DGfS 2010 Berlin • AG 12 • Prosodic Typology

**Accentuation and phrasing in Romance**

Rafèu Sichel-Bazin, Carolin Buthke, Trudel Meisenburg

DFG-Projekt

Intonation im Sprachkontakt: Okzitanisch und Französisch

Universität Osnabrück, Universitat Pompeu Fabra Barcelona
STRUCTURE

1. Project and data
2. Theoretical background
3. General basic contour: LHiLH*
   3.1 Initial accents
   3.2 Pitch accents
4. Boundaries
   4.1 Continuation contours and hesitations
      4.1.1 Continuation rise and sustained pitch
      4.1.2 Continuation fall
   4.2 Utterance-final contours
      4.2.1 Upstepped last prenuclear rise
      4.2.2 Delayed peak
5. Conclusion
1. PROJECT AND DATA

- Project “Intonation in contact: Occitan and French”
1. PROJECT AND DATA

- **Project** “Intonation in contact: Occitan and French”
  Occitan and French prosody, accentuation and phrasing:
  - French: phrase final accent
  - Occitan: word accent on the penultimate or ultimate
  Southern (S-) French: in close contact to Occitan
  Northern (N-) French: close to standard French

- **Data**
  

  Neutral yes/no question:
  
  2a1. You enter a shop where you never went before and you ask if they have mandarins.
  
  → ‘Do you have mandarins?’

  Confirming yes/no question:
  
  2d6. John has said that he’d come for dinner. You ask him to confirm it.
  
  → ‘You will come for dinner, right?’
1. PROJECT AND DATA

• Data

*Map task* ([http://prosodia.upf.edu/atlasintonacion/](http://prosodia.upf.edu/atlasintonacion/))

*Summary of the fable “The North wind and the sun”* (IPA 1999)
1. PROJECT AND DATA

Corpus: speakers from Lacaune, Toulouse, Lille & Orléans
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

French

- Post (2000): syntactic approach, lexical accents, deletion process

- Di Cristo (2009):

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \{&%L \} & (H^* (L))_0 & \{&H^* \} \\
  \{&%H \} & H+H^* & \{&0\%
  \end{align*}
  \]

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Occitan

  Tonal movements on syllables that are not metrically strong
  → initial or secondary accents

Lo \textsuperscript{2}lende\textsuperscript{1} man

\begin{align*}
L + \text{Hi} & \quad L + H^* & \quad M\% \\
\end{align*}
(Hualde 2003a)
3. GENERAL BASIC CONTOUR

• in all 3 varieties
  \[ \text{LHiLH}\ast \]

→ basic contour in Gallo-Romance intonation

• Corresponding prosodic unit (accentual phrase, AP)
  – French:
    determined by final (and optionally initial) accent
  – Occitan:
    determined by lexical accent plus surrounding clitics
    = clitic group

• APs are organized into Intonational Phrases (IPs)
  – prenuclear AP(s) vs. nuclear AP
  – boundary tone(s)
3. GENERAL BASIC CONTOUR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>per avançar</th>
<th>se plegava,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{per} )</td>
<td>( \text{se} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha )</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{avançar} )</td>
<td>( \text{plegava,} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{per} )</td>
<td>( \text{se} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha )</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
& & & & & \\
\text{L} & \text{Hi} & \text{L} & \text{H}^* & \text{L} & \text{iH}^* & \text{H}
\end{array}
\]

‘to move forward’

he folded up’
3.1 INITIAL ACCENTS

- Tonal movements on syllables that are not metrically strong
- Traditional “accent d’insistance” to signal emphasis (Carton et al. 1976, Fónagy 1980, Astésano 2001)
- Possible features:
  - Tonal rise (to variable height)
  - Onset consonant strengthening (under emphasis)
  - Intensity peak
  - Usually no lengthening
- More frequent in cases of emphasis, but quite generalized today
- Marking of left boundaries (in support of phrasing)
  - On initial syllables of first content word
  - Also possible on clitics
3.1 INITIAL ACCENTS in Occitan

‘to move forward’

he folded up’
3.1 INITIAL ACCENTS: clash conditions

- **French**: clash usually avoided
- **Occitan**: clash situations possible (Hualde 2003a)
- **Spanish**
  - Initial rises possible in emphatic or didactic speech, clash said to be avoided
  - Hualde (2003b, to appear): clash situations are marked, but accent correlates split up between syllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYLLABLE</th>
<th>INITIAL = PRETONIC</th>
<th>TONIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PITCH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENSITY</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DURATION</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1 INITIAL ACCENTS in French: clash conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYLLABLE</th>
<th>chau-</th>
<th>-ffer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PITCH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENSITY</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DURATION</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onset consonant strengthening</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1 INITIAL ACCENTS in French: clash conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYLLABLE</th>
<th>pa- [p·a]</th>
<th>-ri [ʁi]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PITCH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENSITY</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DURATION</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onset consonant strengthening</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 PITCH ACCENTS in our 3 varieties

• Obligatory accents on metrically strong AP-final syllables:
  – Tonal movement (rising or falling)
  – Eventually intensity peak
  – Lengthening

• APs organized into IPs:
  – 1 (or more) prenuclear accent(s), 1 nuclear accent
  – nuclear accent: most prominent, normally rightmost

• D’Imperio et al. (2007), French left dislocated IPs:
  – prenuclear and nuclear pitch accents differ in alignment and scaling properties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRENUCLEAR</th>
<th>NUCLEAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALIGNMENT: start of the rise</td>
<td>EARLIER</td>
<td>LATER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCALING: tonal level of the H target</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>HIGHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCEPTION</td>
<td>HIGH LEVEL TONE</td>
<td>RISE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 PRENUCLEAR vs. NUCLEAR ACCENTS

- Rising contours: similar observations for the 3 varieties
  - Higher scaling of nuclear accents: due to H boundary tone?
  - Differences in alignment: due to different pitch accent types?
  - Differences in slope:
    - convex in prenuclear accents > H*?
    - concave in nuclear accents > LH* H%?
  - But some prenuclear accents are actually LH* (especially in S-French and Occitan)
    → more research needed
‘the story between the North wind and the sun, …’
4. BOUNDARIES:
4.1 CONTINUATION CONTOURS and HESITATIONS

• Continuation rise / sustained pitch: H%
4.1.1 CONTINUATION RISE

- S-French: on etymological schwa syllables

‘the coat of a traveling man who passes the...’
4.1.1 CONTINUATION RISE

- N-French: also on *non* etymological schwas

‘the story between the North wind and the sun, …’
4.1.1 CONTINUATION RISE

- Occitan: on different vowels

‘and then he wanted to make him lose the …’
4.1.2 CONTINUATION FALL

• Continuation fall: L%
4.1.2 CONTINUATION FALL: boundary tones

- Continuation fall: L%
- Utterance-final boundary tone: T#
- IP-final boundary tone: T%
4.1.2 CONTINUATION FALL

• N-French: also on non etymological schwas
  → continuation

‘make a competition’
4.1.2 CONTINUATION FALL

- N-French: also on non etymological schwas
  → continuation or hesitation

‘who has... won... on... the North wind.’
4.1.2 CONTINUATION FALL

- Interrupted prosodic constituents: lengthening and falling contour

‘the coat of a traveling man who passes the...’
4.1.2 CONTINUATION FALL

• Interrupted prosodic constituents: lengthening and falling contour

‘and then he wanted to make him lose the …’
4.2 BOUNDARY TONES:
UTTERANCE-FINAL CONTOURS

• Utterance-final contour: L* L#
  Pitch reaches the baseline of the speaker’s tessitura
  → L# ≠ L%

• 2 types of last prenuclear contours:
  – upstepped rise
  – delayed peak
4.2.1 UPSTEPPED LAST PRENUCLEAR RISE

- D’Imperio et al. (2007)
  Last prenuclear AP in left-dislocated IPs: slightly different pattern
  - continuation rise pattern
  - nuclear configuration: rise
  - last prenuclear AP: downstep
  → bigger contrast with IP-final rise

- Our data
  - Nuclear configuration: fall
  - Last prenuclear accent upstepped (LHi or LH*)
  → bigger contrast with IP-final fall

- Due to an increased range in the focus domain?
  Focus domain: final, 2 APs
  - last or nuclear AP: falling contour
  - prenuclear AP: upstepped rising contour
‘the one who would make him take off the jacket.

The blazer.’
4.2.1 UPSTEPPE LAST PRENUCLEAR RISE

‘and decide to find out who is the strongest’
4.2.2 DELAYED PRENUCLEAR PEAKS

• Utterance-final contour: L* L#
• Last prenuclear AP-final rises:
  – both L and H* targets may align later
  – due to sentence type? → cleft sentences
  – syntactic boundary marked intonationally?
  – AP basic contour in U-final conditions: HiL*?
4.2.2 DELAYED PRENUCLEAR PEAKS

‘it is thus the sun who is the strongest’
5. CONCLUSIONS:  
BASIC CONTOUR OF APs

• Basic contour of APs in Gallo-Romance: LHiLH*
  – Occitan AP = clitic group
  – French AP = clitic group or bigger

• Prosodic marking of the AP:
  – Left: initial phrase accent LHi
    More research needed on
    • conditions provoking it
    • alignment
    • features splitting up in clash conditions
  – Right: final pitch accent LH*
    • Occitan: lexically defined position
    • French: not lexically defined, but on last full syllable of a lexical word
5. CONCLUSIONS: FRENCH SCHWA

• Final schwa
  – S-French
    • only etymological schwas
    • schwas normally realized
  – N-French:
    • etymological schwas normally not realized
    • non etymological schwas may be inserted at the end of APs
5. FURTHER RESEARCH: role of feet?

• How are Occitan, S-French and N-French feet organized? In what may they differ?
• Do feet play a role
  – in determining the AP maximal/minimal length?
  – in the appearance of initial accents?
  – in the assignment of prominences to syllables within APs?
  – in the alignment of tonal targets?
5. FURTHER RESEARCH: intermediate phrases (ip)?

Different prosodic hierarchy in the 3 varieties?

– Occitan:  AP= clitic group  >  ip  >  IP  >  U
             LHilH*                  T-      T%      T#

– S-French: AP             >  ip  >  IP  >  U
             LHilH*                  T-      T%      T#

– N-French: AP              >  IP  >  U
             LHilH*                  T%      T#

Evidence for ips in Occitan and S-French:

– prosodic interdependence of certain APs
– presence of IP-internal boundary tones
– ...

→ Further research needed
References


Hualde, José Ignacio (2003a): Remarks on the diachronic reconstruction of intonational patterns in Romance with special attention to Occitan as a bridge language. - In: *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 2, 181-205.


