Contents

List of contributors xi
List of figures and tables xix
List of abbreviations xxxix

1 Introduction 1
Pilar Prieto and Sónia Frota

2 Intonational phonology of Catalan and its dialectal varieties 9
Pilar Prieto, Joan Borràs-Comes, Teresa Cabré, Verònica Crespo-Sendra, Ignasi Mascaró, Paolo Roseano, Rafèu Sichel-Bazin, and Maria del Mar Vanrell

2.1 Introduction 9
2.1.1 Geographical distribution of the Catalan language 9
2.1.2 Basic prosodic properties of Catalan 11
2.1.3 Review of previous work on Catalan intonation and phrasing 12
2.1.4 Aims of the chapter 14
2.2 Methodology 14
2.3 Intonation 16
2.3.1 Statements 16
2.3.2 Yes/no questions 21
2.3.3 Wh-questions 29
2.3.4 Imperatives: commands and requests 35
2.3.5 Vocatives 37
2.3.6 Intonational analysis: summary 42
2.4 Conclusions 46
2.5 Appendix: Dialect maps 50
Acknowledgments 62

3 Intonational phonology of French: Developing a ToBI system for French 63
Elisabeth Delais-Roussarie, Brechtje Post, Mathieu Avanzi, Carolin Buthke, Albert Di Cristo, Ingo Feldhausen, Sun-Ah Jun, Philippe Martin, Trudel Meisenburg, Annie Rialland, Rafèu Sichel-Bazin, and Hiyon Yoo

3.1 Introduction and background 63
3.1.1 French: geographical and historical aspects 64
3.1.2 French prosody: main characteristics and encoding in F_ToBI 65
3.1.3 Summary: phrasing, break indices, and tonal primitives in F_ToBI 74

3.2 Methodology 74
3.3 Intonation and phrasing 76
3.3.1 Statements 76
3.3.2 Exclamatives 82
3.3.3 Yes/no questions 82
3.3.4 Wh-questions 88
3.3.5 Imperatives: commands and requests 93
3.3.6 Vocatives 93
3.3.7 Enumerations and disjunctions 96
3.3.8 Intonational analysis: summary 97
3.4 Conclusion 99
Acknowledgments 100

4 Intonational phonology of Friulian and its dialects 101
Paolo Roseano, Maria del Mar Vanrell, and Pilar Prieto

4.1 Introduction 101
4.1.1 Relevant non-intonational features of Friulian 104
4.1.2 Intonational lexicon and phrasing 106
4.1.3 Phonetic implementation 109
4.2 Methodology 114
4.3 Intonation and phrasing 115
4.3.1 Statements 115
4.3.2 Exclamatives 119
4.3.3 Yes/no questions 121
4.3.4 Wh-questions 126
4.3.5 Imperatives: commands and requests 130
4.3.6 Vocatives 132
4.3.7 Intonational analysis 134
4.4 Conclusion 136
4.5 Appendix: Modal particles in Friulian 137
Acknowledgments 139

5 Intonational phonology of the regional varieties of Italian 140
Barbara Gili Fivela, Cinzia Avesani, Marco Barone, Giuliano Bocci, Claudia Crocco, Mariapaola D'Imperio, Rosa Giordano, Giovanna Marotta, Michelina Savino, and Patrizia Sorianello

5.1 Introduction 140
5.1.1 Stress and rhythm 143
5.1.2 Literature on Italian intonation 144
5.1.3 Intonational inventory and phonological processes 147
5.1.4 Intonational phrasing 152
5.1.5 Summary 153

5.2 Methodology 153
5.3 Intonation and phrasing 156
5.3.1 Statements 157
5.3.2 Exclamatives 164
5.3.3 Yes/no questions 166
5.3.4 Wh-questions 178
5.3.5 Imperatives: commands and requests 181
5.3.6 Vocatives 186
5.3.7 Intonational analysis: summary 190
5.4 Conclusion 195
Acknowledgments 197

6 Intonational phonology of Occitan: Towards a prosodic transcription system 198
Rafèu Sichel-Bazin, Trudel Meisenburg, and Pilar Prieto

6.1 Introduction 198
6.1.1 Geographical location of Occitan and sociolinguistic background 198
6.1.2 Prominence, accentuation, and phrasing in Occitan 200
6.1.3 Occitan intonation: previous studies 201
6.2 Methodology 202
6.3 Intonation and phrasing 203
6.3.1 Phrasing 203
6.3.2 Statements 206
6.3.3 Exclamatives 212
6.3.4 Yes/no questions 212
6.3.5 Wh-questions 221
6.3.6 Imperatives: commands and requests 225
6.3.7 Vocatives 226
6.3.8 Intonational analysis: summary 229
6.4 Conclusion 232
Acknowledgments 233

7 Intonational variation in Portuguese: European and Brazilian varieties 235
Sónia Frota, Marisa Cruz, Flaviane Svartman, Gisela Collischonn, Aline Fonseca, Carolina Serra, Pedro Oliveira, and Marina Vigário

7.1 Introduction 235
7.1.1 Varieties of Portuguese 236
7.1.2 Stress, prominence, and rhythm 238
7.1.3 Intonational inventory 241
7.1.4 Intonational phrasing 243
7.1.5 Pitch accent distribution 243

7.1.6 Phonetic implementation of intonation 244
7.1.7 Summary 245
7.2 Methodology 245
7.3 Main intonation contours across eight varieties of Portuguese 247
7.3.1 Statements 247
7.3.2 Yes/no questions 254
7.3.3 Wh-questions 263
7.3.4 Imperatives 268
7.3.5 Vocatives 272
7.3.6 Intonational variation in Portuguese: summary 277
7.4 Pitch accent distribution across varieties 280
7.5 Conclusion: the present findings and the intonation system of Portuguese 281
Acknowledgments 283

8 Transcription of Romanian intonation 284
Doina Jitcă, Vasile Apopei, Otilia Păduraru, and Samuil Maruşca

8.1 Introduction 284
8.1.1 Aim of the chapter 284
8.1.2 Geographic distribution of the Romanian language 284
8.1.3 General characteristics of Romanian intonation 285
8.1.4 Review of previous work on Romanian intonation 288
8.1.5 Prosodic phrasing 289
8.2 Methodology 289
8.3 Intonation 291
8.3.1 Statements 291
8.3.2 Exclamatives 297
8.3.3 Yes/no questions 298
8.3.4 Wh-questions 304
8.3.5 Imperatives: commands and requests 308
8.3.6 Vocatives 310
8.3.7 Intonational analysis: summary 311
8.4 Conclusion 312
Acknowledgments 316

9 Sardinian intonational phonology: Logudorese and Campidanese varieties 317
Maria del Mar Vanrell, Francesc Ballone, Carlo Schirru, and Pilar Prieto

9.1 Introduction 317
9.1.1 The status of Sardinian 317
9.1.2 Relevant non-intonational features 320
9.1.3 Previous work on Sardinian intonation 323

9.2 Methodology 324
9.3 Intonation and phrasing 326
9.3.1 Statements 326
9.3.2 Exclamatives 330
9.3.3 Yes/no questions 332
9.3.4 Wh-questions 336
9.3.5 Imperatives: commands and requests 339
9.3.6 Vocatives 340
9.3.7 Intonational analysis: summary 344
9.4 Conclusion 346
Acknowledgments 349

10 Intonational variation in Spanish: European and American varieties 350
José Ignacio Hualde and Pilar Prieto

10.1 Introduction 350
10.1.1 Geographical distribution of the Spanish language 350
10.1.2 Geolectal variation in Spanish 352
10.1.3 Review of previous work on Spanish intonation 356
10.1.4 Basic prosodic properties of Spanish 357
10.2 Methodology 360
10.3 Intonation of main utterance types 363
10.3.1 Statements 363
10.3.2 Yes/no questions 370
10.3.3 Wh-questions 380
10.3.4 Imperatives 384
10.3.5 Vocatives 385
10.3.6 Intonational analysis: summary 386
10.4 Conclusion 389
Acknowledgments 391

11 Intonation in Romance: Systemic similarities and differences 392
Sónia Frota and Pilar Prieto

11.1 Introduction 392
11.2 Prominence and phrasing 393
11.2.1 Prominence and intonation 393
11.2.2 Prosodic phrasing and intonation 395
11.2.3 Domains for the distribution of pitch events 397
11.3 Intonational meaning 398
11.3.1 Nuclear contours of main sentence types 398
11.3.2 Lexical and syntactic markers and intonation 409

11.4 Intonation systems across Romance languages and varieties 411
11.4.1 Tonal events and nuclear contours 411
11.4.2 Other intonational properties 416
11.5 Towards a typology: the contribution of Romance languages 416

References 419
Index 453

Sound files of all waveforms in this book can be found on the Oxford University Press companion website: www.oup.co.uk/companion/frota_prieto