

Contribution to a grammar of intonation in French Form and function of three rising patterns

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Espesser

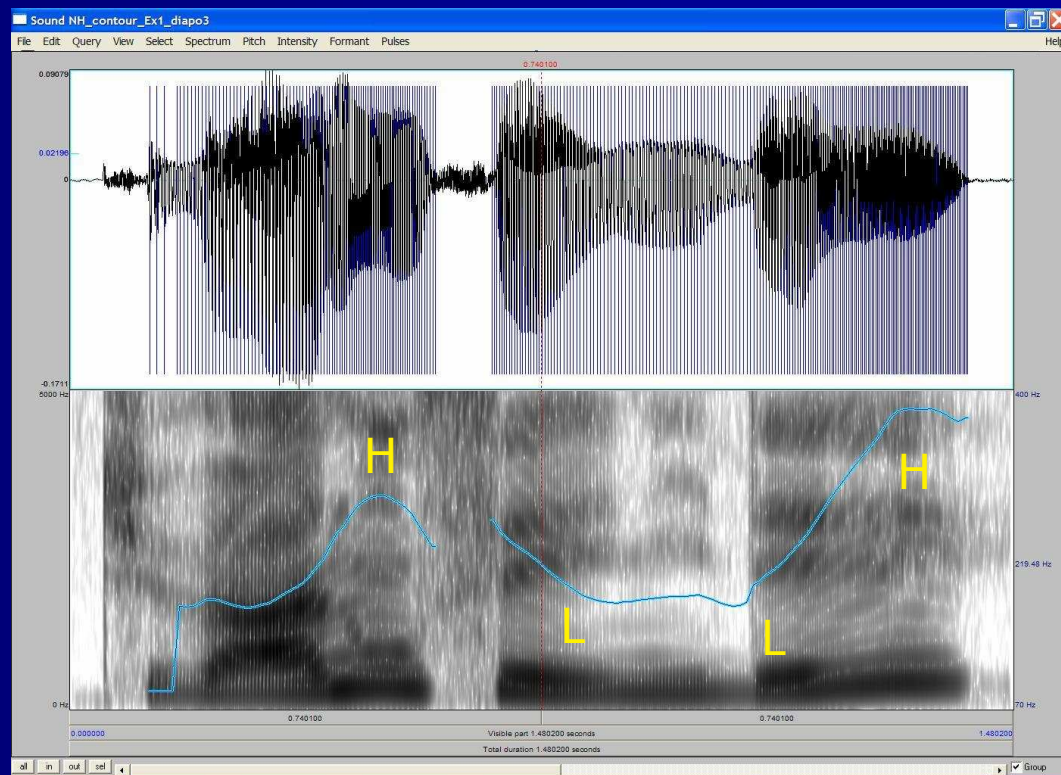
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FRANCE*

13 septembre 2007 – IDP07, Genève

What do we mean by "contour" or "tune"

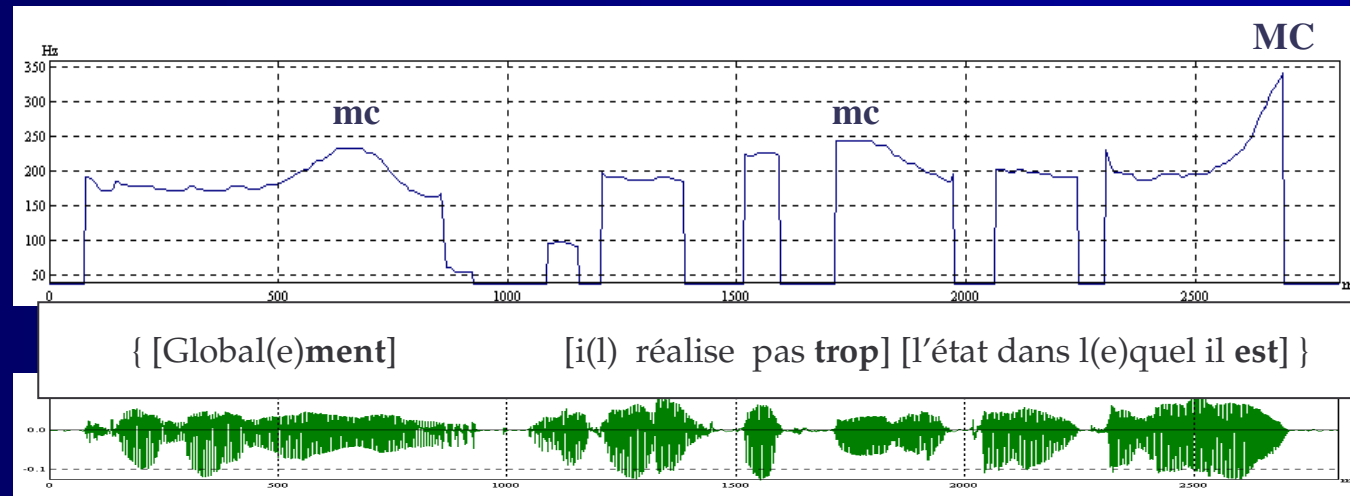
- Not holistic movement nor primitive (Delattre 1966, Rossi 1999)
BUT
- Linguistically relevant pitch movement
 - formally definable
 - ❖ Successive tonal targets
 - ❖ Specified tune text association
 - functionally contrastive

- Conceived as constructions (Marandin 2006)



Contours in French

- Domain of primary accent
- Minor vs Major



- D'Imperio et al. (2007) : MC and mc are different perceptually, in scaling and in alignment => they should be different pitch accents.
- Portes & Bertrand (2006) : MC massively takes part in the construction of conversational units (TRP) and gives rise to conversational feedback (BC) while mc does not.

Basic inventory of french contours

- Post (2000)

The Intonational Phrase

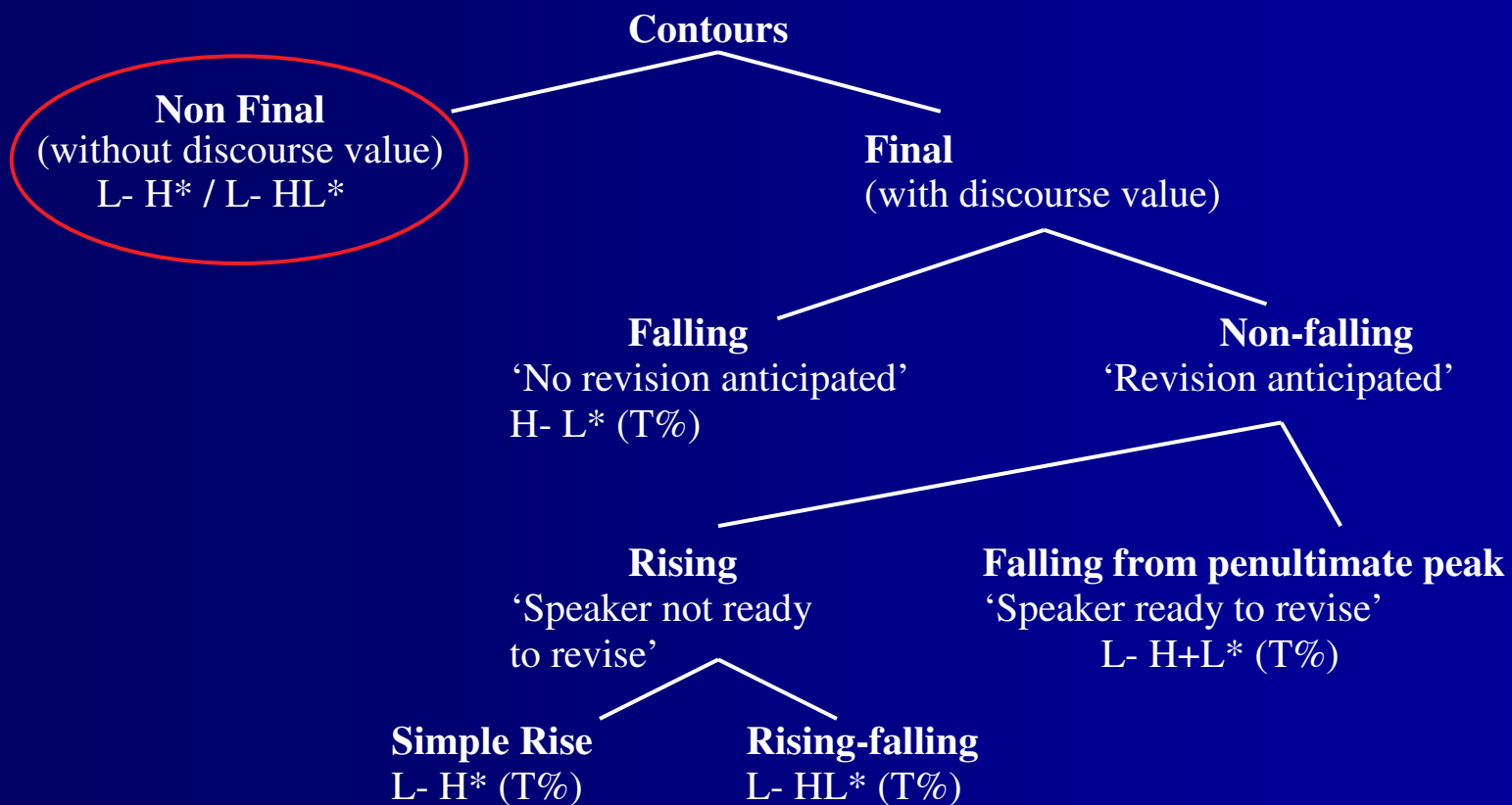
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \%L \\ \%H \end{array} \right\} \quad (H^*(L))_0 \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} H^* \\ H+H^* \end{array} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L\% \\ H\% \\ 0\% \end{array} \right\}$$

Contrasts

rising	$\%L \ H^* \ L \ H^* \ H\%$
rising-falling	$\%L \ H^* \ L \ H^* \ L\%$
falling from penultimate	$\%L \ H^* \ L \ H+H^* \ L\%$
falling	$\%L \ H^* \ H^* \ L\%$


Semantics of French intonation


Marandin (2004, 2006) *Contours as constructions*



Note: Final contours are anchored at the end of the focal domain


Ambiguity of MC

- Delattre (1966):
 - The role of the MC “is clearly to aggregate small meaningful units into a larger one *which is not the larger one in the sentence*”
 - NOT in final (focal) position 
 - structural function




- Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg (1996):
 - The role of the « continuation rise » is to signal that the phrase associated with it “is to be interpreted with respect to a succeeding phrase”
 - final of IP (see Post’s inventory) 
 - could be final of the (virtual) focus domain
 - unit linking function (Matsumoto 2003)

- First Issue
 - Have the two distributionally different RMC (focal vs non focal) the same formal properties?
 - What status?

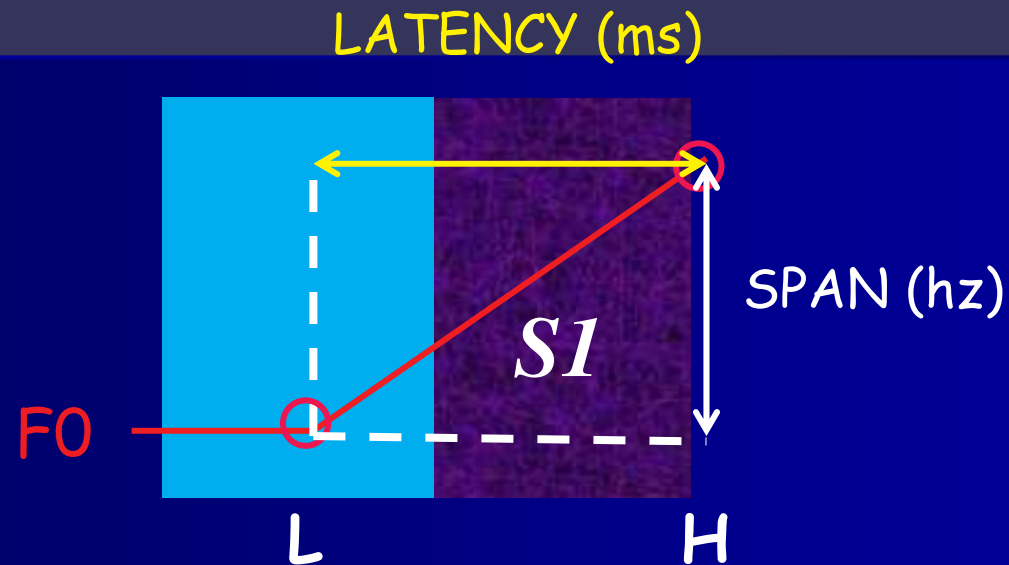
List continuation rises

- Observation : 
 - Some of continuation rises sound differently, especially when occurring on members of a list
- Second Issue:
 - What kind of formal difference between continuation rise and list rise?
 - How to explain this?

Material

- Corpus
 - Two 1h dialogues (CID, Bertrand et al. 2007)
 - 2 males, 2 females
- Labelling
 - RMCf vs RMCnf
 - *"donc pour moi (nf) c'était une super expérience (f)"* 
 - Rising List (RL)
 - "mais moi (RMCnf) je pense plutôt (RMCnf) que on pourrait faire ça comme ça (RL) voir ça comme ça (RL)" 
 - Virtual list 
- 1545 rising movements
 - RMC = 493 (f) + 896 (nf) = 1397
 - RL = 148

Measurements



- Comparison of H/L ratio slope
- Mixed logit model (Bates & Sarkar, 2005)

Results

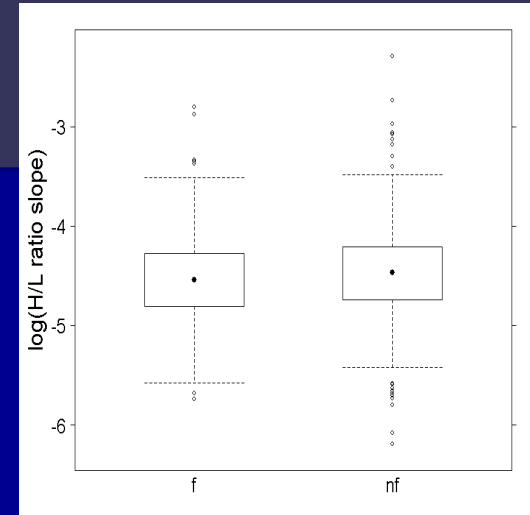
■ Focal MC (f) versus non focal MC (nf)

– model A : {f,nf} ~ H/L ratio slope

f : 493 nf : 896

z=2.12, p=0.03, C=0.56

➔ *The H/L ratio slope does not distinguish clearly between f and nf*



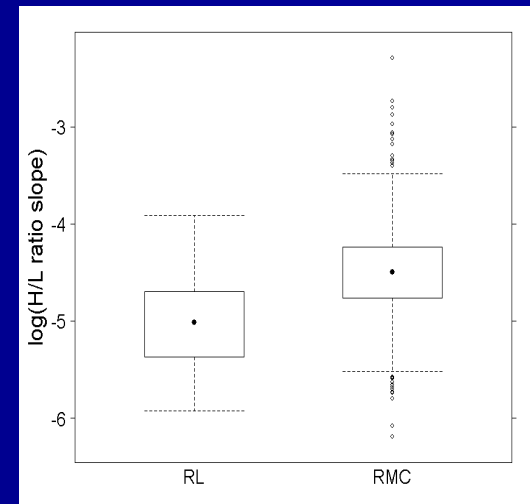
■ MC (RMC) versus Rising of List (RL)

– model B : {MC,RL} ~ H/L ratio slope

RL : 148 MC : 1397

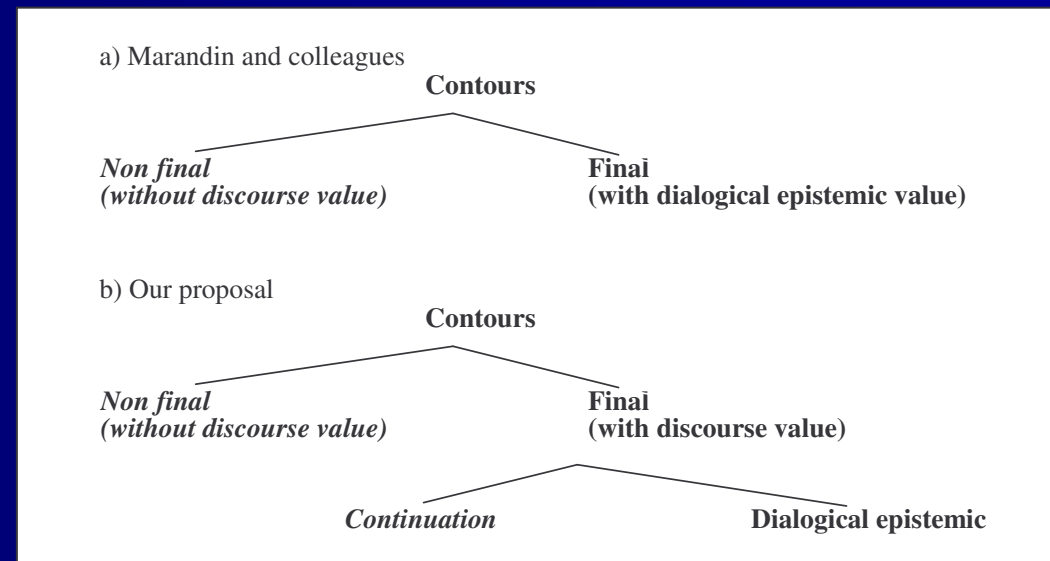
z=12.6, p<2e-16, C=0.84

➔ *The H/L ratio slope distinguishes clearly between RMC and RL*

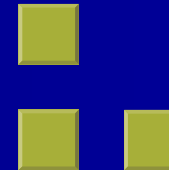


Discussion

- Findings
 - RMCf = RMCnf
 - RL ≠ RMC
- Explanation
 - RMCf vs RMCnf



- RL ≠ RMC : RL is the stylized version of RMC
 - Specific formal feature = smaller slope
 - Additional semantic feature = Quotation effect



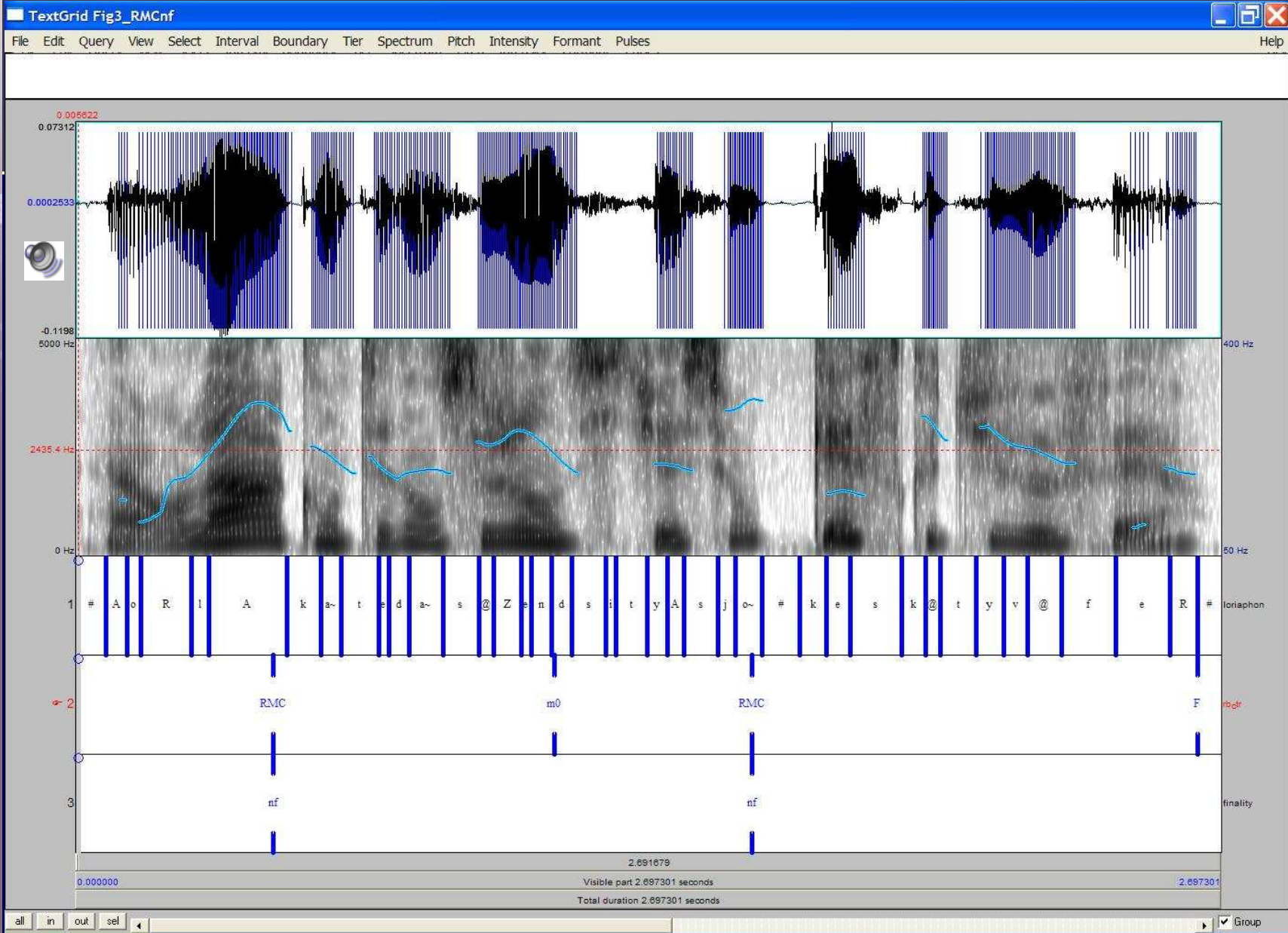
Conclusion

- Continuation rise = a three dimensional construction
 - Non focal position : structural value (group minor domains)
 - Focal position : discursive value (suspend interpretation)
 - Stylized version : preferred in list
- Dialogical epistemic contours
 - Mark the *effective* focus
 - Define the utterance?
- Consequence : continuation rise and dialogical-epistemic rise should be formally and perceptually different (Rossi et al. 1981)

THANKS/MERCI!



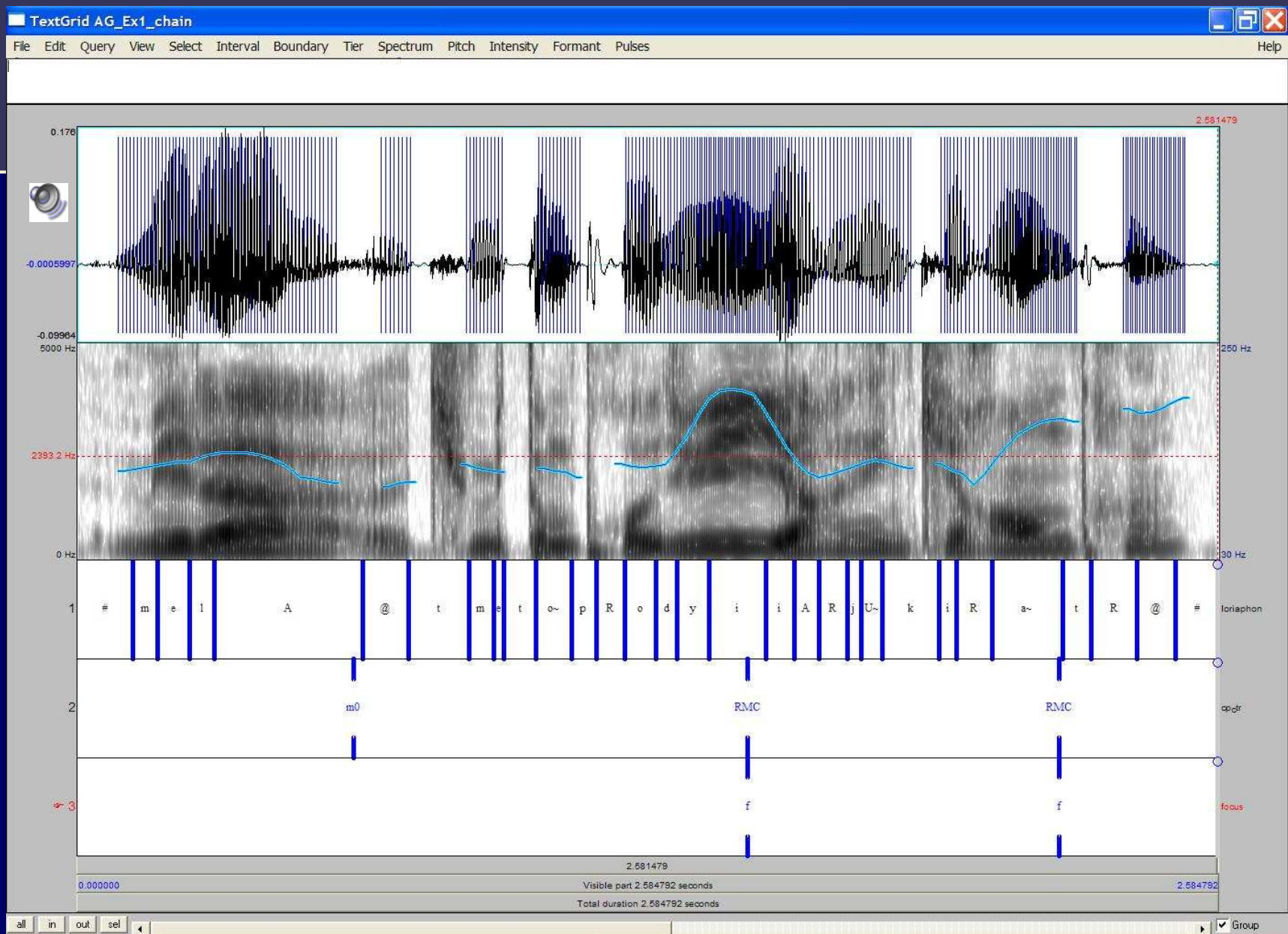
Non focal Rising Major Continuation





Focal Rising Major Continuation

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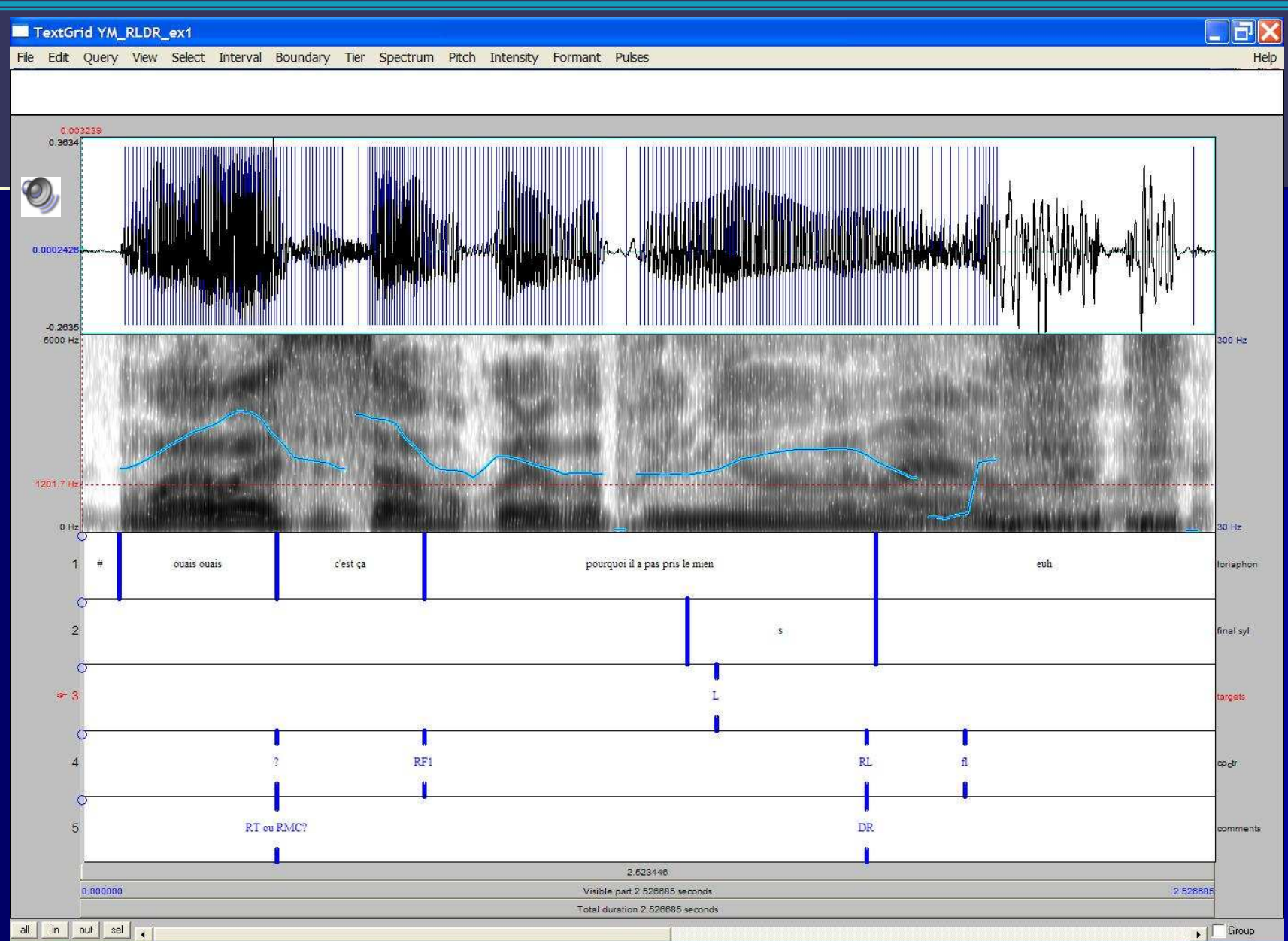
"Virtual" list continuation rises



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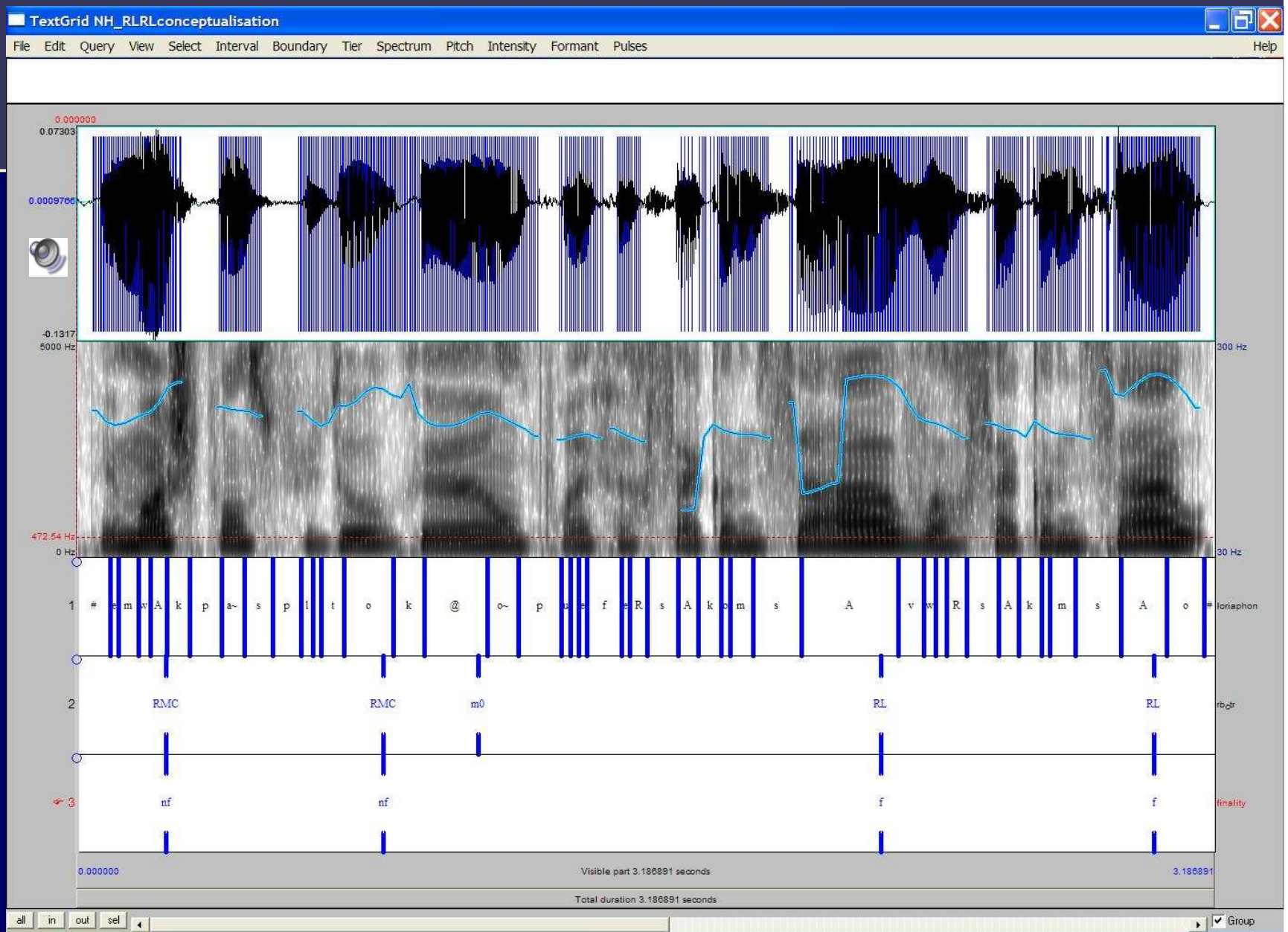
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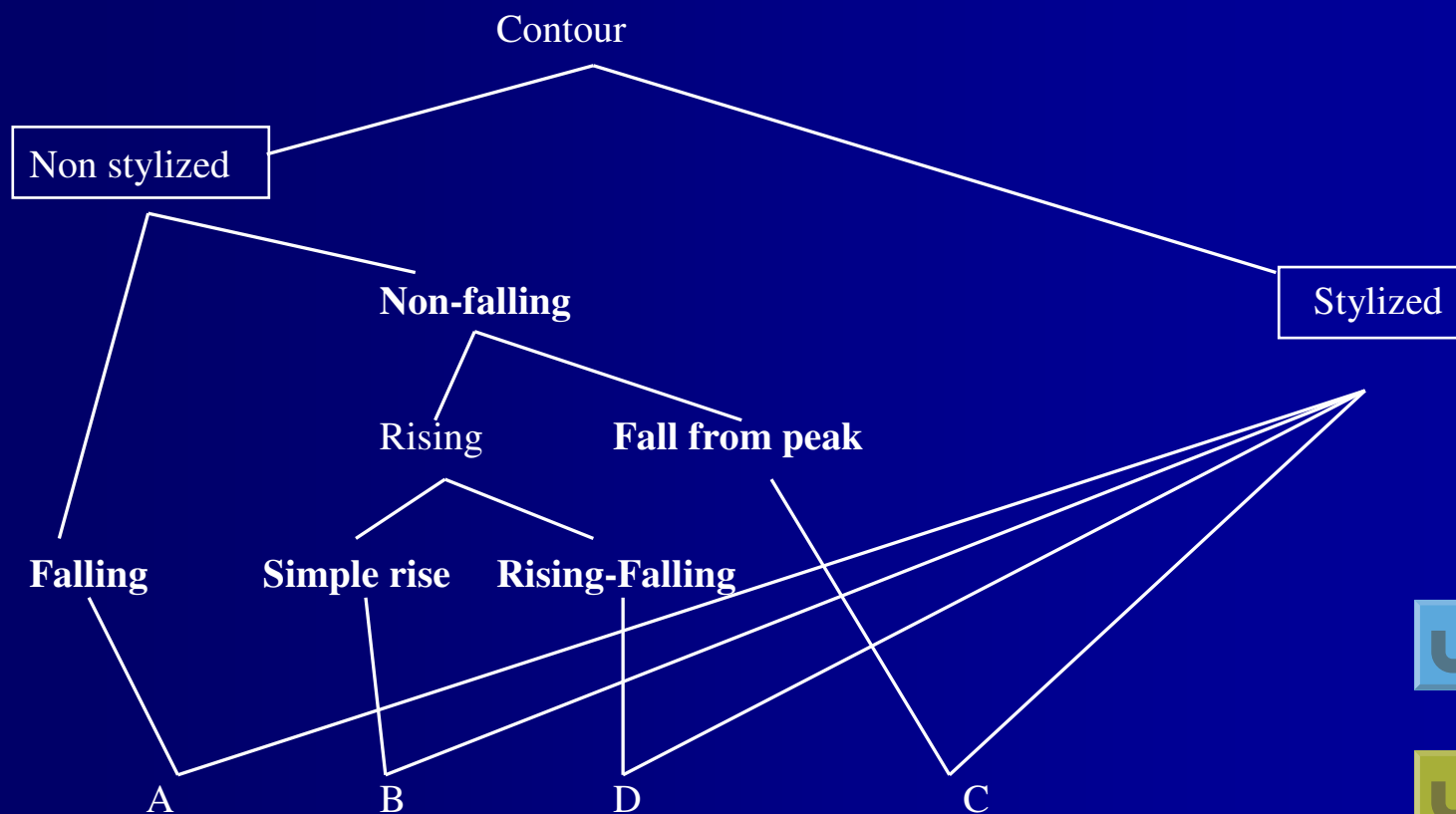
List continuation rises

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Contours as constructions

Marandin (2004, 2006) *Contours as constructions*



Hierarchy with stylized contours

