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Romance Intonation. Introduction. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003,
vol. 2, p. 9-11.

Articles

- 15-31 **Astruc, Lluïsa** (University of Cambridge. Department of Linguistics)
Sentence external elements in Catalan. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*,
2003, vol. 2, p. 15-31.

This paper deals with the intonation of sentence external elements in Catalan. Its main purpose is to investigate the claim that there is a correspondence between prosodic form and grammatical function, so that syntactic independence is paralleled by prosodic independency. A related goal is to identify the mechanisms for signalling prosodic independency and/or dependency. To that end, a production experiment was devised eliciting the same sentences in different pitch ranges. The conclusion is that sentence external elements do not constitute a uniform category, either syntactically or prosodically. Quotation attributions are nearly always deaccented, appositions and non-restrictive relatives copy the pattern of the main phrase in a lower voice, some parentheticals are produced in a lower pitch range, while sentence adverbs do not show any tonal subordination at all.

Key words: syntax, intonation, sentence external elements, tags, tonal subordination.

- 33-54 **Cabrera Abreu, Mercedes** (Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Departamento de Filología Moderna); **García Lecumberri, María Luisa** (Universidad del País Vasco. Departamento de Filología Inglesa)
The manifestation of intonational focus in Castilian Spanish. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 33-54.

In this paper we study the phonological manifestation of various intonational focus domains in Castilian Spanish. We propose that downstep is one of the intonational signallers of focus in this language. The phonological problems of accounting for this phenomenon in Pierrehumbertian models are explored. Alternative solutions are offered following the single-tone model put forward by Cabrera Abreu (2000) within the Government Phonology framework, taking into account other proposals by the author and her co-workers. Typically, the prefocal and focal items participate in licensing relations which integrate

them in a well-formed phonological structure in terms of onsets and nuclei respectively as the only two possible constituents within another major constituent, the intonation group. Pitch movements in the prefocal and focal items in the various focus domains are accounted for by the presence / absence of T(one) associated to different constituent boundaries. In addition, the constituent licensing the focal item is preceded by an intonation group whose nuclear constituent is empty, thus showing toneless boundaries which are responsible for the observed downstep effect.

Key words: intonational focus, phonological representations, downstep, licensing relations, onset, nucleus, intonation group, T(one), tone association, constituent boundaries, empty nucleus.

55-65 **D'Imperio, Mariapaola** (Université de Provence. Laboratoire Parole et Langage)

Tonal structure and pitch targets in Italian focus constituents. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 55-65.

This work investigates the tonal structure of the focal accent in narrow focus statements of Neapolitan Italian. The formal properties of this accent lend themselves to two competing analyses. Specifically, this accent could equally be described as a HL accentual fall or as a LH rise. The two analyses were evaluated on the basis of a set of utterances containing focus constituents with varying number of words. Long narrow focus constituents present in fact a medial F0 minimum that appears to be an actual tonal target. Such a target might be part of either a HL or of a LH accent. Tonal as well as timing evidence appear to lend support to the LH hypothesis. An important consequence is that the final fall of statement focus constituents must be analyzed as a tonal event that is separate from the nuclear pitch accent and is analogous to the question final fall.

Key words: Focus, pitch accent, tonal target, alignment, scaling, slope, Italian.

67-95 **Elordieta, Gorka** (Universidad del País Vasco. Departamento de Filología Española)

The Spanish intonation of speakers of a Basque pitch-accent dialect. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 67-95.

In this paper the main aspects of the intonation of broad focus declaratives in Lekeitio Spanish are described and analyzed. In this variety, accents are realized as pitch rises rather than falls, similarly to Standard Peninsular Spanish and unlike in Lekeitio Basque, the other native language of these speakers. Accentual valleys are aligned before the onset of the stressed syllable, except in final position in the utterance. Accentual peaks are aligned before the offset of the accented syllable, with an earlier alignment in accents in the object phrase. At the end of the subject phrase, peaks display later alignment. The number of unstressed syllables intervening between accents seems to affect F0 valley and peak alignment for certain positions. For non-object positions, F0 valleys align earlier as more unstressed syllables intervene between accents, and for the final position in the subject, F0 peaks align later as more unstressed syllables intervene between accents.

Key words: Spanish intonation, bitonal accents, peak alignment.

- 97-114 **Estebas-Vilaplana, Eva** (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia. Departamento de Lenguas Extranjeras y sus Lingüísticas) The modelling of prenuclear accents in Central Catalan declaratives. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 97-114.

The aim of this paper is to examine the phonetic and phonological properties of prenuclear accents in Central Catalan declaratives within the Autosegmental-Metrical approach of intonational analysis. Prenuclear accents show a rising movement whose peak tends to be aligned after the accented syllable. Three possible interpretations for the modelling of such rises are considered: 1) an H* with peak delay, 2) a bitonal accent (L*+H), and 3) the combination of two different tones, namely, a pitch accent (L*) and a word edge tone (H). Words with different stress distributions (oxytones, paroxytones and proparoxytones) are analysed to observe whether the presence of a word boundary has an effect on the location of the F0 peak. The results show that the F0 peak is consistently anchored at the end of the word no matter the number of post-accented syllables. Thus, prenuclear rises in Central Catalan declaratives are interpreted as a combination of an L* pitch accent and an H word edge tone.

Key words: prenuclear accents, alignment, association, peak delay, bitonality, word edge tones.

- 115-131 **Face, Timothy L.** (University of Minnesota. Department of Spanish and Portuguese Studies) Intonation in Spanish declaratives: differences between lab speech and spontaneous speech. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 115-131.

The present study compares the intonation of Spanish declarative utterances in lab speech and spontaneous speech. Most studies of Spanish intonation have used lab speech, collected in an experimental setting and often scripted. This allows the researcher to control many factors, but the results cannot be assumed to be representative of spontaneous speech. The present study takes the most characteristic traits of the intonation of declarative sentences in Spanish lab speech and examines whether the same traits exist in spontaneous speech. It is shown that there are notable differences between the intonation of Spanish declaratives in lab speech and spontaneous speech. While some of the differences are minor, others are quite significant. Differences of one degree or another exist in the areas of the presence of F0 rises through stressed syllables, F0 peak alignment, downstepping, final lowering and deaccenting.

Key words: intonation, Spanish, pitch, F0, downstepping, final lowering, deaccenting, spontaneous speech, lab speech.

- 133-152 **Frota, Sónia** (Universidade de Lisboa. DLGR & Laboratório de Fonética) The phonological status of initial peaks in European Portuguese. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 133-152.

This paper investigates the phonology of initial peaks in European Portuguese intonation. Evidence is presented for two types of peaks: an accentual peak, that is consistently aligned relative to the first stressed syllable; and a phrasal peak, that is aligned relative to the left-edge of the intonational phrase and within the

limits of the first prosodic word. The former is best represented as an H* accent, whereas the latter is a phrasal H tone with a peripheral association to the left-edge of the I-phrase and a secondary association with the first w. This secondary attachment precludes the phrasal H and a pitch accent from co-occurring at the left periphery of the contour. By offering a new account of initial peaks, the present study contributes to a better understanding of the options available at the left periphery of the Portuguese intonational system.

Key words: peaks, pitch accent, phrasal tone, alignment, association.

- 153-180 **Grice, Martine** (Saarland University. Institute of Phonetics); **Savino, Michelina** (Polytechnic University of Bari. Department of Psychology) Map tasks in Italian: asking questions about given, accessible and new information. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 153-180.

This paper confirms that in Bari Italian an intonational distinction is made between polar questions asking about new information (QUERY-YN moves in the HCRC Map Task coding scheme) and those asking about given information (prototypical CHECK moves in the same coding scheme). The former, where the speaker believes that the information is not shared and therefore mutually inactive, employ a rising pitch accent (L+H*). The latter, where the speaker believes that the information is mutually active, are expressed with a falling accent (H*+L or H+L*). The situation is more complicated for moves classified as CHECKS which are asking about information which has been mentioned earlier in the dialogue as opposed to the prototypical CHECKS where the information is given immediately before the current turn. These CHECKS, asking about textually accessible as opposed to given information, as well as those asking about something which can only be inferred from the context, can have either rising or falling pitch accents. The intonational variation is related to the degree of speaker confidence that confirmation being sought in the question will be provided.

Key words: Italian intonation, question intonation, pitch accent, edge tone, intonation and pragmatics, task oriented dialogue, map task, intonation and information structure, given information, new information, accessibility of information.

- 181-205 **Hualde, José Ignacio** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese & Department of Linguistics) Remarks on the diachronic reconstruction of intonational patterns in Romance with special attention to Occitan as a bridge language. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 181-205.

This paper approaches Romance intonation from a diachronic point of view. The position that is adopted is that this is an area open to investigation. Comparative techniques can be fruitfully employed for investigating the evolution and diversification of the intonational patterns of the Romance languages. The focus of the paper is on Occitan. This is an important bridge language whose study may elucidate how French diverged prosodically from the systems found in Ibero and Italo-Romance. It is argued that, since Occitan was retained con-

trasts in the position of word-accent (lexical stress), any prosodic features that French shares with Occitan are logically independent from the lack of contrastive accent in French.

Key words: Occitan, French, intonation, accent, diachronic prosody.

207-227 **Payà, Marta** (Universitat de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)

Prosody and pragmatics in parenthetical insertations in Catalan. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 207-227.

This paper analyses the role of prosody in parenthetical insertions, a type of structure that is extremely common in both speech and writing. The materials under study come from a corpus of spontaneous speech acts in Central Catalan (with varying degrees of spontaneity) from which a corpus of oral parenthetical insertions has been compiled. The prototypical prosodic features of a parenthetical insertion in Catalan are: prosodic autonomy, limited extension, production in between pauses or final pause, tendency towards acceleration, fall in intensity, lower pitch range and, finally, falling or rising melodic pattern. While the final fall is the most frequent pattern in spontaneous conversations with a high degree of confidence between interlocutors, a final rising structure is found in interviews in which the degree of confidence between participants is smaller, their roles are unequal, and the interviewed constructs a narrative discourse. We thus suggest that the pitch contour of parenthetical insertions is related to formality and discourse typology (in this case, narrative vs. dialogue). Bearing in mind the discursive functions performed by these insertions, we propose a typology which classifies them with regards to two main functions: completion of information, and modalisation.

Key words: prosody, intonation, parenthetical insertions, parenthesis, incidental clauses, parenthetical clauses, Catalan.

229-247 **Sosa, Juan Manuel** (Simon Fraser University. Linguistics Department)
Wh-questions in Spanish: Meanings and Configuration Variability.
Catalan Journal of Linguistics, 2003, vol. 2, p. 229-247.

This paper describes the distinct tonal configurations of wh-questions in Spanish and discusses their possible correlations with pragmatic and interactional meanings. The data consisted of both read and spontaneous speech from four Latin American varieties. Two of the dialects, Mexican and Colombian, as opposed to Venezuelan and Puerto Rican, showed a marked preference for rising contours in read speech, while in interviews virtually no such contours occurred for any of the speakers. A different kind of rising contour did regularly occur in the natural speech data, a globally rising contour without a dip before the final high rise, used for confirmation or reprise wh-questions. The conclusion of this study is that the unmarked configuration is indeed the gradually descending one, as described in the literature. This applies to all the dialects here examined, in spite of the variability of the contours, which is context-induced and related to information structure.

Key words: prosody, intonation, meaning, information structure, wh-questions, tonal configurations, contour variability, Latin American Spanish.

- 249-278 **Vigário, Marina** (Universidade do Minho. Instituto de Letras e Ciências Humanas)

Prosody and sentence disambiguation in European Portuguese. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2003, vol. 2, p. 249-278.

Our investigation focuses on several types of structural ambiguity in European Portuguese. The materials include sentences with set-divider adverbs ambiguous as to the direction of syntactic attachment, adjunct and complement PPs ambiguous as to the level of syntactic embedding, non-restrictive clauses with local and non-local possible antecedents, and relative clauses ambiguous as to their restrictive/non-restrictive meaning. Besides providing a prosodic description of sentences with these various sorts of ambiguity, the relation between prosody and syntactic structure is addressed. It is concluded that structural ambiguity is not always cued by prosody, and it may be resolved by prosodic means that are optional. Additionally, some options on sentence partition in intonational phrases are only available under some interpretations, and in specific configurations I-breaks may not be inserted (namely, between a head and an adjacent complement or modifier). In all cases studied intonational phrase level properties play a crucial role in sentence disambiguation. An intonational phrase boundary after set-divider adverbs indicates left-attachment and between a constituent and the preceding material implies non-local attachment. These facts are seen to follow in a principled way from the conditions on the formation of intonational phrases.

Key words: Prosody, intonation, prosodic phrasing, syntax-phonology interface, disambiguation.

- 279-283 Resums