

Prosodic Phrasing in Catalan Dislocation Structures

Ingo Feldhausen
University of Potsdam / ZAS Berlin

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ingo.feldhausen@gmx.de

Overview

1. Subject and Goal
2. The constructions: CLLD and CLRD in Catalan
(CLLD / CLRD = clitic left-/right-dislocation)
3. Previous accounts
4. The intonation of CLLD and CLRD
5. Analysis – The new Constraints
6. Analysis – The OT tables
7. Final remarks & summary

Catalan CLLD & CLRD

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Subject and Goal

- Subject:
Prosodic Phrasing in Catalan CLLD- and CLRD-Structures

CLLD = clitic left-dislocation
CLRD = clitic right-dislocation

- Goal:
 - Prosody of CLLD and CLRD
 - OT analysis
 - New OT-Constraint: ALIGNTOPIC
 - Modification of MINIMIZE-NUMBER-PHRASE (Prieto 2005)

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The Constructions

- Normal Word Order

Vaig portar les taules al pis.

PAST.1SG bring the tables to-the flat
'I brought the tables to the flat'



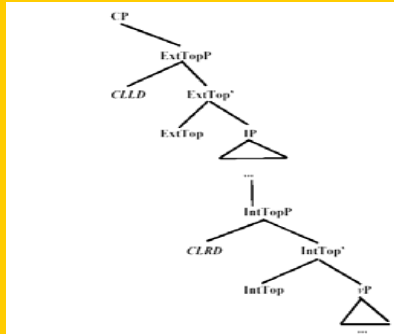
V - DO - IO / PP

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The Constructions

- The Split-Topic-Analysis (Villalba 2000)



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Overview

- Subject and Goal
- The constructions: CLLD and CLRD in Catalan
- Previous accounts**
 - Frascarelli (2000)
 - Prieto (2005)
- The intonation of CLLD and CLRD
- Analysis – The new Constraints
- Analysis – The OT tables
- Final remarks & summary

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Frascarelli (2000)

- Topic-Interface-Analysis (Frascarelli 2000:198)
- Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD) [*her* 'Left-hand Topic']

Syntax: [CP [TopP YP_{Topic} [FP [AgrSP ...clitic_{YP}/pro_{YP}...]]]]

Mapping Rules

PF: [YP_{Topic}]_i [... (clitic_{YP}) verb ...]_i

=> (CLLD) (TP)

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Frascarelli (2000)

- Topic-Interface-Analysis (Frascarelli 2000:198)
- Clitic Right-Dislocation (CLRD) [*her* 'Right-hand Topic']

Syntax: [CP [WP [FP [AgrSP...clitic_{YP}/pro_{YP}...]]]_k [TopPYP_{Topic} _i]_k]

Mapping Rules

PF: [... (clitic_{YP}) verb ...]_i [YP_{Topic}]_i

=> (TP) (CLRD)

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Frascarelli (2000)

- Topic and Prosody
 - Topic Prosodic Domain (Frascarelli 2000:63)
A Topic is minimally and exhaustively contained in an l(ntonational Phrase)
- =>
- a.) (Topic)
 - b.) X° ... (Topic)... YP
 - c.) (X° Topic)... YP
 - d.) X° ...(Topic YP)

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Prieto (2005)

Prieto (2005): Syntactic & eurhythmic constraints on phrasing decisions in Catalan

- a. (S)_ω_φ (VO)_{ω ω}_φ short subject, short verbal projection
- b. (SV)_{ω ω}_φ (O)_{ω ω}_φ short subject, but long object (2ω)
- c. (S)_{ω ω ω}_φ (VO)_{ω ω}_φ long subject (>2ω), short object

"In Catalan, verbal heads can be regularly phrased together with preceding subjects when objects are long" (Prieto 2005:18)

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Prieto (2005)

- Constraints
- ALIGN-XP,R: ALIGN (XP, R; φ, R) (Selkirk 1995)
Align right edge of XP to right edge of φ
- WRAP-XP (Truckenbrodt 1995, 1999:228)
Each XP is contained in a phonological phrase

Reaction of WRAP-XP to structures derived by ALIGN-XP,R

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. * () _φ () _φ
[XP ₂ X ₁] _{XP₁} | b. ✓ () _φ
[X ₁ XP ₂] _{XP₁} |
| c. * () _φ () _φ
[X ₁ XP ₂ XP ₃] _{XP₁} | d. ✓ () _φ () _φ
[XP ₁ Fct XP ₂] _{FctP} |

from: Truckenbrodt 1999:229

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Prieto (2005)

- Constraints
 - MAX-BIN-END (MBE)
P-phrases containing the main stress of the utterance consist of maximally two prosodic words. (Prieto 2005:10)
- a. *La Marina vol demaNAR-l'hi*
'Marina wants to ask him/her' (broad focus)
 - b. *La MaRIIna vol demanar-l'hi*
'MARINA wants to ask him/her' (narrow contrastive focus)
- (Prieto et al 2005:9:Fig.6)

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Prieto (2005)

- Constraints
- MIN-N-PHRASES
Minimize the number of phrases (normal & rapid speech)
- Constraint penalizes Output-forms with more than 2 P-Phrases (Prieto 2005:20)
- **Hierarchy of the Constraints:**
MIN-N-PHRASES >> MAX-BIN-END >> ALIGN-XP,R >> WRAP-XP

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Prieto (2005)

- Application

		MIN-N-PHRASES	MAX-BIN-END	ALIGN-XP,R	WRAP-XP
a.	() ϕ		*!	*	
b.	() ϕ () ϕ		*!		
c.	() ϕ () ϕ () ϕ			*	VP NP
d.	() ϕ () ϕ () ϕ			*	VP
e.	() ϕ () ϕ () ϕ	*!			VP NP
f.	() ϕ () ϕ () ϕ	*!			VP NP

- La nena demana els regals de Reis (...christmas presents)



zurück

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Previous Accounts

- Problems and Questions:
- Frascarelli (2000):
 - only examines local CLLD and CLRD structures and does not look at embedded CLLD.
 - however, her *Topic Prosodic Domain*
- Prieto (2005):
 - does not say anything about dislocations
 - she offers an OT analysis for Catalan SVO-phrasing.
 - her constraints are insufficient for dislocations

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Overview

1. Subject and Goal
2. The constructions: CLLD and CLRD in Catalan
3. Previous accounts
4. The intonation of CLLD and CLRD
 - A Production Experiment
 - Boundary Cues in Catalan
 - Some Examples and their Pitch Tracks
 - Summary of Phrasing
5. Analysis – The new Constraints
6. Analysis – The OT tables
7. Final remarks & summary

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Intonation

The experiment I

- Production experiment based on scripted speech
- Locus:
 - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain)
- Subjects:
 - 11 subjects (7 female and 3 male, ranging in age from 22-39 years)
 - All speakers were native speakers of Central Catalan (spoken in the greater region of Barcelona)
 - 4 speakers were linguists and hence not totally naïve to the purpose of the experiment

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Intonation

The experiment II

- Material:
 - a total of 68 target sentences displaying the 9 beforementioned structural aspects
 - suitable context question to guarantee that the dislocated part is given (e.g.: 'What did you do with the tables?')
- Procedure:
 - the subjects were told to read out each single sentence only after they were asked the suitable context question
 - the subjects were told to read out the sentences in conversational style without been given any specific instructions regarding the phrasing
 - the sentences were digitized (wav files, sample rate 22.050Hz)
 - F0 tracks were analyzed using PRAAT

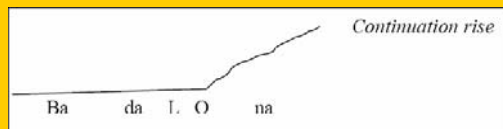
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Intonation

- Boundary cues for Catalan I

- 1.) Continuation rise (= High boundary tone H)
(the preboundary stretch is realized as a rise from the last stressed syllable into the boundary syllable)



taken from Frota et al. 2006:5

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Intonation

- Boundary cues for Catalan II
- 2.) preboundary lengthening
 - 3.) pitch reset
(after the boundary, at the beginning of the following phrase)
 - 4.) a pause
(defined as a stretch of silence; present at the phrasing boundary)

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Intonation

Three examples: Context Question / Answer & Pitch Tracks

1. Non-local CLLD
2. LD out of CLLD
3. CLRD



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Intonation

- Non-local CLLD:

Què va passar amb els veïns catalans de l'altre costat de l'Ebre?
(What happened to the Catalan neighbours from the other side of the Ebre?)

**Als veïns catalans de l'altre costat de l'Ebre [la Bea va dir
[que els volen robar l'aigua]].**

To-the neighbours catalan of the other side of the E. [the B. Past.3SG say
[that CL-DAT want-they steal the-water]]

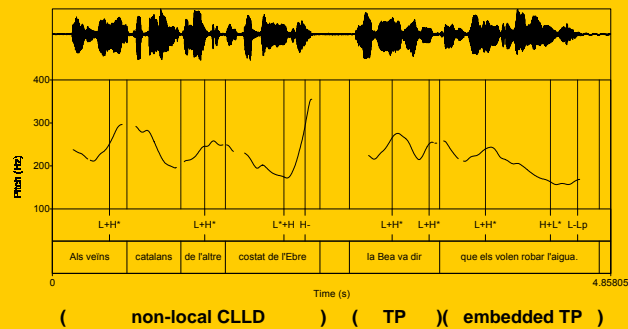
'Bea said that they want to steal the water from the Catalan neighbours from
the other side of (the river) Ebre.'
(based on Prieto 2005:20)

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Intonation (CLLD)

Person 7 – Sentence 11a



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Intonation

- LD out of CLLD:

Qui va comprar l'ampolla de vi rosat de Bordeus?
(Who did buy the bottle of rose wine from Bordeaux?)

**[α De Bordeus] la Maria diu
que [β l'ampolla de vi rosat t(α)] la va comprar el Joel**

[From Bordeaux] the Maria say.3SG
that [the bottle of rose wine] CL.ACC Past.3SG buy the Joel

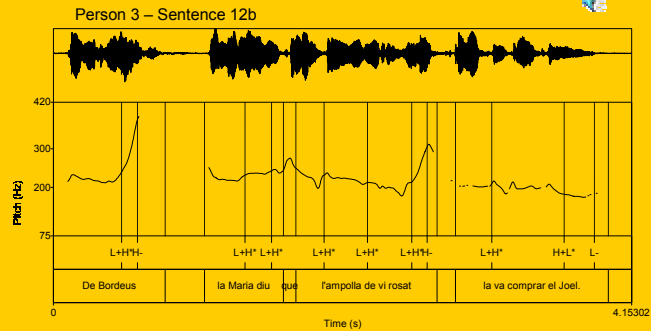
'Mary says that Joel bought the bottle of rose wine from Bordeaux.'

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Intonation (CLLD)



(LD) (TP emb.CLLD) (emb.TP)

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Intonation

- CLRD:

Què va passar amb els veïns catalans de l'altre costat de l'Ebre?
(What happened to the Catalan neighbours from the other side of the river Ebre?)

Els volen robar l'aigua, als veïns catalans de l'altre costat de l'Ebre.

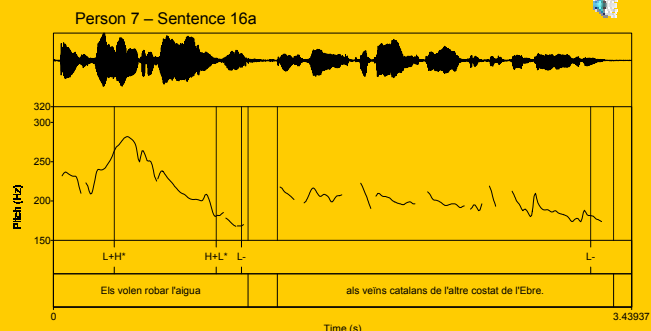
CL-DAT want-they steal-the-water, to-the neighbours cat. of the-other side of the E.

'They want to steal the water from the Catalan neighbours from the other side of Ebre.'

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Intonation (CLRD)



(TP) (CLRD)

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Intonation

- Prosodic Properties – an overview
 - Downstep within each prosodic phrase
 - Typical pitch accent: L+H* (but also L*+H)
 - High boundary tone (H) (= **continuation rise**) after each CLLD
 - No boundary tone on the left of CLLD**
 - Downstep between the continuation rises
 - Reset on the first pitch accent of the clause following CLLD
 - Low boundary tone at the end of that clause
 - h) CLRD is unaccented** and has a flat contour
 - CLRD contour is a bit higher than Low boundary tone of preceding clause

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Overview

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3. Previous accounts
4. The intonation of CLLD and CLRD
5. **Analysis – The new Constraints**
 - ALIGNTOPIC
 - *P(ROSODIC)-P(HRASE)
 - Hierarchy of Constraints
6. Analysis – The OT tables
7. Final remarks & summary

Analysis

- Topics (CLLD & CLRD) do not build a prosodic phrase of their own
- Contra Frascarelli's (2000) *Topic Prosodic Domain*:
A Topic is minimally and exhaustively contained in an Intonational Phrase
- **ALIGNTOPIC** :
 - ALIGN (CLLD,R; Prosodic Phrase,R)
 - ALIGN (CLRD,L; Prosodic Phrase,L)
 Align the right edge of a CLLDed XP to the right edge of a Prosodic Phrase,
 but align the left edge of a CLRDed XP to the left edge of a Prosodic Phrase.

Analysis

- Need for ALIGNTOPIC:

Structure: SVO, with long object
 => 'normal' vs. CLLDed subject (cf. below)

[figure](#)

	[[La nena] [demana els regals [de Reis]]]	AL TOP	MIN- N	MBE	AL	WRAP
a.	()	#!		*	*	
=> b.	() ()			*		
c.	() () ()	#!			*	VPNP
d.	() () ()	#!			*	VP
e.	() () () ()		#!			VPNP
f.	() () () ()		#!			VP

Analysis

- Modification MIN-N-PHRASE:

[S V O]	MIN-N-PHRASE
() () ()	
=> () () ()	#!

Fig. A)

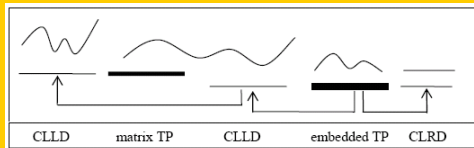
Fig. B)

[CLLD S V [pro V O]]	MIN-N-PHRASE
() () () ()	#!
=> () () ()	

- *P-PHRASE (*P-P):
 Penalize output forms with more than n+1 prosodic phrases.
 (Where n is the amount of extended projections (CPs))
 1 CP => 2 P-Phrases, 2CPs => 3 P-Phrases,...

Final remarks & summary

- Analysis accounts for phrasing of CLLD & CLRD structures:



- Topics do not build automatically a prosodic phrase of their own
- Analysis bases on constraints for simple SVO structures in Catalan and contains one new and one modified constraint:
new: ALIGNTOPIC
modified: *P-P

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Gracies!

ingo.feldhausen@gmx.de

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Title: Prosodic Phrasing in Catalan Dislocation Structures
Name: Ingo Feldhausen (University of Potsdam / ZAS Berlin)
Email: ingo.feldhausen@gmx.de

Introduction: The talk is concerned with the prosodic phrasing of *clitic left-dislocation* (CLLD) and *clitic right-dislocation* (CLRD) constructions in Catalan. Interestingly, there are no analyses so far for embedded and long-distance CLLD and applying the existing analyses to such complex structures shows their insufficiency. My empirical data, for which I recorded 11 speakers of Central Catalan, shows that CLLD does not build a prosodic phrase of its own (contrary to received opinion on this matter, cf. Frascarelli 2000 for Italian). Instead, embedded CLLD is phrased with the matrix clause, leaving out the embedded clause in a separate prosodic phrase, thus signaling a strong right boundary. CLRD is always separated prosodically from the preceding clause.

Analysis: In order to account for the phrasing in complex structures, I will expand the OT account by Prieto (2005) by adding the high-ranked constraints ALIGNTOPIC and *P(ROSODIC)-P(HRASE). ALIGNTOPIC is a disjunct constraint requiring the right alignment of prosodic phrases and topic phrases, which are left-dislocated (CLLD), and left alignment of prosodic phrases and topic phrases, which are right-dislocated (CLRD). *P-P is a constraint which reduces the number of prosodic phrases in reliance on the syntactic length of the clause.

Background: Up to now there are three relevant Optimal Theoretic (OT) constraints to describe the prosodic phrasing of Catalan, with the following ranking: MAXBINEND >> ALIGNXP,R >> WRAPXP (Prieto 2005). MAXBINEND requires that each prosodic phrase which contains the nuclear stress consists of maximally two prosodic words. ALIGNXP,R (Selkirk 2000) requires that the right edge of an XP is aligned to the right edge of a phonological phrase and WRAPXP (Truckenbrodt 1999) demands that each XP is contained in a phonological phrase. This ranking accounts for the fact that size of constituents plays a role in Catalan phrasing within root clauses: (S)(VO) phrasing if object is short; (SV)(O) phrasing if object is long (cf. Prieto 2005, D’Imperio et al. 2005). However, consideration of clitic left-dislocation (CLLD), (1), shows that this paradigm is insufficient. CLLD leads to a violation of MAXBINEND, because CLLD always has a right boundary, i.e. (CLLD)(VO), regardless of the size of the object. The above ranking would predict that the CLLDed constituent would behave like a subject in a sentence with a long object, resulting in the phrasing as seen in (2a), hence (CLLD V)(O). However, the actual phrasing has to be as in (2b). Frascarelli (2000:63) posits that CLLD and CLRD are minimally and exhaustively contained in a prosodic phrase. When it comes to embedded CLLD (3) this claim does not hold. Frascarelli (2000) would expect the phrasing in (3b), whereas the actual phrasing is as in (3c).

(1) Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD):

[Les taules, les porto al pis de la Maria]_{CP1}
‘The tables, I bring to Mary’s flat’

- (2) a. *(Les taules les porto)(al pis de la Maria)* = (CLLD V)(O)
b. *(Les taules)(les porto al pis de la Maria)* = (CLLD) (VO)

(3) Embedded CLLD

- a. [La Maria va dir [que les taules, les va portar al pis]_{CP2}]_{CP1}
‘Mary said that the tables, s/he brought to the flat’
b. **(La Maria va dir que)(les taules)(les va portar al pis)*
c. *(La Maria va dir que les taules)(les va portar al pis)*

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