THE PROSODY OF RESTRICTIVE *SEULEMENT* IN FRENCH

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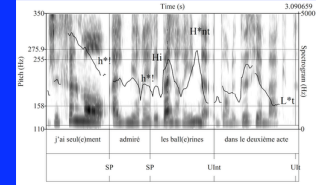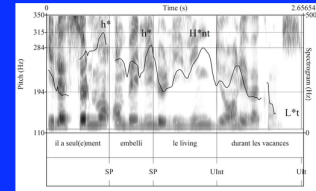marandin@linguist.jussieu.fr

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PROSODIC REALIZATION OF THE ASSOCIATE OF *SEULEMENT* when it occurs to the right of the tensed verb

(1) The domain of restriction is bounded to its right by the first boundary stronger than the boundary of the phrase including *seulement*.

De facto:
– by a boundary of non final UI (prototypically marked by $H_{nt}*$) when *seulement* is phrased as an SP or in an SP (with the Vpp).
– by a boundary of final UI (prototypically marked by T_t*) when *seulement* is phrased as an SP, in an SP or in a nonfinal UI.

(2) The associate – when corresponding to the verb or a dependent of the verb – is marked by prosodic highlighting (PH).

Examples:

a.   J'ai seulement) admiré} les ballerines} dans le deuxième acte]

    SP UI_{nt} UI_t

• Domain of restriction: *admiré les ballerines* (excludes: *dans le deuxième acte*)
• Associate: underspecified between *admiré les ballerines* and *les ballerines*

b. J'ai seulement) admiré) les ballerines } dans le deuxième acte]

    SP   PH UI_{nt} UI_t

• Domain of restriction: *admiré les ballerines* (excludes: *dans le deuxième acte*)
• Associate: *les ballerines*

ASSOCIATE MARKING AND FOCUS MARKING

• Is the choice of bounding the Domain of Restriction by UI_{nt} or UI_t correlated to the marking of Informational Focus?

- **18,3 %** of utterances featuring *seulement* to the right of the Verb have the configuration **}UI_{nt}….]UI_t** and are interpreted with the XP to the right of the boundary of UI_{nt} excluded from the restriction (PP in our corpus). If one assumes that the boundary of final UI_t marks the right edge of the focus domain (Di Cristo 2007, Beyssade et al. 2004), the domain of restriction is included in, but distinct from, the focus domain. Domain of focus and domain of restriction may not be co-extensive (Vallduví & Zacharsky 1994), but more crucially, domain markings turn out to be different. These two facts are contrary to the predictions of the Association with Focus Hypothesis (AFH).

- Table 1 shows the distribution of the utterances featuring the dissociation of both domains according to their informational status. The choice of not marking the domain of restriction by a boundary of UI_t is realized in **16,5%** of the answers to *wh*-questions, and **23,5%** of the answers to *what happens?*-type questions.

Answers to T*	*wh*-questions	*what happens?*-type questions
on NP	58,3% (= 35/60)	30% (= 18/60)
at the end of the utt.	41,7% (= 25/60) among which 40% are such that the domain of restriction excludes the PP	70% (= 42/60) among which 33% are such that the domain of restriction excludes the PP

Table 1: Position of UI_t in answers to *wh*-questions vs *what happens*-questions

• Is the realization of PH explained by the AFH?

The prosodic highlighting of XPs is not specific to the marking of the associate. It is not required for the marking of the narrow informational focus when it is bounded by T*: in 32,5 % of the cases, the narrow focus is not prosodically highlighted. It is not compulsorily triggered by the resolving of question since it occurs in a large number of answers to *what happens?*-type questions (on NPs in 44,6%, but also on other XPs, in our corpus). Finally, Marandin et al. 2002 observed that it marks contrastive topics.

Answers to	*wh*-questions with T* on NP	*wh*-questions with $H_{nt}*$ on NP	*what happens?* type questions
Highlighted NP	67,5% (= 25/37)	79% (= 15/19)	44,6% (= 25/56)

Table 2: PH of the NP in answers to *wh*-questions vs *what happens*-questions in utterances without *seulement*.

ANALYSIS

• The right edges of illocutionary domains are marked by boundaries of UI_t (hosting final nuclear contours).

• The right edges of domains of restriction are marked by boundaries of UI_{nt} (prototypically hosting a $H*_{nt}$). This seems to be generally the case for right edges of the range / scope of adverbs and quantifiers.

• XPs are prosodically highlighted when their denotation should be considered as part of a set of alternatives.

TWO STRATEGIES OF ANSWERING TO WH-QUESTIONS

– **Strategy 1: the illocutionary domain is marked, PH is optional.** Only part of the content is asserted.
– **Strategy 2: the NP is marked as belonging to a set of alternatives (PH obligatory).** The whole content is asserted.

Marking of the domain of restriction: The domain of restriction is included in the illocutionary domain. When their right edges coincide, the common edge bears a UI_t. When they do not, the domain of restriction is bounded independently from the illocutionary domain.

Marking of the associate: When the associate has to be disambiguated or foregrounded, it is prosodically highlighted and thus its denotation is viewed as part of a set of alternatives.

TWO TYPES OF MARKING - TWO TYPES OF FOCUS

The Focus defined as the part of content crucially involved in the illocutionary make-up of the utterance (Jacobs 1984, 1991) and the Focus defined as referring to a set of alternatives (Rooth 1992) give rise to two distinct prosodic markings in French. Thus, the two definitions do not coincide in French.

- Focus based on information structure: UI_t phrasing

- Focus based on alternatives: Prosodic highligting

Corpus for the study: 240 elicited utterances produced by 15 speakers (male or female), taken from a corpus of 321 utterances produced by 19 speakers. See document for the elicitation of the corpus.