

Some considerations about intonation patterns of vocatives in Romanian language

Anca-Diana Bibiri

University of Iași
Rumania

Mihaela Mocanu

University of Iași
Rumania

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Anca-Diana Bibiri: Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași. | E-mail: anca.bibiri@uaic.ro

Mihaela Mocanu : Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, Institute of Interdisciplinary Research, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași. | E-mail: mocanu.mihaela@uaic.ro

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Abstract

This paper focuses on an analysis of the intonation patterns of different types of vocatives in Romanian language. We present the main characteristics of the tonal patterns observed in the vocative constructions instances of isolated vocatives and contexts in which vocatives occur in different positions: initial, middle, and final. Our analysis, in the framework of AM phonology with ToBI conventions, reveals that most of isolated vocatives are realized as L+H*(!)H% (vocative chant), and L+H* L% (insistent call). For non-isolated vocatives the most frequent contours are labeled as L+H* L% and H+L* L%. Cross-linguistically, our findings show that Romanian vocatives display the same pattern as other Romance languages.

Keywords: vocative; intonation; Romanian; Ro_ToBI.

1. Introduction

The vocative is a complex semantic (lexical), grammatical and prosodic category, located in the area of interference of the systematic aspects of the language with the pragmatic ones. By marking the interpersonal relations between the speaker and the interlocutor, the vocative represents one of the most appropriate linguistic means for establishing correlations with the speakers' psycho-sociological variables (Borràs-Comes et al., 2015; Arvaniti et al., 2017; Huttenlauch et al., 2018).

Traditional Romanian grammar considers vocative a special case, being independent from a syntactic point of view (Gramatica, 1963: 68; Gramatica, 1966). In the new edition of the grammar elaborated by the Romanian Academy, the vocative is defined as “the prototypical case of nouns used allocatively, usually associated with means from the same functional class (interpelation interjections, second-person verb forms, imperative forms)” (Gramatica, 2005: 884). In Romanian, the vocative is: a) marked exclusively by intonation, the form being identical to that of the unarticulated nominative (*Fată, fugi afară!*/Girl, run out!) or with articulated nominative (*Fetele, la teme!*/Girls, do your homework!); b) vocative knows a double marking (by intonation and desinence), with specific endings attached to both common nouns (*Fetișo, fugi afară!*/Girl, run out!) and proper nouns (*Ioane, unde pleci?*/John, where are you going?) (Pană Dindelegan, 2010: 62). In this case, it has endings inherited from Latin -e (masculine, singular): *frate, Ioane*; borrowed from Slavic language -o (feminine, singular): *frumoaso, Ano*; or created in Romanian language: -ule (masculine, singular) and -lor (plural): *domnule, fetelor* (Gramatica, 1963). In our corpus, the use of the old and regional form of inarticulate feminine proper nouns for vocative, as opposed to the articulated form (of nominative and vocative), appears less frequently: *Ană* vs. *Ana, Marie* vs. *Maria*. Nouns that designate close relatives, assimilated to proper nouns, also used the articulated form in the vocative: *mama, tata, bunica* (Gramatica, 1963: 68-71). The selection of one or the other of the possible forms responds to distinctions of register and stylistic use; the non-desinential forms, except for the class of addressing nouns (*domnule!/sir!*), being preferred in the formal register, and the desinential ones, in the colloquial, informal register (Pană Dindelegan, 2010: 62).

The paper is structured as follows: after a brief introduction, the second section is dedicated to literature review underlining the intonation patterns of vocatives, especially in the Romance area. Next section describes the methodology used in creating corpora, the situational context, and the analysis of vocatives within the AM framework with Ro_ToBI conventions. The final section concludes the findings and presents general remarks about the intonation patterns of Romanian vocatives.

2. Literature review

In the last few years, interest in linguistic approaches to intonation has increased enormously, and much attention was paid to the intonation of the vocative. From a theoretical point

of view, there are two opinions in literature regarding vocative: on the one hand, there are supporters that acknowledge vocative as a case and, on the other hand, there are other researchers that consider it an outlier case (Daniel & Spencer, 2009). Functionally defined as “forms and structures used for direct address” or “used for calling out and attracting or maintaining the addressee’s attention” (Daniel & Spencer, 2009: 626), vocatives are classified either in purely formal terms as part of the language system or as functional structures manifesting themselves in language use only (Sonnenhauser & Noel Aziz Hanna, 2013: 1). Levinson considers vocatives as “an interesting grammatical category” (1983: 71); they (noun phrases as vocatives are named) are set apart prosodically from the body of the sentence that may accompany them; while Betsch and Berger consider vocative as “a traditional means of marking nominal forms of address” (“traditionelles Mittel zur Markierung nominaler Anredeformen”; 2009: 1023). Pilar Prieto and Paolo Roseano argue that vocative represents “a diversified class of utterances, due to both the variability in their pragmatic purpose and the potential nuances they may express (e.g. calling, calling repeatedly, reproaching, ordering)” (2010: 12). In this line, researchers have concluded that vocatives perform several functions: attract someone’s attention and open a communicative act, maintain the contact between interlocutors and reinforce the social relationship, and also identify the addressee by naming them explicitly (Daniel & Spencer, 2009; Parrott, 2010; Borràs-Comes et al., 2015). Vocative constructions commonly exhibit prosodic processes ‘sometimes violating the language’s suprasegmental system’ (as for example: stress shift, tone alternation, vowel lengthening, and consonant deletion) (Daniel & Spencer, 2009: 4).

Prosody research gained special attention with the start and implementation of the European project AMPER (*Atlas Multimédia Prosodique de l’Espace Roman¹*) that covers the entire Romance area of investigation, including the trans-European one, aiming at the description of the intonation typology across Romance languages (Contini et al., 2002). Another phase was the introduction of the ToBI system annotation which permit the comparison across languages. In autosegmental metrical framework there were described the melodic contours with ToBI conventions. In literature there are identified many varieties of these particular sentences. Thus, Pierrehumbert (1980) presents the *vocative chant* as two-tone intonation model, represented by a bitonal H*+L pitch accent followed by a downstepping H- intermediate phrase tone and an upstepping L% boundary tone; while Ladd (2008) discusses the contour as: “a sequence of a H tone and a downstepped H tone, using the ad hoc notation H ... !H”, with no boundary tone (Ladd, 2008: 117).

A reference book for the intonation of Romance languages, edited by Frota and Prieto (2015a), *Intonation in Romance*, brings to the fore the intonation systems of nine Romance languages

1 <https://www.lfsag.unito.it/amper/amper.html>

with their similarities and differences: Catalan, French, Friulian, Italian, Occitan, Portuguese, Romanian, Sardinian and Spanish, in the autosegmental-metric (AM) framework with the ToBI transcription system that allows comparable studies across Romance varieties. Ordered alphabetically by language, the nine chapters provide summary charts presenting the ToBI labels used to annotate pitch accents and boundary tones, corresponding to the varieties of each language taken into account (for example, 2 varieties for Romanian, and over 60 varieties for Spanish).

Delais-Roussaire et al. identify different patterns of vocative for French compared to other Romance varieties: H+!H* !H% for calling contour, and (L)H* L% for insistent call (2015: 85-86). This is in line with previous study dedicated to chanting intonation in French where Fagyal came to the conclusion that “the contour’s most typical function is related to calling” and emerges in a variety of vocatives, also in listing and implicative utterances (1997: 87).

For Spanish varieties researchers identify different patterns that characterize vocative sentences. Thus, Borràs-Comes et al. take into consideration the socio-pragmatic factors of the vocative intonation in Catalan, considering two situational factors—the physical distance between participants and insistence—. They draw the conclusion that “Central Catalan speakers use three most frequent patterns of intonation contours for vocatives: L+H* HL%, L+H* !H%, L*H%” (2015: 72); Clara Huttenlauch et al., in a research dedicated to Colombian variety of Spanish, present the vocative in particular pragmatic conditions, realized as greeting vocatives with rising-falling contour represented as L+_iH* L%, confirmation-seeking vocatives—predominantly rising contours—L* H%, and reprimand vocatives—with rising-falling contour annotated as L+H* L%—(2018: 48-49).

Portuguese displays two main variants of calling contour: vocative chant, analyzed as consisting of an L+H*!H% melody, and the low-call pattern (with difference on the boundary tone and the fact that the syllable is not lengthened) annotated as L+H* L% (Frota et al., 2015; Frota & De Moraes, 2016: 149).

The 8th chapter is dedicated to Romanian intonation, and it represents one of the first studies of intonation in the AM framework. Jitcă et al. present two vocative intonation contours: vocative chants and insistent calls, attested previously in Dascălu-Jinga (1984, 1985, 1998, 2001). Jitcă et al. label with ToBI system the vocative chant as L+H* pitch accent, which is maintained to a high level (!H%), and insistent calls with the same annotation of the accented syllable, L+H*, but with a low boundary tone (L%) (2015: 307-308).

Outside the Romance space, the calling contour is typical also for many other European languages (English, Hungarian, Dutch, German, Polish) (cf. Ladd, 2008). In a paper dedicated to calling melodies, Quiroz & Żygis identified three major melodies found in German “across routine and urgent calling contexts”: vocative chant, urgent call and stern call (2017: 1208). They annotate these types accordingly with German ToBI transcription system: L+H !H-% for vocative chant melody (in line with Grice et al., 2005), and propose for the stern melody L+H*

L-H% annotation, and L+H* L-% for urgent melody (Quiroz & Žygis, 2017: 1211). Also, Arvaniti et al. (2017: 353-355), when analyzing Polish intonation, identify two calling melodies: the routine call (used to call a person for an everyday reason), with the annotation LH* !H-H%, and the urgent call (used to call someone when the speaker wants to express disappointment or disapproval of the addressee or their actions), realized as H* L-L%. For Hungarian, the annotation of calling contour is H* !H, and Varga proposed as boundary tone, beside H% and L%, zero boundary tone, which represents the lower level terrace of the utterance-final Hungarian calling contours (2008: 495).

All these studies addressing vocatives reflect the interest for configuration an intonation typology of different languages and language families. The present study focuses on the identification of vocatives patterns, using the Ro_ToBI label set.

3. Methodology: corpus, subjects and acoustic analysis

The vocative case represents an act of speech by which the speaker calls a person, drawing his/her attention or addressing a person, as an addressee of an imperative, interrogative or assertive message (Gramatica, 2005: 68-71, 149). The way of addressing establishes the psychosocial relationship between speaker and interlocutor: degree of knowledge, socio-professional status (boss-subordinate), role relation, age, degree of kinship, but also reflects factors of an expressive-emotional nature and contextual one: closeness vs distance, in the physical, spatial sense, but also in the conceptual-medial sense of “language of closeness” vs “distance language” (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1990; Kabatek, 2018).

The constant mark of the vocative is the intonation which explains the possibility of using the nominative form as a vocative, this syncretism being frequent in the current Romanian language. Thus, in our corpus both the form of nominative and that of vocative are used alternatively to express the intended call even at the same speaker/subject (e.g.: *Ion!* and *Ioane!*). Depending on the universal conditions of the distance in space and the intentions of the speaker, the vocatives can be of proximity, insistence and of distance. These types of vocatives were specifically recorded in the Romanian projects: AMPROM (The Romanian Multimedia Prosodic Atlas)² and SoRoEs (Sociolinguistics Approach of Romanian and Spanish Intonation)³.

The sociolinguistic surveys were conducted in 10 Romanian cities: București, Cluj, Timișoara, Iași, Constanța, Brașov, Sibiu, Baia-Mare, Suceava and Craiova. The points of investigation were selected from ALR (Romanian Linguistic Atlas) and NALR (New Romanian Linguistic Atlas)

2 <http://amprom.uaic.ro/>

3 <http://soro.es/>

in order to illustrate the standard literary Romanian spoken language. These two comprehensive atlases document the phonetic differences across Romanian, but they did not comprise intonation of the Romanian varieties.

The subjects participated in the dialectological survey were native speakers of the Romanian language who were living at the time of recording in the ten cities chosen to run the sociolinguistic survey. The selection of the respondents aimed at covering all three social variables: age, gender and level of education (although we do not take into consideration these traits in the present study). The respondents must have met the classic criteria required in a sociolinguistic dialectal survey: must have originated in the points of investigation, communication availability, spontaneity, and good diction ability.

The methodology used in collecting the data combines the traditional method of guided conversation with the psycholinguistics procedure, Discourse Completion Task (DCT) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Félix-Brasdefer, 2010; Prieto & Roseano, 2010; Del Mar Vanrell et al., 2018). DCT is a guided questionnaire in which we provide at the participants a set of different situations accompanied by a short description of the communicational context for each sentence, without suggesting any possible answer or expression choice (as we exemplified below).

In AMPROM project three repetitions were elicited using a Discourse Completion Task (DCT), and in SoRoEs project we asked for a single situation. In AMPROM were recorded the following vocatives of proper names: *Ana!*, *Ion!*/*Ioane!*, obtained as a first call, insistent call (induced by the indication: he/she has not answered to you, insist!), and remote/distance call, as well as in the imperative sentences: *Ana, dă-mi un măr (te rog)!* (*Ana, give me an apple, please!*), and *Ion/Ioane, dă-mi un măr (te rog)!* (*Ion/Ioane, give me an apple, please!*). In the SoRoEs project we recorded the following proper names: *Ana!*, *Marina!*, *Ion/Ioane!*, *Vasile!*, and also *Ana, dă-mi un măr (te rog)!* (*Ana, give me an apple, please!*). In addition to these, in the last mentioned project, other forms of vocatives were also recorded, as other different proper names: *Mihail!*, *Mihaela!*, *Maria!*, *Maricica!*, *Cristina!*, *Monica!*, *Andreea!*, *Andrei!*, *Sorinel!*, *Costel(e)!*, as well as the vocatives of some appellations: terms of kinship or names of profession and positions, preceded by terms of addressing: *domnu(le) (Mr.)*, *doamna (Mrs.)*. The questionnaire aimed at inducing greeting formulae (often accompanied by vocatives) in certain informal, but also (semi-)formal speech contexts: regular meetings or surprise meetings, in the street, with colleagues, friends, with a former teacher, at presentations, or invitations to a coffee or a “glass”, different wishes, to visit parents/grandparents, at a public office, when travelling by train, at the doctor, when called to the boss office for late work. In the following we present the situational context. The data in this study was analysed with GoldWave⁴ and Praat⁵ tools (Boersma & Weenik, 2020) for speech analysis.

4 <https://www.goldwave.com/>

5 <https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>

3.1. Semi-(formal) speech contexts

The common addressing items/lexemes used in vocative case as forms of respect (which are combined with the pronouns of politeness: *dumneavoastră* (you), and the plural of politeness expressed by the verbal form) are *domnule* (sir) (less formally *domnu*, *dom*⁶-/ without the definite article) and *doamnă* (madam). They are used alone (without determination) when addressed to foreigners, for example, officials: *Bună ziua, domnu!/doamnă! Îmi dați și mie un formular?* (Good afternoon, sir/madam! May you give me a form, please?).

Men are accustomed to greet women (those who work in an office) with *sărut-mâna!* (Kiss your hand!), showing a great degree of courtesy, and hoping to be treated more kindly: *Sărut-mâna, doamnă! Îmi dați un formular?* (Kiss your hand, madam! Can you give me a form, please?) (Bibiri et al., 2016).

In the case of a known person to whom the speaker respects his/her social status/profession or in the case of hierarchic relationships (employer/boss) there are used *sir*, *madam*; the abbreviated forms of masculine *domnu* and *dom* appear frequently in our corpus. These addressing terms are accompanied by lexemes that mark the profession or professional status of the interlocutor: *Bună ziua, domnule profesor/dom-profesor! (Mă mai țineți minte? Mă bucur să vă revăd!)* (Good afternoon, Mr. Professor! Do you remember me? I am glad to see you again!); *Bună ziua, doamna profesoară/doctor!* (Good afternoon, Mrs. Professor/doctor!); *Bună ziua, șefu! Domnu director, mă scuzați, am întârziat, recunosc. N-o să se mai întâmple* (Hello, boss! Mr. Director, excuse me that I'm late. It won't happen again).

When the boss is a kinder and younger person, a subordinate can address her, even when she apologizes, with her surname—an intermediate phase between the formal *boss* and the familiar surname—: *Bună ziua, doamna Cristina! Promit că n-o să mai întârziu* (Good afternoon, Mrs Cristina! I promise I won't be late).

In case when the speaker is a man and addresses a woman to whom he shows special respect, *sărut-mâna!* is frequently used, followed by the name of the profession or the social role: *Sărut mâna, doamna profesoară/doctor!* (Kiss your hand, Mrs. Professor/doctor!).

Showing a high degree of courtesy, *sărut-mâna!* is usually used by men to greet women regardless of the latter's age or the degree of familiarity between the speakers; also can be addressed by a woman to a man when the latter is her relative (family or blood ties)—father,

6 It is well known that, in everyday speech, words are produced with reduced variants, due to different factors: speech rate, speaking style, lexical frequency, contextual settings, and the morphological properties (part of speech, morphological structure) of the word within the lexicon of a language (cf. Vasilescu et al., 2019).

grandfather, uncle, godfather—; it is also used by children when addressing adults—parents or grandparents—: *Săru-mâna, mamă!* (Kiss your hand, mother!)/*Săru-mâna, tată!* (Kiss your hand, father!). This formula is a traditional greeting, showing deep respect when addressing representatives of the church: *Săru-mâna, părinte!* (Kiss your hand, priest/father!).

Name of a person is used when the name of the addressee's profession is more difficult to formulate, e.g.: administrator, manager, head of administrative service, chief accountant, or not known exactly to the speaker: *Sărut mâna, doamna Popescu!* (Kiss your hand, Mrs. Popescu).

Să trăiești!/*Să trăiți!* (May you live long!) is a hierarchic greeting (in the military and administrative language) expressing condescension, addressed by a man to a superior, usually accompanied by gestural greetings (hat tipping, nodding, hand-shaking), and is exclusively attributed to men: *Să trăiți, dom-inginer/doctor/Rector!* (May you live long, Mr. Engineer/Doctor/Rector!).

3.2. Informal/familiar speech contexts

Most of our vocative examples are designed for familiar speech situations in which the speaker and the interlocutor are in an equal position, as they can be co-workers, close acquaintances, friends, relatives. This explains the familiar ton of address, the use of surname or pronoun *tu* (you, 2nd person, singular), or the inclusive plural of the verb (1st person): *Salu-Vasile!* (Hi, Vasile!); *Ioana, un-te duci?* (Ioana, where are you going?); *Bună, tu! Mi-era dor de tine!* (Hello, you! I missed you!); *Vasile, mergem la o cafea?* (Vasile, are we going for a coffee?). Also, we exemplify with other situations, as:

-use of diminutives of proper names: *Ce faci, Dănuț?* (How are you, Dănuț?)

-use of reduced forms of vocative or of greeting (vocative truncation is widespread in many languages across the world). Truncation of a final consonant (with or without alteration of the preceding vowel) is common in vocative formation, as is truncation of entire syllables, which often occurs in imperatives as well (Maiden, 2006: 52-53). The truncated vocative is generally restricted to a relatively informal setting, between close interlocutors (usually marked by the usage of familiar first names): *Tu eș-Monic[a]?* (Are you, Monik?); *Bună, buni!*/*Bună, bunică!* (Hello, grannie!/Hello, grandmother!); or with definite form, as proper feminine names: *Nmniața, Maria!* (Morning, Maria!); *Bun-Andrei!* (Hi, Andrei!)

-or vocative preceded by addressing/interpellation interjections: *Măi Ioane! Nu ne-am văzut de-un car de ani!* (Hey, Ioane! We haven't seen for years!); *Noroc! Hai noroc, Vasile!* (Good luck! Well, good luck, Vasile!); *Oho, salu-Mihai! Ce mai faci? De când nu te-am văzut!* (Wow, hello, Mihai! How are you? I have not seen you lately!).

In order to be able to be heard at a greater distance, vocative can be followed by an interjection, which in Moldavian region is *măi* > *hăi* > *ăi* > *ei*. In our corpus, we also recorded some examples of *shouted* vocatives, in which the postponed interjection *-ei* makes a common body with vocative: *Ioanei!* and *Vasilei!*

In the next section we present the patterns of vocatives, classified in two main classes: the first one represented by the isolated vocatives, and the second one accompanied by other lexemes or vocatives in sentences according to their position: initial, medial, and final. Such vocative expressions, as inserted elements, also have a stylistic value since they influence the rhythmic flow of the sentence, introduce an emphatic pause, change of intonation, rhythm and speech intensity (Glušac & Čolić, 2017: 468).

3.3. Patterns of vocative intonation

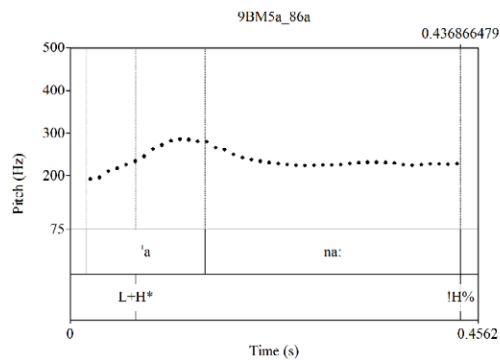
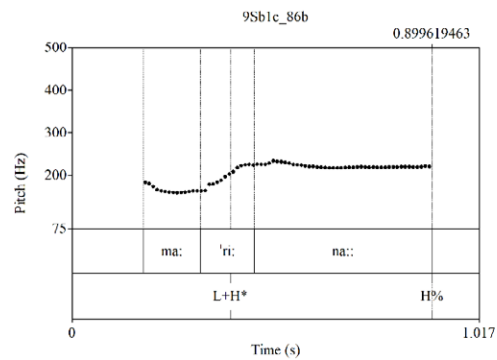
3.3.1. Isolated vocatives

We recorded isolated vocatives (i.e. sentences formed by a single unit/word) as independent statements or separated by an effective pause from the next statement. The communication context consisted of three instances: you enter a room and call the person (first call); he/she does not hear you, so you call him/her once again (insistent/second call); the person is far away, out of sight (distance/shouted call).

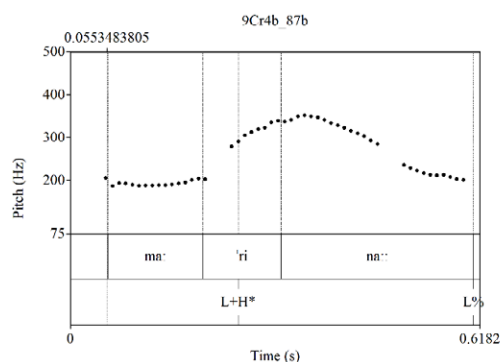
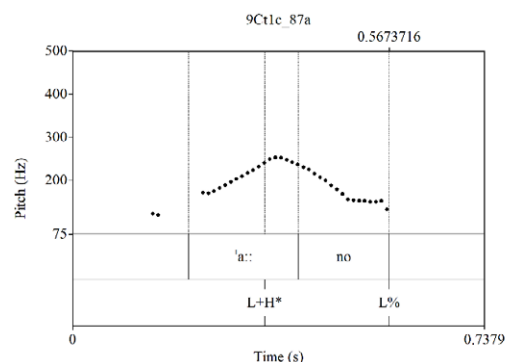
Vocative chant is a contour characterized by high pitch followed by a downward step after which the pitch level is sustained. This contour is met in all Romance languages as documented in the book that represents an important turning point in the research on intonation, *Intonation in Romance* (Frota & Prieto, 2015b: 411).

The intonation pattern that is found in many languages is well known in literature as “vocative chant”, “chanted tune” (Ladd, 1978; Dascălu, 2001; Gussenhoven, 2004; Gramatica, 2005). It is presented as a sequence of two close tones consisting of two steps of higher level, and the second with a slightly lower level, up to the medium or low level, maintained during the lengthening of the stressed vowel and, especially on the final vowel, in relation with the insistence of call. Depending on the length of the final vowel a distinction can be made between the two variants: L+H* H% and L+H* !H* L%; in the second case, the length of the final vowel determines the perception of a secondary accent, more musical, based on the prolonged maintenance of the tone (cf. Gussenhoven, 2004: 314; Ladd, 2008: 145).

In some cases (especially when the utterance begins with a tonic vowel, like in *Ana!*), Fo contour begins on the middle or the high pitch of the speaker’s register, the first tonal accent being H*. Sometimes, the final tone drops to medium level (M%), or is maintained at a high level (H%). The pitch range occurs on two levels with a difference between 10 and 65Hz between the first vowel and final one. Both vowels, but especially the second, are lengthened, while the intensity is maintained at approximately equal level, with a slight decrease between the two vowels. In isolated cases, Fo is maintained on the final syllable at the tonal level reached at the end of tonic vowel or even slightly exceeds it; in this case vocative acquires a nuance of frustrated waiting.

FIGURE 1*Ana!***FIGURE 2***Marina!*

Insistent calls exhibit an intonation pattern that starts from a mid-level (see figure 3: *Marina!*) or from a low level (see figure 4: *Ano!*). The pitch rises on the tonic syllable (the rise may start during the pre-stressed or the stressed syllable), and then falls from a pitch peak to a low level until the end of the utterance (the fall may begin from the stressed or the post-tonic syllable). This second pattern (figure 3 and figure 4), with the high peak on the stressed vowel followed by a downstep, is similar to the intonation of imperatives.

FIGURE 3*Marina!***FIGURE 4***Ano!*

Usually, the pattern of the shouted/distance vocatives is L+H*!H% (as in figure 5 and figure 6). The intonation pattern of shouted vocative, although it resembles the vocative chant melody, differs by the fact that the pitch starts at a mid-level, and is slightly rising and touching the peak on the stressed syllable, then is maintained at high level on the post-tonic syllable, until the end of the utterances. The distinctive mark of this pattern is the fact that the boundary syllable is lengthened, showing the speaker's insistence. This intonation pattern is also identified in some Spanish varieties, and also in Portuguese (Frota & Prieto, 2015b).

FIGURE 5

Marina!

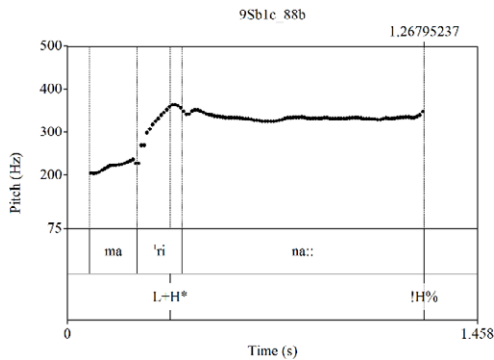
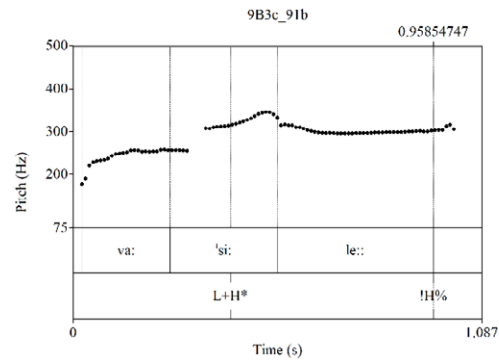


FIGURE 6

Vasile!



But there are situations in which shouted vocatives display another pattern: L+H* jH* L% (figure 7 and figure 8). Fo rises slightly on the first syllable, with a first peak on the stressed syllable, forming a high plateau and then descends to the final. The rise of the pitch, accompanied, as a rule, by the increase of intensity and duration, makes the final syllable acquire a second peak (a stronger tonal stress) compared to the first syllable. This contour is still “chanted” but, due to the fact that the speaker tries to sustain the tone, “chanted” became somewhat shrill, in this case, and this pattern also characterised the “shouted” vocative.

FIGURE 7

Ana!

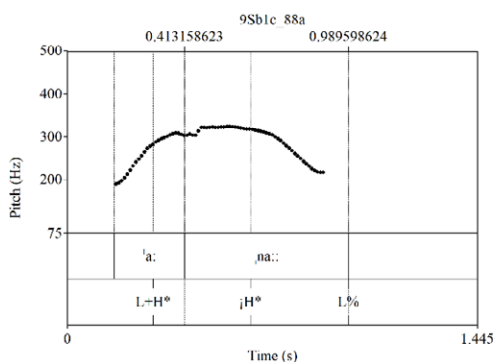
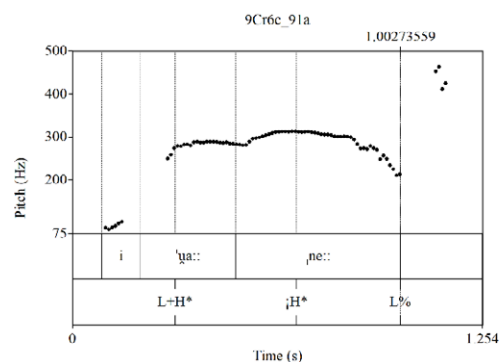


FIGURE 8

Ioane!

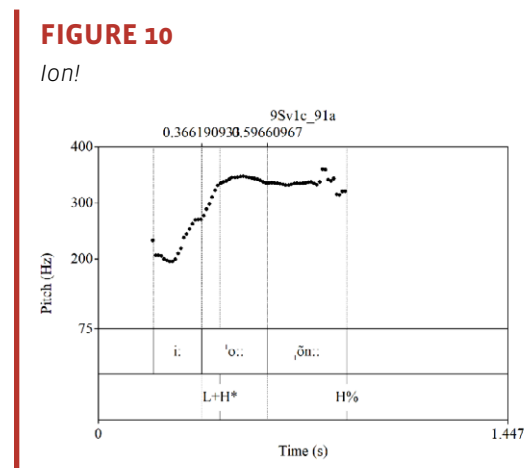
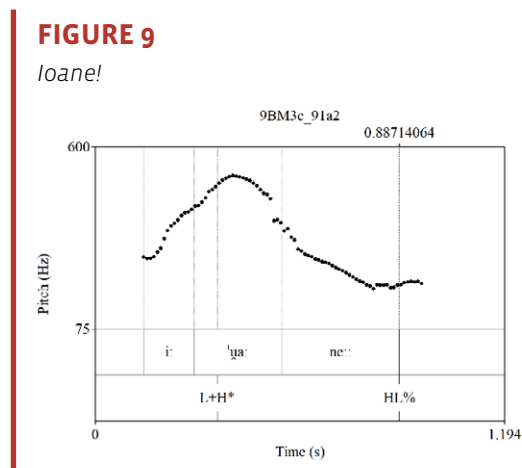


The speaker expresses in the case of the L+H* jH* L% pattern (the “shrillness” of the voice and the final downstep) an attitude of impatience (Gussenhoven, 2004: 314), even the speaker’s annoyance towards the delay of the answer. This pattern also has an intermittent iambic rhythm, manifested by a small syncope of Fo and intensity between the two vowels.

The pattern of long call is met in imperative calls, addressed by parents to children that play in the yard/park or in groups of workers, or groups of tourists, when a person from a group was left behind or got lost. The relationships between the members of the group are equal, regardless of their rank or social position.

The two patterns with insistence on the final are also used in other context of distance communication, like the cries of market vendors or that of street vendors: *avem me:re::!*, *pe:re bu:ne::!*, *hai:ne ve::chi (cumpără::m)!* (we have a:pple::s!, goo..d pe:ars!, o::ld coa::ts we buy!).

Another intonation pattern, but less common, is L+H* HL% (figure 9). It is situated between L+H*L% and L+H* iH* L% (shouted): while the maximum tonal peak is on the first vowel that carries the main lexical stress, Fo begins to descend on the attack of the final syllable, but the descent is slow; we annotate this ample movement of Fo by the HL%⁷. We also identify L+H* H% pattern (as in figure 10): the stressed syllable is split and the tone is maintained at high level, ending in the boundary tone H%.



The patterns with ascending final intonation (of major continuity) indicate the speaker's intention to initiate a dialogue or a common action with the addressee. In the case when the final tone remains suspended at a high or a medium level (minor continuity intonation), indicates the expectation of an answer. The pattern with the descending final tone gives the calling vocatives a firm, even an imperative note: the speaker waits for a prompt answer or a reaction from the addressee.

7 Annotation taken from Sp_ToBI (Prieto & Roseano, 2010).

3.3.2. Vocative in initial position

In initial position, vocatives were identified more in imperative statements obtained as responses to two questions in AMPROM: *Ana, dă-mi (te rog) un măr!* (Ana, give me an apple (please)!) and *Ioane, dă-mi (te rog) un măr!* (Ioane, give me an apple (please)!), and *Ana, dă-mi (te rog) un măr!* from SoRoEs; other instances of communication where vocatives are obtained: examples when preceding Wh-questions, yes/no questions or statements.

The vocative is separated by a real pause (“mute”) lasting between 7 ms and 354 ms in approximately half of the occurrences. The usual “pauses” between the final vowel of the vocatives and the initial vowel of the next word last between 68 and 108 ms, and they are sometimes “filled” with wicker vibrations of final vowel (*drawls*) and a slightly slower occlusion of the next consonant. More often the perception of a “pause” is determined by the slight lengthening of the final vowel which bears the accent of vocative intermediate-phrase boundary tone: L-, M-, H- (less often the last one), and the next intonation phrase is characterised by a rise of the tone.

The most common intonation pattern is (L+) H* L- (see figure 11). A constant feature of the “linked” vocative is the greater lengthening of the stressed vowel than the post-tonic one. The tonal peak of the imperative exceeds that of preceding vocative, except for the insistent vocative with ascending final intonation: L* H%, as in *Andreea! Ți-l prezint pe prietenul meu, Andrei* (Andreea! I introduce my friend, Andrei), when the speaker draws the addressee’s attention that something important is following.

In initial position, vocative can lose its descending part of the contour, being marked only by the ascending tone on the stress vowel and by its duration; for example, in *Ioana, un-te duci?* (Ioana, where are you going?), Fo maintains the high level on the post-tonic vowel with the phrase accent H-, then it raises a little more, having the peak of the pitch on the interrogative word *un[de]*, and then descending up to the end of the utterance. If the L+ H* H- pattern of initial vocative is frequently used, other speakers use the L+H*_iH* L pattern of insistent vocative (in this case, nuclear stress shifts to the final syllable). As it can be noticed, in figure 12 the vocative is separated from imperatives by a pause. The tonal stress of the posttonic vowel (wich predominates through pitch, intensity and duration) is higher than that of the first tonic vowel (wich bears the lexical stress of the vocative).

Although Laurenția Dascălu-Jinga (2005: 909) considers that in initial position can be distinguished between calling vocative and addressing vocative with the patterns L+H* !H% and, respectively, L+H* L%, our analysis indicates that, in initial position, it is used only vocative chant with L+H* L% (L-) pattern, and only sometimes L+H* !H% (H-).

FIGURE 11

Ana, dă-mi un măr!

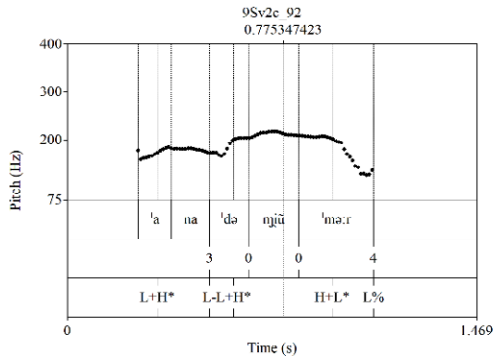
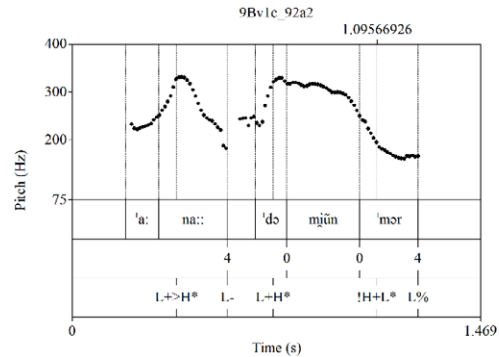


FIGURE 12

Ana, dă-mi un măr!



3.3.3. Vocative in middle position

We illustrate this vocative in the example *Salut, Ioana, un-te duci?*, utterance that consists of three intonation phrases: a greeting, a vocative, and a Wh-question, each having its nuclear accent, as it can be seen in figure 13. The first phrase is delimited by the H- intermediate-phrase boundary tone, while the second one, by the intermediate-phrase boundary tone L-; the last phrase has the specific intonation contour of Wh-question: high peak on the interrogative word and then an abrupt descending of F₀ to a low target tone. Vocative contour starts from a high level, decreases very slightly on the pre-tonic syllable, then rises on the stressed syllable and starts to fall to a low boundary tone on the post-tonic syllable.

FIGURE 13

Salut, Ioana, un-te duci?

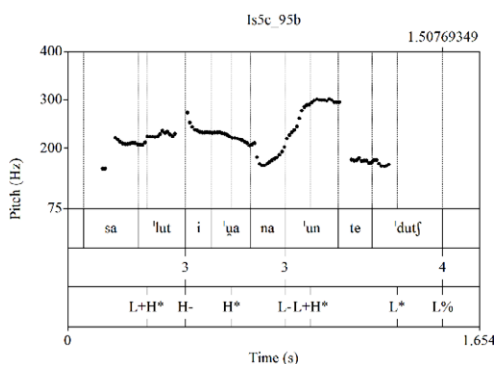
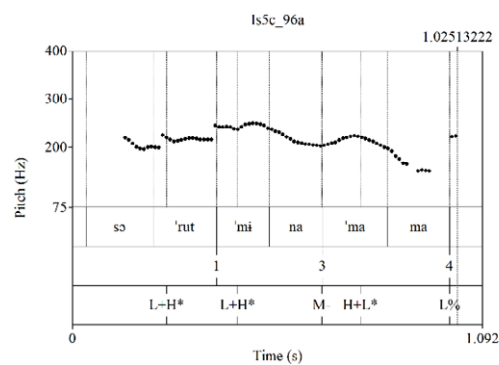


FIGURE 14

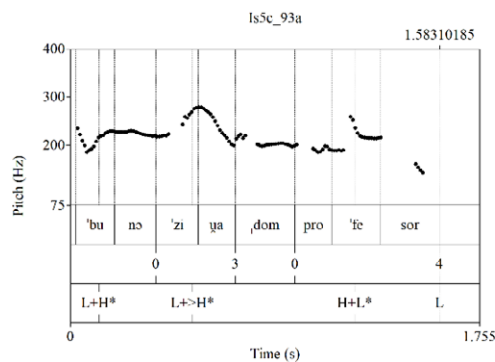
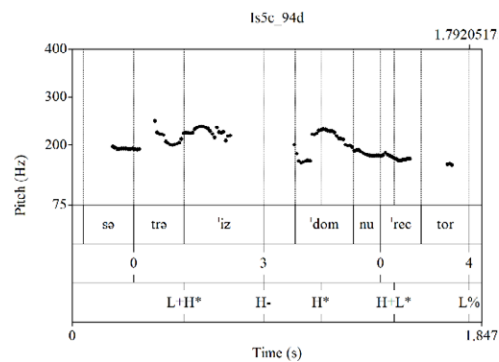
Sărut-mâna, mama!



3.3.4. Vocative in final position

In final position, vocative is preceded by a greeting formula, a greeting-question, a wish, an imperative and a yes/no question. Generally, the vocative in final position has a de-

scending contour, but it is characterized by a long duration, especially of the stressed vowel (see figure 14).

FIGURE 15*Bună ziua, dom-profesor!***FIGURE 16***Să trăiți, domnu Rector!*

When it is preceded by a greeting formula, this bears the main accent of the phrase, and ends at a high or medium level. The vocative retains the same tone until the final stressed vowel, where F_0 falls abruptly/decisively to a low boundary tone. The pitch accent of the second intermediate phrase is labeled $H+L^*$, and the speaker easily emphasizes the syllables of the vocative phrase (as in figure 15). If the speaker emphasizes the addressee's function or honorary title, the respective lexemes are uttered in a higher tone, bearing the main accent of the utterance (as in figure 16).

Vocatives in the middle or final position of an utterance are vocatives of addressing, which have the role of maintaining the addressee's attention, and of confirming the fact that the speaker addresses him/her in a certain way, according to the psycho-social relations between the two interlocutors.

4. Conclusions

In this paper we present an overview of the most encountered melodic patterns of vocatives realized in different situational contexts, in Romanian language, using the Ro_ToBI labelling conventions proposed by Jitcă et al. (2015).

In the first part of this research we presented the context in which we recorded vocatives in the ten cultural centers of Romania and the aspects of the use of vocative forms indicate the interpersonal relationships between speakers in several informal and (semi)formal speech situations. The sociolinguistic functions of vocatives are due to their semantic, pragmatic specialization and combination with other linguistic means of addressing.

The analysis of the vocative contours show that Romanian speakers realize most of isolated vocatives as L+H*(!)H% (vocative chant), and L+H* L% (insistent call), while shouted vocatives display L+H*(!)H% and lengthening of boundary syllable. For non-isolated vocatives the most frequent contours are labeled L+H* L%, and H+L* L%. Our findings concerning the intonation of Romanian vocatives were consistent with Jitcă et al. (2015), Frota and Prieto (2015b), Borràs-Comes et al. (2015). From a cross-linguistic perspective, Romanian vocatives display the same patterns as other Romance languages, especially as Portuguese, and some varieties of Spanish, and differ from the intonation patterns of French and Occitan, for example.

Our results provide novel evidence for annotating the melody of non-isolated vocatives, and represents a further contribution to the analysis of vocatives intonation using semi-spontaneous elicited speech. Further research needs additional data to examine in greater detail intonation phenomena, and to make a systematic statistical analysis about vocatives, taking into considerations also the socio-pragmatic and situational factors in all varieties of Romanian.

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