

Intonational phrasing across varieties of Portuguese

Flaviane Fernandes-Svartman¹, Nádia Barros², Vinícius dos Santos¹, Joelma Castelo²

¹Universidade de São Paulo, ²Universidade de Lisboa

flavianesvartman@usp.br, nadia.barros@campus.ul.pt, vinicius.santos@usp.br, joelmacastelo@gmail.com

Recent research on intonational phrasing in Portuguese shows some variation, namely different tendencies for (SVO) and (S)(VO) phrasing, as well as differences in the syntactic and prosodic factors which affect these patterns. Within the projects *InAPoP - Interactive Atlas of the Prosody of Portuguese* (PTDC/CLE-LIN/119787/2010) and *Fraseamento prosódico em português: comparações entre as variedades brasileira e africanas* (CNPq, 459634/2014-3), in interaction with *Intonational Phrasing in Romance* and *IARI – Interactive Atlas of Romance Intonation*, this research provides a preliminary comparison across three varieties of Portuguese: European Portuguese (EP), Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and Guinea-Bissau Portuguese (GBP).

A prosodic and intonational analysis of neutral declarative sentences from *corpora* previously constructed in order to study the prosodic phrasing in romance languages (Elordieta *et al.* 2005, D’Imperio *et al.* 2005) was made within the Prosodic Phonology (Nespor & Vogel 1986, 2007, Selkirk 1984,1986) and the Autosegmental Metrical approach to Intonational Phonology (Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986, Ladd 1996, 2008, Frota 2000, 2014, *i.a.*). The nuclear contours and boundary tones were annotated in *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2015), according to P_ToBI (Frota 2014, Frota *et al.* 2015). Pause distribution was also annotated.

Recent studies on intonational phrasing across EP varieties show that in standard EP (SEP) (Frota 2000, 2014) and in Algarve (Alg) (Cruz 2013) (SVO) is the predominant phrasing pattern. In Northern European Portuguese (NEP) (Vigário & Frota 2003, Frota & Vigário 2007) and in Alentejo (Ale) (Cruz 2013) (S)(VO) is the predominant pattern. The present study was enriched with data from 5 regions: Porto, Braga, Coimbra, Castelo Branco and Évora. The results confirm previous findings: EP varieties differ in their patterns of intonational phrasing, with the most frequent pattern, (S)(VO), found for the Northern and Central-Southern varieties and (SVO) for SEP and Alg, but not in the type of boundary cues, with internal intonational breaks being usually marked by a High boundary tone, with presence or absence of pause, and the final IP showing the contour H+L* L%, the most frequent for neutral declaratives.

In BP, São Paulo (SP) and Rio Grande do Sul (RGS) display the phrasing pattern (SVO), with a falling nuclear contour, H+L* L%. The alternative phrasing (S)(VO), with IP boundaries marked by pause, shows higher frequencies in RGS, with L*+H H% being the most frequent nuclear contour.

In previous works on intonational patterns of GBP (Santos & Fernandes-Svartman 2014, Santos 2015), there is no detailed analysis of subject-verb-object phrasing tendencies. The present study shows that (SVO) is the most frequent pattern, with a falling or low nuclear contour – H+L* L% or L* L% –, both found in neutral declaratives across varieties of Portuguese. In (S)(VO) and (SV)(O), the non-final IPs show a rising contour – L*+H H% or L* LH% – mainly followed by pause. The least frequent (SV)(O) pattern is not attested in other Portuguese varieties so far.

Building on previous work, the current study contributes to the comparison and knowledge of variation in romance languages, with the major goal of mirroring prosodic variation in an intra and interlinguistic perspective.

References

- Beckman, M. & Pierrehumbert, J. 1986. Intonational Structure in Japanese and English. *Phonology Yearbook III*, 15-70.
- Boersma, P. & Weenink, D. 2015. *Praat: doing phonetics by computer* (Version 5.4.09). <http://www.praat.org/>
- Cruz, M. 2013. *Prosodic variation in European Portuguese: phrasing, intonation and rhythm in central-southern varieties* (Unpublished PhD Thesis). University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal.
- D'Imperio, M., Elordieta, G., Frota, S., Prieto, P. & Vigário, M. 2005. Intonational Phrasing in Romance: The role of prosodic and syntactic structure. In S. Frota, M. Vigário & M. J. Freitas (eds.), *Prosodies* (pp. 59-97). Phonetics & Phonology Series. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Elordieta, G., Frota, S. & Vigário, M. 2005. Subjects, objects and intonational phrasing in Spanish and Portuguese. *Studia Linguistica* 59(2-3), 110-143.
- Fernandes-Svartman, F. R. (Coord.). *Fraseamento prosódico em português: comparações entre as variedades brasileira e africanas*. (Funded by Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq), processo: 459634/2014-3).
- Frota, S. 2000. *Prosody and focus in European Portuguese. Phonological phrasing and intonation*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Frota, S. (coord). 2012-2015. *InAPoP – Interactive Atlas of the Prosody of Portuguese* (Funded by FCT, PTDC/CLE-LIN/119787/2010). Web page of the InAPoP web platform: <http://labfon.letras.ulisboa.pt/InAPoP/>.
- Frota, S. 2014. The intonational phonology of European Portuguese. In S. Jun (ed.), *Prosodic Typology II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 6-42.
- Frota, S., Cruz, M., Fernandes-Svartman, F., Collischonn, G., Fonseca, A., Serra, C., Oliveira, P. & Vigário, M. 2015. Intonational variation in Portuguese: European and Brazilian varieties. In S. Frota & P. Prieto (eds.), *Intonation in Romance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frota, S. & Vigário, M. 2007. Intonational phrasing in two varieties of European Portuguese. In T. Riad & C. Gussenhoven (eds.), *Tones and Tunes* vol. I. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 265-291.
- Ladd, R. 2008. *Intonational Phonology* (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nespor, M. & Vogel, I. 2007. *Prosodic Phonology* (2nd edition). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Santos, V. G. dos & Fernandes-Svartman, F. R. 2014. O padrão entoacional neutro do português de Guiné-Bissau. *Estudos Linguísticos* 43(1).
- Santos, V. G. dos. *Aspectos prosódicos do português de Guiné-Bissau: a entoação do contorno neutro*. 2015. MA Dissertation in Filologia e Língua Portuguesa, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.
- Selkirk, E. 1984. *Phonology and Syntax: The Relation between Sound and Structure*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Selkirk, E. 1986. On derived domains in sentence phonology. *Phonology* 3, 371-405.
- Vigário, M. & Frota, S. 2003. The intonation of Standard and Northern European Portuguese. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 2(2), 115-137.