving, and when you are about to give a piece of meat to one of your friends whose name is Magdalena, she tells you that she does not want it. In surprise, ask her if she does not eat meat.

Don't you eat meat?

2.2. Biased

Yes-no question with narrow focus and emphasis

- **2d1.** You were talking about Maria_with someone and you hear somebody approaching. Ask your interlocutor if the person who is coming is Maria.

Is it Maria who is coming?

Exclamation yes-no questions

- **2d2.** Some people are having lunch at your home. After the dessert, you have to go away for a while, but they stay there having coffee. When you come back three hours later, they are still there. What would you say to tell them that you are astonished to see that they are still there?

You're still here?!

- **2d4.** You have just had lunch with a friend of yours, and both of you are quite full. Suddenly your friend stops in front of a bakery. Incredulously (since you've just had a big lunch) ask him if he is still hungry.

You're hungry?!

Confirmatory yes-no questions

- **2d6.** Joan has said that he will be back for lunch. Ask him for confirmation.

You'll be back for lunch, won't you?

- **2d10.** It is half past three in the afternoon and you know that it is very late for lunch. Joana has just arrived home in a rush and goes right into the kitchen. She has obviously not yet eaten lunch. Ask her if she is hungry.

You're hungry, aren't you?

Imperative yes-no question

- **2e1.** Your nephews are shouting a lot while they play and you cannot watch TV in peace. Your patience snaps and you angrily ask them if they would mind shutting up.

Will you shut up?!

Offering yes-no questions

- **2e4.** You are talking with a friend. Ask him/her if s/he wants to go have a drink with you.

Do you want to have a drink?

- **2e5.** Your nephews are at your home. Offer them some lemonade.

Do you want some lemonade?

Rhetorical question

- **2e9.** You would love some peace and quiet, but there is a lot of noise and activity going on around you. Ask yourself whether one day there might be a bit of peace and quiet in this house.

Will there be one day a bit of peace and quiet in this house?

3. WH-QUESTIONS

3.1. Neutral

One prosodic group

- **3a2.** You are about to travel to Italy and you want to bring back a souvenir for someone who you do not know very well but with whom you want to be on good terms. You seek advice from a friend: ask him/her what s/he would buy for that person.

What would you buy?

- **3a3.** Imagine that the door of the cupboard of your bedroom was broken a long time ago and has not shut well ever since. When you enter the room, you see that the cupboard is now closed properly. Ask your wife/husband who has repaired it.

Who has repaired it?

Several prosodic groups

- **3a6.** A man has rung your bell and told you that he wanted to carry out an inspection of your gas equipment, but you refuse to let him in because you don't trust him. The man tells you that he will come back tomorrow. Ask a friend of yours what s/he would do, if s/he were in your place, when this man comes back.

What would you do, in my place, when he comes back?

Enumeration

- **3b1.** Your 16 year-old daughter tells out she wants to go out tonight for a party. You think she is a bit young for that kind of thing and want to know exactly what she intends. Ask her where she is going, how she is going to get there and when she is going to come back.

Where are you going, how are you going to get there and when are you going to come back?

Peripheral element

- **3c1.** You find a package on the table. Ask your son who brought this package.

Who brought this package?

3.2. Biased

Exclamation

- **3d1.** A friend of yours explains that Joan, a mutual acquaintance who owes the bank a lot of money, has just asked for yet one more loan. You are surprised because you know that he already owes a lot of money. Ask your friend how much money he owes now altogether.

How much money does he owe now altogether?!

Dubitative question

- **3d2.** At two o'clock in the morning, you are asleep in your bed, and you hear someone knocking at the door. Ask yourself who the hell it could be at that early hour.

Who the hell could it be at that early hour?

Imperative question

- **3e1.** You want your brother to do something for you. You are not very sure that he will do it, because you have asked him for it repeatedly and he has still not done it. Ask him when he finally intends to do it.

When do you finally intend to do it?!

Exhort

- **3e2.** You would love for some friends of yours to come over for dinner. Though they have already told you that they can't come, pleadingly ask them why they are not coming.

Why aren't you coming?

Imperative question

- **3e3.** Someone tugs on your shirt repeatedly and when you turn around to see who did it, you see that it was an acquaintance who is a chatterbox and a bore. With annoyance, ask him what he wants.

What do you want?!

Rhetorical question

- **3e4.** You have instructed your workmates to do something while you were out, and when you come back, you see that they still haven't got around it because they were waiting for you. Ask yourself what they would do without you.

What would they do without me?

4. ECHO QUESTIONS

4.1. Neutral

Echo yes-no question

- **4a2.** You have asked someone for the time, but don't quite understand his answer. You think he said that it was one o'clock, but you are not sure. Ask him again if it is one o'clock.

It's one o'clock?

Echo wh-question

- **4b1.** You have been describing to a friend of yours something that happened to you while you were driving your car. Your friend asks you where you were going at that moment, but you are not sure you have understood him very well. Ask him if he asked you where you were going.

Where I was going?

Echo wh-question with disjunction

- **4c1.** You have been describing to a friend of yours something that happened to you while you were driving your car. Your friend asks you a question. You think he asked you what route you were taking (“per ont sías passat/-da?”), but you are not sure if he asked that, or instead asked what happened (“qué s'es passat?”). Ask him to clarify whether he has asked you what route you were taking or what happened.

What route I was taking or what happened?

Echo yes-no question with peripheral element

- **4c2.** Your brother tells you that a friend of the family's, Magdalena, wants to come over and play cards. You want to make sure that he is referring the person called Magdalena you are thinking of, that one who has got a red car. Ask your brother if he means that Magdalena, the one with the red car.

Magdalena, the one with the red car?

4.2. Biased

Echo yes-no question with narrow focus and emphasis

- **4d1.** Someone tells you that a friend of yours, called Jòrdi, wants to run in the municipal elections. You cannot believe Jòrdi would run in an election. Incredulously, ask for confirmation.

JÒRDI is running in the municipal elections?

Exclamation echo wh-question

- **4d2.** Your neighbor claims when she went to a restaurant and ordered rabbit, the restaurant served her cat instead of rabbit. This seems incredible to you, so you ask her to repeat what she thinks they served her.

What did they serve you?

5. REQUESTS AND ORDERS

Orders

- **5a1.** Imagine that you work at the reception desk in a hotel and a couple comes in and asks for a room. In order to book the room, they have to fill in a form. Ask them to do this.

Please fill in the form.

- **5a3.** Your niece is running ahead of you and is about to reach the big road next to your house, where there is heavy traffic. Call to her urgently and tell her to come to you.

Come here!

Request

- **5b2.** You want to go to the cinema with a friend of yours. S/He has told you that s/he has got a lot of work, but you know that there is no problem if s/he leaves it for later. Cajole her/him, urging her/him again to accompany you.

Come on!

6. VOCATIVES

- **6a1.** You have knocked at the door of Magdalena's house but nobody has answered. Since the door is open, you go inside, but she is not immediately visible in the entrance hall. You think that she might be in the next room. Call out her name.

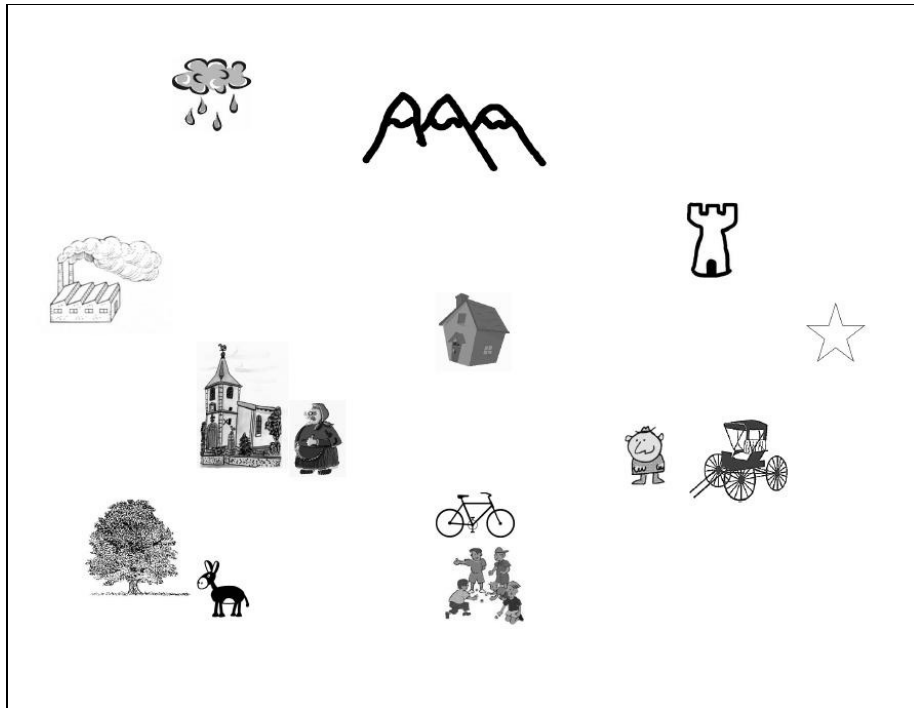
Magdalena!

- **6a2.** It's ten seconds later, and still nobody has appeared. Now you decide that she might be upstairs. Call out her name again, with insistence.

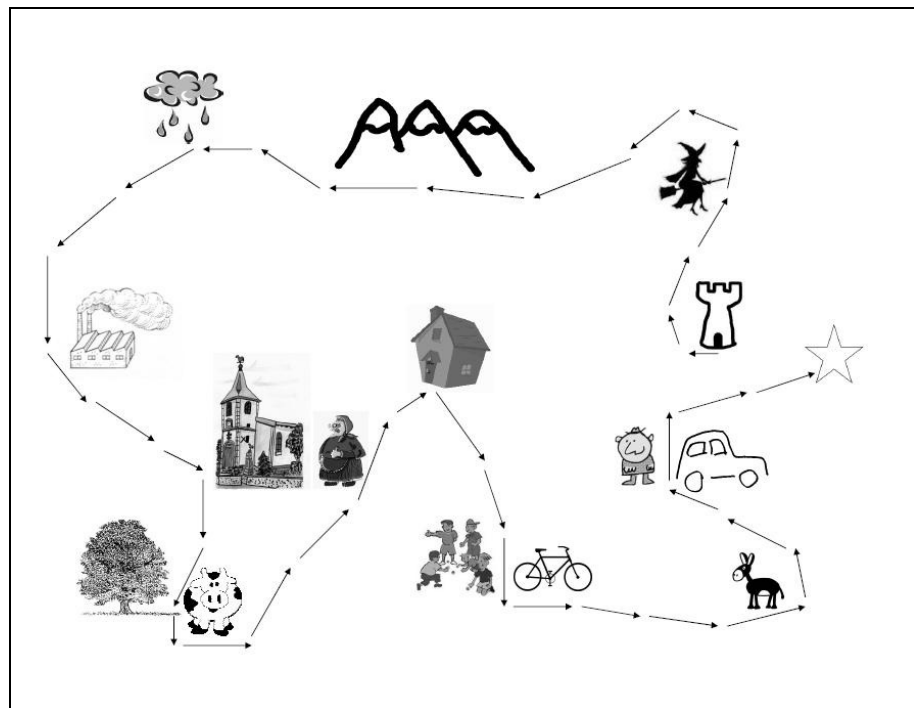
Magdalena!!

APPENDIX 2: MAP TASK

A. INFORMATION FOLLOWER'S MAP



B. INFORMATION GIVER'S MAP



APPENDIX 3:

AESOP FABLE “THE NORTH WIND AND THE SUN”

English version:

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveler came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveler take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveler fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shined out warmly, and immediately the traveler took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.