Weight sensitivity and prominence in Laurentian French

Word count: 11,884

Abstract: Prominence is conventionally described as being assigned to the final syllable of phrases in French, but previous quantitative and qualitative work has shown that this is not always the case. Using corpus data from Laurentian French (Saguenay, Quebec), we test the hypothesis that prominence is phonologically assigned to non-final syllables to signal weight contrasts. Our results demonstrate that this is indeed the case, with both codas and heavy vowels attracting prominence away from final syllables, particularly when the final syllable is open. In terms of phonetic realisation, we observe that the primary cues to prominence in French are higher pitch and longer durations, consistent with descriptions in the literature, with higher amplitude additionally manipulated to signal weight but not phrasal prominence. With regards to the phonological representation, we interpret these findings as indicating that the location of prominence can signal syllable weight and that this prominence is best formally expressed as a pitch accent due to its attraction to word-level properties.

Keywords: Prominence, Prosody, Weight sensitivity, French, Laurentian French.

1 Introduction

Final syllables are conventionally characterised as bearing main prominence in French (e.g. Grammont 1914; Delattre 1939; Pasdeloup 1990; Jun & Fougeron 1995). This prominence is reflected through longer durations and higher pitch peaks relative to non-prominent syllables (e.g. Jun & Fougeron 1995; 2000). For example, the final syllable in /patʁɔn/ *patronne* 'boss-FEM' is the longest and has the highest pitch of the two syllables, which we indicate with the diacritic for stress: [pa'tʁɔn]. In contrast to languages like English with lexical stress, prominence in French is not a word-level phenomenon, but is instead assigned at the phrasal level. Thus, while in English, both the adjective and noun are prominent within a noun phrase: [ðə ˌfjuːʧə'bɑs] *the future boss*, in the corresponding phrase in French, only the phrase-final syllable is obligatorily prominent: [la fytyʁ pa'tʁɔn] *la future patronne* 'the future boss-FEM'. French additionally includes an optional phrase-initial pitch peak, typically realised on the first syllable of the leftmost lexical word. If no more than one pitch peak can be realised, as in shorter phrases, it is the final one that is preserved (Jun & Fougeron 2002). Only this obligatory final prominence is under focus in the current study.

The observation that the domains of prominence in French and English are different suggests that prominence serves different functions in the two languages. In French, prominence allows interlocutors to reliably recover the right edge of phrases and therefore reduce the risk of ambiguity (e.g. Mertens 2006; Vaissière 2010), for example, distinguishing between adjectival modifiers and reduced relative clauses in the one-phrase parse of *la patronne responsable*, [la patʁɔn ʁɛspɔ̃'sab(l)], in which the boss is a responsible person, and the two-phrase parse, [la pa'tʁɔn ʁɛspɔ̃'sab(l)], in which the boss is responsible for something specific. However, one challenge for the view that prominence serves to mark phrasal domains in French is that the cues to prominence do not strictly fall on the final syllable; they often fall on the penult even when the final syllable does not contain a schwa (invisible to prominence assignment; e.g. Garde 1968; Pasdeloup 1990; Prieto et al. 2005). This has been observed across varieties of French: Parisian and other northern varieties (Carton et al. 1983; Goldman & Simon 2007; Simon 2011), Midi (Coquillon 2005; Sichel-Bazin et al. 2011), Laurentian (Thibault & Ouellet 1996), Swiss (Goldman & Simon 2007; Avanzi et al. 2011), and Belgian (Simon 2004; 2011; Goldman & Simon 2007; Bardiaux & Mertens 2014).[1] Furthermore, prominence shift has been observed in data from over a century ago (Martin 2011). For example, in *la marquis* 'the marquis', the penult can be realised with longer duration and higher pitch than the final syllable: [la 'maʁki]. This *shift* in prominence suggests that prominence is sensitive to considerations other than just phrase edges. The goal of this paper is to investigate the factors that condition such prominence shifts.

A plausible motivation for prominence shifts is that speakers are enhancing word-level properties in addition to phrase edges. Heavy syllables attract prominence across languages (Prince 1990) and could therefore be a relevant word-level property for French. If weight plays a role in predicting the location of prominence in French, then the penult in *marquis* should be more likely to be prominent than the penult in *patronne* because [maʁ] is closed (and therefore potentially heavy) while [pa] is not. Thus far, the evidence suggesting that weight is responsible for prominence shifts is limited to naive listener judgments (Paradis & Deshaies 1990), effects of long vowels on pitch contours (Thibault & Ouellet 1996), and segmental alternations (Scullen 1997; Armstrong 1999; but cf. Bullock 1994).

[1] This overview of previous findings only includes cases where the penult is realised with higher pitch than the final syllable. However, there is the additional observation that the phrase-final rise to the pitch peak may extend into the penult, which is discussed as an aspect of cadence by Auteserre & Di Cristo (1972). It is possible that these two phenomena may be governed by similar mecanisms, but we leave this question for future work.

In this paper, we test the hypothesis that prominence assignment is sensitive to relative weight, consistent with how weight interacts with prominence cross-linguistically. We use mixed effects linear regression to test the effects of prosodic phrasing, vowel weight and coda weight on the realisation of prominence in read speech collected from the Saguenay (Quebec) survey (Côté 2014) in the *Phonologie du français contemporain* corpus (Durand et al. 2002; 2009; http://www.projet-pfc.net/). Laurentian French was chosen as it presents more heavy syllables than many other varieties due to having preserved a large number of vowel contrasts. Furthermore, vowel length is regularly enhanced through diphthongisation (Dumas 1974; Côté 2012) and many monophthongs have distinct qualities in closed syllables (Paradis 1985; Côté 2012), facilitating detection of weight contrasts, and previous work suggests that pitch targets in Laurentian French match those of European counterparts while being emphasised through larger pitch ranges (e.g. Poiré & Kaminskaia 2004). In sum, this dialect is a good test case to systematically examine the relationship between weight and prominence shifts in French. We will show that weight is signalled using the cues for marking phrase edges and that these effects motivate variable prominence shift. Based on these results, we argue for a revised interpretation of prominence in (Laurentian) French: lexical prominence, which is marked using amplitude and duration, variably attracts phrasal prominence, which is marked using pitch.

2 Theoretical context

2.1 Weight

Cross-linguistic comparisons show that weight and prominence often interact; in languages with lexical stress, for example, heavy syllables attract stress (Prince 1990; Gordon 2014). Example words in the literature on French illustrating prominence shift typically suggest a pattern of weight-sensitivity: prominence is word final unless the penult is heavy or the final syllable is light. We draw upon such examples, as well as cross-linguistic observations about the interaction of weight and stress, to propose the hypothesis in (1):

(1) Hypothesis:

French prominence assignment is sensitive to weight.

Languages vary in which types of rhymes count as heavy: codas may or may not be weight-bearing, while long vowels are consistently heavy (Hayes 1995). We begin by discussing the status of codas, a term which we use to cover both word-medial rhymal dependents and word-final consonants. French has codas in both positions, as we can see in [maʁ.ki] *marquis* 'marquis' and [ka.nal] *canal* 'canal', so a related question concerns whether medial and final codas both pattern as heavy.

Some authors have analysed word-final codas in French as onsets of syllables with empty nuclei (Dell 1995); consistent with this, consonants in this position have an onset profile and clusters with rising sonority are observed word-finally, as in [mɛtʁ] *mettre* 'to put', paralleling what are indisputably branching onsets in non-final position in the language (Dell 1995). Since onsets do not typically contribute weight and empty nuclei are by definition weightless, final codas are not expected to attract prominence under this analysis, independent of the status of medial codas. In contrast to the view that final consonants are onsets of empty-headed syllables, we analyse final consonants as true codas (i.e. as rhymal dependents) because vowels in final syllables are affected by following consonants in ways that are expected if these consonants are in coda: for example, final consonants in Laurentian French trigger productive laxing of high vowels (Walker 1984; Côté 2012). Following the literature, we assume that final prominence will be preferred when both the final and penultimate syllables have the same coda weight profiles (i.e. open-open or closed-closed), barring differences in vowel quality.

Turning to vowels, French has a relatively large inventory, which is generally described as including both light (short) and heavy (long) vowels even though these contrasts are predominantly realised through quality differences in contemporary French (e.g. Walker 1984).[2] For example, /o/ is heavy, as seen in final closed syllables where it is realised as long ([koːt] *côte* 'hill'); in Laurentian French this length can be reinforced by diphthongisation ([ko͡ʊ̯t]) (e.g. Dumas 1974; Côté 2012). This pattern for /o/ contrasts with that for /ɔ/ ([kɔt] *cote* 'code'), which is neither long nor diphthongised and is therefore light. This diagnostic distinguishes a series of heavy vowels /e ø o ɑ ɛː ɛ̃ œ̃ ɔ̃ ɑ̃/ and a series of light vowels /i y u ɛ œ ɔ a ə/, with vowels of both

[2] We use *light* and *heavy* to refer to the classification of vowels rather than *short* and *long* because we distinguish phonological weight from phonetic duration.

weight categories surfacing as short word-finally (e.g. Walker 1984; Montreuil 1995; Côté 2012).[3] We adopt the position that vowel quality differences reflect length differences, and consequently expect that prominence will shift inwards more often in /kote/ *côté* 'side' than in /kɔte/ *coté* 'coded (as)' because the heavy penult attracts prominence in *côté*, while the light penult in *coté* does not. This suggests that different behaviours are expected for vowel weight compared to coda weight in that codas always render a syllable heavy, while underlyingly heavy vowels do not. We therefore expect that final syllables will be sensitive to the *source* of weight (heavy vowel vs. coda), whereas penults will be sensitive simply to the *presence* of a heavy syllable.

2.2 Cues

The cues manipulated to signal the right edge of prosodic domains in French have been the subject of some debate, with pitch, duration and amplitude all having been discussed as possible cues. Authors typically agree upon the role played by pitch, with high and low tones marking phrase boundaries (e.g. Mertens 1987; 1993; Di Cristo & Hirst 1993; 1996; Post 1993; Jun & Fougeron 1995).[4] High tones are associated with prominent syllables, leading to the frequent characterisation of pitch peaks being a trait of prominent syllables across varieties. Previous work on Laurentian French additionally suggests that pitch targets are sensitive to vowel weight, finding high tones on the penult more often when the penult vowel is heavy (Thibault & Ouellet 1996). In addition, maximum pitch has been the main correlate examined in work describing prominence shifts, so we expect that pitch contours will be affected by both prosodic domains and weight, such that heavy syllables will be realised with higher pitch maxima.

Prominent syllables are typically longer than non-prominent ones, which has led to debate about whether length is a primary (Delattre 1968; Walker 1984; Schwab & Llisterri 2012) or

[3] We note two potential exceptions to this categorisation. First, nasal vowels may form a special subclass of heavy vowels because they can variably be diphthongised in final open syllables, suggesting that they may maintain their weight (as heavy) in this position. Nonetheless, both oral and nasal heavy vowels exhibit the pattern of being long and diphthongised in closed final syllables. Second, schwa may pattern differently from the class of light vowels because, as mentioned in the text, it cannot be assigned prominence (Garde 1968; Pasdeloup 1990; Prieto et al. 2005), consistent with it having no mora (e.g. Tranel 1984; Hyman 1985; but cf. Eychenne 2006). Schwa does not surface in our data and we therefore cannot test how it patterns.

[4] As we discuss both pitch as an acoustic cue (a phonetic measurement, here measured in semitones) and pitch targets (a phonological category), we use *pitch* for acoustic measurements and *tone* for phonological targets.

secondary cue (Vaissière 1991; Jun & Fougeron 1995; 2000; 2002; Di Cristo 1998; Santiago 2011). We therefore expect that duration will pattern similarly to pitch in participating in prominence shifts and, given previous work showing that Laurentian French has longer penults compared to Parisian French (Ouellet & Tardif 1996), we expect that duration will be a robust cue in our study. Durational differences on the final syllable, however, may be compressed; final syllables are subject to lengthening in French, which could reduce the effect size in the final syllable while retaining the durational effect in the penult.

We point out that duration is confounded with weight: phonologically long segments (heavy vowels) and additional segments (codas) are, of course, expected to affect rhyme durations because there is more content to pronounce independent of weight. We expect a trade-off between syllables, however, with the prominent syllable being lengthened and the non-prominent syllable compressed. The effect of weight on duration should therefore be particularly robust; we would not conclude that there is sufficient evidence to support our hypothesis that prominence assignment is sensitive to weight if a small change in duration is the only effect of increased weight.

Unlike pitch and duration, amplitude is not typically reported in acoustic studies on French prominence. Indeed, some authors propose that amplitude is not a possible cue to prominence in French because it is associated only with word-level prominence (Féry 2013): languages with lexical stress use amplitude to signal word-level prominence, but not to mark phrasal prominence. However, French speakers use increased amplitude as a cue to stress in Spanish in experimental settings (Féry et al. 2010) and amplitude is manipulated to signal prominence in Swiss French (Schwab & Llisterri 2012). In light of most previous literature, we do not expect amplitude to be associated with marking prosodic domains. However, if prominence shift serves to highlight word-level properties, we expect that amplitude will pattern with pitch and duration in signalling weight.

We finally consider that prominence cues may not pattern together. For example, the pitch peak may remain on a light final syllable while the heavy penult increases in duration, in which case we would have evidence that both word-level and phrase-level prominences are signalled simultaneously but on different syllables.

2.3 Prosodic domains

As previously noted, the smallest domain of prominence in French is not the word; only phrasal domains assign pitch targets. Many terms have been used to describe the domains involved, but the smallest domain consistently groups together lexical words and their preceding syntactic dependents (e.g. Hirst & Di Cristo 1984; Di Cristo & Hirst 1993; 1996; Jun & Fougeron 1995; 2000; see also Delais-Roussarie 1996). We follow Jun & Fougeron (1995) in calling this domain the *accentual phrase* (AP). APs are typically characterised by rising intonation at the right edge, with high tone targets normally being associated with final syllables (Jun & Fougeron 1995; see Kaminskaïa 2009; 2015 for a variety of Laurentian French).

APs are combined into larger units, *intonational phrases* (IPs), which typically correspond to sentences (Jun & Fougeron 1995). For brevity, we refer to any word at the right edge of an IP as IP-final without indicating that it is also AP-final, and we therefore refer to any word that is at the end of an AP but *not* at the end of an IP as AP-final. Different kinds of IPs are associated with different pitch contours or tone targets based on the function of the sentence. For example, assertive IPs are typically marked with a final low tone, while interrogative IPs are typically marked with a final high tone (Jun & Fougeron 1995; 2000; 2002; Post 2000; Martin 2004; Kaminskaïa 2009; 2015). In this paper, we focus only on assertive IPs, given the content of the text from which the data are drawn, and we control for prosodic domain type when examining weight effects. More specifically, we compare APs and IPs to each other in order to determine which cues mark prosodic domains in Laurentian French.

The right edges of assertive IPs are typically marked with a low boundary tone (L%), which replaces the high (H*) of the AP's rise and makes the contour level or slightly falling (LL%).[5] Here, the percent sign indicates that the tone is a boundary tone (and is therefore associated to a phrase edge). We expect that AP-final syllables are marked with a high tone – and therefore high pitch – with the associated rise predominantly occurring on the final syllable. IP-final syllables have low pitch due to the IP-final low tone.

Though pitch differences between APs and IPs have been studied extensively, it remains unclear whether duration and amplitude are also manipulated to distinguish between these

[5] We abstract away from IP variability here, but note that prior studies find some variation in the realisation or selection of pitch contours in these contexts (e.g. Post 2004; Simon 2004).

prosodic domains. Previous work finds longer final syllables being associated with APs in some cases (Féry et al. 2010) and with IPs in others (Michelas & D'imperio 2011, for slow speech). This suggests that, if there exists a significant difference in the degree of final lengthening based on type of domain, it is small and therefore small-scale studies are likely to find seemingly contradictory results simply by chance.[6] The literature does not suggest an expected difference in penult durations for prosodic domains of different sizes, though it is worth noting that, in languages with lexical stress like English, final lengthening can target the last syllable with primary stress rather than the final syllable (Shattuck-Hufnagel & Turk 1998). We expect that final syllables at the right edge of IPs are longer than those at the right edge of APs, but for this difference to be small based on mixed results in previous work.

Finally, the use of amplitude to mark different types of prosodic domains in Laurentian French, if manipulated at all, is not yet known. Based on other dialects and typology, we expect that amplitude will not be manipulated to distinguish APs from IPs.

2.4 Expectations for French prominence

Based on previous literature, we expect that French, and particularly Laurentian French, predominantly uses pitch and duration to mark prosodic domains. We additionally expect the language to exhibit weight sensitivity, with both long vowels and closed syllables being heavy and therefore attracting prominence. These heavy syllables are expected to be marked with increased rhyme durations and higher amplitudes. Furthermore, we expect the tone target (H* in the AP's LH*) to shift inwards towards heavy penults and away from open final syllables, leading to higher pitch maxima for penults compared to final syllables. Figure 1 illustrates expected pitch profiles using idealised pitch contours at the right edge of the accentual phrase for unshifted (top) and shifted (bottom) cases of APs (left) and IPs (right). In APs that are not IP-final, we predict a rising contour with H* aligned with the final syllable if shift does not occur, but with the penult if shift does occur. In IP-final contexts, however, we expect to get no high tone if shift does not occur, since H* in the final syllable gets replaced by the IP's L% boundary tone, assuming an assertive sentence. When shift does occur, the AP's H* tone would be

[6] It could additionally be that other factors confound the results of previous studies for duration; for example, the presence of a following pause could reduce an IP's final lengthening, since this cue is no longer needed.

expected to move inwards to the penult and therefore the phrase would end in a rise-fall because the IP's L% tone would be aligned with the boundary and would not replace the AP's H* assigned to the previous syllable.

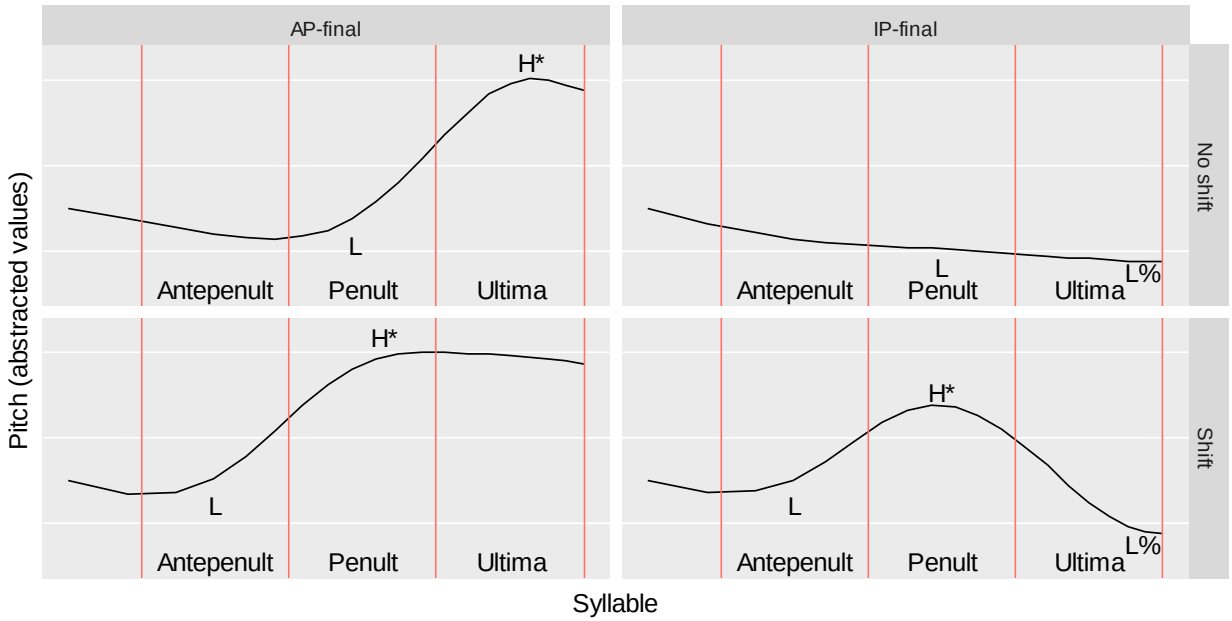

Figure 1: Predicted pitch contours at end of APs depending on whether AP-final word is also IP-final (right) or not (left), and whether word undergoes prominence shift (bottom) or not (top).

3 Methods

The goal of this study is to quantitatively test whether phonologically heavy syllables attract prominence in Laurentian French.

3.1 Corpus and speakers

As mentioned, we draw our data from the Laurentian sub-corpus (Côté 2014) of the *Phonologie du français contemporain* corpus (Durand et al. 2002; 2009; http://www.projet-pfc.net/). Speakers from each location take part in four tasks, one of which involves reading a short passage. We focus on this task as it increases the likelihood that the tokens across speakers are more comparable and that the phrasing is relatively fixed, since the speakers generally formed prosodic domains based on the punctuation provided. Additionally, speech rate and register tend

to be more consistent throughout a read passage than in spontaneous speech, which further increases comparability within and across speakers.

As previously noted, we examine Laurentian French because it conserves a large number of vowel length contrasts, providing more opportunities for weight effects to be observed. The presence of these additional vowel contrasts renders imbalances in vowel weight more common in Laurentian French, and diphthongisation enhances the salience of weight, making this variety an optimal starting point for testing prosodic effects of syllable weight in French.

We specifically examine speakers from Chicoutimi, Quebec, located 200km north of Quebec City. This area was selected as it has limited contact with other languages and dialects. In the Saguenay area, which includes Chicoutimi, 98.3% of inhabitants report speaking French as a native language, and 98.9% speak only French at home; further, the rate of bilingualism, including French-English bilingualism, is relatively low: inhabitants aged 20-44 are the most likely to be bilingual (31.8%; nearly double the next highest group's rate) (Statistics Canada 2012). The Saguenay area additionally sees relatively little immigration, from both inside and outside of Quebec or Canada, reducing the potential for language contact to affect the results.

The data in this study come from 11 native French speakers who were born and raised in Chicoutimi, with speakers spanning three generations (age 22-74) and being relatively well-balanced for sex (5 men, 6 women). All speakers were fluent readers.

3.2 Procedure

3.2.1 Alignment and syllabification

The recordings were forced-aligned using an aligner trained on Laurentian French that uses speaker-adapted word-internal triphone models to maximise accuracy (Milne 2014). A Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2016) script then performed syllabification using an onset-maximisation algorithm. The syllabifications used in the analysis are based on realised forms, as coded by the forced aligner; reduced clusters and omitted schwas are not reconstructed, so that a word like /mɛtʁ/ *mettre* 'to put' was considered as having one syllable if the possible final schwa was not realised (e.g. [mɛt], [mɛtʁ]), but two if it was (e.g. [mɛtʁə]).

3.2.2 Identifying prosodic domains

As we examine prominence shift to the penult, only words with at least two realised syllables were extracted. We only examine the last two syllables of each target word, regardless of how many syllables are in the word. We additionally restricted the words analysed to those that are at the end of an AP, given that this is the smallest prosodic domain described as assigning pitch targets (e.g. Jun & Fougeron 1995; 2000; 2002). This was done manually based solely on the text to ensure that the coding was not biased by the presence or absence of cues that we would consciously associate with the right edge of a domain.

We adopt Jun & Fougeron's (1995) criteria for determining APs and IPs, which are further supported by phonological processes discussed in Hannahs (1995). Words followed by a period are treated as IP-final. Words coded as AP-final are final within noun or verb phrases: post-verbal adverbs, post-nominal adjectives, and nouns and main verbs with no following adjunct. Words followed by a comma were included as a prosodic context in our models, though discussion of the associated prosodic contour is set aside for space reasons (see Redacted 2017).

3.2.3 Acoustic measurements

For each syllable included in the analysis, a Praat script extracted the rhyme duration,[7] as well as the syllable's maximum pitch and maximum amplitude, based on the cues discussed by Gordon (2014) in his typological work and those examined for French by Jun & Fougeron (1995; 2000; 2002).[8] We focus our analysis on maximum pitch (see further §3.4.1) because it locates phrase-final high tones (the acoustic target for AP prominence; e.g. Jun & Fougeron 1995). Figures 2 and 3 illustrate unshifted and shifted prominence in non-final APs, respectively. We see that the pitch maximum is highest in the final and penult syllables, respectively.

[7] Preliminary data analysis considered vowel durations; we do not report these results because the patterns under focus for the rhyme and vowel are the same.

[8] Earlier analyses, such as those in Redacted (2018), included results for pitch range, which is not included in the current study for two reasons. First, results closely mirror the ones found for maximum pitch. Second, pitch ranges less directly reflect the high-tone target of the AP than pitch maxima do. We note that results for maximum pitch are compressed because values are always obtained from maxima: a rise beginning in an earlier syllable will show a smaller difference between syllables than a rise that takes place entirely within a single syllable, and the lowest point of a fall is not captured by the measure.

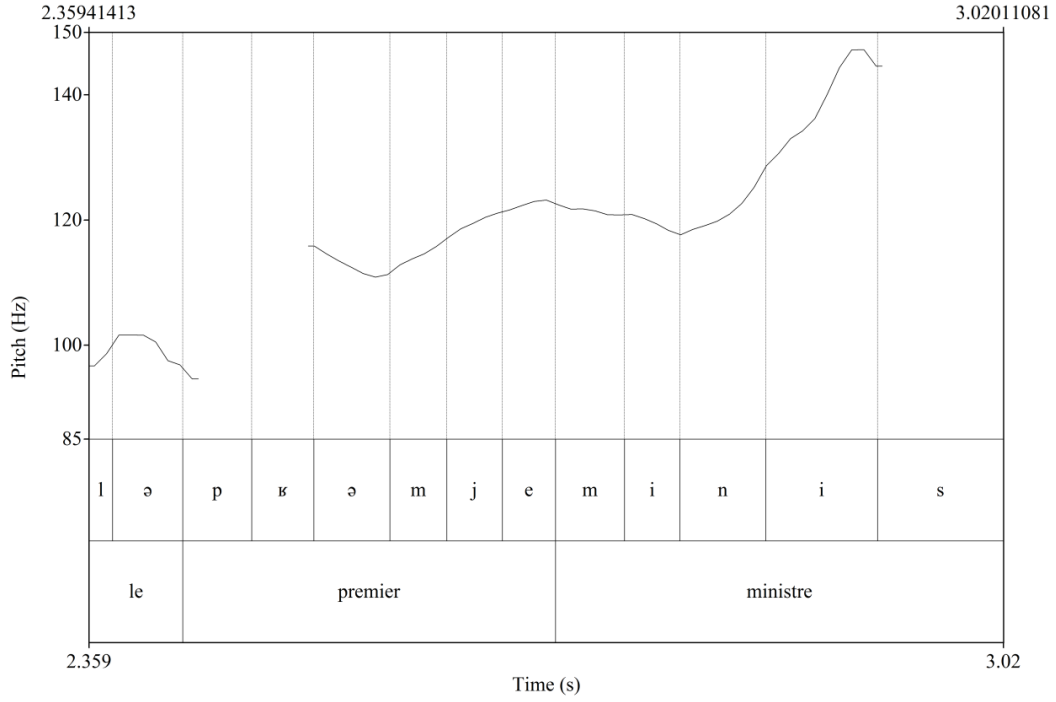

Figure 2: *Le premier ministre* 'the prime minister' without prominence shift (speaker cqbcl1).

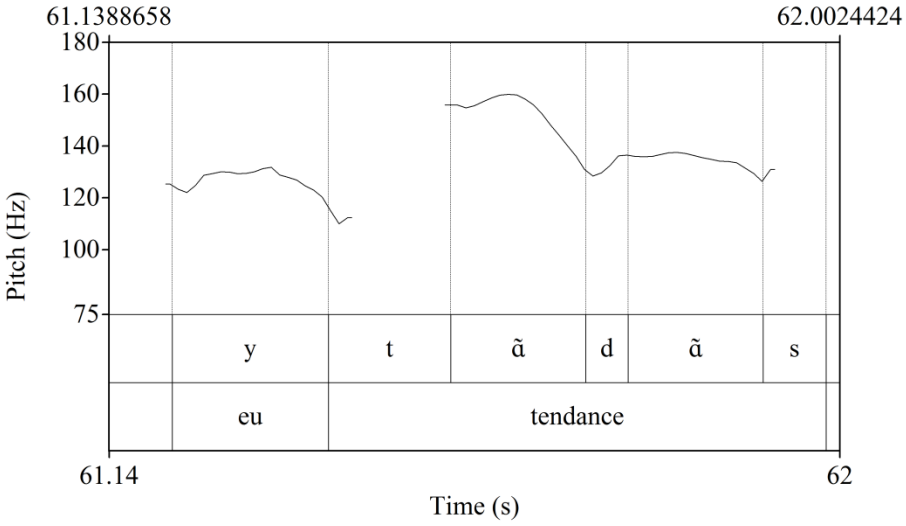

Figure 3: *(Ont) eu tendance* '(had) a tendency' with prominence shift (speaker cqbfv1).

Maximum amplitude was preferred over mean amplitude because the mean is more affected by the segments present in a given syllable and because a shorter vowel would be expected to be at its maximum for a shorter period of time, thereby reducing the mean value without necessarily reflecting a lower amplitude target. Using maximum amplitude also meant that we could reliably measure through the rhyme instead of limiting ourselves to the vowel, which could have resulted in not including the point with the greatest amplitude if, for example, there was a sonorant consonant in the coda that was higher in amplitude than the immediately preceding vowel.

3.3 Models

Acoustic cue realisations of the 2736 targeted syllables were analysed using the lme4 package (Bates et al. 2015) in R (R Development Core Team 2015) to compute mixed-effects linear regressions with speaker and word as random intercepts.[9] We discuss the results of three models, one for each acoustic cue (maximum pitch, rhyme duration, maximum rhyme amplitude). The distribution of the residuals' was approximately normal and correlation matrices confirmed that the assumption of multicollinearity was not violated.[10]

The models take as their dependent variables not the raw acoustic measurements, but instead, the difference between the last two syllables' values, which yields a relative value (RV) to provide some normalisation for the context, with the use of random intercepts simulating normalisation procedures to remove inter-speaker differences (Drager & Hay 2012). The formula for the RV, presented for each cue in (2), involves subtracting the final syllable's value from the penultimate syllable's value. This provides an interpretable value: an RV greater than 0 indicates that the penult has a higher cue measurement; an RV below 0 indicates that the final syllable has a higher value. The further from 0 the RV is, the larger the difference between the two syllables.

We use subtraction when calculating the RV for two reasons. First, cues are already log-scaled (manually for duration; in the unit for amplitude and pitch). Second, this allows for a more

[9] Our study does not have sufficient speakers to confidently test inter-speaker variability, but the consistency within our sample suggests that weight effects are found across speakers. We leave examination of individual differences for future work.

[10] While the factors are not too confounded for testing, there are distributional asymmetries in French which mean that the data are skewed towards having certain phonemic content in some contexts only. For instance, while /e/ is common word-finally, it does not occur in closed final syllables. Similarly, /ɔ/ is absent in word-final open syllables.

intuitive interpretation of RVs: not only does the RV's sign indicate which syllable has a greater cue measurement, but the RV can be interpreted as the change in measurement value. Because our models look at RVs, the model considered 1,368 data points (one per word). Four tokens were excluded from the maximum pitch and maximum amplitude models due to excessive devoicing of high vowels.

(2) Formula for calculating RVs:

$$RV_{cue} = measurement_{penult,cue} - measurement_{final,cue}$$

Figure 4 illustrates how RVs relate to cue measurements using 2,000 hypothetical words generated through the *rnorm* function in R.[11] In the left panel, we provide an example of hypothetical results for penult weight; penults have a higher value when heavy than when light. In the right panel, we see RVs based on hypothetical measurements: positive RVs when the penult vowel is heavy; negative RVs when the penult vowel is light. For maximum pitch, the RV will often be near 0 in the case of tone targets retracted to the penult because the final syllable will not have a separate tone target, as shown in Figure 1, and therefore the final syllable's pitch will be similar to the penult's pitch. In our statistical analysis, model coefficients reflect the penult attracting prominence through increased RVs in the heavy-vowel context compared to the light-vowel context.

[11] 500 tokens were generated for each combination of the penult and final syllables being light or heavy. Prominent syllables were given a mean of 25, and non-prominent syllables, a mean of 15. If a final syllable was heavy (expected to preserve prominence) or the penult was light (not expected to attract prominence), the final syllable was prominent. To reflect the hypothesis that heavy penults will optionally attract prominence from light final vowels, the penult was treated as prominent (mean value of 25) in half of the cases where the penult syllable was heavy, with the final syllable thus not being prominent (mean value of 15). If the two syllables had equal weight and therefore more variation in prominence was expected to occur, the standard deviation for both syllables was set to 7, while it was set to 3 if the syllables differed in weight.

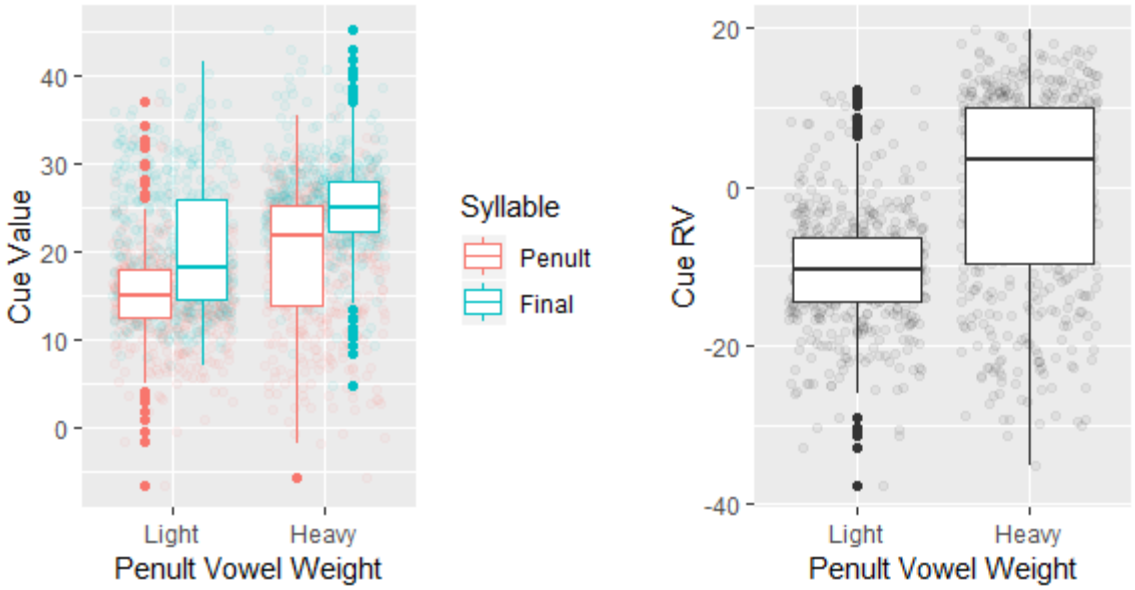

Figure 4: Syllable weight values and their associated RVs using hypothetical data.

Returning to the statistical analysis, all models include identical fixed and random effect structures to ensure comparability. With the exception of prosodic domain, all factors are binary and were both rescaled by two standard deviations and centred for better comparability with potential non-binary factor effects. The prosodic domain is a ternary factor (AP with no punctuation vs. AP with comma vs. IP) and was Helmert-coded so that the first prosodic domain factor in the model provides the difference between APs with no punctuation and IPs, the domain comparison we focus on in the analysis. In all cases, the following directions of effect are interpreted as an increase in prominence: increased pitch, amplitude and duration. The coefficients in the model can be interpreted as the size of the change in acoustic cue measurements.

We included one additional factor in the model that does not directly relate to the predictions under focus: morphological structure. A larger and more diverse dataset would be required to test the effects of morphological structure in detail since many properties of individual morphemes could play a role (e.g. syllable shape, phonological size, derivation vs. inflection). However, preliminary data exploration revealed that we would need to control for morphological structure

in our models, so we included a manually coded factor that identified whether the penult was base-final. We will point out where this factor was crucial in our description of results, but not treat it as a focus given dataset limitations.

3.4 Predictions

In this section, we discuss predictions that stem from our hypothesis that French prominence is sensitive to weight. We begin with prosodic domains.

3.4.1 Prosodic domains

AP-final syllables are generally expected to be marked with LH*, which means that penults will have lower maximum pitch than final syllables, yielding a negative RV for maximum pitch. We also expect IP-final syllables to be marked with an LL% or H*L% contour, which means that RVs will be near or above 0 since the final syllable will bear a low tone. These expectations lead to the prediction that maximum pitch RVs will be significantly higher in IPs (H% on the final syllable) compared to in APs (high pitch on the final).

Given the literature on final lengthening, we expect that duration RVs will be higher in APs than in IPs because the final syllable of IPs will be subject to greater phrase-final lengthening. However, this difference is likely to be small based on mixed results in the literature, and this study will not have the statistical power required to confidently refute if a small effect exists. These expectations lead to the prediction that we will not find any significant effect of prosodic domain in duration.

Finally, we do not expect there to be a significant difference between APs and IPs with respect to amplitude RV because amplitude is not expected to be used as a cue to phrasal prominence, though again we will cautiously not refute the presence of a small effect if no statistically significant effect is found. We therefore do not predict any difference in amplitude resulting from the type of prosodic domain.

We summarise our expectations in Prediction 1:

(3) **Prediction 1**: We predict that IPs will have significantly lower-pitched final-syllable rhymes than APs will; we do not predict that there will be a significant difference in duration or amplitude between APs and IPs.

3.4.2 Coda weight

One source of weight we consider is codas, where closed syllables are heavy and open syllables (with short vowels) are light. We expect that syllables with codas will have greater prominence compared to those without. As a result, our expectations for coda weight are straightforward: closed penults will attract prominence; final closed syllables will preserve prominence. These expectations lead to Prediction 2:

(4) **Prediction 2**: We predict that closed syllables will have significantly higher values compared to open ones for all acoustic cues signalling prominence (maximum pitch, duration, amplitude).

3.4.3 Vowel weight

Recall that we model vowel weight as binary as classified by vowel behaviour in closed final syllables: heavy vowels surface as long in closed final syllables, while light vowels are short in this context. We expect that heavy vowels will attract prominence and therefore that final high tones will be attracted to heavy vowels; that heavy vowels will have significantly longer duration; and that heavy vowels will be marked with increased amplitude. Combining our expectations that final syllables must be closed to count as heavy and that vowel weight contributes to weight in final closed syllables, we expect that final open syllables will pattern as light even if they contain an underlyingly heavy vowel. These expectations lead to Prediction 3:

(5) **Prediction 3**: We predict that syllables containing a heavy vowel will have significantly higher values for all acoustic cues (maximum pitch, duration, maximum amplitude)

compared to syllables containing a light vowel, except in the case of final open syllables where we do not predict that a significant effect will be found.

3.4.4 Differences between syllables

Thus far, we have treated the two syllables under focus as equally capable of hosting prominence. This, though, is not consistent with the literature where final syllables are standardly considered to be the default position for prominence in French. In view of this, we must modulate our predictions to ensure that the prominence-retaining properties of final syllables will have a greater effect than the prominence-attracting properties of penult syllables. This may manifest not only in the relative sizes of the predicted coefficients (larger for factors relating to final syllables than for those relating to penults), but also in the distributions. Figure 5 illustrates this final-syllable preference by revising the data presented in Figure 4 to favour prominence on final syllables unless the penult is heavy and the final syllable is light. RVs are consequently compressed in Figure 5: values tend to be negative or near zero even where penult prominence is predicted. We therefore supplement the RVs in our models by plotting syllable measurements.

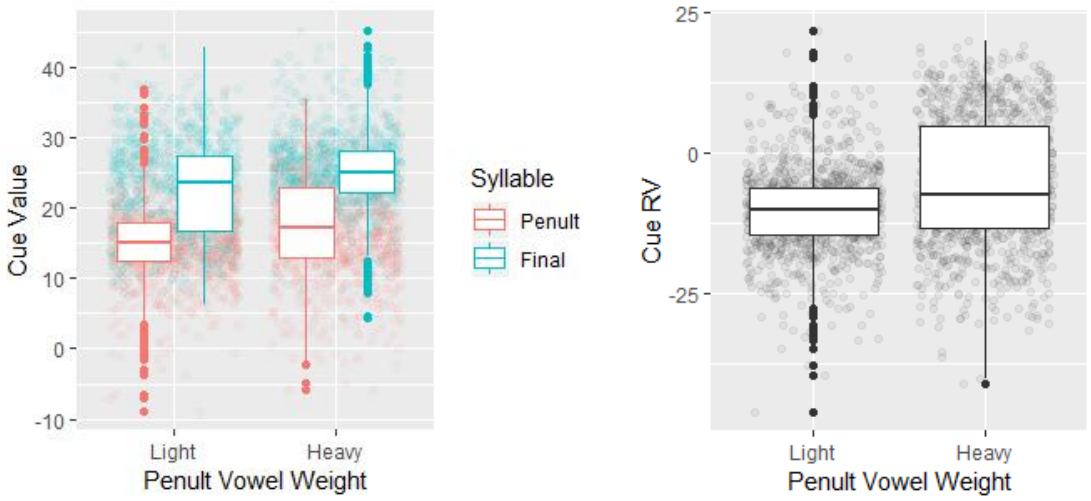

Figure 5: Hypothetical results and their associated RVs.

4 Results

In this section, we discuss the results of our statistical models (included in Appendices A-C). We present findings thematically, to directly compare each factor's effect on acoustic cues. All figures will follow the same layout: panel A shows maximum pitch, panel B shows rhyme duration, and panel C shows maximum amplitude.

4.1 Prosodic domains

Prediction 1 stated that IPs would have higher pitch maximum RVs than APs because IP-final syllables receive a low boundary tone. We find that IPs have considerably higher values (β=1.1817, $p<0.0001$), which is consistent with IPs having a low tone rather than a high tone in the final syllable. Panel A of Figure 6 shows that this difference is mainly a result of the final syllable's pitch changing, consistent with these phrase types having different final-syllable targets.

Regarding duration RVs, we predicted lower values in IPs than in APs due to greater IP-final lengthening. Consistent with this and as shown in panel B of Figure 6, we find a small but significant difference whereby IP-final syllables are proportionally longer than AP-final ones (β=-0.1068, $p=0.0480$). However, this result should be tested in future work, as the effect is small and only barely reaches the threshold for significance. Additionally, we note that the effect is too small to counteract the intercept (β=-0.6097, $p<0.0001$), meaning that overall final syllables are longer than penults unless other factors (such as weight, discussed below) lengthen the penult or shorten the final syllable.

As for amplitude, we predicted that no significant difference between APs and IPs would be found because amplitude is not expected to be manipulated to signal boundaries. Contrary to this, we find that IPs have significantly higher RVs for maximum amplitude (β=1.9705, $p=0.0011$), which indicates that IP-final syllables have much lower amplitude than AP-final ones. Panel C of Figure 6 illustrates this interpretation, where we see that both the penult and final syllables have lower amplitude in IPs than in APs, with final syllables showing the largest decrease.

Overall, these results are consistent with APs being marked with a rising pitch contour and IPs being marked with low final pitch. We additionally find evidence that IP-final syllables are longer than AP-final ones and that IPs have lower final amplitude. These results suggest that

Laurentian French patterns like other varieties of French in the tone targets used to mark phrasal domains. With the tone for APs established, we turn to the results for weight.

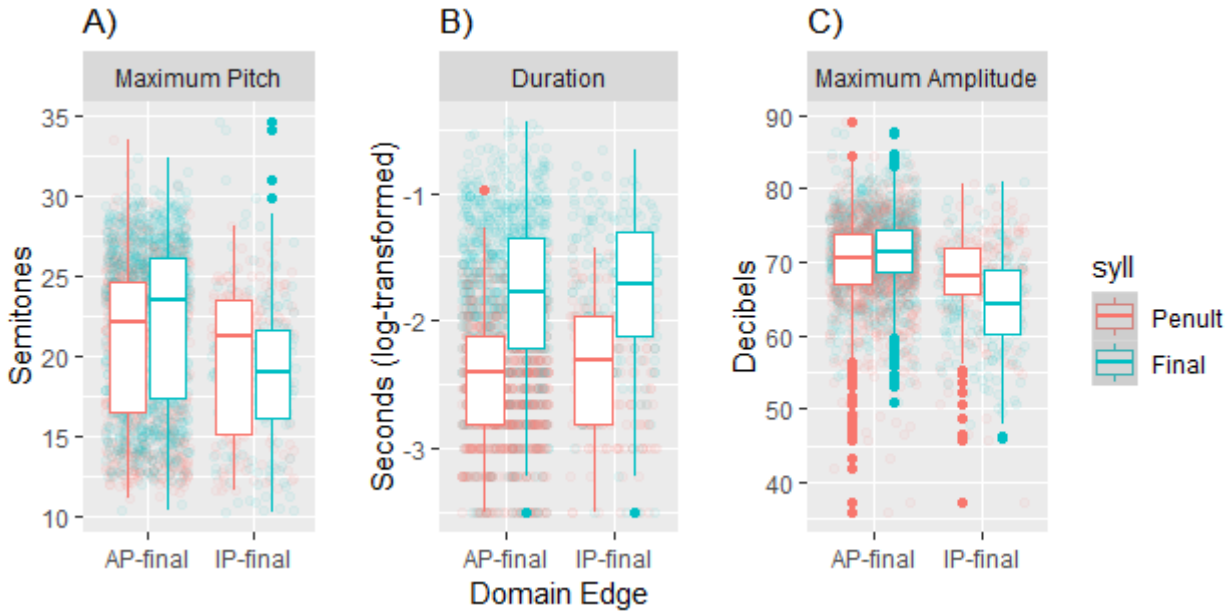

Figure 6: Results for domain type.

4.2 Coda weight

Prediction 2 stated that the RV for all acoustic cues would be higher in closed syllables, following from our hypothesis that closed syllables attract prominence.

4.2.1 Penult coda weight

We predicted that closed penults would have higher pitch maxima because heavy penults attract H* from the final syllable. Our models support this prediction (β=1.1533, $p<0.0001$), but an examination of panel A in Figure 7 suggests otherwise. Based on model comparisons, the prediction of greater penult pitch maxima is borne out so long as we control for morphological structure and for whether the final syllable is closed. This result appears to be consistent whether the penult is base-final or not, but skewed data proportions mask this result in the figure, particularly because morphological structure has additional effects on pitch contours.

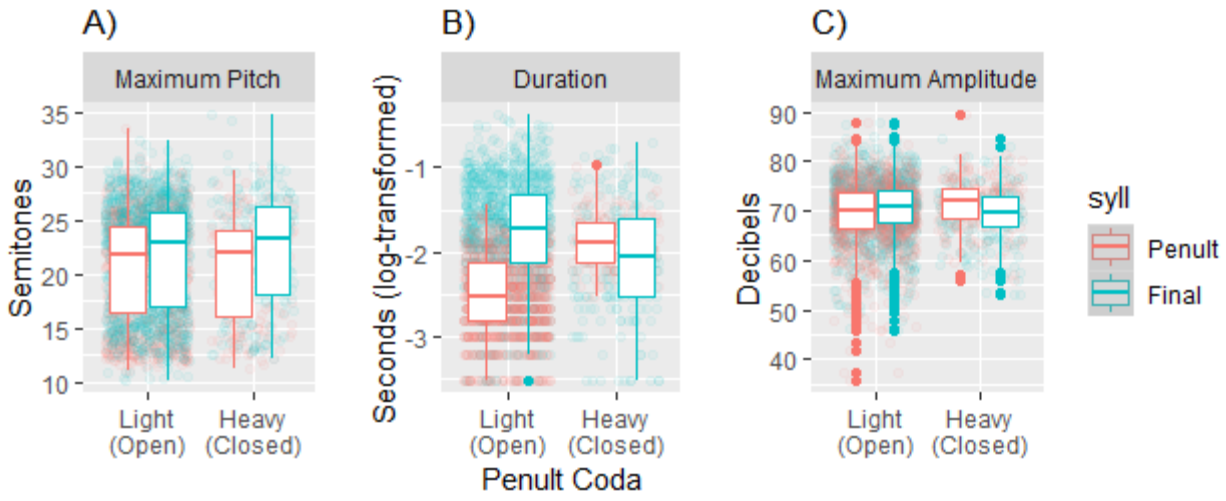

Figure 7: Results for penult coda weight.

We predicted that closed penults would have significantly longer rhymes because penults optimally attract prominence. Closed penults have significantly longer rhymes (β=0.6992, $p<0.0001$), and panel B of Figure 7 shows the expected trade-off between syllables, such that penults being heavy not only increases penult rhyme durations, but also decreases final syllable rhyme durations. This relationship between the two syllables allows us to infer that the increase in relative duration does not simply result from adding segments in the penult independent of prominence assignment. Finally, as shown in panel C of Figure 7, we also find that closed penults have higher amplitude RVs (β=2.0582, $p<0.0084$).

In short, these results show that words with closed penults (e.g. /mɛrsi/ *merci* 'mercy') more often have higher pitch, higher amplitude and longer duration in the penult than words with open penults (e.g. /mɛsi/ *messie* 'saviour'), consistent with Prediction 2. Based on our hypothesis that French prominence exhibits weight sensitivity, we expect that closed final syllables will similarly have higher values for these acoustic cues. We discuss this next.

4.2.2 Final syllable coda weight

Turning to coda weight in final syllables, we predicted that the final syllable being closed would be associated with that syllable likely preserving prominence and therefore being realised with a

high tone. We see from panel A of Figure 8 that this does have an effect (β=-0.1440, p=0.0139), though the effect appears smaller in Figure 8 than in our model due to effects of other factors.

Also in line with our prediction that closed syllables are heavy, closed syllables have significantly longer relative rhyme durations. While the increase in relative duration for the penult is large, we find an even larger effect for final syllables (β=-0.9202, p<0.0001), as shown in panel B of Figure 8, suggesting that this effect is not solely the result of adding segments.

Finally, we find much lower amplitude RVs when the final syllable is heavy (β=-3.1101, p<0.0001), as illustrated in panel C of Figure 8. This is consistent with our prediction that a heavy final syllable would have increased amplitude because weight is a word-level property and therefore amplitude is available as a cue.

In summation, we find that closed final syllables (e.g. /navɛt/ *navette* 'shuttle') typically have higher pitch, amplitude and duration than open final syllables (e.g. /navɛ/ *navet* 'turnip'), consistent with Prediction 2. We next examine the results for vowel weight.

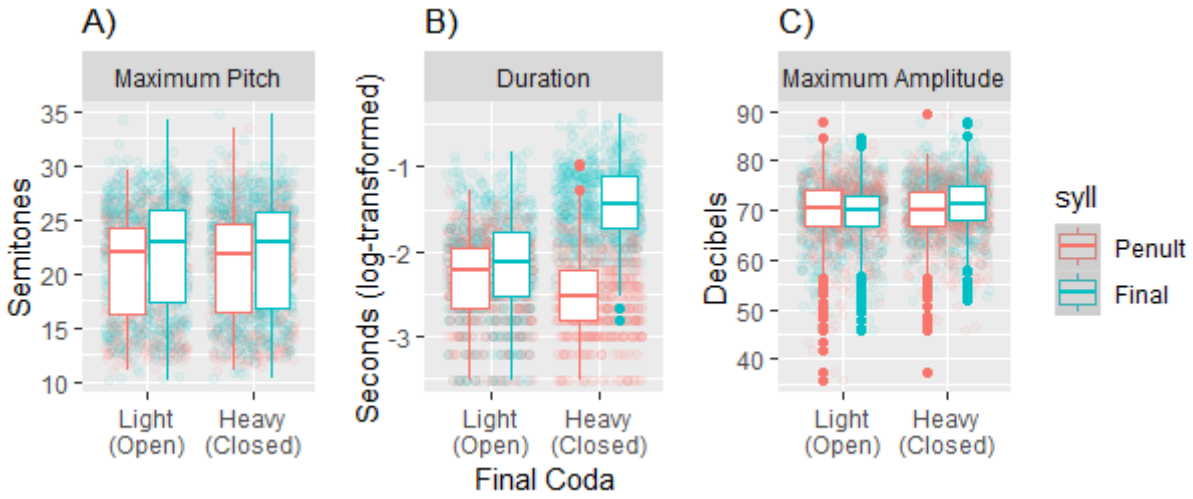

Figure 8: Results for final coda weight.

4.3 Vowel weight

Prediction 3 stated that heavy vowels should attract prominence in penults, but that final open syllables should pattern as light and therefore vowel weight should not have a significant effect in this position. We predicted that RVs would be higher for heavy penults, but unaffected by

heavy final-syllable vowels unless the final syllable is also closed, in which case the vowel would be more likely to attract prominence. We again begin by presenting the results for penults.

4.3.1 Penult vowel weight

We predicted that heavy final syllables would be associated with higher RVs for pitch maxima, but the results are marginal (β=0.2493, p=0.0720), as illustrated in panel A of Figure 9. Once again, asymmetries in morphological and phonological profiles in the data obscure certain statistical trends visually.

We find the predicted increase in duration RVs when the penult vowel is heavy (β=0.1881, p=0.0024), shown in panel B of Figure 9, but find no significant effect of penult vowel weight on amplitude RVs, which may reflect our expectation that a small difference in duration may be present without signifying a difference in weight. As shown in panel C of Figure 9, the amplitude differences are small with a possible trade-off between syllables and therefore this statistical trend should be explored further in future work. In other words, a penultimate heavy vowel (e.g. /gɑto/ *gâteau* 'cake') is likely to have longer duration and higher pitch maximum than a penultimate light vowel (e.g. /bato/ *bateau* 'boat'), but may not have higher amplitude, overall in line with Prediction 3.

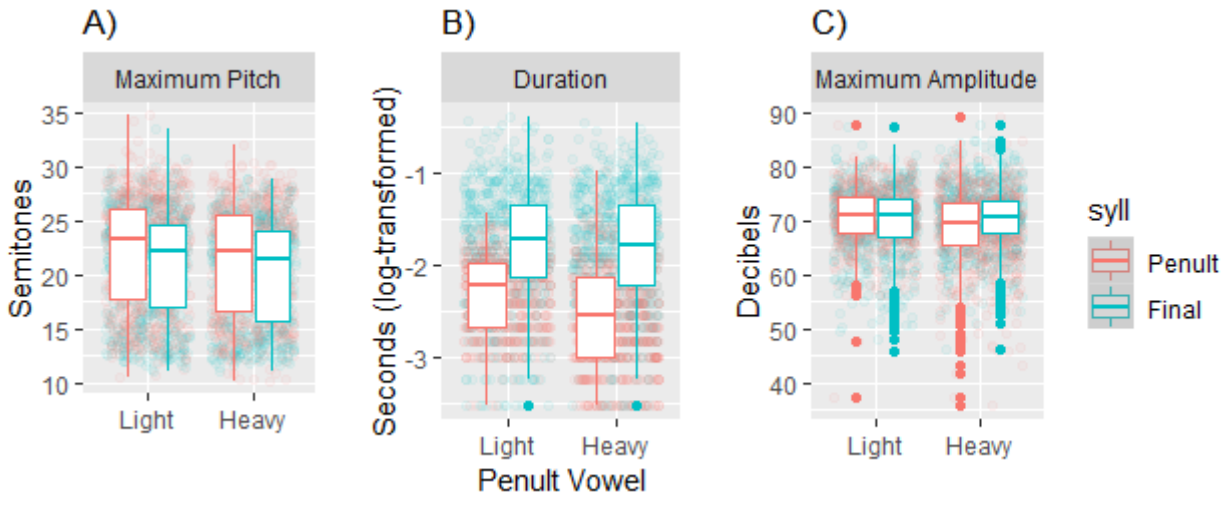

Figure 9: Results for penult vowel weight.

4.3.2 Final syllable vowel weight

For final syllable vowel weight, we predicted no main effects with the possible exception of a small increase in final rhyme duration. Pitch maxima (panel A of Figure 10) and amplitude (panel C) show no noteworthy effects not resulting from other factors; our models reveal no significant effects for these factors (though for the maximum pitch and amplitude there may be a small effect). For duration, however, we find that RVs are significantly lower when the final syllable is heavy (β=-0.2662, p=0.0184), consistent with the small predicted effect and seemingly driven by final nasal vowels. Overall, this means that the final oral syllables in words like /ami/ *ami* 'friend' (light final vowel) and /ane/ *année* 'year' (underlyingly heavy final vowel) likely show no difference in pitch, duration or amplitude, consistent with Prediction 3.

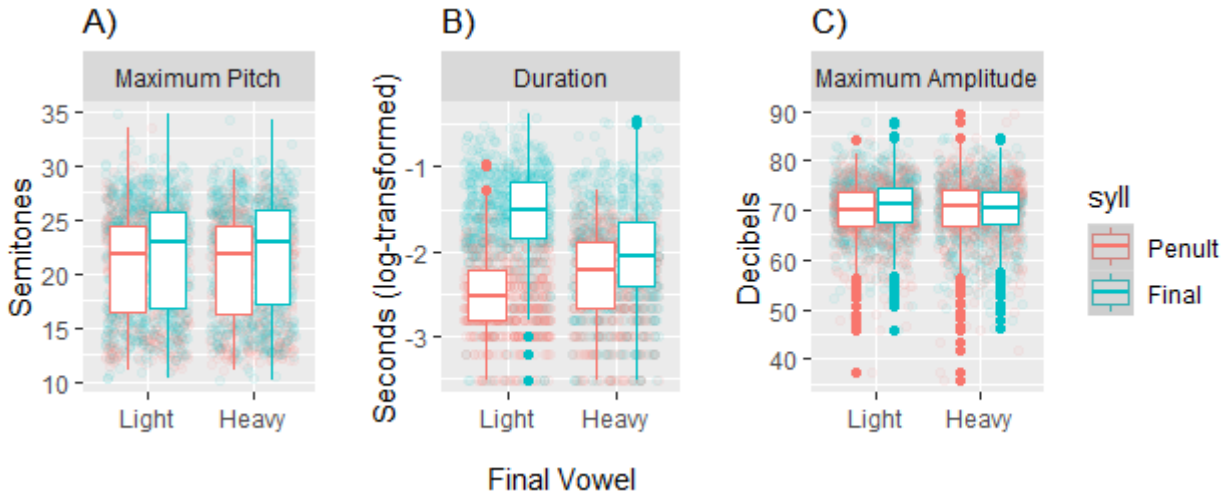

Figure 10: Results for final vowel weight.

4.4 Closed final syllables with heavy vowels

Prediction 3 stated that a final syllable's vowel weight effects would primarily be found in syllables that contain both a coda and a heavy vowel because vowel length is retained only in final closed syllables in French. We find no significant interaction for maximum pitch (see panel A of Figure 11). However, the figure suggests that future analyses should revisit this comparison, since closed final syllables with light vowels (leftmost in panel A) seem to show much smaller differences in cue values compared to those found in other panels.

Turning to duration (panel B), we find a significant interaction (β=0.4866, p=0.0006). However, while it seems that closed syllables are longer when they contain a heavy vowel, the interaction predominantly reflects that the final syllable's weight is instead affecting duration in the penult.

As for amplitude RVs, we find a large and significant interaction (β=4.8909, p=0.0007), revealing that light syllables pattern differently than heavy syllables. Panel C of Figure 11 shows that the final syllable has lower amplitude than the penult when the final syllable has neither a coda nor a heavy vowel. In final open syllables that have a heavy vowel, the two final syllables have roughly equal amplitude, while closed final syllables have higher amplitude than the penult that precedes them.

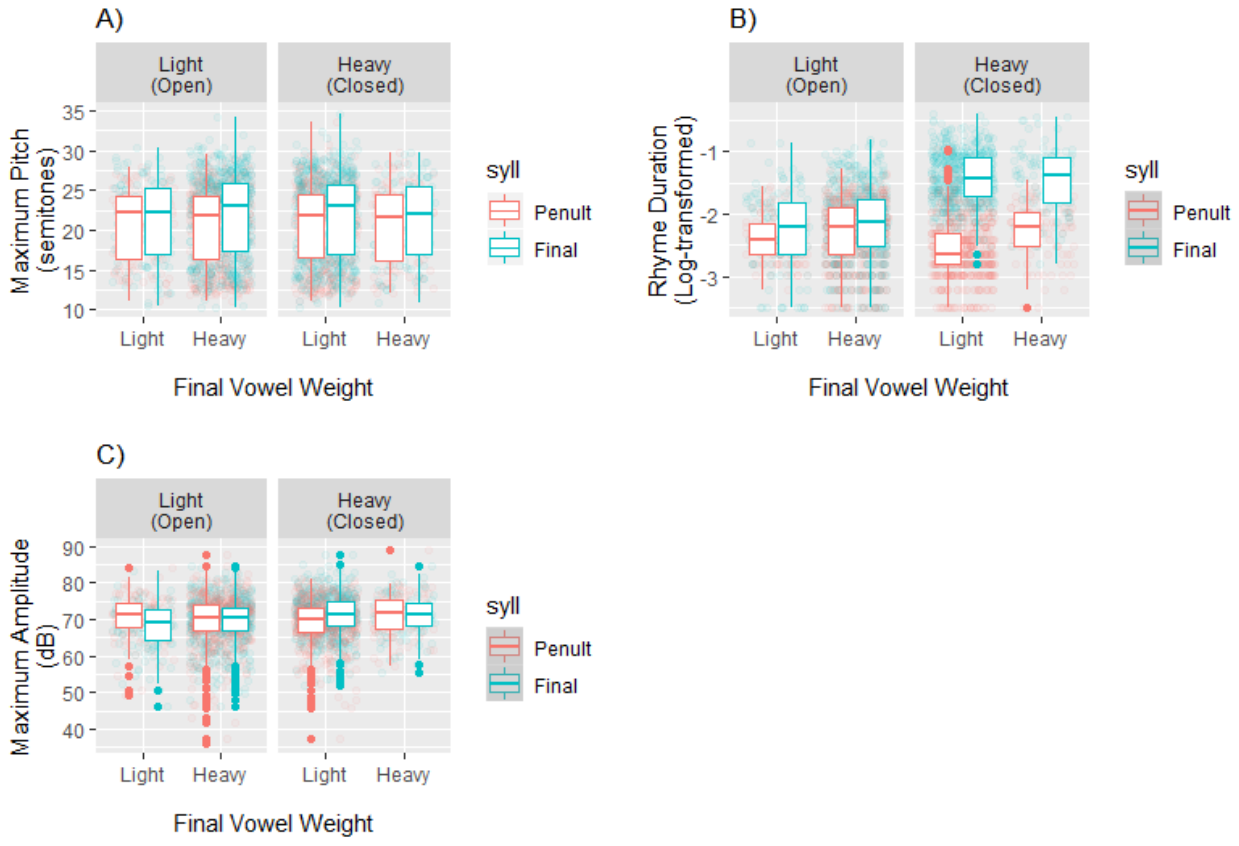

Figure 11: Results for the interaction between vowel weight (x-axis) and coda weight (facets).

4.5 Summary of results

All acoustic cues are affected by weight and prosodic context. Our results suggest that the basic patterns for marking prosodic domains in Laurentian French match the patterns for other dialects. Crucially, our predictions hold for weight: heavy syllables are associated with greater prominence than light syllables. We discuss the implications of these results next.

5 Discussion and conclusion

The results of this study confirm that prominence shifts do occur in French, with the acoustic cues associated with prominence being realised on the penult. In this analysis, we show that, although this phenomenon is probabilistic such that the location of prominence cannot consistently be predicted for any given token, it is not arbitrary once we examine the broader patterns.

5.1 Marking prosodic domains

5.1.1 Pitch

We find that IP-final syllables have significantly lower maximum pitch than the AP's final syllable does. This is consistent with Laurentian French speakers marking APs with a rising (LH*) bitonal unit and with IPs being assigned an additional low boundary tone (L%) that replaces any tone assigned to the AP-final syllable. This result suggests that, at least with respect to general pitch contours, Laurentian French follows the same system as other dialects (with the possible exception of Parisian French, where rising tones may mark IPs instead of only APs; Post et al. 2006). These results are also consistent with Prediction 1 that the right edges of prosodic domains are marked using pitch contours.

5.1.2 Duration

We found only a very small rhyme duration difference between APs and IPs, with IPs tending to have longer final syllables compared to APs. That we did not find a robust result is consistent with the mixed results found in the literature for other dialects; the durational difference between

APs and IPs may be very small, highly variable or non-existent, which leads to certain studies finding that final syllables in IPs get compressed, others finding that final syllables are further lengthened, and some studies not being able to conclude either way (cf. Jun & Fougeron 2000; Demers 2003; Post et al. 2006; Michelas & D'Imperio 2010; Simon 2011). Given that the results across studies are so mixed, and based on our relatively marginal result, the prediction that higher domains will show greater degrees of lengthening cannot be confidently confirmed.

We conjecture, however, that the presence of mixed results across studies may be a consequence of the type of data analysed. In the present study (on read speech), speakers were not required to plan the content of upcoming phrases; they only had to retrieve lexical entries, potentially reducing the need to slow down at the end of an IP to facilitate planning the next prosodic domain. Future work should test the possibility that speech planning and discourse constraints are responsible for differences in the degree of phrase-final lengthening. If greater lengthening in IP-final tokens reflects planning limitations (with lengthening providing more time to plan upcoming words) or conversational cues (for example, signalling that the speaker is not ceding the floor), then perhaps IP-final lengthening is sensitive to speech context.

5.1.3 Amplitude

Lastly, we found that IPs have lower relative amplitude than APs do, seemingly contrary to our prediction that amplitude would not be used as a cue to phrasal prominence. While this may suggest that amplitude could be directly manipulated by speakers as a cue because a gradual decrease in amplitude could signal that the right edge of the current IP has not yet been reached, cross-linguistic evidence leads us to believe that amplitude is not intentionally used by speakers to mark the right edge of prosodic domains.

Based on findings from German (Poschmann & Wagner 2015) and Vietnamese (Brunelle 2016), we suggest that the results obtained reflect aerodynamic and physiological effects. In particular, the articulatory force will be lowest IP-finally, leading to a decrease in amplitude unless the speaker intentionally counters these effects (e.g. to hold the floor). If the syllable that is assigned default prominence (signalled through higher pitch and longer duration) has lower amplitude and this results from a gradual decrease throughout the phrase, then it seems unlikely

that amplitude is being intentionally manipulated to signal phrasal prominence. This reduction is instead aerodynamic in nature.

However, even if amplitude is not consciously manipulated by speakers, it could still be used as a perceptual cue by listeners. This proposal is not only consistent with the cross-linguistic acoustic work just mentioned, but we believe it is also supported by the results of a previous perceptual study on French speakers. Although Féry (2013) contends that amplitude is not a possible cue to prominence in French, and amplitude is typically not tested in perception studies of French prominence, Schwab & Llisterri (2012) found that French speakers learning Spanish readily attended to amplitude to identify stressed syllables in Spanish. Future work could test whether speakers of French use amplitude for parsing phrases and whether it is therefore a candidate for transfer: French speakers could repurpose this cue that marks IP boundaries in their native language in order to identify stress in a second language.

5.2 Signalling weight

Our results provide support for the hypothesis in (1) that prominence assignment in French is sensitive to weight. Only two studies to our knowledge have quantitatively examined the relationship between weight and prominence in French. The first (Paradis & Deshaies 1990) is a perceptual study on Laurentian French that found that listeners were more likely to categorise closed syllables as prominent. The second (Thibault & Ouellet 1996) demonstrates that pitch contours from prominence shifting to the penult (using heavy vowels to elicit tokens) are distinct from those that arise under focus in Laurentian French, and therefore that penultimate prominence cannot be explained by focus. The current study, we believe, is the first to examine both vowel and coda weight when probing prominence assignment, as well as the first to consider all prominence cues when testing weight effects. The results align with earlier work motivating the existence of weight contrasts based on segmental processes in French (e.g. Scullen 1997; Armstrong 1999) and suggest that final prominence is assigned rather than being lexically specified (as in Di Cristo 2000; Astésano & Bertrand 2016).

Beginning with coda weight, which was expected to significantly attract prominence based on our second prediction, we observe that a final coda increases the relative prominence of the final syllable, affecting pitch, amplitude, and duration. Similarly, closed penults show an

increase in RV for these same cues. Our results suggest not only that these cues signal weight, but additionally, that only one syllable is targeted by these effects, and the other may even show *decreased* values for the cues. These results are consistent with a phonological representation of weight, like the mora (Hyman 1985; Hayes 1989); relative durations are computed by comparing the weights of the final two syllables. In §2.1, we noted that there is some debate about whether word-final consonants in French are truly codas or whether they are onsets of empty-headed syllables. Given that word-final consonants in the data examined bear weight, we conjecture that they are best analysed as codas, but leave further testing of alternatives (e.g. that a subset of word-final consonants pattern as onsets) for future work.

There are trends for heavy penult vowels to attract prominence, but final-syllable vowel weight is not sufficient for final syllables to attract prominence. These results suggest that vowel weight (when not in a final open syllable) contributes to syllable weight. Final heavy vowels slightly enhance the effects of being closed, either making that syllable more prominent or further decreasing the likelihood that prominence shifts to the penult. This suggests that those syllables may be phonologically heavier than other closed syllables and, thus, that the label superheavy may be appropriate. This result is particularly noteworthy because it confirms that underlyingly heavy vowels in final open syllables pattern as short for prominence assignment, which accords with the inability to diphthongise oral vowels in that position; only heavy oral vowels in final closed syllables lengthen and can diphthongise.

In summation, we have found evidence of weight effects for vowels as well as codas for all three acoustic cues, consistent with our predictions, but we observe that these effects are not identical. Heavy vowels only pattern as heavy (i.e. attract prominence) when they are not word-final, while codas show the same prominence-attracting property in both penultimate and final syllables. As such, while prominence assignment is probabilistic, the conditions under which prominence shift is most likely to occur are not arbitrary. Based on examples from other varieties of French (see §2.1), we expect that these conditions are not confined to Laurentian French; instead, weight sensitivity should contribute to prominence shifts across varieties. A dialect's propensity for prominence shifts should therefore reflect its phoneme inventory. For example, the rate of prominence shifts in Parisian French is likely to be decreasing because contrasts between the two mid-vowel series (e.g. heavy /e/ and light /ɛ/) have been or are being lost (e.g.

Berit Hansen 2012). Given this potential for prominence patterns to diverge due to phonological considerations, future work on other varieties may additionally test for weight sensitivity, compare dialects' vowel inventories with their prominence shift patterns, and verify whether (word-final) codas contribute to weight.

5.3 Implications for the prominence system

Our results demonstrate that the marking of prosodic domains in Laurentian French matches what has been found for other dialects. The cues used to mark prosodic domains also signal weight, which means that these factors interact to produce the prominence patterns we observe. Heavy syllables attracting prominence therefore has important repercussions for our understanding of the prosodic system itself.

At the least, prominence, including the assignment of the AP's H* tone, appears to play a different role in the grammar of French than conventionally proposed; *word*-level factors (i.e. weight) influence the prosody of a *phrase*, while previously it was generally assumed that only phrase-level information was relevant (barring the inability to assign prominence to a phrase-final schwa). This may account for speakers' judgments in perceptual studies being variable and difficult to interpret (e.g. Paradis & Deshaies 1990; Schwab & Llisterri 2012) and may have led to the characterisation of French speakers as "stress deaf" (e.g. Dupoux et al. 1997; Peperkamp & Dupoux 2002). If only the location of phrasal domain edges is presumed to be relevant for prominence assignment and stimuli are resynthesised without taking word-level factors into account, then we might expect speakers, faced with conflicting acoustic information and uncertainty as to which aspect of prominence they are asked to identify, to provide inconsistent responses in experimental settings.

Signalling word-level factors (weight) using the same cues as those used to mark prosodic domains has greater implications than simply explaining otherwise surprising results in perceptual studies. In particular, it helps shed light on the type of prominence system that French employs. In §2.3, we mentioned that APs are marked with an LH* tone, described as a pitch accent, but we did not elaborate on how French prominence is best categorised. Authors differ in whether they label final prominence as stress (e.g. Cutler 2005; Schwab & Llisterri 2012), as a

pitch accent (e.g. Jun & Fougeron 1995; Welby 2006; cf. also Rossi 1980), or whether they do not formally categorise it (e.g. Vaissière & Michaud 2006) or describe it as being in flux (Fónagy 1980). In the literature, those who refer to prominence as a pitch accent rarely discuss their motivation for doing so: prominence is assigned to the last non-schwa vowel in the AP like a boundary tone would be. It may therefore be that the pitch accent notation is used because the tone is assigned by the domain that cross-linguistically assigns pitch accents (as per Gordon 2014). In other words, the pitch accent notation in French reflects the *domain* of assignment but it may not be intended to indicate that the tone is *formally* a pitch accent: pitch is used to signal lexically prominent syllables, with the phonological assignment occurring in the phrasal domain.

As we have just noted, the formal description of obligatory final prominence in French is debated. On one hand, since many studies refer to the prominence in French as stress, it should be assigned at the level of the word and therefore its location should be sensitive to word-level properties, notably weight. On the other hand, since French prominence is often described as phrasal or post-lexical, it should not be sensitive to word-level properties (e.g. Jun & Fougeron 1995; Féry 2013). In this paper, we have shown that the H* tone patterns like a pitch accent in that H* is attracted to the rightmost heavy syllable within a limited window, which leads to the pitch peak being on heavy penults when the final syllable is light. This is consistent with what we observe in pitch accent systems cross-linguistically (Gordon 2014). We therefore conclude that (Laurentian) French is best categorised as a pitch accent language.

Competing Interests Statement

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

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Appendix A

Model outputs for maximum pitch. P-values calculated using Satterthwaite approximation.

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	-1.1343	0.2724	111.4	-4.164	0.0001	***
AP vs. IP	1.1817	0.2105	99.7	5.612	<0.0001	***
AP&IP vs. Comma	-0.8607	0.1746	93.0	-4.929	<0.0001	***
Base-final penult	0.3047	0.1677	109.4	2.04	0.0464	*
Closed final syllable	-0.1440	0.3668	196.6	-2.631	0.0139	*
Closed penult	1.1533	0.1812	137.3	7.215	<0.0001	***
Heavy final vowel	-0.1859	0.3606	200.8	-0.515	0.6070	
Heavy penult vowel	0.2493	0.2749	91.5	1.817	0.0720	.
Superheavy final syllable	-0.1119	0.6721	209.6	-0.366	0.7146	

Appendix B

Model outputs for maximum amplitude. P-values calculated using Satterthwaite approximation.

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	1.3877	0.6574	111.4	2.111	0.0370	*
AP vs. IP	1.9705	0.5863	99.7	3.361	0.0011	**
AP&IP vs. Comma	-0.3995	0.4927	93.0	-0.811	0.4196	
Base-final penult	0.4822	0.4533	109.4	1.064	0.2900	
Closed final syllable	-3.1101	0.4576	196.6	-7.31	<0.0001	***
Closed penult	2.0582	0.7670	137.3	2.683	0.0084	**
Heavy final vowel	-0.3573	0.8689	200.8	-0.411	0.6813	
Heavy penult vowel	0.9189	0.6288	91.5	1.461	0.1483	
Superheavy final syllable	4.8909	1.4404	209.6	3.396	0.0007	***

Appendix C

Model outputs for rhyme duration. P-values calculated using Satterthwaite approximation.

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	-0.6097	0.0696	111.8	-8.763	<0.0001	***
AP vs. IP	-0.1068	0.0570	100.0	-1.873	0.0480	*
AP&IP vs. Comma	-0.0387	0.0479	93.3	-0.808	0.4215	
Base-final penult	-0.2454	0.0438	109.7	-3.317	0.0012	**
Closed final syllable	-0.9202	0.0911	197.2	-10.101	<0.0001	***
Closed penult	0.6992	0.0710	137.7	9.845	<0.0001	***
Heavy final vowel	-0.2662	0.0864	201.4	-2.376	0.0184	*
Heavy penult vowel	0.1881	0.0602	91.8	3.126	0.0024	**
Superheavy final syllable	0.4866	0.1412	210.2	3.447	0.0006	***