

# FACTORS AFFECTING PROMINENCE IN OCCITAN, FRENCH AND ITALIAN

## Primary accentuation

### French

Accent position prosodically defined:  $[(\sigma_n ' \sigma(\sigma_\omega))]_{AP}$

cité – patio – larme – de petites larmes

### Occitan

Accent position lexically defined:  $[(\sigma_n ' \sigma (\sigma))_\omega]$

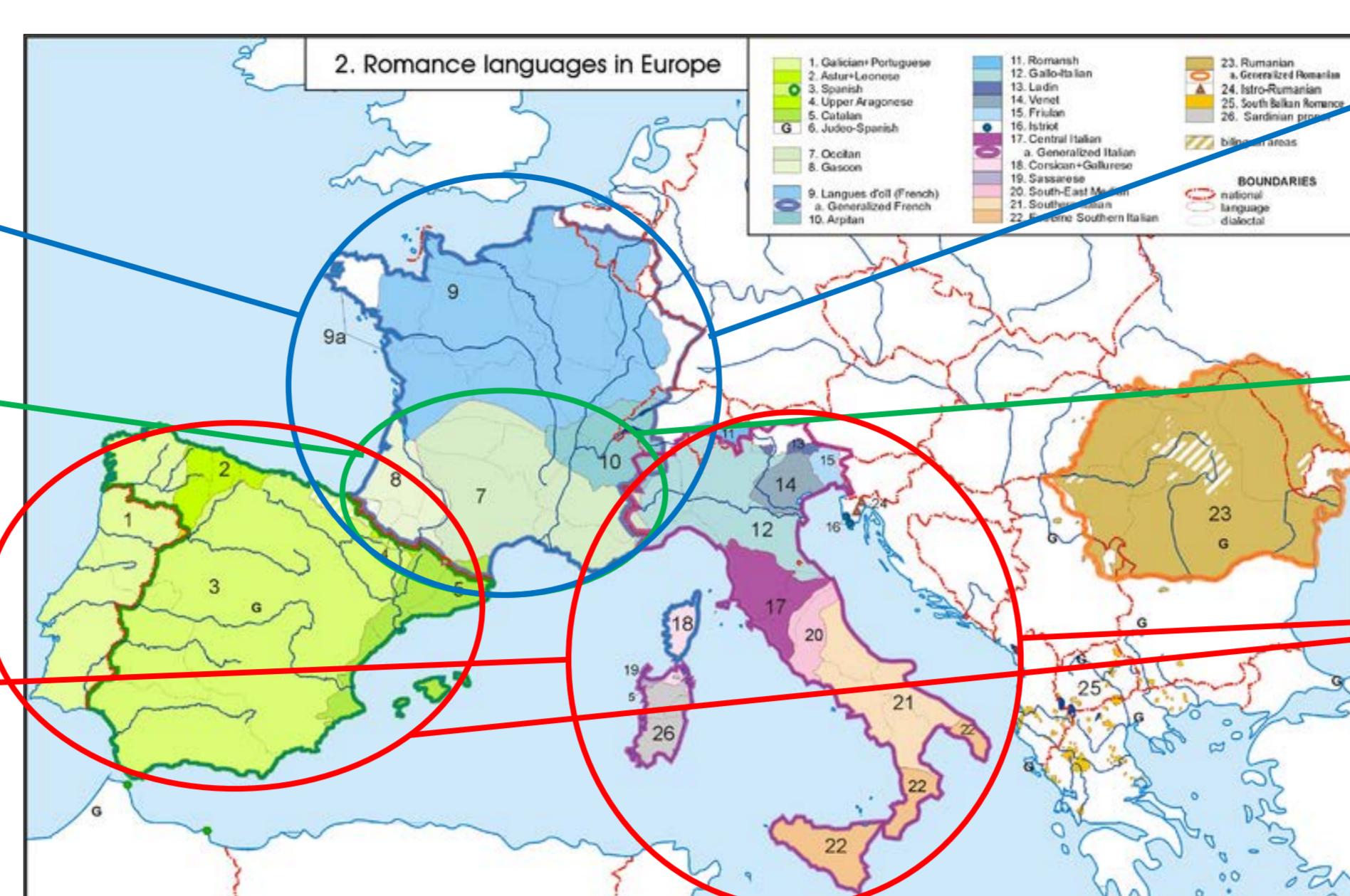
ciutat – pati – lagrema

### Italo- (and Ibero-)Romance

Accent position lexically defined:  $[(\sigma_n ' \sigma (\sigma)(\sigma))_\omega]$

città – patio – lacrima

## ACCENTUATION SYSTEMS IN ROMANCE



## Secondary accentuation

### French

Non obligatory initial rises:

$[(\sigma, \sigma_n ' \sigma(\sigma_\omega))]_{AP}$  de petites larmes

"accent d'insistance" → generalization → left edge marker

### Occitan

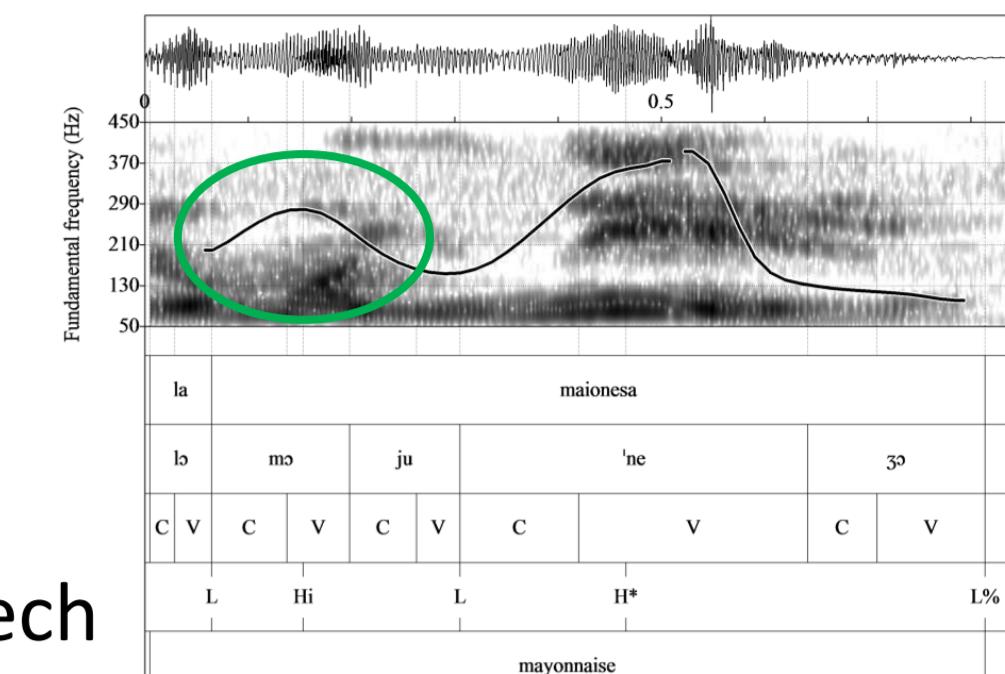
Initial rises (similar to French)

$[(\sigma, \sigma(\sigma)_n ' \sigma (\sigma))]$  la mayonesa

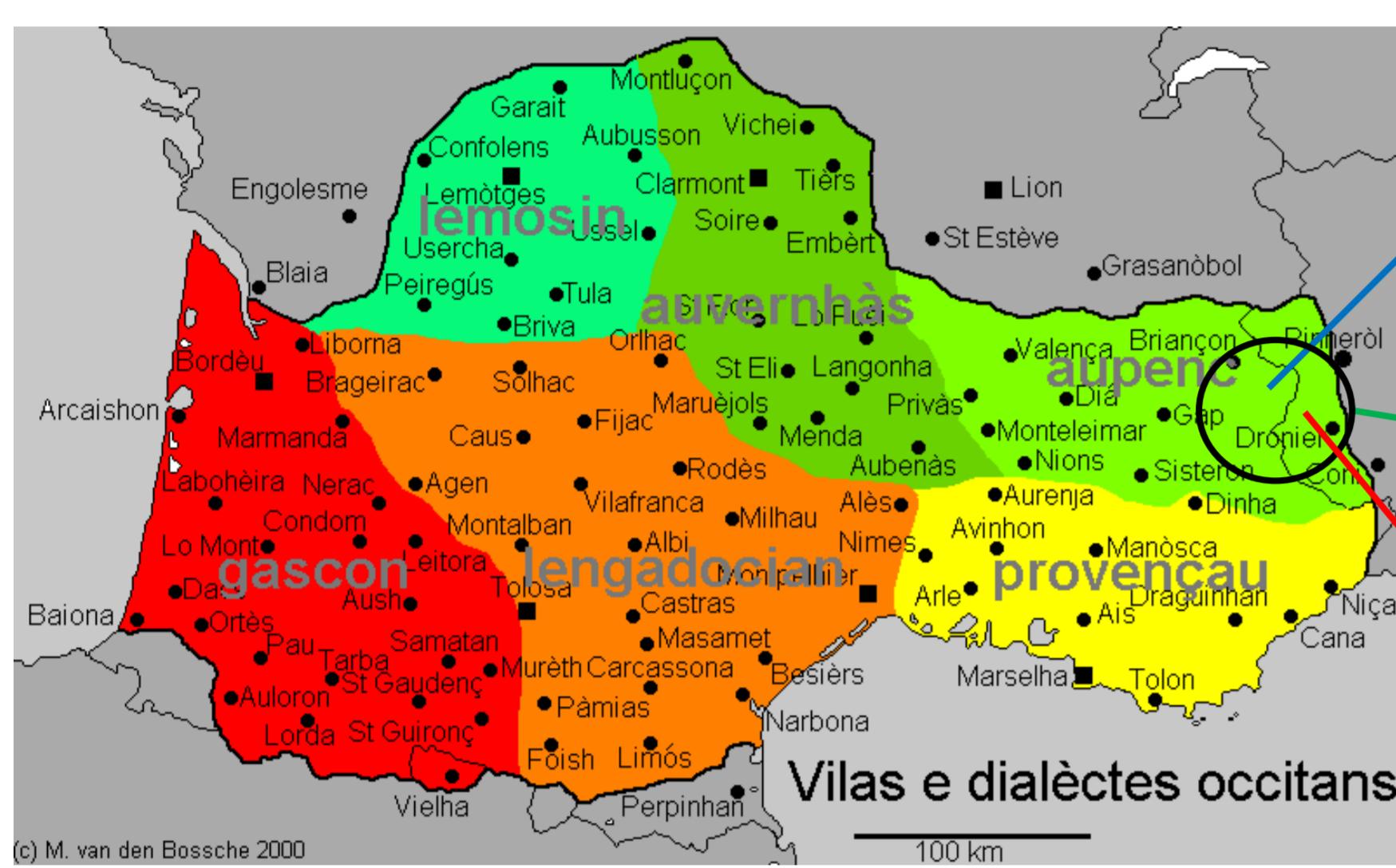
### Italo- (and Ibero-)Romance

Secondary accents rare

journalistic, didactic, public speech rhythmic function



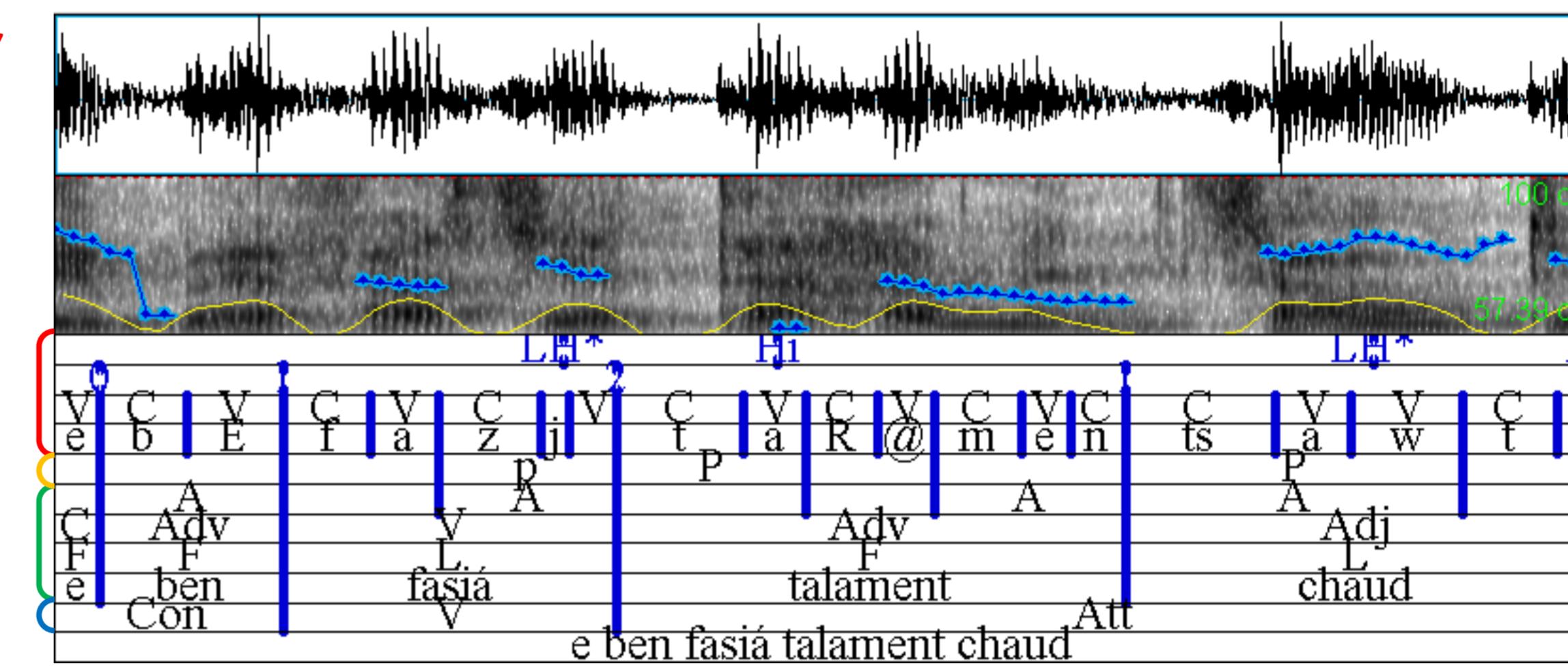
## VARIETIES AND SPEAKERS



Southern French (F_Fr)	1 bilingual male
Occitan (F_Oc)	69 y.o.
Italian (I_Oc)	1 bilingual male
(I_It) (and Piedmontese)	59 y.o.

## METHODOLOGY

### Annotation in Praat:



### Extraction for each syllable (script):

- **phonology:** ToBI labels; syllable structure
- **perceived prominence**
- **lexicon:** accentable/non-accentable; lexical/function word; word-initial/-medial/-final
- **syntax:** phrase-initial/-medial-/final (XP-projection)
- **acoustics:** F0, duration, intensity (mean value; difference from previous syll.)

### Statistic tests: t-tests, $\chi^2$ , ANOVAs (SPSS)

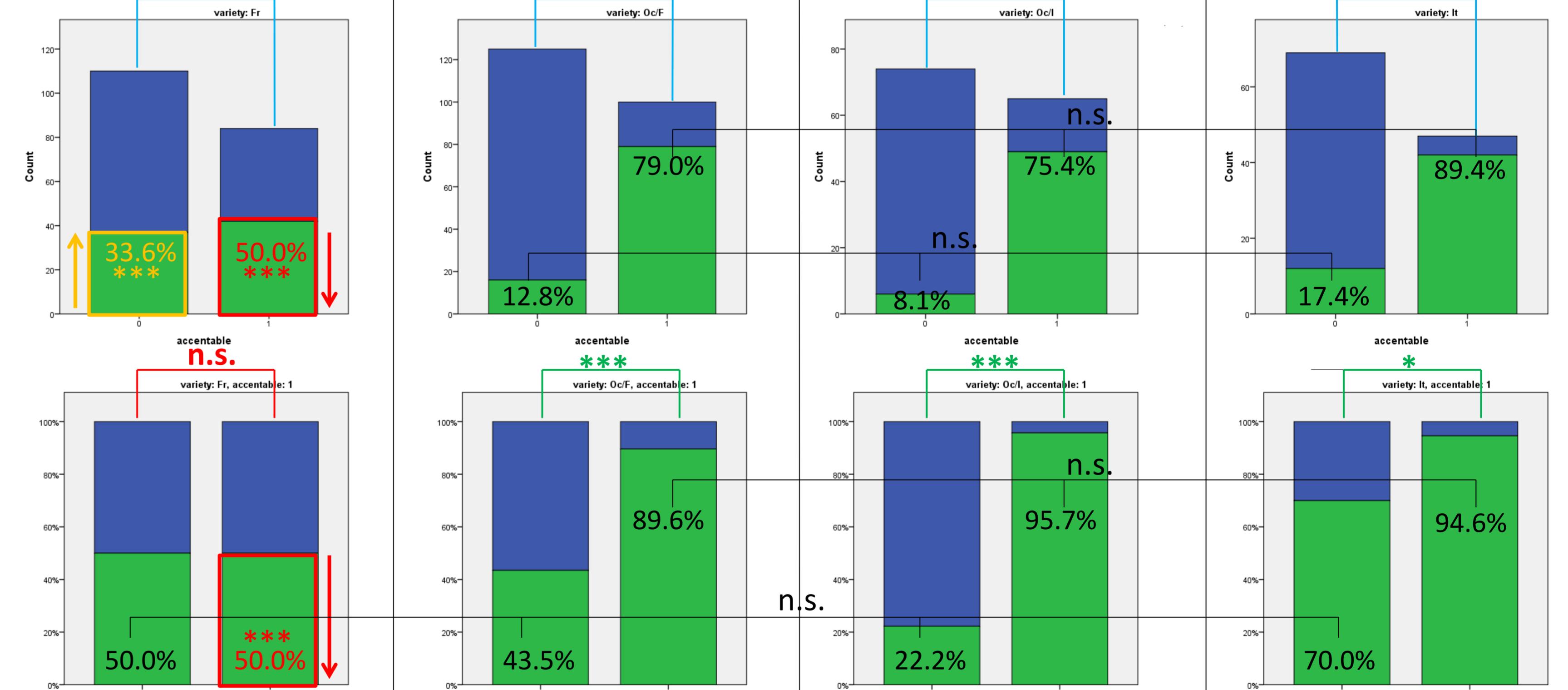
## RESULTS

Acoustic parameters in accentable syllables compared to non-accentable syllables (t-tests)	VARIETY	F_Fr	F_Oc	I_Oc	I_It
	Duration (mean syllabic value)	+ 85.9 ms (s.d. 10.5) ***	+ 71.3 ms (s.d. 9.9) ***	+ 65.9 ms (s.d. 12.4) ***	+ 70.2 ms (s.d. 11.3) ***
	Intensity (difference between mean and mean of previous syllable)	+ 2.58 dB (s.d. 0.68) ***	+ 3.00 dB (s.d. 0.58) ***	- 0.32 dB (s.d. 0.59) n.s.	+ 2.46 dB (s.d. 0.63) ***
	F0 (difference between mean and mean of previous syllable)	+ 2.13 st (s.d. 0.38) *** <b>RISING ACCENTS</b>	+ 1.86 st (s.d. 0.68) ** <b>RISING ACCENTS</b>	- 1.46 st (s.d. 0.48) ** <b>FALLING ACCENTS</b>	- 0.30 st (s.d. 0.60) n.s.

### Prominence judgments

Proportion of syllables perceived as prominent among accentable (right) vs. non-accentable (left) syllables in each variety:

- More accentable than non-accentable syllables perceived as prominent in all varieties.
- Non-accentable syllables perceived as prominent: + frequent in F\_Fr
- Accentable syllables perceived as prominent: – frequent in F\_Fr



## CONCLUSIONS

Though accentable syllables have significant acoustic correlates in French as in Occitan and Italian, prominence assignment in French differs from the other Romance languages: more prominent non-accentable syllables, less prominent accentable syllables, no effect of position in the syntactic phrase. Occitan behaves in a similar way to its southern neighbors, even when it is in close contact with French: accentable syllables tend to be prominent, mostly in phrase-final position.

But only 2 speakers and 1 coder! → next step: perception experiment online in several language contact situations.

## REFERENCES

- Avanzi, Mathieu (to appear). "Note de recherche sur l'accentuation et le phrasé prosodique à la lumière des corpus de français". Tranel (Travaux neuchâtelois de linguistique) 58.
- Fougeron, Cécile & Jun, Sun-Ah (1998). "Rate Effects on French Intonation: Prosodic Organization and Phonetic Realization". Journal of Phonetics 26, 45-69.
- Hualde, José Ignacio (2003). "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.
- Jun, Sun-Ah & Fougeron, Cécile (2000). "A Phonological Model of French Intonation". In Botinis, Antonis (ed.): Intonation: Analysis, Modeling and Technology. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 209-242.
- Jun, Sun-Ah & Fougeron, Cécile (2002). "Realizations of Accentual Phrase in French Intonation". Probus 14, 147-172.
- Post, Brechtje (1999). "Restructured Phonological Phrases in French: Evidence from Clash Resolution". Linguistics 37:1, 41-63.
- Post, Brechtje (2000). Tonal and Phrasal Structures in French Intonation. The Hague: Thesis.
- Post, Brechtje (2011). "The Multi-faceted Relation between Phrasing and Intonation Contours in French". In Gabriel, Christoph & Lleó, Conxita (eds.): Intonational Phrasing in Romance and Germanic: Cross-linguistic and Bilingual Studies. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 43-74.
- Roca, Iggy M. (1999). "Stress in the Romance languages". In Hulst, Harry van der (ed.): Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 659-811.
- Schultz-Gora, Oskar (1924/1906). Altprovenzalischs Elementarbuch. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Sichel-Bazin, Rafèu; Meisenburg, Trudel & Prieto, Pilar (submitted). "The prosody of Occitan-French bilinguals". In Braumüller, Kurt & Gabriel, Christoph (eds.): Multilingual Individuals and Multilingual Societies. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 349-364.
- Sichel-Bazin, Rafèu; Meisenburg, Trudel & Prieto, Pilar (submitted). "Intonational phonology of Occitan: towards a prosodic transcription system". In Frota, Sónia & Prieto, Pilar (eds.): Intonational Variation in Romance. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (project "Intonation und Rhythmus im Sprachkontakt: Okzitanisch – Französisch – Italienisch").

Thanks to our speakers, and to Svenja Langkeit and Henning Peppel for their very helpful work.