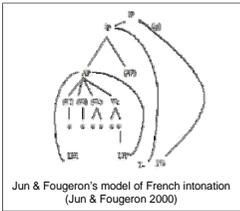


Embedded register levels and prosodic phrasing in French

INTRODUCTION

As in English, an intermediate phrase is postulated in the French prosodic hierarchy

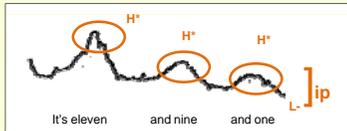


Jun & Fougeron's model of French intonation (Jun & Fougeron 2000)

In Jun & Fougeron's model, the ip is postulated to explain specific intonation patterns:



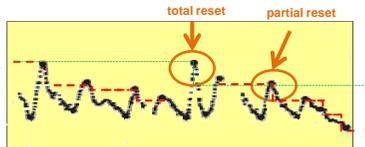
In English, the Intermediate Phrase (ip) is the domain of downstep



The ip right boundary blocks downstep: the pitch is reset after the ip boundary (Lieberman & Pierrehumbert, 1984)

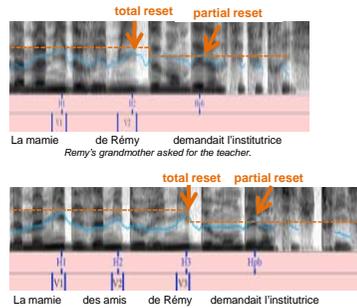
GLOBAL PHRASING CUES: TOTAL AND PARTIAL RESET

Total and partial reset in German



« Der Maurer und sein Lehrling wollen der Werner in Kamerun en Lama malen [und der Maler will im Jänner in Murnau wohnen] » (Truckenbrodt 2002)

Total and partial reset in French



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ISSUES

- Is downstep ip internal in French?
- Is downstep blocked before or after the boundary?
- Is there partial reset after the ip boundary?

HYPOTHESE

ip boundary is not restricted to specific syntactic patterns, but could be found at NP/VP break

PREDICTIONS

- Stronger boundary at ip boundary than at regular AP boundary (more preboundary lengthening)
- ip boundary blocks iterative downstep and provokes a return to the register level (set by the first peak in the phrase)
- The first postboundary peak will show partial reset

METHOD

Stimuli

2APs condition	3APs condition
[[La mamie]AP [de Rémy]]AP/ip...	[[La mamie]AP [des amis]AP [de Rémy]]AP/ip...

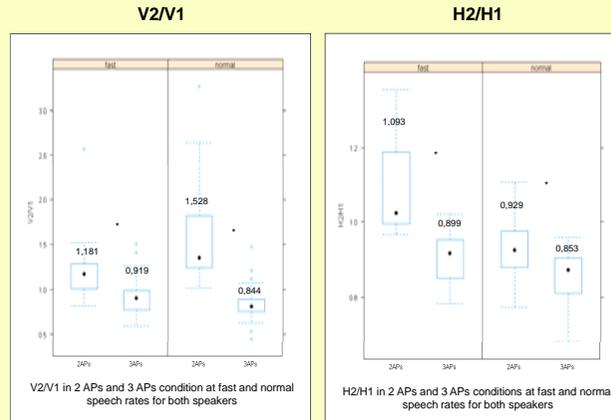
Measures

- Duration of V2 in the 2APs and 3APs condition (V2/V1 ratio)
- F0 height of H2 (H2/H1 ratio)
- F0 height of the first LH* on the following ip (Hpb/H1 ratio)

Task

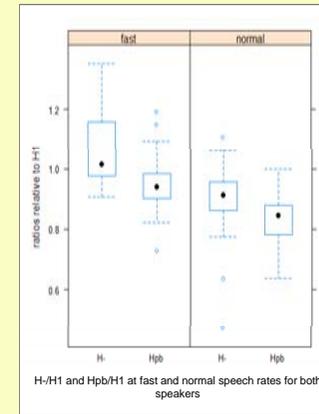
2 French native speakers read the sentence 4 times at normal and fast speech rates (128 experimental sentences)

RESULTS I



V2 is higher and longer in the 2APs condition (when V2 is ip final) independent of rate

RESULTS II



Hpb: the first peak after the ip boundary
 H-: the last peak before an ip boundary

2 APs condition



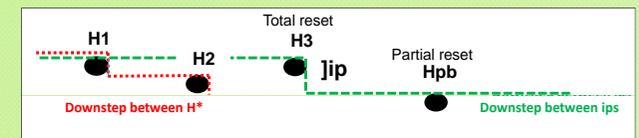
3 APs condition



Hpb is significantly lower than H- independent of rate

DISCUSSION

Two levels of downstep in French (cf. Truckenbrodt & Fery 2005 for German):



The tonal marking of the ip:

- An ip phrasal tone (H-) blocks the downstep of LH* within the ip
- As in English this tone could have spreading properties (Jun & Fougeron 2000)

Two constraints (ranked in the framework of the Optimality Theory) are responsible for the ip right boundary placement in French:

- ALIGN XP,R,ip,R:** align the right edge of a maximum syntactic projection with the right edge of an ip
- MIN-BIN:** stating that non final ip consists on minimally two APs

CONCLUSIONS

- The ip is not restricted to specific syntactic patterns
- The ip is the downstep domain of iterative H peaks
- We found total reset before and partial reset after the ip boundary

References

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- Lieberman, M. and J. Pierrehumbert (1984). "Intonational Invariance under Changes in Pitch Range and Length," in M. Aronoff and R. Oehrle, eds. *Language Sound Structure*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 157-233.
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- Truckenbrodt, H., & Fery, C. (2005). Sisterhood and Tonal Scaling. In *Boundaries in intonational phonology (Studia Linguistica 59.2/3)*, Merle Home and Marc van Oostendorp, 223-243.