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**Maestría en Traducción Interpretación**

***A Contrastive Analysis of Postnuclearity in English  
and Spanish: Differences and Similarities***

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
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This work is not intended as a comprehensive in-depth analysis, nor is it geared to have the last word in the study of tonicity as one of the systems which are part and parcel of the intonational framework of language. Rather, it aims at arousing the curiosity of other students of English and/or Spanish, who may feel tempted, as I did, to explore the mysteries of the prosodic field.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The present thesis purports to analyze postnuclear patterns in English and Spanish with a view to finding prospective differences and similarities. Moreover, particular reference is made to Gussenhoven's classification of tails in English and to Ortiz Lira's comparative and contrastive approach to the study of such tails, both in English and Chilean Spanish. This provides us with the appropriate working framework on the basis of which, utterances in River Plate Spanish will be analyzed.

In addition, the extensive literature available in English on this subject offers ample evidence of numerous cases of unaccented linguistic material in broad-focus tone units.

As regards Spanish, curiously enough and in contrast with the traditional view, various cases of early nucleus placement can also be recorded in the River Plate linguistic variety.

## **RESUMEN**

La presente tesis tiene por objetivo analizar patrones postnucleares del inglés y el español con la finalidad de encontrar posibles diferencias y similitudes. Además, en el trabajo, se hace especial referencia a la clasificación de segmentos enclíticos del inglés realizada por Gussenhoven, así como también al enfoque comparativo y contrastivo de Ortiz Lira del estudio de tales segmentos, tanto en el inglés como en el español de Chile. Esto nos proporciona el marco de trabajo apropiado, sobre la base del cual, se analizarán enunciados en español rioplatense.

Además, la extensa bibliografía disponible en inglés sobre el tema nos ofrece amplia evidencia de la existencia de numerosos casos de material lingüístico inacentuado en unidades entonativas en foco amplio.

En lo que respecta al español, por muy curioso que parezca y a diferencia de la postura tradicional, también se pueden registrar casos de ubicación temprana del núcleo en la variedad lingüística rioplaense.

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# **1. Introduction**

## ***1.1 Topic Specification and Relevance***

Not only has English intonation, particularly that of RP (Received Pronunciation), or now GB (General British), been subject of thorough and comprehensive study, but it has also been popularized, notably in the literature of English didactics. Nevertheless, the bulk of research and publications which deal with Spanish intonation, especially River Plate Spanish, is considerably smaller.

Taking into account advances in the research field, we set out to obtain samples of both varieties with a view to subsequently undertaking a contrastive analysis, which will finally enable us to draw the pertinent conclusions.

It is our heartfelt desire that the result of the present work should serve as a useful contribution towards enlightening the teaching-learning process of English phonology in teacher-training, translating and interpreting courses at English higher education institutions across the country.

## ***1.2 Research Questions***

The following are some questions which will lead the research:



- What is the state of the art in the study of English prosody? Which authors, among English academics, have made a mark in the study of this field?
- How does this compare with the advances made in the study of Spanish prosody? Name some authors who conducted interesting work in the discipline.
- What are the three systems operating in English intonation? Which of these has served as a great source of inspiration for the latest study in the area?
- Can we apply this system to Spanish and compare it with English? What are the similarities and differences we find?
- In English there are many cases of postnuclearity. How does Spanish behave in this respect?

## **2. Objectives**

For this study we aim at achieving the following objectives:

### ***2.1 General objective***

- To compare samples of River Plate Spanish and General British English so that English-phonology academics and teachers of English for Spanish speakers will be able to predict students' mistakes.

## **2.2 Specific Objectives**

- To study the fragmentation of utterances into tone units, both in River Plate Spanish and in GB English.
- To analyse nucleus placement in both varieties.
- To perceive and examine the tone contours of English and Spanish.
- To apply the theoretical contributions to the experimental analysis of Spanish-spoken texts.
- To extract data from the experimental analysis and draw the pertinent conclusions.
- To compare and contrast our findings and conclusions with those of authors studied.

## **3. Hypothesis**

River Plate Spanish exhibits similarities and differences with General British English in its behavioural patterns regarding tonicity:

### ***Similarities:***

- In broad-focus tone units, both English and Spanish show a similar tendency: in the British tradition, this phenomenon has generally been referred to as the *last lexical item rule* (the *LLI rule*). According to this rule,

when all the information in a tone unit is new, the nucleus tends to fall on the last lexical item.

- Nevertheless, contrary to traditional belief, according to which Spanish is a language of fixed nucleus, there are interesting cases of postnuclearity of lexical words in Spanish. That is to say, we find exceptions to the LLI rule in Spanish as well. This is another coincidence with English.

### ***Differences:***

- Unlike other languages, including English, Spanish does not seem to favour the placement of the nucleus on a grammatical or “function” word. Conversely, in Spanish the nucleus tends to be placed on the last lexical or “content” word in the tone unit, irrespective of lexical category (nouns but also adjectives, verbs and even adverbs). It does not have such potential for nucleus mobility as English does. This is the reason why Spanish is often considered a language of “fixed nucleus”, with the highest percentage of paroxytonic words (where the stress falls on the penultimate syllable) in final position.
- Furthermore, Spanish exhibits cases of nucleus placement on the last lexical item, even when the information is given, which is not usually the case of English, where old information typically rejects the nucleus.
- In Spanish, we identify word order variation as a key resource to compensate for restricted nucleus mobility.

## 4. Current State of the Art

In the study of the field of English prosody, the literature referring to the models which explain nucleus placement, a concept for which Halliday (1967) coined the term *tonicity*, is quite extensive. Among the authors who have researched into and published about English prosody, there seems to be coincidence with Halliday as regards the placement of the nucleus on the last lexical item when there is broad focus. Halliday pointed out that in statements in broad focus, that is when all the information in the tone unit is new, the nuclear tone tends to be located on the last lexical item, thus giving rise to the *last lexical item* rule or *LLI* rule. Later, Crystal (1969) highlighted the four lexical categories to which tonicity is almost entirely restricted: nouns, adjectives, main verbs and adverbs. And within this class of content or lexical words, nouns undoubtedly constitute the category which attracts the nucleus the most in English.

In Spanish, studies do not abound in this connection. However, renowned linguists of the peninsular tradition, such as Navarro Tomás, have implicitly referred to the location of the nucleus on the last lexical item. Both Navarro Tomás (1925) and Quilis (1985) tried to establish a correlation between accentuation and syntactic categories.

One of the prestigious Latin American scholars who has produced a detailed, in-depth analysis of Spanish accentuation is undeniably the Chilean phonetician Héctor Ortiz Lira, who has always approached this field of study from the perspective of a teacher of phonetics for Spanish speakers, which represents a great asset for us Spanish-speaking teachers in the EFL educational sphere.

In his thesis published in 1994, *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Spanish Sentence Accentuation*, he explains different cases of postnuclearity, both in English and in Spanish. There, he highlights the fact that “there remain a number of areas the examination of which would reveal further patterns of interference”. Here, the linguist is referring to areas which are worth researching into, which either reject or attract the nucleus, such as: final time or place adverbials, hearer-appeal markers, comment clauses and approximatives<sup>1</sup> and even adverbs such as “too” or “either”, among other elements.

This research is intended as a humble contribution to the field, with the purpose of filling some existing gaps in the area of postnuclearity, if any, but particularly with an emphasis on some typical English postnuclear patterns and their behaviour in River Plate Spanish.

Another prominent Latin American figure in the study of Spanish prosody is Juan Manuel Sosa, who, in his work *La Entonación del Español*, published in 1999, underscores the dichotomy between Spanish as a “fixed nucleus” language and Spanish as a “free nucleus” language. The linguist refers to the views held by different authors regarding nucleus placement in Spanish. For instance, among the supporters of the former stance, is Alan Cruttenden, who, in his latest edition of *Intonation*, published in 1997, refers to “fixed nucleus” languages as those where the nucleus tends to fall on the “last stressed syllable of the last noun” or noun phrase, since he observes that in some languages, such as French (and the same applies to Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, i.e. languages of the Romance family) adjectives usually follow the nouns they modify, that is, adjectival postmodification is more frequent in Spanish than in English.

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<sup>1</sup> Following Carlos Gussenhoven’s classification of tail types

Among the supporters of the latter stance is an author of the Peninsular Spanish tradition, Quilis (1981), who considered Spanish a “free nucleus” language due to the wider range of possibilities Spanish offers as regards its lexical accentual patterns, when compared with French for instance, in which the nucleus systematically falls on the last syllable of a word or sense group. We find many examples in Spanish where stress can play a distinctive role. Compare the following words:

cálculo    calculo    calculo

título    titulolo    titulo

crítico    criticoo    critico

Índico    indicoo    indico

cómputo    computoto    computo

By a “wider range of possibilities” we mean in Spanish, words may be:

- Oxytonic: when the stress falls on the last syllable, for example in “ananá” or “canción”.
- Paroxytonic: when the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, as in “conducta” or “cabello”.
- Proparoxytonic: when the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, for instance in “fantástico” or “incrédulo”.

Or even:

- Superparoxytonic: (not so frequent though) when the stress falls on the preantepenultimate syllable, as in verbs in the imperative mood followed by enclitic pronouns, as in “cómpramelo” or “alcánzamelo” (these are the

Peninsular Spanish versions, for in “River Plate” Spanish we stress the antepenultimate syllable: “comprámelo” and “alcanzámelo”).

We totally agree with Sosa that both positions are not contradictory, and we can add, “or even irreconcilable” for the following reasons:

1. Spanish is a “fixed nucleus” language in so far as the last word in the tone unit tends to attract the nuclear accent, whether that is a noun, an adjective or even an adverb or a main verb.

Here, we also observe that the location of the nucleus is not obligatorily restricted to the last noun (or noun phrase) in the tone unit, as Prof. Cruttenden suggests (1997: 142), and as is, more often than not, the case in English.

2. Spanish is a “free nucleus” language in the sense that nuclear variability is directly proportional to syllabic accentuation. In other words, if the last word in the tone unit is oxytonic, the nucleus will be placed on the last syllable, if it is paroxytonic, it will be placed on the penultimate syllable, and so on.

Moreover, we expect to confirm, from the experimental data gathered, that the latter is the most frequent accentual pattern for River Plate Spanish, in consonance with statistical work developed by researchers such as Delattre in 1965 and Quilis in 1978 related to General Spanish, according to which, this pattern is 4 times as frequent as the oxytonic and the proparoxytonic ones, reaching almost an 80% occurrence rate<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Juan Manuel Sosa in *La Entonación del Español* (1999: 59)

## 5. Theoretical Framework

We started our analysis by reading prominent authors of the literature of English and Spanish prosody.

We first approached the study of tone contours as proposed by two prestigious English schools:

- The London School, whose main representatives are O'Connor and Arnold (1973), Cruttenden (1997) and Wells (2006).
- The Discourse Analysis School, from Birmingham, whose main exponent is David Brazil (1980).

Then, we proceeded to analyse the American School, where levels prevail over tone contours. To this end, we analysed the ToBI system, designed by Janet Pierrehumbert (1980) and adapted to Spanish intonation by Juan Manuel Sosa (1999).

Of the three prosodic systems of intonation proposed by Halliday (1967), *tonality*, *tonicity*, and *tone*, tonicity has undeniably served as a seemingly inexhaustible source of inspiration for the latest study and research into the field.

Incredible though it may sound to contemporary students of phonetics and phonology, it was as early as the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when an eminent elocutionist of the

time, John Walker, first used the tone marks: \ / — V Λ, setting an invaluable



precedent for Kingdon's "tonetic stress-mark" notation system almost two centuries later. This representation system would be further developed by O'Connor and Arnold.

It was the very same Walker who in those days referred to "emphasis", thus foreshadowing the subsequent use of the term "nucleus", which was to be formally introduced by Palmer in the 1920s, as Prof. Cruttenden clearly states in his work *Intonation* (1997).

According to Prof. Cruttenden, not only did Walker anticipate the use of the term "nucleus" but also indirectly alluded to the modern concepts of a) "broad focus" and b) "narrow focus":

- Broad focus: in his mention of "emphasis applied to the whole sentence" (emphasis of passion).
- b) Narrow focus: as "emphasis applied to one word in opposition to some word expressed – what is now known as *contextual givenness* – or else understood" – situational givenness – (emphasis of sense).

Palmer, for his part, is said to have laid the foundations of the traditional British nuclear tone approach. His work was taken up and further developed by prestigious 20<sup>th</sup> century authors such as Kingdon, O'Connor, Arnold and Halliday, among others.

Now, in these early years of the new millennium, one often wonders whether pioneers in the study of the prosodic field, such as Walker, were well aware of the advantages that the aforementioned notation system would later bring, not only for academics but also in the EFL classroom, namely:

- The representation of both accent and pitch movement (sustention in the case of the level tone and static heads) with one symbol.
- The marking of intonation on the one hand and the phonemic transcription or the transcription in ordinary spelling on the other, both on just one line, unlike ToBI which requires two:

One for sounds or ordinary spelling and another for intonation.

Retaking the concept of “focus”, we can observe that its very inception can be traced back to Walker’s days (late 1700s) and nowadays it has materialized and become a popular term, widely used in phonetic circles. As Prof. Cruttenden wisely points out in his work *Intonation* (1997): “Any one language is likely to use a variety of methods for fixing the attention of a listener on some portion of an utterance” in reference to the fact that among the resources languages count on to mark focus, nucleus placement is but one; there are other resources available such as lexical or grammatical, nucleus placement being the device most frequently used in English though. Furthermore, the notion of “focus” is closely related to that of “old or new information” since, when all the information in the tone unit is new, we tend to accent all the lexical items, and the last one usually bears the nucleus, for example in the following exchange:

- Eg 1: HUSBAND: Why are you getting up, dear?

WIFE: I need a glass of WAter.

The wife’s reply is in *broad focus* because she is not simply focusing on “water” but on the fact that she has an urgent need: drinking a glass of water. Therefore, when

*all the information* in the tone unit is relevant, in other words, when the *whole tone unit* is in focus, this is usually referred to as a case of “*broad focus*” Conversely, when *only part of the tone unit* is in focus, it is a case of “*narrow focus*”:

- Eg 2: HUSBAND: I need a glass of whisky.

WIFE: I need a glass of WAter.

This time, her reply is in “*narrow focus*”; only “water” is in focus, as all the other information in the unit is “given”, since it has been explicitly mentioned by the husband, and therefore, it is part of the linguistic context (contextual givenness).

Thus, while the concept of “*narrow focus*” necessarily involves some old information, the notion of “*focus*” alone implies new information, which may be located at the end of the unit as in example 2, or elsewhere as in example 3:

- Eg 3: HUSBAND: Do you need some water?

WIFE: I need a GLASS of water.

Those cases of “*narrow focus*” where the nucleus is placed on the last lexical item (as in our example 2 above) correspond to “*neutral or unmarked*” *tonicity*, whereas those where the nucleus is marked elsewhere in the unit (as in eg.3), correspond to “*marked*” *tonicity*. The former occurs when the last lexical item bears the nucleus, while the latter occurs when either a non-final lexical item (eg 3) or a grammatical item bears the nucleus. The following example illustrates a case of marked *tonicity* where the nucleus falls on a grammatical item:

- Eg 4: A: Who needs some water?

B: I need some water.

If we now turn our attention to the comparison between English and Spanish, we clearly observe greater mobility regarding nucleus placement in the former, whereas the latter exhibits considerably greater “word order” mobility. This seems to have a reasonable explanation: English, having more grammatical “rigidity”, needs to have recourse to other means to signal “focus”, preferably more nucleus mobility.

The following examples show how much more “flexible” Spanish grammar seems to be:

Spanish:

- Eg 5a: La leche está hirVIENdo.

Or:

- Eg 6a: Está hirviendo la LEche.

Both examples are correct in Spanish. And in both the nucleus is placed on the last lexical item, regardless of the fact that in eg 5a “hervir” is a verb and not a noun; nouns being highest in order of priorities in English, when it comes to attracting the nucleus; not to mention the fact that this is a typical example of “event sentence”, characteristic of English, where the nucleus is almost invariably placed on the noun.

In his data, David Crystal recorded 80 % of cases of spontaneous speech in English where the nucleus falls on the last lexical item (the percentage is even higher for newsreading: 88 %). Still, the rate of cases where the nucleus does NOT fall on the last lexical item is much more restricted in Spanish.

Now let us see how we could say eggs 5a and 6a in English:

- Eg 5b: The MILK is boiling.

But:

- Eg 6b: \* Is boiling the MILK.

Only example 5b is correct in English. Example 6b is wrong.

In English, the noun “milk” bears the nucleus rather than the verb “boil”, even when the verb is final in the tone unit.

Such grammatical “rigidity” results in English displaying frequent cases of postnuclearity.

In this research project, we set out to examine typical English tails, based on Carlos Gussenhoven’s categorization<sup>3</sup> and Héctor Ortiz Lira’s latest classification. These authors have by no means been chosen at random; on the contrary, we consider our selection is well founded since both of them provide a detailed analysis of sentence accentuation. One from a purely English-speaking perspective and the other whose work represents, in his own words, “the largest collection of data on the subject ever published for EFL purposes”<sup>4</sup>. We consider his constant comparison with Spanish an inestimable contribution since, by bringing up differences and similarities, the teacher is better positioned to help students avoid or correct typical mistakes, derived from negative linguistic interference.

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<sup>3</sup> GUSSENHOVEN, C (1986). ‘The intonation of George and Mildred: Postnuclear Generalizations’. In Johns-Lewis, C (ed.), *Intonation in Discourse*. London: Croom Helm.

<sup>4</sup> ORTIZ LIRA, H. (1994). *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Spanish Sentence Accent*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Manchester.

Thus, we will proceed to analyse the material typically found in postnuclear stretches in General British English and compare it and contrast it with that regularly found in River Plate Spanish, with a view to spotting differences and similarities, to finally draw pertinent conclusions.

## **6. Methodology**

Our approach is perceptual for purely pedagogical reasons, an approach that has traditionally been followed at the Phonetics and Linguistics Department at University College London. Nevertheless, following the current trend, as has been done by Halliday and Greaves (2008), we will proceed to the analysis of the acoustics of the data collected by means of the PRAAT program. This software was designed and continues to be developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenik at the University of Amsterdam. The program enables the researcher not only to record the human voice in different types of audio files but also to show it on the spectrogram. It allows us to measure the curves of fundamental frequency (F0), which is related to pitch. When our vocal folds vibrate, we produce a note that may be higher or lower, depending on their tension and frequency of vibration. The greater the tension and the higher the frequency of vibration, the higher the note. All these variations can be seen on the spectrogram, thus giving scientific rigour to the perceptual acoustic analysis carried out by the research team.

### ***Corpus***

The data analysed in this work will come from recordings of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech of eighteen informants representing the linguistic community of

River Plate Spanish speakers, who were born and have lived in Buenos Aires City all their lives. They will not have any linguistic knowledge and will be totally unaware of the purposes pursued in this research project.

They represent different sociocultural backgrounds, genders and age groups. Some have university education, while others are secondary school graduates and clerks. Their ages range from 22 to 70 years old.

They will be requested to formulate sentences from two different contexts:

- a. Textual:* where they will have to read the answers to questions they will hear from an interviewer.
- b. Visual:* where they will have to look at some cartoons, which will place them in a given context, to which they will have to respond making up a suitable answer.

And they will be recorded in Mp3 format.

### ***Categories of Analysis***

We will analyse the intonational behaviour of River Plate Spanish compared to that of General British English regarding the presence or absence of postnuclearity in the categories we list below, which in English are typically postnuclear.

We consider it necessary, though, to provide an explanation before we proceed to list these categories.

Here we follow Gussenhoven's basic distinction between [ + focus ] and [ – focus ] tails. In his view, focus is "a binary variable, obligatorily marking all or part of a

sentence as [ + focus ] (...) equivalent to Halliday's 'new' (1967: 204). If only part of a sentence is so marked, the rest is said to be [ – focus ] (similarly equivalent to Halliday's 'given') (Gussenhoven, 1986). We concur with Ortiz Lira that there is no unanimous agreement among authors in the literature as to the notions of "focus" vs. "newness" and "givenness", since, as Brazil states, the speaker makes "moment by moment decisions to present the information as new or old" (1981). This means the aforementioned distinction is very subjective as there is always an element of choice on the part of the speaker as to which elements in the tone unit to present as new and which as old, but we can conclude that there is material more likely to be accented [ + focus ] and material less likely to be accented [ – focus ].

For example, in: "The baby is crying", "crying" is a main verb, therefore accentable material, and indicates new information: [ + focus ]; however, it is deaccented. We find it in the tail.

We do not normally (in an unemphatic context) say: \* The baby is CRYing.

We say:

- Eg 7: The BAby is crying.

This is an example of "event sentence" in English. It is included in the list of [ + focus ] tails.

Conversely, in: "Good morning, Pete", "Pete" is a final vocative; vocatives are generally nouns used to address a person (animal or object) directly. Even when they are nouns, they fall under the category of "given" information, that is, [ – focus ], for obvious reasons: the person (animal or object) you are addressing is there within



sight and reach. The main message, relevant information, usually comes *before* the vocative. “Pete” is in the tail, a [ – focus ] one. Consequently, in English we say:

- Eg 8: Good MORning, Pete.

Having made this observation, we are now in a position to present the list of categories to be analysed:

### **Category I: [ + Focus ] Tails**

- 1. Event Sentences**
- 2. Transitive Verb + Object + Verbal Particle**
- 3. Verb + Object + Object Complement or:  
Subject + Verb + Subject Complement**
- 4. Utterances indicating causation**
- 5. Predicative Adjectives (Different Meaning: “Accident State” vs  
“ Essential characteristic”)**
- 6. Wh-movement in Questions That is to say:  
An Adjectival Wh-word + Object Noun + Verb or:  
Wh-word + Subject Noun + Verb**
- 7. Subject + Passive Verb**

## **Category II [ – Focus ] Tails. Typically [ – Focus ] Expressions**

- 1. Time-Space Markers**
- 2. Cohesion Markers: Additives. Inferenceals. Concessives.  
Reinforcing. Contrastive**
- 3. Hearer-Appeal Markers: Softeners. Vocatives. Tags**
- 4. Textual Markers: Reporting Clauses. Comment Clauses**
- 5. Approximatives**

### **More Exceptions to the LLI Rule:**

- 1. Noun +Infinitive**
- 2. Final Relative Clauses**
- 3. Indirect Questions**
- 4. Objects of General Reference**
- 5. Indefinite Pronouns**
- 6. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns**

### **Other Patterns in Broad and Narrow Focus:**

- 1. Verbs + Adverbs + Prepositions**
- 2. Operators**

### **Some Idiomatic or Fossilized Expressions**

Nevertheless, it is important to remind the reader that even when we will undertake a comparative study of *all* the categories present in the classification, our experimental analysis will be restricted to those which are *pertinent* to the achievement of our objectives. To put it clearly, we know Spanish tends to favour final nucleus placement more than English; so we will not focus on those categories where our study would be redundant or impractical, as we know for certain the nucleus invariably falls on the last lexical item, for instance, *wh*-questions ending with a verb, short final relative clauses or phrasal verbs (most characteristic of the English language), among others. Rather, we will seek to study prospective cases of postnuclearity in Spanish (similarity with English), or the categories which we expect to show peculiar behavioural patterns (similarity or difference with English).

Therefore, our experimental analysis will basically focus on: **event sentences and category II [ – focus ] tails, typically [ – focus ] expressions**, i.e. **time-space markers, cohesion markers, hearer-appeal markers and textual markers**, except **tags and approximatives** for the aforementioned reasons. In addition, the sentences the informants will have to read and the contexts where they will have to make up their own, exploit the opposition “new” vs. “old” information and include word order variation (a resource frequently used in Spanish) for the sake of facilitating our comparative and contrastive analysis.

## 7. Theoretical-Perceptual Study

We now proceed to analyse the categories listed above, following *The Intonation of George and Mildred: Postnuclear Generalizations* by Carlos Gussenhoven in *Intonation in Discourse* edited by Catherine Johns Lewis (1986), *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Spanish Sentence Accentuation* (1994) and *Word Stress and Sentence Accent* (1998) by Héctor Ortiz Lira. It is our intention to provide examples of each category in both linguistic varieties, i.e. General British (GB) English and River Plate (RP) Spanish, with a view to comparing and contrasting them, in order to examine their intonational behaviour. Consequently, the similarities and/or differences found will enable us to draw the relevant conclusions.

**CATEGORY I [ + focus ] tails** According to Gussenhoven, there is no direct relationship between focus and accent, such that what is [ + focus ] is necessarily accented. He gives different examples of [ + focus ] elements that are unaccented, for instance predicates in focussed argument + predicate combinations, among others.

1. **EVENT SENTENCES** (One of the categories carefully examined in our experimental analysis. See Exchanges (Mini-intercambios) 1 and 2, pp.109-110 below): The first who attempted to explain them were: Palmer in 1922, who claimed that they were “statements putting forward a fact not previously mentioned” and Schubiger in 1935, who referred to them as “announcements”.

Schmerling (1976), for his part, labelled them as “news sentences”. They receive accents on their arguments rather than on their predicates.

Gussenhoven presents them as consisting of:

***SUBJECT+ INTRANSITIVE VERB*** or:

***SUBJECT + (BE) +COMPLEMENT***

Ortiz Lira’s structure for events is ***NON-PRONOMINAL SUBJECT + INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE.***

They denote:

Appearance vs Disappearance (human subject)

Misfortune (non-human subject)

- Eg 9: I have a feeling the KITchen will blast off. (misfortune)  
(Gussenhoven: 1986)
- Eg 10: Her HUSband’s turned up. (appearance)
- Eg 11: The LIGHTS went out. (misfortune)
- Eg 12: A PRisoner ran away. (disappearance)

In Spanish we would probably say:

- Eg 13: Tengo la sensación de que la cocina va a salir voLANdo.

Or:

- Eg 14: Tengo la sensación de que va a salir voLANdo la cocina.

In this latter version in Spanish, the verb attracts the nucleus because the context in which speaker and listener are placed obviously counts: they are, presumably, in the kitchen. Therefore, “cocina” is recoverable information, part of the common ground between them, so there is no need to highlight the word as it is perfectly understood in the context. Besides, it is a typical case of dislocation of the subject (right dislocation; Véliz, 2001), where the subject is generally deaccented.

Example 10 could easily be translated into Spanish as:

- Eg 15: Apareció el maRido.

More frequent than:

- Eg 16: El marido apareCió.

Example 11:

- Eg 17: Se fue la LUZ.

More frequent than:

- Eg 18: La luz se FUE.

Example 12:

- Eg 19: Se escapó un prisiNEro.

More frequent than:

- Eg 20: Un prisionero se escaPÓ.

## **2. TRANSITIVE VERB + OBJECT + VERBAL PARTICLE**

- Eg 21: Turn the VOlume down.
- Eg 22: Bring the PARcel in.
- Eg 23: Will you eat the FOOD up?

In River Plate Spanish we would say:

- Eg 24: Bajá el voLUmen.
- Eg 25: Entrá el paQUEte.
- Eg 26: ¿Por qué no te comés toda la coMIda?

**3. VERB + OBJECT + OBJECT COMPLEMENT or:  
SUBJECT+ VERB+ SUBJECT COMPLEMENT)**

- Eg 27: They painted the DOOR green.
- Eg 28: Please keep the WINdows shut.
- Eg 29: Is DINner ready?

Spanish generally favours the tendency towards accenting the last lexical item:

- Eg 30: Pintaron la puerta VERde (o de VERde).
- Eg 31a: Por favor mantengan las ventanas ceRRAdas.

Or:

- Eg 31b: Por favor mantengan cerradas las venTAnas.

However, this latter example can have an emphatic version with the nucleus on “cerradas” for pragmatic purposes:

- Eg 31 c: Por favor mantengan ceRRAdas las ventanas.



Here we can imagine a context where the speaker shows insistence towards his interlocutors, who do not seem to proceed as they were expected to, that is, keeping the windows shut. He is, at the same time, highlighting an implicit contrast between “closed” and “open”.

Example 29 could be said in Spanish as follows:

- Eg 32: ¿Está <sup>^</sup>LISta | la <sup>^</sup>CEna? ||

Or we would otherwise probably say:

- Eg 33: <sup>-</sup> La <sub>\</sub> CEna, | ¿está <sup>^</sup>LISta? ||

In the examples above, the choice of tonality gives the speaker the possibility of drawing the listener’s attention not only to “lista”, but also to “cena” by presenting the two items of information in separate chunks and therefore making them nuclear (tonicity). In example 32, we observe what in the literature is usually referred to as “right dislocation” of the subject. However, in this example there is no early nucleus placement, as is frequently the case (“cena” is not in the tail).

In example 33, “cena” is fronted and topicalized. The speaker chooses to highlight the theme “cena”.

#### 4. **UTTERANCES INDICATING CAUSATION**

- Eg 34: When will he get his CAR repaired?

- Eg 35: I've just had my NAILS done.

In River Plate Spanish, we frequently say:

- Eg 36a: ¿Cuándo va a llevar el auto a arreGLAR?

Or:

- Eg 36b: ¿Cuándo va a llevar a arreglar el AUto?

And also hear:

- Eg 37: ¿Cuándo va a arreglar el AUto? Even when **he** will not repair it **himself**.

As we have seen in examples shown above (e.g. 31c), if we want to sound more emphatic we can also place the nucleus on a non-final lexical item in Spanish, as we do in English, for pragmatic purposes. For instance, to show impatience that the person in question has not followed the expected course of action. Or simply because the information such as, for instance, that of “having the car repaired” in our previous examples, is common ground between speaker and listener and there is no need to highlight it further:

- Eg 36c: ¿Cuándo va a lleVAR el auto a arreglar?

And more emphatic even:

- Eg 36d: ¿Cuándo VA a llevar el auto a arreglar?

Or increasing in intensity:

- Eg 36e: (Pero) CUANdo va a llevar el auto a arreglar?

The examples of marked tonicity recorded in our corpus prove there is some nucleus mobility in Spanish too, but the number of cases seems to be much more restricted than in English.

Eg 35 in Spanish would be:

- Eg 38: Recién me hice las Uñas. ( or la maniCUra)

## **5. PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES**

Now turning our attention to more cases of postnuclearity in English, Bolinger<sup>5</sup> provides some examples with predicative adjectives, which work differently, depending on their meaning.

When it means an “accident state”, the nucleus goes on the noun:

- Eg 39: A: Why didn't you get it?  
B: The PRICE was too high.

Dickerson (1989) uses the label: “explanation noun”.

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<sup>5</sup> BOLINGER, D.L. (1972a). ‘Accent is predictable (if you are a mind reader)’ *Language*, 48, 633-44. (ed.)(1972b). *Intonation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

But when it means an “essential characteristic”, it goes on the adjective:

- Eg 40: The price is FIXed.

Gussenhoven calls it “definition”.

In Spanish, the tonicity of e.g. 40 works similarly:

- Eg 41: El precio es Fijo

Whereas e.g. 39 in Spanish would be:

- Eg 42: A: ¿Por qué no lo compraste?  
B: El precio era demasiado Alto (or demasiado CAro)

## **6. WH – MOVEMENT IN QUESTIONS.**

According to Gussenhoven, these are utterances in which an element is moved to the beginning of the clause by the syntactic rule of WH – movement. As a result, the predicate is left in its rightmost position. These are wh-questions frequently consisting of:

An adjectival wh-word + object noun + verb:

- Eg 43: Which Tickets did you buy?
- Eg 44: What TRAIN are you thinking of catching?

- Eg 45: Whose PROgramme do you follow?

But also of:

Wh-word + subject noun + verb:

- Eg 46: Where does most of our COffee come from?
- Eg 47: How is the PROject going?

The exception is when the wh-word is a pronoun or the verb has further complementation (Cruttenden, 1997):

- Eg 48: What did he SAY?
- Eg 49: Whose programme do you find most HELpful?

In Spanish, we prefer broad-focus versions with the nucleus on the last lexical item, whether it is a noun or a verb:

- Eg 50: ¿Qué pasajes comPRASte?
- Eg 51: ¿Qué tren pensás toMAR?

## **7. SUBJECT + PASSIVE VERB**

- Eg 52: The MEEting's been postponed.

- Eg 53: Our NEIGHbour's been robbed.
- Eg 54: The MATCH's been cancelled.

In Spanish, word order is frequently inverted, and the nucleus falls on the rightmost word:

- Eg 55: Se postergó la reuNIÓN.
- Eg 56: Asaltaron a nuestro veCino.
- Eg 57: Se suspendió el parTido.

Even when English word order could be maintained in Spanish, the nucleus would still be placed on the last lexical item:

- Eg 55a: La reunión se posterGÓ.
- Eg 56a: A nuestro vecino lo asalTAron
- Eg 57a: El partido se suspenDIÓ.

**CATEGORY II [ – focus ] tails. Typically [ – focus ] expressions.** Bing (1979) calls them “class 0” expressions because they lie outside the domain to which “prominence tones” are assigned. In other words, they are deaccentable material since they either refer to given or recoverable information, or at least do not contribute major information.

- **TIME-SPACE MARKERS:** Firbas (1980) explicitly refers to these as “adverbials of time and place”, (Category carefully studied in our experimental analysis; see Cartoons (Historietas) 5, 8 and 13, pp. 153-158, 167-170 and 192-196 respectively).

### ***Time***

According to Brown (1977): “time phrases” which modify a predicate are very frequently placed last in the tone unit and do not receive the tonic. They refer to “time-when”, “duration” and “frequency”.

Egs: now, this morning, today, a minute, at night, (not) any more, the other day, a lot, yet, again, from time to time, etc.

- Eg 58a: Can we sit DOWN for a minute?

Time adjuncts in Spanish exhibit variable behaviour. In most cases, they are postnuclear though.

The equivalent of eg 58a in Spanish would be:

- Eg 58b: ¿Nos podemos sentar un miNUto?

Here the speaker seems to be underscoring the brevity of the exchange, and consequently places the nucleus on the time adjunct.

However, as we anticipated above, we recorded several examples in Spanish where time adjuncts behave similarly to their English equivalents, i.e. they are deaccented in the tail:

Eg 58c: We dine OUT from time to time.

Eg 58d: Cenamos aFUEra de vez en cuando.

Eg 58e: I met JOHN this morning.

Eg 58f: Me encontré con JUAN esta mañana.

Eg 58g: Haven't you talked it Qver yet?

Eg 58h: ¿No lo haBLAron todavía?

But let us examine the following example:

Eg 58i: He doesn't SMOKE any more.

Eg 58j: Ya no fuma MÁS.

In this particular example, Spanish complies with the LLI rule. Probably, for pragmatic purposes, i.e. to highlight the fact that it is a *past* habit: he does *not* smoke any more.

### **Space**

Less frequent than time indicators.

Egs: here, there, in life, anywhere, etc.



- Eg 59a: Does Steven PEterson live here?
- Eg 60a: These twin brothers did WELL in life.

In Spanish, there is tonicity disagreement with English in the first example but agreement in the second:

- Eg 59b: ¿Steven Peterson vive aQUÍ? (or more informal: aCÁ).
- Eg 60b: A estos hermanos gemelos les fue BIEN en la vida.

We observe the speaker sometimes gives priority to the action represented by the verb (as in eg 58h) or to other elements of his sentence, such as complements (as in eg 58f) more than to time or space in Spanish too and therefore makes his tonicity choices accordingly. The result is, there are cases of postnuclear time and space adjuncts in Spanish as well (egs 58d, f, h, 60b).

In addition, there are instances where Spanish sticks to the LLI rule, and time or place come first in order of precedence as, in the speaker's view, they signal relevant information (egs 58b, j, 59b).

- **COHESION MARKERS:** These expressions make explicit the relationship between the utterance they are part of and its context. (For further study of cohesion markers, see Exchanges (Mini-intercambios) 17 and 18, pp 130-131 and Cartoons 1, 4 and 9, pp. 136-140, 149-153 and 170-175 respectively in our experimental analysis).

They fall into five categories:

### 1. **Additives**

The typical treatment of these additives in English is: either they appear finally in the tail (or independently and with a rise) or else initially with a fall-rise (or less frequently a fall for reinforcement).

Egs: as a matter of fact, in fact, for example, really, actually.

According to Gussenhoven (1986), they express the idea of “now that you’ve mentioned it” and often have a downtoning effect. The latter two may be apologetic in force.

Eg 61: Her nose wasn’t THAT big, a bit like YOURS in fact.

In the linguist’s view, “really” is strongly reinforcing initially but “downtoning” finally.

Compare egs 62a and 63a:

- Eg 62a: \ REALLY | I think you should \ GO. ||
- Eg 63a: I think you should \ GO really.

These additive elements have a similar behaviour in Spanish: they tend to take a separate chunk, and they are nuclear when initial in the tone unit but postnuclear when final.

- Eg 62b: En reali / DAD | pienso que deberías \ IRte ||
- Eg 63b: Pienso que deberías \ IRte en realidad. ||

Some additives may be reinforcing in Spanish too:

- Eg 63c: Pienso que deberías \ IRte , | de ver \ DAD | |

## **2. Inference**

Egs: then, of course, so.....then, in that case, etc.

- Eg 64a: Food is a PROblem then.

Similarly in Spanish:

- Eg 64b: La comida es un proBLEma entonces.

In English, “of course” may be inferential or reinforcing, and “then” may be inferential or serve as a hearer-appeal marker (Gussenhoven).

## **3. Concessives**

Egs: if possible, however, though, etc.

- Eg 65a: It must have been a bit of a SHOCK though.

In Spanish:

- Eg 65b: Debe de haber sido algo impresioNANte, sin embargo.

#### ***4. Reinforcing***

Egs: Of course, for example, if necessary, thank you very much, etc.

- Eg 66a: Bit by BIT if necessary

Its Spanish equivalent would be similar in tonicity:

- Eg 66b: Poco a POco, si fuera necesario.

#### ***5. Contrastive***

Egs: on the other hand, for a change, in other words, etc.

- Eg 67a: Nice to be on your OWN for a change.

In Spanish, we say:

- Eg 67b: Es lindo estar SOlo, para variar.

Crystal (1975) uses the label “final adverbial disjuncts/conjuncts” to refer to some of the items above. Other authors, such as Bing (1979) mention them as “sentence

adverbials”, a term used by Schubiger (1958), Bauer (1980), Firbas (1980) and Ortiz Lira (1994) as well.

- **HEARER – APPEAL MARKERS:** According to Gussenhoven, these items are used to appeal to the hearer, to enhance the solidarity intended to be established with him. But some are challenging and have a distancing effect. Another term for them is “solidarity modifiers”. (For further discussion of this category, refer to Exchanges (Mini-intercambios) 15, 19 and 20, pp. 126-129 and 131-135 respectively).

**1. SOFTENERS:** They are called “softeners “or “softening phrases” by Crystal (1975). Bing calls them “polite expressions”.

Egs: mind you, you know, thanks, please, you see, I mean, etc.

- Eg 68: A: Another glass of champagne?  
B: I’ve drunk more than eNOUGH, thank you
- Eg 68a: I was only obeying ORders you know.
- Eg 69a: That student is incredibly RUDE. || She never even says “Good MORning” I mean. ||
- Eg 70a: A: Why are you so LATE?  
B: I missed the BUS you see.

- Eg 71a: Two reTURN tickets please.

This last eg is very similar in Spanish:

- Eg 71b: Dos pasajes de ida y VUELta por favor.

Here, the softener is postnuclear too. (For further discussion of “por favor” see Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 15 c), fig. 20, pp.126-128 and Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 20, part 4, figs. 24-27, pp.133-135)

However, not all these softeners behave exactly the same in Spanish, some like “quiero decir” (“I mean” in English) are not frequent in final position but more medially in an independent unit and with a fall, and others like “sabés” (“you know”) or “entendés” (“you see”) would be said finally, in a separate chunk and with a nuclear tone of their own as well, preferably a rise.

Let us examine the Spanish versions of the examples above:

- Eg 68b: A: ¿Otra copa de champán?

B: Tomé más que sufiCIENte , | \ GRAcias||

“Gracias”, the equivalent of English “thank you”, is usually nuclear in Spanish and falling in tone.

- Eg 68c: Sólo obedecía ÓRdenes, | , ¿sa / BÉS? ||
- Eg 69b: Esa alumna es increíblemente maleduCAda. || Quiero deCIR, | nunca dice “Buenos Días” siquiera || or nunca saLUda siquiera . ||

If we now look at eg 70a above, a good equivalent of “you see” in River Plate Spanish could be “mirá”, which usually appears in initial position, typically with a falling tone:

- Eg 70b: A: ¿Por qué llegás tan TARde?

B: Mi RÁ, | perdí el colecTivo. ||

**2. VOCATIVES** There is more or less general agreement on the prosodic treatment of final vocatives in English; their behaviour being very similar to that of adverbials, they tend to be postnuclear. (For detailed discussion of vocatives, see Exchanges (Mii-intercambios) 3, 4 and 5 pp. 110-117 and Cartoons (Historietas) 5 and 15 pp. 153-158 and 200-204 respectively in our experimental analysis).

Egs: friends, dear, Bill, you two, woman,

- Eg 72: Don't FUSS, woman (Gussenhoven, 1986)
- Eg 73: That's all I KNOW about it, friends.

However, they frequently appear in the phonetics literature also analyzed as a separate tone unit with a rising pitch pattern, generally after a fall:

- Eg 74a: I \ SAY, | / ARthur. Seen anything of Jack Taylor recently?

(O'Connor and Arnold, 1973).

But there is no such unanimous agreement in this sense.

Ortiz Lira, for example, points out that the rise could easily be interpreted as the completion of a falling-rising nuclear tone, and then the vocative would still be in the tail. Thus the previous eg could easily be represented as follows:

- Eg 74b: I V SAY, ° Arthur |

Furthermore, we have to distinguish between “pure” vocatives and “apparent” vocatives, which have a totally different function; for example “appositives”, which share the same referent with the noun phrase they accompany.

For authors such as Lee (1960), Crystal (1975) and Pierrehumbert (1980), for example, this kind of expression takes a separate tone unit.

In addition, according to Palmer (1922), Halliday (1967) and Ortiz Lira (1994), appositives follow the general tendency towards agreement in tone with the clause they are attached to. The following example illustrates this trend:

- Eg 75: This is my \ COlleague, | E \ Lizabeth. ||



Here “Elizabeth” and “colleague” are interchangeable because they are equivalent in meaning. Elizabeth is an “apparent” vocative or appositive. The speaker is introducing his colleague Elizabeth to somebody he is addressing but whose name he is not specifying. Compare this with our next two examples below:

- Eg 76: This is my \ COlleague, E . lizabeth, ||
- Eg 77: This is my \ COlleague , | E / Lizabeth. , ||

In this case, Elizabeth is the person the speaker is addressing, that is, his interlocutor, whom he is introducing his colleague to. Elizabeth is a “pure” vocative. This time, he is not mentioning his colleague’s name. “Elizabeth” thus follows the usual treatment of final vocatives in English.

According to Gussenhoven, pragmatic factors also count, since he points out that “names occur as separate tone groups when the speaker inquires about the hearer’s name or identity, addresses the hearer selectively or calls his attention” as in:

- Eg 78: Ex VCUSE me | Mr / ROPer?

Or when the speaker introduces somebody to the hearer”:

- Eg 79: It’s V ME mother, | \ MIILdred

The last example in Gussenhoven’s corpus deviates from the general tendency for “apparent” vocatives or appositives to agree in tone with the clause they are attached to.

Ortiz Lira argues that in Spanish the difference between a pure vocative (examples 76 and 77) and an appositive (example 75) becomes neutralized when both noun phrases take nuclear accents:

- Eg 80: Esta es mi co \ LEga | E \ Lizabeth | |

So in this example, “Elizabeth” may play the dual role of vocative and appositive.

We agree with Ortiz Lira that “the intonation of final vocatives in Spanish is particularly susceptible to pragmatic factors and geolectal use”:

- Eg 81: A \ Púrese | \ HOMbre! (Ortiz Lira, 1994)

In 81 above, we show one of his examples which seems to be a strong imperative, where there is considerable impatience on the part of the speaker, and the listener cannot do other than obey him.

In River Plate Spanish, we frequently hear a rising-falling nuclear tone (entonación circunfleja) for the pure vocative; whereas for the appositive, we hear a falling tone.

Compare examples 82 and 83 below:

- Eg 82: Esta es mi co \ LEga | E ^ Lizabeth Pure vocative
- Eg 83: Esta es mi co \ LEga | E \ Lizabeth Appositive

But the word “Elizabeth” is proparoxytonic, which means its stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable. We hear this rising–falling pattern in proparoxytones and paroxytones. The stress in the latter case falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

- Eg 84: Esta es mi co \ LEga, | ^ CARlos.

But in oxytones, that is, in words where the stress falls on the last syllable, we hear a rising tone. Authors such as Gurlekian<sup>6</sup> (2009) call this phenomenon “truncation” (truncamiento) as there are no more syllables in the tail to complete the rising-falling tune ending, so typical of River Plate Spanish; thus, it ends in a rise (or a level tone, as we recorded in our experimental analysis, Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 4, part. 18, fig. 5b, p. 115):

- Eg 85: Esta es mi co \ LEga , | / JUAN ||

**3. TAGS:** The regular tag inverts the polarity of the host sentence (reverse-polarity tag) and forms a separate tone unit. It is usually falling or rising in tone:

- Eg 86: Mother is coming for \ DINner today, | / Isn't she? ||
- Eg 87: We could start with the \ WALLpaper, | \ COULdn't we? ||

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<sup>6</sup> In his study of absolute interrogative sentences in River Plate Spanish, Gurlekian argues that “the final contour in oxytone words is rising: a truncation effect”

The other frequent type of tag agrees in polarity with the host sentence: normally they are both positive. Wells calls them “constant-polarity tags”, and Tench “copy tags”.

- Eg 88: A: What a beautiful GARden!

B: You \ LIKE it, | / DO you? ||

These tags, which are frequently analyzed as a separate tone unit and, authors claim, always have a rise, are seen by some linguists, such as Gussenhoven, as included in the tail of the nuclear tone corresponding to the clause they are appended to: frequently a rise or a fall-rise:

- Eg 86a: \ OH. || About the V CREdit card is it? ||
- Eg 87a: You specialize in cheering people / UP do you? ||
- Eg 88a: He / LLO, son. || You in the / CHAIR are you? ||

As we can see in some of the eggs from Gussenhoven’s corpus, either the operator or both subject and operator are elipted in the host sentence.

In Spanish, question tags are frequently referred to as “coletillas interrogativas” or “minipreguntas de confirmación”. They have a fixed structure, different from that of the traditional English tag, even when they serve the same purpose: basically checking or confirming information.

Frequent tags in Peninsular Spanish are: ¿verdad? and ¿vale? Latin American Spanish prefers: ¿no?, ¿no es cierto? And in River Plate Spanish ¿viste?, ¿querés? and ¿dale? are typical:

- Eg 86b: Mamá viene a ce \ NAR hoy , | ¿ / NO? ||
- Eg 87b: ¡Qué excelente ac \ TOR,! ¿ **Λ** VISte? ||

This last example illustrates the characteristic “verbal filler” heard among Buenos Aires speakers, usually accompanied by a rising-falling “melody”.

- **TEXTUAL MARKERS:** Also termed “parentheticals”, fall into two groups:

**1. REPORTING CLAUSES:** or *reporting sentences* following Quirk (1972) and Gussenhoven (1986). (See Exchanges (Mini-intercambios) 6, 7, 8 pp. 117-119 and Cartoon (Historieta) 11 pp. 181-186) in our experimental analysis for detailed discussion).

David Crystal (1975) uses the term “direct speech markers”, whose equivalent in the Spanish literature is: “proposiciones citantes de estilo directo”. Such expressions tend to be postnuclear in English, as they represent the continuation of the pitch movement initiated by the nuclear tone of their host sentences:

Egs: he said, she added, he suggested, etc.

- Eg 89: I don't want to go OUT, he said.

In Spanish, we recorded several cases of nuclear reporting clauses in our corpus of *Prosodia Comparativa del Inglés y el Castellano: Un Enfoque Práctico de la Postnuclearidad* (Suárez, 2012). The examples were extracted from the story *Animal de Pelea*, written by Gustavo Roldán and read by the actor Carlos Belloso. Let us analyze two of these examples:

- Eg 89a: Me encontré con un \ TIgre, | comenzó el \ SApo |
- Eg 89b: Queremos una pelea con un \ TIgre | gritaron los pica \ FLOres |, los tu \ CAnes | y mil pichones \ MÁS ||

Here we confirm Mauricio Véliz's theory (2001) that the longer the reporting clause the higher the probability that it will form an independent unit exhibiting nuclearity of its own. Moreover, we agree with Véliz that the frequency of occurrence of these reporting clauses is considerably higher in written language.

Furthermore, we have recorded several cases of postnuclear reporting clauses in spoken language:

- Eg 89c: Tengo \ HAMbre dijo Clemente ||

## 2. **COMMENT CLAUSES:** Bing (1979) calls them “epistemic verbs”.

According to Gussenhoven, they are typically postnuclear.

Egs: to be perfectly frank, I believe, I suppose. More examples given by Bing are:

I think, I know, I realize, I wonder, I imagine, etc.

- Eg 90a: We need FIVE, I suppose.

The treatment of these comment clauses in Spanish is similar:

- Eg 90b: Necesitamos CINco, supongo.
- **APPROXIMATIVES:** Expressions indicating the approximate nature of the structures they are appended to. They are varied from a syntactic point of view; they include adverbials, coordinated expressions and finite clauses.

Egs: and all that, or something, or two, or more, in a way, like I did, and so on, the way he did, etc.

- Eg 91a: Just for a DAY or two.
- Eg 92a: Industrial triBUnal and all that.
- Eg 93a: It must have been eleven YEARS or more.

In Spanish, we tend to accent these approximatives whether they take a separate tone unit (egs 92b and 93b) or not (eg 91b). Compare our examples below:

- Eg 91b: Sólo por un día o DOS.
- Eg 92b: El Tribunal indusTRIAL | y todo Eso.
- Eg 93b: Deben de haber sido once Años | o MÁS.

However, we recorded cases where they are unaccented (see degree subjuncts, downtoners in our analysis of Ortiz Lira's classification of final adverbials p.79 below).

## ***More Exceptions to the LLI***

In his study of postnuclearity in English, Ortiz Lira includes several constructions in broad focus where the nucleus tends to be placed on a non-final lexical item in the tone unit, preferably a noun. Besides, he provides a thorough list of final items of low semantic weight which normally reject the nucleus. Both groups fall under the category of *exceptions to the LLI* (last lexical item) *rule*. Here there is some overlapping with Gussenhoven's classification. Consequently, I will just list the ones which are not present in the latter classification. In addition, we will follow Ortiz Lira's classification of final adverbials into sentence and non-sentence adverbials for the sake of comparison.

### **• NOUN + INFINITIVE**

- Eg 94: I'll hang out the Washing to dry.
- Eg 95: We don't know which TRAIN to catch.
- Eg 96: We always have eXAMS to correct.
- Eg 97: They have insTRUCtions to follow.

In Spanish, we favour the tendency towards the nucleus on the last lexical item, consequently we say:

- Eg 98: Voy a tender la ropa para que se SEque.
- Eg 99: No sabemos qué (or cuál) tren toMAR.
- Eg 100: Siempre tenemos exámenes para correGIR.
- Eg 101: Tienen instrucciones a seGUIR (or que seGUIR).



Now, if we pay close attention to the English version of this last example, that is example 97 above, we see it is ambiguous since we can interpret it differently, depending on the tonicity we apply:

In eg 97 the nucleus falls on “instructions”, which means the group of people in question have certain instructions that they will stick to; in other words, they have to obey certain instructions.

But we could also place the nucleus on “follow” as in our next example:

- Eg 102: They have instructions to Follow.

This time, the meaning changes: We could probably think about the military context, where a group of soldiers will go out onto the battlefield first, and another has been instructed to go next, in other words: to “follow” (them). The instructions they were given were to follow or go after the first group.

The Spanish version of this could be:

- Eg 103: Tienen instrucciones de seGUIR (or seGUIRlos)

### • **FINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES**

As Prof. Wells clearly notes in his work *English Intonation* (2006), within the category of “lexical items”, it is nouns that attract the nucleus the most. He literally refers to the “general tendency” in English to “put the nucleus on a noun where possible, in preference to other word classes” Thus, final verbs, adjectives or verbal particles are typically deaccented. (See [ + focus ] elements 1-5 on the list of Category I [ +focus ] tails above).

- Eg 104a: Look at the beautiful DRESS she is wearing!
- Eg 105a: I liked the LECture he gave.
- Eg 106a: Where's the MOney I left you?

In Spanish, egs 104a and 105a could easily exhibit similar tonicity, probably due to the exclamatory air they have. In both cases, there is emphasis on the noun:

- Eg 104b: ¡Mirá qué hermoso vesTido que tiene puesto!
- Eg 105b: ¡Me gustó la confeRENcia que dio!

This does not mean that we will not hear an unmarked version with the nucleus on the verb:

- Eg 104c: Mirá qué hermoso vestido que tiene PUEsto.
- Eg 105c: Me gustó la conferencia que DIO.

Eg 106a in Spanish would readily keep to the LLI rule.

- Eg 106b; ¿Dónde está el dinero que te deJÉ?

And more marked and in agreement with a possible emphatic version in English could be:

- Eg 106c: ¿Dónde esTÁ el dinero que te dejé?
- Eg 106d: Where IS the money I left you?

Schmerling (1976) observes that context is very important. Consider the following example:

- Eg 107: That's the TEAcher he was telling us about. Neutral context.
- Eg 108a: That's the teacher he was TELling us about. School context.

Prof. Ortiz Lira states that the nucleus falls on the noun irrespective of “type of information” (new or old) or length of the clause, and he provides egs:

- Eg 109a: Pam |, have you got any magaZINES you wouldn't mind giving away? || (Ortiz Lira, 1994)
- Eg 110: I'm intrigued by these FLAshes that scientists have observed round here at this time of year. (Ortiz Lira, 1994)

In Spanish, the unmarked version of eg 107 above would be the equivalent of eg.108a in English:

- Eg 108b: Ese es el profesor del que nos haBLAba.

Moreover, the equivalent of eg.107 would sound emphatic in Spanish:

- Eg 107a: Ese es el profeSOR del que nos hablaba. (i.e. not the student)

But of course we could even be more emphatic and say:

- Eg 108c: Ese es el profesor del que nos hablaba.

This marked version is also heard in English:

- Eg 108d: THAT's the teacher he was telling us about.

And eg 109a in Spanish would be:

- Eg 109b: ¿Pam, |, tenés alguna revista que no te importaría regaLAR?

We can then conclude that in Spanish unmarked versions of final relative clauses will stick to the LLI rule, whereas only marked or emphatic versions will not. In English, final relative clauses constitute an exception to the LLI rule, so the default unmarked version will not display the nucleus (as is the case of Spanish) on the last lexical item, which is usually a verb.

### • **INDIRECT QUESTIONS**

Here, the noun phrase which attracts the nucleus frequently represents the object or the complement of the verb. It has to be a full noun phrase, rather than a pronominal one.

Thus, the next example is likely to be said with the nucleus on “reports”:

- Eg 111: Do you have any idea how many rePORTS your mother wrote?  
(broad focus - unmarked)

But of course we can also narrow the focus to other elements in the utterance:

- Eg 112: Do you have any idea how many reports your MOther wrote? (narrow focus - marked)

In “River Plate” Spanish we expect the nucleus at the end in an unemphatic context:

- Eg 113: ¿Tenés idea de cuántos informes escribió tu MAdre?

More examples in English:

- Eg 114: I wonder where the CHILdren are.
- Eg 115: You can't imagine what their Parents will do.

But if the object is a pronoun, the nucleus will be placed on the verb:

- Eg 116: I wonder where they ARE
- Eg 117: You can't imagine what they will DO.

Compare some of the previous examples with their Spanish versions:

- Eg 118: Me pregunto dónde andarán los CHIcos.
- Eg 119: No te podés imaginar lo que harán sus PAdres.
- Eg 120: Me pregunto dónde estaRÁN.

In Spanish, the nucleus tends to fall on the last lexical item by default, which does not mean we may not hear more marked versions, as shown in the following examples, where the speaker expresses counterpresupposition:

- Eg 118a: A: Hace rato que no veo a Diana y Pablo.  
B: Me pregunto dónde andaRÁN esos diablitos.
- Eg 119a: A: Se van a meter en líos.  
B: No te podés imagiNAR lo que harán sus padres.

### • **OBJECTS OF GENERAL REFERENCE**

Schubiger (1935) was one of the first linguists to draw attention to this category of nouns which he defines as “colourless substantives practically equivalent to pronouns” and which, for contemporary authors such as Wells, fall into the class of “empty words”. This class includes nouns of low semantic weight such as: people, things, place, matter, etc, which reject the nucleus. Kingdon (1958) referred to these as “nouns of wide denotation”.

- Eg 121a: That little boy is always anNOYing people.
- Eg 122a: Sue simply keeps iMAgining things!
- Eg 123a: I really can't underSTAND this guy.

Some authors (e.g. Ortiz Lira or Bolinger) point to the richness and high specificity of some words in justification of their accentuation. Compare:

- Eg 124a: Look at those FLYing things! and Look at those flying OBjects!
- Eg 125a: Let's go to MY place. and Let's go to my STUdy.

This is not the case of Spanish, where the equivalents of such words of “general reference” are usually accented:

Eg 121a in Spanish would be:

- Eg 121b: Ese chiquito está siempre (o siempre está) molestando a la GENte.

Or simply:

- Eg 121c: Ese chiquito está siempre (o siempre está) molesTANdo.

(“Molestar” is both transitive and intransitive in Spanish and “gente” is understood)

- Eg 122b: Sue simplemente se la pasa imaginando COsas.
- Eg 124b: ¡Mirá esas cosas volaDOras! Or: ¡Mirá esos objetos volaDOres!
- Eg 125b: Vayamos a mi CAsa or Vayamos a mi esTUdio (no difference in tonicity)

Nevertheless, we cannot be so categoric in our study of postnuclearity as to claim that this happens in 100% of cases since we have recorded examples of marked tonicity in similar contexts in Spanish, particularly where the deaccented element represents “old” or “recoverable” information or to express counterpresupposition or assertiveness.

Eg 123a in Spanish would be:

- Eg 123b: La verdad es que no puedo entenDER a este tipo.

Or from our corpus:

- Eg 123c: ¡Qué desubiCAda esa mujer en la iglesia! No paraba de haBLAR.

In the last two examples, the speaker definitely takes it for granted his interlocutor knows who he is referring to. The choice of the demonstratives “este” and “esa” shows this clearly.

Conversely, in English, as Ortiz Lira highlights, there are always exceptions to the rule (and exceptions to the exceptions) and we certainly hear cases, among native speakers, where these words of wide denotation are not only accented but also tonic, as we can see in the following egs:

- Eg 126: A: What do you think about Alice?

B: She’s a nice GIRL.

- Eg 127a:

A: Are you sure you can help me?

B: I’ve got just the THING for you.

- Eg 127b:

A: Can you hear?

B: I can’t hear a THING.

- Eg 128: Is Copenhagen a gay City, would you say?

(O’Connor & Arnold, 1973))

### • ***INDEFINITE PRONOUNS***

Non-negative indefinite pronouns also reject the nucleus as opposed to negative ones which tend to attract it:

- Eg 129: I think I’ve HEARD something.
- Eg 130: I’ve heard NOthing.
- Eg 131: We need help. Could we ASK anyone?
- Eg 132: We will ask NObody



- Eg 133: Where's the salt? PASS me some.
- Eg 134: There's NONE left.

We can nevertheless accent them for emphasis. Compare the following examples:

- Eg 135: I won't\_ \ EAT anything. (unmarked)
- Eg 136: I won't eat \ Ananything. (marked)
- Eg 137: I won't eat V Ananything. (I am very selective about what to eat)

In Spanish, we always accent indefinite pronouns, not necessarily for emphasis:

Eg 129a: Creo que escuché Algo

Eg 130a: No escuché NAda.

In negative statements we negate twice: we use the negative adverb + the negative indefinite, as we can see in eg.130a above and eg. 134a below:

- Eg 134a: No queda ninGUna.

The double negative reinforces the negative, rather than negate it.

## • **REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS**

Even when reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are normally deaccented, we may accent them for emphasis. (See Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 8, Participant 8 p. 119 in our experimental analysis).

- Eg 138: Let's go and WASH ourselves. (pure reflexive)
- Eg 139: Be careful with those pieces of glass! You may HURT yourself !  
(pure reflexive)
- Eg 140: Are you tired? You don't seem yourSELF today. (emphatic)
- Eg 141: It's deLIGHTful! || Difficult to describe HOW delightful. || You must GO there | and see it for yourSELF .|| (emphatic) (O'Connor and Arnold, 1973)
- Eg 142: A: What a deLcious cake! I LOVE chocolate sponge!  
  
B: You like it? I made it mySELF! (emphatic)
- Eg 143: Before he left, they KISSED each other. (unemphatic)
- Eg 144: The students greeted one aNother | but not the TEAcher ! ||  
(emphatic)

In Spanish, we may use either the reflexive pronouns that are separated from the verb (eg 139a: “te podés lastimar”) or the enclitic pronouns, which are usually tagged on to the verb (egs 138a: “lavarnos” and 139b: “lastimarte”) under normal circumstances; whereas for emphasis we use the personal pronouns: “yo”, “vos” (in River Plate Spanish, we do not use “tu”) “él”, “nosotros”, “ustedes” (nor do we use “vosotros”; we always use “ustedes” for the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers.pl.), “ellos”, frequently reinforced by “mismo/s”, “misma/s” (egs 141a and 142a). As is the case in English, reflexive pronouns are deaccented, whereas emphatic ones are accented.

Compare the following egs:

- Eg 138a: Vayamos a laVARnos
  - Eg 139a: ¡Tené cuidado con esos vidrios! ¡Te podés lastiMAR!
- Or:
- Eg 139b: ¡Podés lastiMARte!
- Eg 141a: ¡Es (un lugar) maraviLLOso! Es difícil describir hasta qué PUNto maravilloso. Tenés que IR | y verlo VOS! Or: verlo vos MISmo! (emphatic).
  - Eg 142a: A: ¡Qué tarta exquiSta! ¡Me enCANta el bizcochuelo de chocolate!  
B: ¿Te gusta? La hice YO. More frequent than: La hice yo MISma. (emphatic).

A peculiar case of pronominal accentual pattern is that of the enclitic pronoun “lo”.

In our corpus, we recorded several examples where the enclitic pronoun “lo” is nuclear: ConseGUÍmeLO, por favor. This is typically heard among River Plate Spanish speakers in informal register. (See Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 20, fig. 24, pp. 133-134 in our experimental analysis).

## ***Another Classification of Final Adverbials***

Ortiz Lira's study of final adverbials is based on the following general classification:

**A) SENTENCE ADVERBIALS:** Gussenhoven classifies them as “cohesion markers” (See p. 41 above). Sentence adverbials, as their name indicates, are not integrated within the structure of the sentence or clause but modify it as a whole. Consequently, they are frequently attached to their end either as a tail, that is, unaccented, or as a separate tone unit, more often than not, with a rising pitch pattern. Alternatively, they can be topicalized, in which case they will take a falling-rising tone. (For further study of sentence adverbials, see Exchanges (Mini-intercambios) 17 and 18 pp 130-131 and Cartoons (Historietas) 1, 4 and 9, pp. 136-140, 149-153 and 170-175 respectively in our experimental analysis).

They can be classified as follows:

1. **Disjuncts** : they assess what is being said, as regards the form or content of the communication. Within the category of “cohesion markers”, Gussenhoven labels them as “additives”.

Egs: Frankly, (un) fortunately, probably, naturally, basically, really, apparently.

- Eg 145: I don't quite like it, | / FRANK ly. ||
- Eg 146: It's a question of PRIN ciples, basically ||

- Eg 147: Ann already KNOWs, | a / PPArently. ||
- Eg 148: Her cooking's very GOOD, really ||

In Spanish, we regularly hear them in the tail, that is unaccented. But they can also be fronted, in which case they can take a level tone or a rising tone:

- Eg 145a: Franca>MENte | , no me gusta del TOdo. ||

Or:

- Eg 145b: Franca / MENte, | no me gusta del TOdo ||
- Eg 147a: Aparente>MENte | , Ana ya SAbe. ||
- Eg 147b: Aparente / MENte, | Ana ya SAbe. ||

**2. Conjuncts:** they have a connective function. They connect what is being said with what was said before. According to Gussenhoven, they fall into the category of “cohesion markers”, which he subdivides into different types, eg inferentials, such as “then” or concessives, such as “though” (See p. 42 above).

Egs: though, then, for instance, rather, etc

For authors such as Quirk and Greenbaun (1973), some of these are indicators of apposition for e.g.: “for instance” or “rather”:

- Eg 149: It’s been one of those DAYS... || Take this MORning , for instance. || ALARM clock fails to go off... ||  
(O’Connor & Arnold, 1973: 279)
- Eg 150: This is NOT fish, | but SEAfood rather. ||
- Eg 151: All the family’s going to the SEAside, || we’re going to the HILLS though. ||
- Eg 152: A: I can’t send it toDAY||.

B: Well, send it toMOrrow then.

In Spanish, conjuncts behave similarly, i.e: they may be postnuclear and consequently appear in the tail:

- Eg 149a: Fue uno de esos Días ...|| Fijate esta maÑAna , por ejemplo. ||  
No suena el despertaDOR...||
- Eg 150a: Esto no ES pescado. | sino que son maRIScos, más bien ||

But they may exhibit (as is characteristic of the Spanish language) more grammatical mobility than in English, and therefore we may find them elsewhere in the tone unit, also in a non-nuclear position though. In this case, the last lexical item (in our eggs below “mariscos”) bears the nucleus again:

- Eg 150b: Esto no ES pescado, | sino que más bien son maRISCos ||

Or even:

- Eg 150c: Esto no ES pescado | sino que son más bien maRIScos,||

For further information on the treatment of conjuncts, see Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 18, p. 130-131 in our experimental analysis.

3. **Reinforcing adverbials**: they normally form a separate tone unit and are said with a falling pitch pattern, for reinforcement. Gussenhoven includes these under “cohesion markers” as well.

Egs: too, also, definitely, literally, honestly, surely, of course, anyway, etc

- Eg 153: There were THOUsands of people in the streets | \ Literally||.
- Eg 154: He’s a great ACtor | and a good SINGer | \ TOO||
- Eg 155: Such behaviour is UNacCEPtable in this school | \ DEfinately. ||
- Eg 156: Frank was really upSET | \ OBviously. ||
- Eg 157: I will bring it toMOrrow | of \ COURSE. ||
- Eg 158: But a V TYrant, | \ SUREly | is a form of \ LEADership||  
(Brazil, 1981:52).

In Spanish, these adverbials are also generally used for reinforcement and frequently heard in a separate chunk and with a falling tone finally:

- Eg 156a: Fran estaba de verdad alteRAdo | obvia \ MENte. ||
- Eg 157a: Lo traigo maÑAna | Por su \ PUEsto ||

When they appear medially or initially, they are not only prominent but also govern the tone unit in which they appear:

- Eg 158a: Pero un tiRAno, | segura\ MENte que es una forma de liderazgo. ||
- Eg 156b: Obvia\ MENte que Fran estaba alterado de verdad. ||
- Eg 157b: Por su\ PUEsto que lo traigo mañana. ||

In the case of “también”, it exhibits variable behavior: it can appear deaccented in the tail (postnuclear: eg 154a), as we observe in our *Prosodia Comparativa del Inglés y el Castellano* (Suárez, 2012:13); prominent (though not tonic) when medial in the IP (eg 154b) or else final or non-final but nuclear. (See numerous examples of nuclear “también” in Cartoon (Historieta) 1, pp. 136-140 in our experimental analysis. “Tampoco” exhibits similar behavior; refer to Cartoon 9, pp. 170-175 for detailed information).

- Eg 154a: Es un gran acTOR | y un buen can \ TANte también. . ||

Or:

- Eg 154b: Es un gran acTOR | y tamBIÉN un buen can \ TANte. . ||

There are certain adverbials in English such as: anyway, anyhow, by the way, at least, incidentally, at any rate, in any case, etc., which could easily be taken as reinforcing when used initially, because they are typically tonic and said with a fall. However, they are “not obviously reinforcing”, as Wells says (2006), but they serve a different purpose: they are frequently sequence initial boundary markers, used to change the course of the conversation (eg. for changing subjects).



Either to return to the main topic:

- Eg 159: That's a peculiar case. But \ Anway, | as I was saying, | we have the pressing need of cutting costs... ||

Or to finish one topic and continue with another:

- Eg 160: \ Anhow, | can we turn to the next point now? ||

Authors such as Wells (2006) see them as “tonally idiomatic”.

Some adverbials have a dual function: they may behave both as **sentence adverbials**: disjuncts or as **non-sentence adverbials**: frequently adjuncts of manner. As sentence adverbials, they tend to be postnuclear: unaccented in the tail; as non-sentence adverbials, nuclear, since they carry important information.

Egs: happily, naturally,

- Eg 161 a. Susan gave me the Money back, happily. (disjunct: She gave me the money back, which makes me happy; “happily”: synonym of “fortunately”, “luckily”)
- Eg 161 b. Susan gave me the money back Happily. (adjunct of manner: She looked happy when she gave me the money back; she did so willingly)
- Eg 162a: When she heard the news, she SMILed at me, naturally. (disjunct: I found her reaction natural; I expected her to do so)
- Eg 162 b.: When she heard the news, she smiled at me Naturally. (adjunct of manner: in a natural rather than forced way)

I remind the reader that when these adverbials function as disjuncts, as in our egs a, they can also appear initially (fronted), in which case they will take a separate tone unit and preferably be said with a falling-rising pitch pattern, as in our following egs c:

Egs:

- 161 c. V HAppily, | Susan gave me the money back , ||
- 162 c. V Naturally, | when she heard the news, | she smiled at me. ||

Tench (1996) calls these “comment adjuncts” and includes, in this category, adverbs such as “hopefully” and “normally”. He adds that they follow the typical treatment of other adverbials. Thus, alternatively they can easily appear in a separate chunk with a rise, when final.

- Eg 161d: Susan gave me the money back, | / HAppily. ||
- Eg 162d: When she heard the news, she smiled at me, | / Naturally. ||

“Then” is another adverbial which plays a dual role:

- It may indicate time and therefore play the role of an adjunct (non-sentence adverbial)

Or:

- It may function as a conjunct (sentence adverbial) and show what is inferred as a result of what has just been said. That is why authors like Ortiz Lira or Wells, among others, call it “inferential”, being synonymous with the expression: “in that case”.

- Eg 163: You said the manager will be back tomorrow MORNing.

Do you think he could see me THEN? (adjunct of time: at that time)

- Eg 164: You said I have to speak to the MAnager.

Do you think I could SEE him then? (conjunct: from what I can infer)

As an adjunct, it attracts the nucleus since that particular time is brought into focus; but as a conjunct, it rejects it following the usual behaviour of other final sentence adverbials.

In Spanish, there is coincidence with English in this sense:

- Eg 165: Usted dijo que el gerente volverá mañana a la maÑAna.

¿Le parece que podría verme enTONces? (at that moment)

- Eg 166: Usted dijo que tengo que hablar con el gerente.

¿Le parece que podría VERlo entonces? (therefore, in that case, as it is)

## A) NON-SENTENCE ADVERBIALS

1. **Adjuncts**: basically of time and place: Gussenhoven calls them “time-space markers”. See Gussenhoven’s classification of [ - focus ] tails, pg 38 above.

Adjuncts, unlike subjuncts, are on the same “level” as other clause elements (subjects, verb phrases, objects, and complements).

There is general agreement among linguists on the prosodic treatment of these adjuncts. They propose either:

1. treating them as a separate chunk and applying a rising pitch pattern in their intonational analysis:

- Eg 167a: It's my final eXAM, || to / MOrrow||
- Eg 168a:

A: I saw ALfred, , | / yesterday. , ||

B: How NICE! || I don't suppose you MEET very often, | / NOWadays ||

- Eg 169a: A: What's the MAtter?

B: It's a bit CHilly, | in / HERE. || (O'Connor & Arnold, 1973).

Or as another possibility:

2. leaving them in the tail, that is unaccented.

- Eg 167b: It's my final eXAM, tomorrow| |
- Eg 168b:

A: I saw ALfred, yesterday. | |

B: How NICE! || I don't suppose you MEET very often, nowadays. | |

- Eg 169b:

A: What's the MAtter?

B: It's a bit CHilly, in here. || (O'Connor & Arnold, 1973).

Among the followers of the former trend are: Halliday, Kingdon and O'Connor and Arnold.

On the one hand, Halliday (1970), relates these to "minor information points", i.e. secondary or dependent information; while both Kingdon (1958) and O'Connor and Arnold (1973) also support the use of a rise (or less frequently a fall-rise), as they see them as items of subsidiary importance.

On the other hand, Brown (1990) holds the view (shared with Gussenhoven) that these adverbials should be non-prominent. (See p. 38 above).

Nevertheless, it is worth bearing in mind the fact that some time and place constructions are essential to complete the meaning of certain verbs, eg: put, place, send, etc; or simply carry new relevant information, in which case they will necessarily be prominent.

- Eg 170: A: Where shall I LEAVE the parcel?

B: Put it THERE, || on the TAble. ||

- Eg 171: A: Which day's BEST d'you think?

B: If you can MAnage it, | go next MONday. ||

Both adjuncts of time and place can be accented for the sake of contrast:

- Eg 172: A: Do you play FOOTball at weekends?

B: I do on SUNdays. ||

For further treatment of time and place adjuncts in Spanish refer to pp. 38 - 40 above and Cartoons (Historietas) 5, 8 and 13, pp. 153-158, 167-170 and 192-196 in our experimental analysis.

**2. Subjuncts:** subjuncts have a subordinate role compared to other clause elements; they have less independence, both semantically and grammatically.

**1. Courtesy:** For Gussenhoven, these are “softeners” and fall under the broader category of “hearer-appeal markers”. (For detailed discussion of courtesy subjuncts, refer to Exchanges (Mini-intercambios) 15, 19 and 20 pp. 126-129 and 131-135 in our experimental analysis).

They are generally non-nuclear. Eg: thanks, please. And if they are, it is to mark emphasis or even express insistence or annoyance.

- Eg 173: A: Have a cigaRETTE, please                      UNMARKED

B: I've smoked eNOUGH, thank you.

- Eg 174: A: Can I help at all?

B: Yes, DO, | PLEASE, ||                      MARKED

- Eg 174a: Leave me aLONE! PLEASE!

In Spanish, the equivalent of “please”: “por favor” behaves similarly: it may be postnuclear:

- Eg 173a: A: Servite un cigaRRllo, por favor.

Or nuclear, again to show insistence or annoyance:

- Eg 174b: A: ¿Puedo ayudar en ALgo?

B: SÍ | por faVOR. ||

- Eg 174c: ¡Dejame tranQUI! ¡Por faVOR!

In our *Prosodia Comparativa del Inglés y el Castellano* (Suárez, 2012), we recorded several examples where “por favor” is nuclear as well, particularly in yes-no questions in the form of requests:

- Eg 174d: ¿Me traes una aspi Rna, | por fa / VOR? ||

However, the equivalent of English “thank you”, “gracias” is not normally deaccented; it tends to take a separate tone unit and a nuclear tone of its own rather, preferably a fall:

- Eg 173b: Fumé suficiente, | \ GRacias||

## 2. Degree:

**a. Downtoners:** Like courtesy subjuncts, they typically reject the nuclear accent. Gussenhoven uses the term “approximatives” in his classification.

- Eg 175: I'll just lie on the SOfa for a bit.
- Eg 176: It's ten MEtres long, practically.
- Eg 177: I think you've missed the POINT, sort of.

In Spanish, their behaviour may vary: they may be postnuclear as in English:

- Eg 176a: Tiene diez metros de LARgo, prácticamente.

Or nuclear, as we saw above in some of Gussenhoven's examples we analysed in Spanish (see p. 54 above). The following example is also nuclear:

- Eg 175a: Me voy a tirar en el sofá un Rato.

**b. Intensifiers:** They usually attract the nucleus both in English and in Spanish:

- Eg 178: After his divorce, John lost his head comPLETEly.
- Eg 178a: Después de su divorcio, Juan perdió la cabeza por completo.



But it would probably sound more natural if we said:

- Eg 178b: Se volvió completamente LOco
- Eg 179: I don't mind in the SLIGHTest
- Eg 179a: No me importa en lo más Mínimo.

Informal *this* and *that* + adjectives or adverbs are also nuclear.

- Eg 180: It isn't THAT terrible.
- Eg 181: It hasn't rained THAT heavily.

Here, there is disagreement with Spanish, which favours compliance with the LLI rule:

- Eg 180a: No es tan teRRible.
- Eg 181a: No llovió tan copiosaMENte. (or more informal, "tan FUERte")

**3. Proper Functioning** : They tend to be postnuclear.

- Eg 182: Will it WORK O.K.?
- Eg 183: He can't SEE properly.

It is not the case of Spanish, where they are nuclear:

- Eg 182a: ¿Funcionará BIEN?
- Eg 183a: No ve BIEN.

## ***Other Patterns in Broad and Narrow Focus***

In the last section of his work on word stress and sentence accent (1994), Prof. Ortiz Lira includes several items for which it is advisable for the Spanish speaker to follow certain tonicity rules, if they want to sound more native-like. For example:

- ***Verbs + Adverbs or Prepositions***

Prepositions usually reject an accent, unless the speaker wants to express contrast or emphasis:

- Eg 184: A: The kitten is not on the bed.

B: I said it's UNder the bed, | not ON the bed.

Or in contexts where the last lexical item represents old information:

- Eg 185: A: I'm tired of waiting.

B: What is it that you are waiting FOR?

- Eg 186: If you can't count on me for support, | who can you count ON?

Conversely, adverbs tend to be accented:

- Eg 187: Cosmetic surgery, | traditionally associated with the United States, | is now catching ON in EUrope.
- Eg 188: The murderer finally broke DOWN | and confessed his crime.

Some particles are prepositional adverbs; they behave like prepositions with an ellipted complement.

Compare:

- Eg 189: They drove past the STation (“past”: preposition)
- Eg 190: They drove PAST (“past”: prepositional adverb; i.e: past somebody or something identified in the context)
- Eg 191: The old man and his dog | were walking along the dusty ROAD.  
 (“along”: preposition)
- Eg 192: “Come aLONG, you lazy dog”, threatened the old man.

(“along”: prepositional adverb)

- Eg 193: My MOther stayed in the HOUSE, all the TIME, | to LOOK after my YOUNGer BROther. || (“in”: preposition)
- Eg 194: My YOUNGer BROTher was ILL. || My MOther stayed IN all the TIME, | to look AFTer him || (“in”: prepositional adverb)  
(*Sounds English*, O’Connor & Fletcher, 1994)
- Eg 195: The CHILDren RAN across the BRIDGE LAUGHing
- Eg 196: The CHILDren RAN aCROSS LAUGHing

Therefore, prepositions, which are normally unaccented, become prominent when they behave as prepositional adverbs.

Here, there is agreement between English and Spanish: prepositions are normally deaccented whereas adverbs *are* accented:

Eg 189a: Pasaron con el auto por (delante de) la estaCIÓN

Eg 190a: Pasaron con el auto por deLANte.

- **Operators:** The operator may be the only or first auxiliary in a finite verb phrase, since the verb expression may have more than one auxiliary:
- Eg 197: He has given the girl an Apple.
- Eg 198: I could have KICKED myself ( O'Connor & Arnold: 1973)

Also, the verb “be” can act as an operator whether it is an auxiliary or a main verb:

- Eg 199: The police are searching the ROOM.
- Eg 200: That girl is a uniVERsity student now.

As we can see in our examples above, such operators generally reject the nucleus when they appear in tone units in broad focus.

Nevertheless, a frequent case of narrow focus in English is focus on the operator, which often has the function of signalling contrast between positive and negative polarity:

- Eg 201: A: Why haven't you had a shower?

B: But I \ HAVE had a shower.

- Eg 202 A: I thought Alice worked hard.

B: She \ DID work hard.

- Eg 203 A: Look for your scarf.

B: I \ AM looking for it.

- Eg 204: So he \ HASn't gone | after \ ALL. (I thought he had)

Moreover, the operator normally bears the nucleus in elliptical replies, where it emphasizes positiveness or negativeness as well:

- Eg 205: A: Have you seen my bag?

B: No, I \ HAVEn't

- Eg 206: A: Does this alarm clock work?

B: Yes, it \ DOES

A rising or a falling-rising tone is frequent to mark contrastive focus on tense rather than on positive or negative polarity. Usually, in these cases it is past and future auxiliaries which bear the nucleus:

- Eg 207: She OWNS, | or V DID own | an ancient CASTLe. ||
- Eg 208: They've sold OUT, | but they V WILL be getting some. ||

The speaker may similarly express contrast between a desirable and a real state of affairs by placing the nucleus on auxiliaries such as “may” or “ought to”:

- Eg 209: The newspapers V MAY be right (but I believe they are not)
- Eg 210: The documents V OUGHT to be here (but I can't see them)

While in English operators do not easily go unnoticed, just think about the typical structure of interrogative sentences in English: AUX + SUBJ + VERB, and elliptical constructions where they play a major role (see egs 205 and 206 above), in Spanish they keep a “low profile” and are therefore typically deaccented. They are not normally prominent, not even for emphasis:

Eg 203a: A: Buscá tu buFANda.

B: Ya la estoy busCANdo. Not \* Ya la esTOY buscando.

Apart from placing information focus on the operator, the speaker may make use of a different device in English: accent or give nuclear prominence to the operator in order to add exclamatory emphasis to the whole tone unit:

- Eg 211: What ↗ARE they \ DOing then?
- Eg 212: That \ WILL be good!
- Eg 213: We \ HAVE had a great time!

The two devices work differently since:

1. Pitch prominence is not obligatorily necessary to signal emotive emphasis, sentence accent will readily do (Quirk and Greenbaun, 1973).
2. Emotive emphasis does not imply contrastive meaning. When in eg 212 we say: That \ WILL be good! We do not mean that things were not good in the past or are not good now.

When there is no operator to bear the emphatic accent, the auxiliary “do” is used:

- Eg 214: You ↘DID V STARTle us.
- Eg 215: She \ DOES look worried.
- Eg 216: He ↘DID get a bit of a V SHOCK.

For extra emphasis speakers can place intensifiers such as: “certainly” or “really” before the operator:

- Eg 217: He <sup>I</sup> REAlly \ DOES look smart !
- Eg 218: You ↘CERtainly V DID look a wreck.



## ***Some Idiomatic Expressions***

Authors advise EFL students to remember some idiomatic or fossilized expressions which show fixed tonicity. Such tonicity, more often than not, departs from that of their equivalents in Spanish which tend to strictly conform to the so called LLI rule. Conversely, as usual in English, within the category of lexical items, nouns will attract the nucleus the most, more than verbs.

Let us observe some of these English set phrases and compare their accentual behaviour with that of their possible “River Plate” Spanish equivalents.

English:

- Eg 219: The delicious cooking smells made my MOUTH water.  
(produced an increased amount of saliva in my mouth)

Spanish:

- Eg 219a: Con el delicioso aroma a comida se me hizo agua la BQca.

English:

- Eg 220: I don't know what will happen but let's keep our FINgers crossed!  
(let's be optimistic and hope everything will be all right)

Spanish:

- Eg 220a: No sé qué va a pasar pero crucemos los DEdos.

English:

- Eg 221: The firm went bankrupt and John got his FINgers burnt.  
(he had to bear the brunt of the situation)

Spanish:

- Eg 221a: La empresa fue a la quiebra y Juan se metió en proBLEmas.  
(salió escalDAdo or escarmenTAdo)

English:

- Eg 222: The loud cry in the middle of the night made our HAIR stand on end.  
(terrified us)

Spanish:

- Eg 222a: El fuerte grito en medio de la noche nos puso los pelos de PUNta.

English:

- Eg 223: Don't pay any attention to the man. He's got a SCREW loose.  
(he is crazy)

Spanish:

- Eg 223a: No le prestes ninguna atención al hombre. Le falta un torNillo.

English:

- Eg 224: Let's not bring up the issue now. Let's discuss it when the DUST has settled. (when the confusion is over)

Spanish.

- Eg 224a: No saquemos el tema ahora. Tratémoslo cuando haya pasado la torMENta. (cuando se hayan calmado los Ánimos o las Aguas)

English:

- Eg 225: We have to be tactful and see which way the WIND is blowing.  
(see what happens before taking action)

Spanish:

- Eg 225a: Tenemos que ser cautelosos y ver cómo se dan las COsas.  
(or ver de qué lado sopla el VIENto)

Or in more informal River Plate Spanish:

- Eg 225b: Tenemos que ser diplomáticos y ver cómo viene la Mano

Or also:

- Eg 225c: Tenemos que tener cuidado y ver por dónde van los TIros.

English:

- Eg 226: A: How do the partners work together?

B: They get on like a HOUSE on fire.

(they have a very friendly relationship)

Spanish:

- Eg 226a: A: ¿Qué tal trabajan juntos los socios?

B: Se llevan geNIAL. Or: Se llevan BÁRbaro

Or:

- Eg 226b: B: Son uña y CARNE.

English:

- Eg 227: Cordelia, | always showed sympathy; | but she knew when  
he was lying, | and was insulted, | that he thought, | that he  
could pull the WOOL over her eyes.<sup>7</sup> | |  
(that he could deceive her by hiding facts)

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<sup>7</sup> Example borrowed from one of the texts in *English Transcription Course*, by María Luisa García Lecumberri and John Maidment (2000).

Spanish:

- Eg 227a: Cordelia siempre fue comprensiva, | pero sabía cuándo él mentía, | y se sintió insultada, | por el hecho de que pensara, | que podía ponerle una venda en los Qjos. ||

English:

- Eg 228: I like this boy: He has a good HEAD on his shoulders.  
(he is sensible)

Spanish:

- Eg 228a: Me gusta este chico. Tiene la cabeza bien PUEsta.  
(en su luGAR, i.e. es sensato)

English:

- Eg 229: Susan is a clever girl but she doesn't seem to do well in her studies. She has her HEAD in the clouds.  
(she is a dreamer, extremely impractical)

Spanish:

- Eg 229a: Susana es una chica inteligente pero parece que no le está yendo bien en sus estudios. Está en la LUna. Or: Está en BAbia.

English:

- Eg 230: You can sit here till the COWS come home | but I don't think she will turn up. (for a very long time)

Spanish:

- Eg 230a: Podés esperar senTAdo que ella aparezca. ||

English:

- Eg 231: Where are you coming from? You look like something the CAT's brought in! (very untidy)

Spanish:

- Eg 231a: ¿De dónde venís? ¡Mirá qué PINta (or more informal: FAcha) que traés!

This particular example illustrates a clear case of postnuclearity in Spanish. But we should remember that in this language, narrow focus is more frequent in emphatic contexts, such as in this example, where we observe what Mauricio Véliz calls “dislocation” (in Spanish, “desplazamiento”). In this case, “left dislocation”, where the direct object “pinta” changes its position in the utterance to precede the verb for the pragmatic purposes just mentioned.

Example 231 above could also be translated as:

- Eg 231b: ¡Estás hecho un deSAStre!

Here, the nucleus falls at the end, as is typical in Spanish.

English:

- Eg 232: Don't get involved with those people! You should keep your NOSE clean! (you should avoid getting into trouble)

Spanish

- Eg 232a: ¡No te involucres con esa gente! No deberías meterte en proBLEmas or LÍos)

English:

- Eg 233: A: I haven't studied enough for the exam.

B: Don't despair! Let's look on the BRIGHT side of things.

(let's be hopeful).

Spanish:

- Eg 233a: A: No estudié lo suficiente para el examen.

B: No te desesperes. Mirémosle el lado posiTivo a las cosas.

In this particular example, “positivo” seems to carry the heaviest load of information, whereas “cosas”, being a word of general reference (like “things” in English) does not seem to contribute much meaning to the IP. The speaker takes this information for granted. In fact, he could simply say “Mirémosle el lado posiTivo” and the message would perfectly get across to his interlocutor. Thus, the choice of tonicity here agrees with that of the English version.

English:

- Eg 234: It’s a GOOD thing you didn’t tell me the bad news last night.

I wouldn’t have slept a wink! (luckily, fortunately)

Spanish:

- Eg 234a: ¡Menos MAL que no me contaste las malas noticias anoche!

¡No habría pegado ojo!

Another case of narrow focus in Spanish, where the information in the tail is taken for granted for pragmatic purposes: to cause an emphatic effect appropriate for the relevant context. The version in English (eg. 234) is also in narrow focus. A probable broad-focus version, both in English and in Spanish, could leave the time adjunct in the tail:

- Eg 234e: It’s a GOOD thing you didn’t tell me the bad NEWS last night.
- Eg 234s: ¡Menos MAL que no me contaste las malas noTicias anoche!



We could also hear fragmented versions, but “good” and “mal” will invariably be prominent:

- Eg 234f: It's a \ GOOD thing | you didn't TELL me the bad / NEWS last

night. ||

- Eg 234t: ¡MEnos >MAL | que no me conTASte las malas no \Tlcias

anoche! ||

English:

- Eg 235: He's not very optimistic. Not even at the BEST of times  
(when things are most favourable)

Spanish

- Eg 235a: Él no es muy optimista. Ni siquiera en el mejor de los CAsos.

Interestingly enough though, in English, some of these fixed phrases and idioms are typically said with two prominent syllables, one of which is in the last word. In their Spanish versions, we hear two prominent syllables as well, with few exceptions:

English:

- Eg 236: You can't go out in a t-shirt in this cold weather! It's OUT of the  
QUEStion! (definitely not possible or not allowed)

Spanish:

- Eg 236a: ¡No podés salir en remera con este frío! ¡Está FUERa de discuSIÓN!

English:

- Eg 237: The doctors soon began a desperate RACE against TIME | to save the patient's life. || (you have to do something very quickly because you have very little time available)

Spanish:

- Eg 237a: Los médicos enseguida comenzaron una desesperada caRRERa contra reLOJ| para salvar la vida del paciente. ||

English:

- Eg 238: A: They are always arriving late. Why don't you tell them?

B: Well, that's EAsier said than DONE!

Spanish:

- Eg 238a: A: Siempre llegan tarde. ¿Por qué no les decís?

B: ¡Bueno, del DIcho al HEcho hay MUcho TREcho!

The Spanish version of this idiom departs from the one in English in the fact that we accent the four main words in the phrase as opposed to two in English.

The repetition of the sound /tʃ/ in the four words conveys a special sense of rhythmicity which is also evident in the English version, where we observe the presence of alliteration as well, this time the repetition of the sibilant /s/ (as opposed to /z/) and the plosive /d/ (as opposed to the fricative/ð/). In this sense, the two versions share the same rhythmic effect.

English:

- Eg 239: A: Have you seen Sheila lately?

B: No, what with ONE thing and aNOther, | I haven't seen her for ages!

I've been so busy these weeks! (I've had problems, work to be done, etc)

Spanish:

- Eg 239a: A: ¿Viste a Sheila últimamente?

B: No, entre una COsa y Otra, | hace un montón que no la veo.||

¡Estuve tan ocupada estas semanas! || (informal River Plate Spanish)

English:

- Eg 240: Let's CALL it a DAY for today. It's getting really late.

(to decide to stop work or an activity because you've done enough or you are tired)

Spanish:

- Eg 240a: Por HOY termiNAmos. Se está haciendo muy tarde.

English:

- Eg 241: I meant to buy some sugar on my way home, but it SLIPped my MIND. (to forget)

Spanish:

- Eg 241a: Cuando volvía a casa quise comprar azúcar, pero se me paSÓ.

In this version in Spanish, we just have one prominence as opposed to two in the English phrase.

English:

- Eg 242: To my utter amazement, there, where my car should have been, was a strange car. I COULDn't believe my EYES! (when you are very surprised by something you see)

Spanish:

- Eg 242a: Para total sorpresa mía, donde debía de estar mi auto, estaba un auto extraño ¡NO podía CREER lo que estaba viendo!

English:

- Eg 243: It wasn't the bus driver's fault, it was just ONE of those THINGS.  
(when something unpleasant or unhappy cannot be prevented)

Spanish:

- Eg 243a: No fue culpa del colectivo, son COsas que PAsan.  
(COsas de la Vida).

English:

- Eg 244: A: How is Liza taking her divorce?

B: She's TAKing it in her STRIDE. She thinks it might be a good idea to go on a trip with the children.

(not to allow something to annoy, embarrass or upset you).

Spanish:

- Eg 244a: A: ¿Cómo se está tomando su divorcio Liza?

B: Se lo TOma con CALma.

Or in more informal River Plate Spanish:

- Eg 244b: Se lo TOma con "SOda". Piensa que podría ser una buena idea irse de viaje con los chicos.

The following are more English set phrases, most of which do not abide by the LLI rule as opposed to their Spanish equivalents:

English:

- Eg 245: A: I can't come today.

B: Well, in THAT case, | come tomorrow.

Spanish:

- Eg 245a: A: No puedo ir hoy.

B: Bueno, en ese CAso, | vení mañana. ||

English:

- Eg 246: In MY opinion | he's wrong. ||

Spanish:

- Eg 246a: En mi opINIÓN, | está equivocado. ||

English:

- Eg 247: A: The Robinsons haven't heard from their granddaughter for  
some time now.

B: Well, I think \ NO news | is \ GOOD news.

Spanish:

- Eg 247a: A: Los Robinson hace algún tiempo que no tienen noticias de  
su nieta.

B: Bueno, yo creo que la FALta de noTIcias | son BUEnas  
noTIcias.

Similarly to example 238a, here we will preferably accent the four words.

English:

- Eg 248: The Opposition's plan for legislative change on workers' rights will throw a SPANner in the works for the government.  
(to prevent a plan or process from succeeding).

Spanish:

- Eg 248a: El plan de la oposición para un cambio legislativo sobre los derechos de los trabajadores le pondrá PAlos en la RUEda al gobierno.

Here, the indirect object "al gobierno" is taken for granted, as is frequently the case of final lexical items in English. Therefore, it is in the tail and deaccented.

English:

- Eg 249: A: Peter'd be crazy not to accept their offer.  
B: You can say THAT again. (I completely agree with you)

Spanish:

- Eg 249a: A: Pedro estaría loco si no aceptara su oferta.  
B: ¡Ya lo CREO!

Some of them *do* comply with the rule and are said with the nucleus on their last lexical item, as is the case in Spanish:

English:

- Eg 250: I was planning not to travel | but on second THOUGHTS, |

I will. || (thinking more carefully)

Spanish:

- Eg 250a: No planeaba viajar, | pero pensándolo BIEN, | lo voy a hacer. || Or :

Pensándolo dos VEces....

English:

- Eg 251: A: I thought Michael was going to get married this year.

B: He was, but he's had a change of HEART. (change one's mind)

Spanish:

- Eg 251a: A: Yo pensaba que Miguel se iba a casar este año.

B: Lo pensaba hacer, pero cambió de opiNIÓN.

English:

- Eg 252: A: What's your brother going to do now that he's resigned?

B: You may well ASK. (an interesting question, difficult to answer)



Spanish:

- Eg 252a: A: ¿Qué va a hacer tu hermano ahora que renunció?

B: Es una buena preGUNta.

English:

- Eg 253: His proposal is not to be SNEEZED at,| considering pay and conditions. (of an offer, especially of money, that is very good and shouldn't be dismissed).

Spanish:

- Eg 253a: Su propuesta no es para despreCIAR | (or no es para nada despreCIAble) considerando el sueldo y las condiciones.

English:

- Eg 254: A: How did Paul's wife take the fact that he lost his job?

B: She's putting a brave FACE on it.

Spanish:

- Eg 254a: A: ¿Cómo tomó la mujer de Pablo el hecho de que perdiera su trabajo?

B: Al mal tiempo buena CAra.

Now, after having conducted a theoretical-perceptual study of Gussenhoven's and Ortiz Lira's classifications of the material typically found in postnuclear stretches of speech in General British English and having compared it and contrasted it with that regularly found in River Plate Spanish, we are ready to undertake our selective experimental analysis.

## 8. Experimental Analysis

Part.	Mini-intercambios (Exchanges)									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	NF
2	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	F
3	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	NF
4	F	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	F	NF
5	F	F	F	F	F	NF	F	F	F	F
6	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	F
7	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF
8	F	F	a)F b)NF c)NF	F	F	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF
9	F	F	NF	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	F
10	F	F	a)F b)NF c)F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	F
11	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	F
12	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	NF
13	F	F	F	F	F	NF	F	NF	F	F
14	F	F	a)F b)F c)NF	F	F	NF	F	F	F	NF
15	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	NF	F	NF
16	F	F	F	F	F	NF	NF	F	F	NF
17	F	F	F	F	F	NF	F	NF	F	NF
18	F	F	F	a)NF b)NF c) F	NF	NF	F	NF	F	NF

Part.	Mini-intercambios (Exchanges)									
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F c)F	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
2	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
3	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
4	a)F b)F	a)NF b)F	F	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	NF	a)NF b) NF
5	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	F	NF	NF	a)NF b) NF
6	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
7	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	F	a)NF b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
8	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)F	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
9	a)F b)F	a)F b)F	F	NF	a)F b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	F	NF	F	a)F b)F
10	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F c)F	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
11	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	F	NF	a)NF b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
12	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	F	NF	a)NF b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	NF	a)NF b) NF
13	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	F	NF	a)NF b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
14	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)F b)F
15	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
16	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	F	NF	a)NF b)F/F/NF c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
17	a)F b)F	a)NF b)F	F	NF	a)F b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b) NF
18	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)F	NF	NF	a)NF b)F c)NF	a)F b)F	F	F	F	a)F b)F

Part	Historietas (Cartoons)														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	NF	NF	NF	NF	F/F	NF	F	F	a)NF b)NF	F	a)NF b)NF	a)F b)F	F	F	F
2	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF/F	NF	F	F	a)NF b)NF	F	a)F b)F	a)F b)F	NF	NF	NF
3	NF	NF	NF	NF	F/F	NF	NF	F	a)NF b)NF	NF	a)NF b)NF	a)NF b)NF	NF	NF	NF
4	F	NF	NF	F	F/F	F	F	F	a)F b)NF	NF	a)NF b)NF	a)F b)NF	F	NF	F
5	F	NF	NF	NF	F/F	F	F	F	a)F b)NF	F	a)NF b)F	a)NF b)NF	NF	NF	NF
6	NF	NF	NF	F	NF/F	NF	F	F	a)NF b)NF	NF	a)NF b)NF	a)F b)F	F	NF	NF
7	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF/F	NF	F	F	a)F b)F	NF	a)NF b)NF	F/F	F	F	F
8	F	NF	NF	NF	NF/NF	NF	F	F	a)F b)NF	F	a)NF b)NF	F/F	F	F	F
9	F	F	F	F	F/F	F	F	F	a)NF b)F	NF	a)NF b)NF	F/F	F	NF	F
10	F	NF	F	NF	F/F	F	F	F	a)F b)F	NF	a)NF b)NF	NF/F	F	NF	NF
11	F	F	NF	NF	NF/F	NF	F	F	a)NF b)F	F	a)NF b)NF	NF/ NF	NF	NF	NF
12	NF	NF	NF	NF	F/F	NF	F	F	a)NF b)NF	NF	a)NF b)NF	F/F	F	NF	NF
13	NF	NF	NF	F	NF/F	F	F	F	a)F b)F	F	a)NF b)F	F/F	F	F	F
14	F	NF	NF	NF	NF/NF	F	F	F	a)F b)F	F	a)NF b)NF	F/F	F	NF	F
15	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF/F	NF	F	F	a)NF b)NF	NF	a)NF b)NF	NF/ NF	NF	NF	NF/F
16	F	NF	F	F	NF/F	F	F	F	a)F b)F	F	a)NF b)NF	F/F	F	F	F
17	F	NF	F	NF	NF/F	NF	F	F	a)F b)NF	NF	a)NF b)NF	F/ NF	F	NF	NF
18	F	NF	NF	F	F/F	NF	F	NF	a)F b)F	F	a)NF b)NF	NF/ NF	F	NF	F

## 9. Comments

### Mini-intercambios (Exchanges)

#### Answers

- 1. Participant 3:** uses a fall-rise in both answers. Not one of the most frequent tones in RP Spanish.

**Participant 5:** Interestingly enough, he divides b) La pava está hirviendo into two tone units, applying a rise to the subject and a fall to the predicate. The nucleus falls at the end in both: La / PAva | está hir VIENdo. ||

**Participant 9:** In a), Está hirviendo la pava, he uses a chant-like level tone, thus adding a routine attitude to his utterance as he announces the news.

**Participant 18:** In a), he uses a rise-fall, giving a purely exclamatory air to his utterance; and he carefully divides b) into S and P, using a rise for the S, which shows more commitment and involvement on his part. He seems to be creating suspense, as if he was narrating a story. The last tone unit takes a fall to close the utterance. His style sounds formal.

- 2. Participant 5:** Idem answer 1. He divides b) “El bebé está llorando” into S and P. “El bebé” takes a rise and “está llorando” a fall:

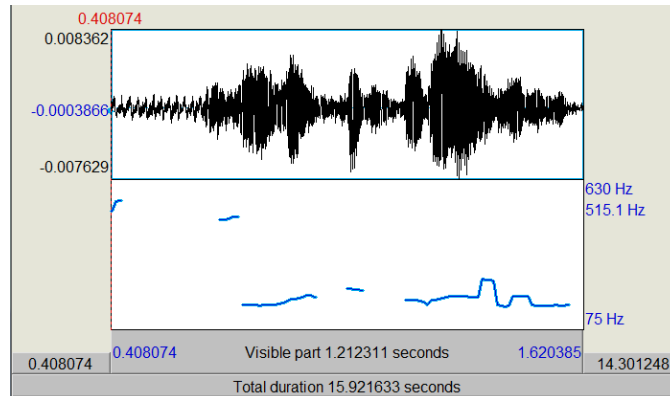
El be / BÉ| está lloRANdo.||

**Participant 6:** Idem part. 5.

**Participant 7:** similarly to participants 5 and 6, informant 7 divides utterance b) into two; but this time, she applies a fall-rise to the S.

**Participant 15:** She uses a rising-falling nuclear tone on the verb, turning her statement b) into a clear exclamation. See fig. 1 below:

Fig. 1



El bebé está llorando.

**3. Participant 1:** He divides the utterance into two, one tone unit for the greeting and the other one for the vocative. The nucleus falls at the end in both. This informant uses a falling pitch pattern for the vocative.

**Participant 2:** Like participant 1, participant 2 utters independent nuclear vocatives; but unlike him, he applies a level tone to them.

**Participant 3:** She follows the frequent RP Spanish pattern for final vocatives, closely related to word stress: rise for oxytonic words and rise-fall for paroxytonic and proparoxytonic words.

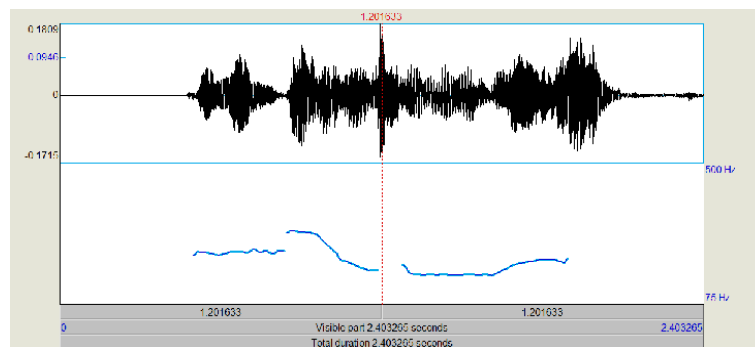
**Participant 4:** In a), the rising vocative is independent of the greeting which, in turn, takes a fall. But in b) and c), the vocative is part of the same tone unit as that of the greeting, and it is nuclear. She applies a level tone in the former and a fall in the latter.

**Participant 5:** He uses a level for the greeting and a fall for the three vocatives.

**Participant 6:** Typical. Fall for the greeting, rise for the first vocative and rise-fall for the second and third.

See fig. 2 below, which represents the first rising monosyllabic vocative in the exchange (which counts as an oxytonic word since it is the only syllable and therefore tonic):

Fig.2



Buenas tardes, Sr. Ruiz

**Participant 7:** Independent nuclear vocatives. The first with a rise. The second and third with a fall.

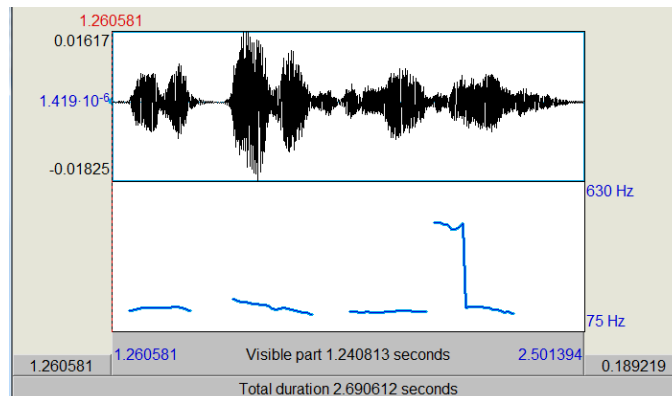
**Participant 8:** The first utterance shows the typical fall for the greeting and rise for the oxytonic vocative. The second and third exhibit a level for the greeting, and the vocative is postnuclear since it appears in the tail.

**Participant 9:** Both the greeting and the vocative take a falling nuclear tone.

See figs. 3a and 3b below:

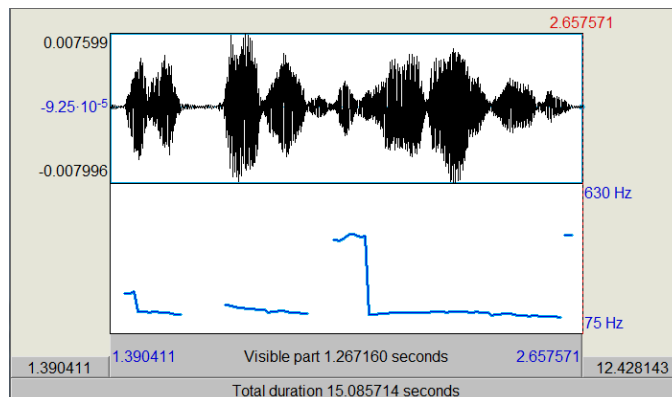


Fig. 3a



Buenas tardes, señor Ruiz.

Fig. 3b



Buenas tardes, señor Álvarez.

**Participant 10:** Her first and third utterances are typical. In the second, the vocative is postnuclear: it appears in the tail, after a greeting with a level tone.

**Participant 12:** This participant follows the typical pattern heard in greetings + vocatives: fall + rise or rise-fall, and she uses a high prenuclear pattern for the greeting. It would be similar to what for O'Connor and Arnold was the Low Drop.

**Participant 13:** The first utterance is typical: fall + rise. However, in the second and third, the vocative is part of the same tone unit as that of the

greeting; but, interestingly enough, the former is nuclear (fall), whereas the latter is prenuclear, the high head starting on “tardes”.

**Participant 14:** The first utterance is typical (fall + rise). In the second, the vocative is rising while in the third it is postnuclear, after a high fall.

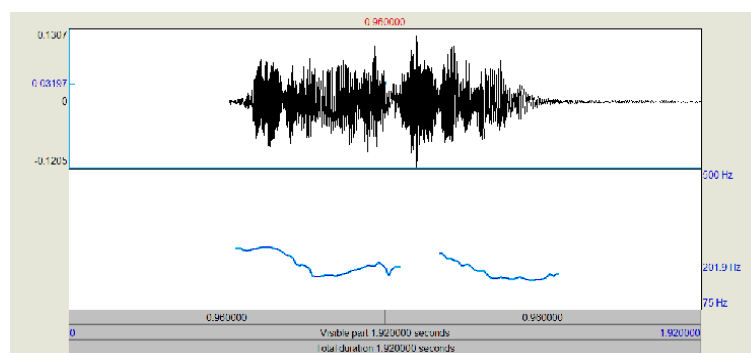
**Participant 16:** The first two utterances are typical. In the third, he uses a fall for the vocative.

**Participant 18:** In his utterances, the vocative is nuclear; but he applies a fall to the first two and a level to the last one.

#### 4. Participant 1: Idem answer 3.

**Participant 4:** She uses a level for the first two vocatives. The third is the typical combination of tones (fall for the greeting + rise-fall for the proparoxytonic vocative) and is illustrated in fig. 4a below:

Fig. 4a



¡Hola, Máximo!

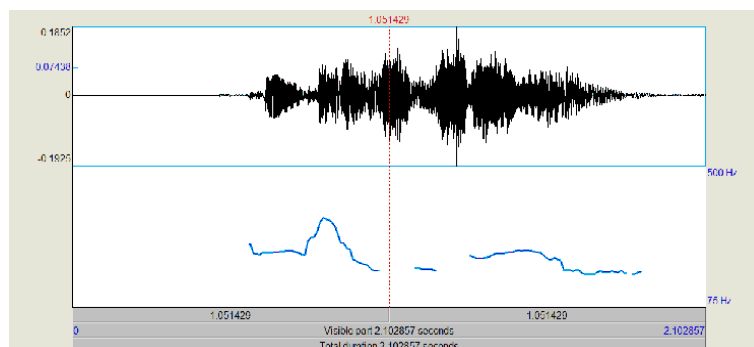
**Participant 7:** the second vocative is falling.

**Participant 8:** Idem participant 7.

**Participant 14:** In the first utterance, she uses a level tone in the greeting as well as in the vocative. The other two utterances are typical (fall + rise and

fall + rise-fall). See fig. 4b below, which illustrates the typical rising-falling paroxytonic vocative:

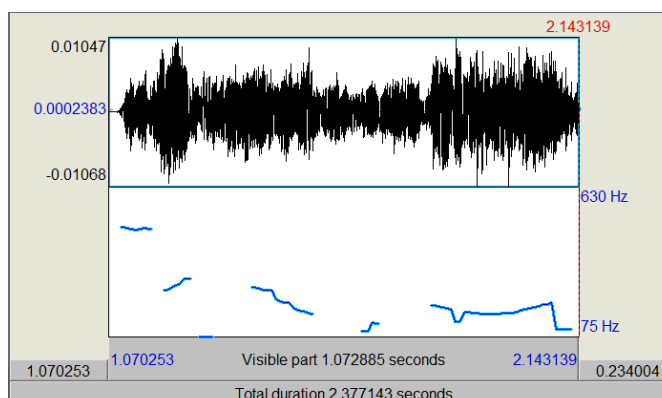
Fig. 4b



Buen día, Susana.

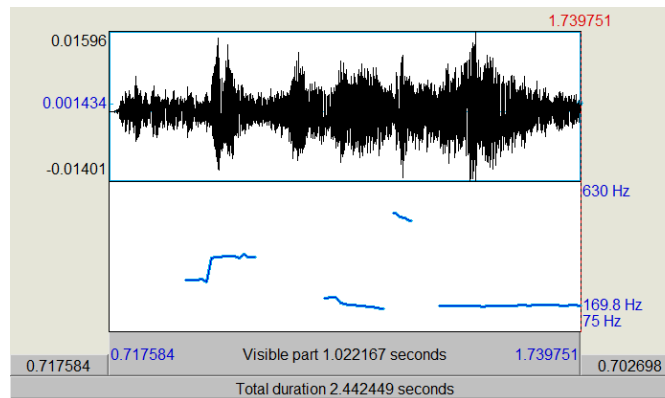
**Participant 18:** This informant chooses a rising tune ending for the longer vocatives (paroxytonic and proparoxytonic) in a) and c) and a level tone for the shorter one (oxytonic) in b). The first two, a) and b), sound like O'Connor & Arnold's Low Bounce (high prehead + low rise). And in the last, c), he utters a high fall on "hola". This tone group or tone group sequence appears to give an informal and casual air to the greetings. See figs. 5a, b and c below, which represent a), b) and c) respectively:

Fig. 5a



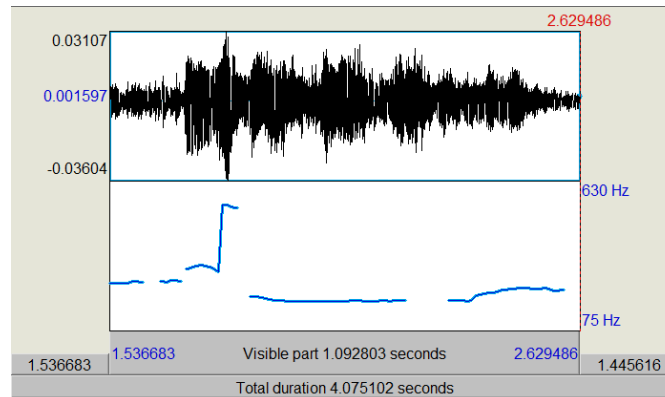
Buen día, Susana.

Fig. 5b



Buen día, Juan.

Fig. 5c



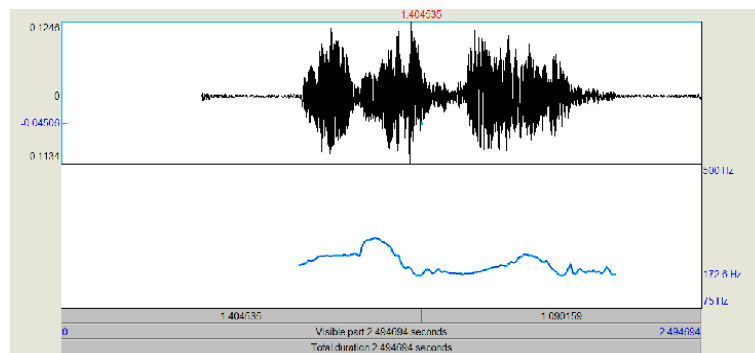
Hola Máximo.

**5. Participant 3:** This participant uses a high prehead + a low fall for the statement (Low Drop for O'Connor & Arnold), which makes it sound categorical and dogmatic.

**Participant 8:** She uses a high prehead + a low fall in her statement, the vocatives are typical in pitch pattern.

**Participant 14:** She uses a level tone in her first and second utterances, which makes them sound more routine and casual. The last is typical (fall + rising-falling paroxytonic vocative) see fig. 6 below:

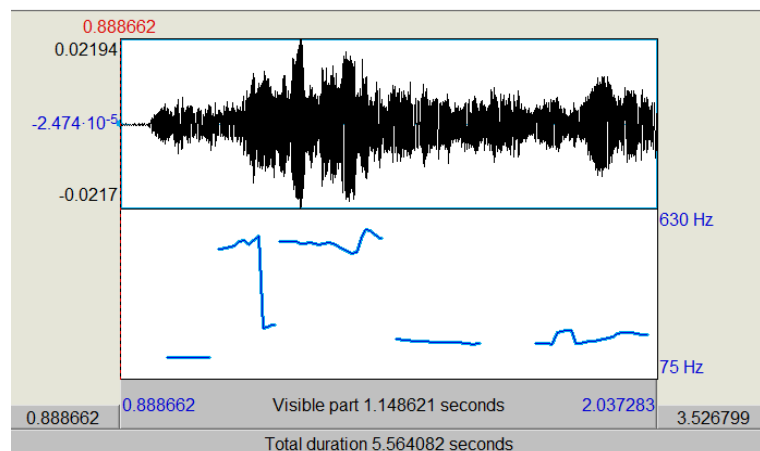
Fig. 6



Me voy, Clara.

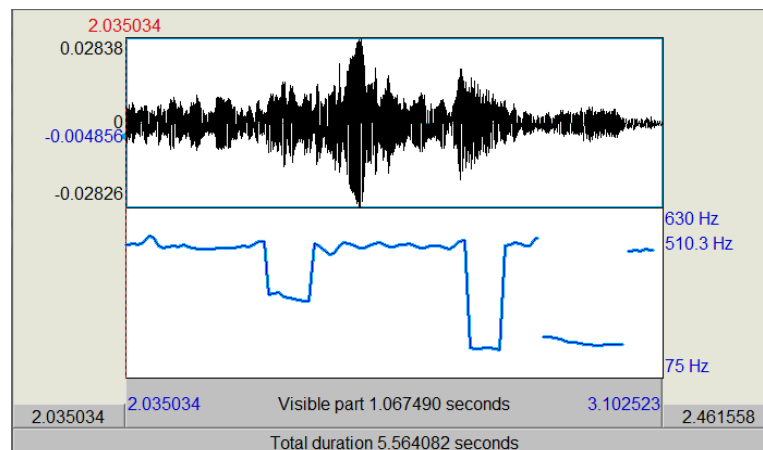
**Participant 18:** This informant uses a high prehead + a low rise (Low Bounce for O'Connor & Arnold), which makes it sound polite, lively and warm. See figs. 7, 8 and 9 below:

Fig. 7



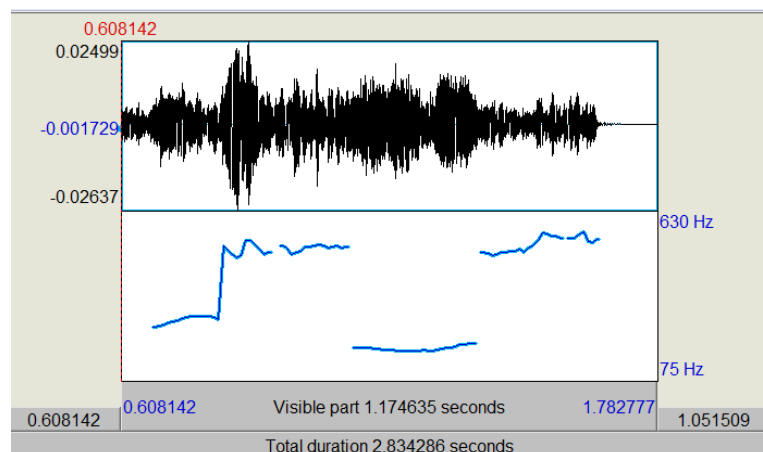
Me voy, Úrsula.

Fig. 8



Me voy, Martín.

Fig. 9



Me voy, Clara.

**6. Participant 2:** This is one of the informants who marks a clear pause before the reporting clause. This clause is still non-nuclear and intonationally subordinate to the host sentence.

**Participant 4:** She applies a level tone to the reported matter and a fall to the reporting clause.

**7. Participant 3:** She divides this utterance into S and P, assigning a rise to the former and a fall to the latter. The reporting clause is still in the tail.

**Participant 4:** She places the nucleus immediately before the reporting clause on “mamá”.

**Participant 5:** He divides the utterance into three tone units, applying a rise to the S and a fall to both the P and the reporting clause. Thus, he treats the reporting clause as nuclear.

**Participant 6:** He places the nucleus on “Morán” and does not divide the utterance into further tone units. It is just one; “hacía el papel de la mama” is in the tail as it is given information.

**Participant 8:** Similarly to participants 3 and 5, she divides the utterance into S and P, applying a rise and a fall respectively. The reporting clause is non-nuclear.

**Participant 9:** Identical to participant 8.

**Participant 10:** Identical to participant 4.

**Participant 11:** Similar to participants 3, 5 and 8 (in 5, the reporting clause is nuclear though).

**Participant 13:** This participant divides her utterance into three chunks, but her choice of tones is different. She chooses level, rise and fall respectively. She applies the fall to the reporting clause.

**Participant 14:** Similar to participant 5.

**Participant 16:** Similar to participant 3, 8 and 11.

**Participant 17:** Similar to participant 5.

**Participant 18:** Similar to participant 13, only that he applies a level tone to the first and second tone unit before the final fall.

**8. Participant 5:** He treats the reporting clause as nuclear, the same as he did in his answer to question 7.

**Participant 8:** Her falling nuclear tone on “mismo” is high in pitch, which adds an exclamatory air to her utterance.

**Participant 14:** This participant divides the utterance into two tone units. The first takes a level and the second a rise.

**Participant 16:** This informant utters the reporting clause here as nuclear, with a clear fall.

**9. Participants 1 and 2** divide the utterance into two tone units applying a rise and a fall respectively. The nucleus falls at the end in both.

**Participant 3:** Identical to participants 1 and 2.

**Participant 4:** She does not divide the utterance, so it is just one tone unit with a final nucleus.

**Participants 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 18:** Identical to 1, 2 and 3.

**Participants 6, 14, 16 and 17:** Similar to most participants but apply a level tone to the first tone unit.

Just participants 7 and 8 apply postnuclearity.

**10. Participant 2:** He follows the pattern he applied in 9 (rise + fall). The nucleus is final.

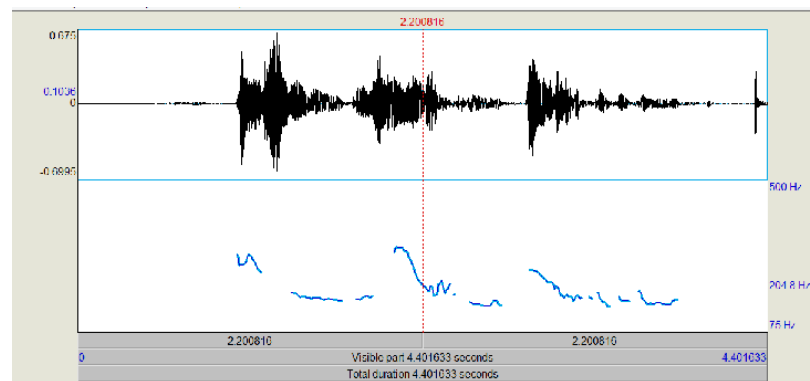
**Participant 5:** Identical to participant 2.

**Participants 6, 10 and 11:** They utter the sentence undivided and comply with the LLI rule. The nucleus falls on the verb “conozco”



**Participant 8:** The nuclear tone is a fall on “años”, and the prenuclear pattern is emphatic. It sounds like the stepping head in strong exclamations. (O’Connor and Arnold, 1973), or more precisely perhaps, what Prof. Tench calls the “glissando descending head” which “adds more forcefulness, conceding no opportunity for contradiction”. See fig. 10 below:

Fig 10



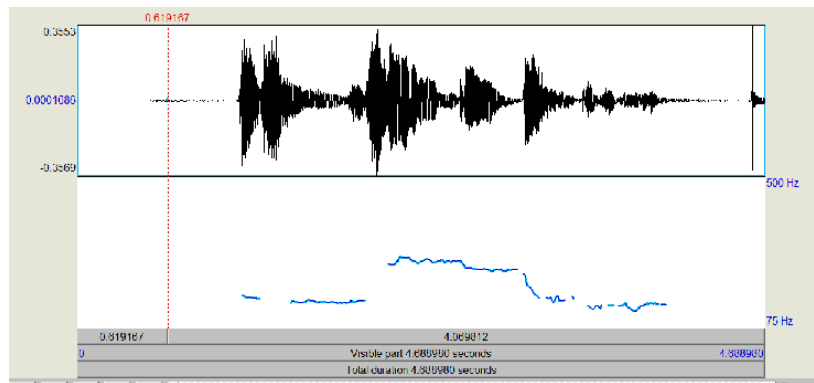
Hace veinticinco años que te conozco.

**Participants 9 and 13:** The same as participants 2 and 5.

**Participant 14:** Like participant 8, this participant provides an emphatic version of utterance10. The difference lies in the fact that she produces a low prehead, and there is a jump in pitch on the onset CIN in “cinco”, to fall from a medium pitch level on “años” to the lowest pitch in the tail. It is the equivalent of what, for O’Connor and Arnold, was the Low Drop. The stress in “conozco” in the tail is deliberately marked to add to the emphatic effect desired.

See fig. 11 below:

Fig. 11



Hace veinticinco años que te conozco.

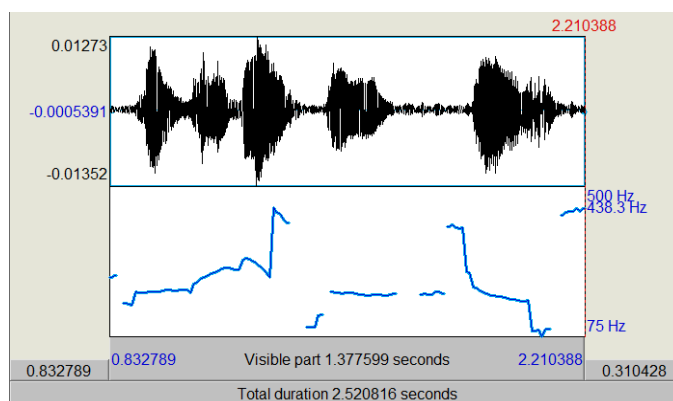
**Participants 15, 16, 17 and 18:** Nucleus on “años” (1 chunk).

**11. Participant 4:** Her interpretation of the situation is different. Her answer implies that she thought that somebody else was crying. That is the reason why she places the nucleus on “nena” in a).

**Participant 5:** He divides b) into two tone units, applying a rise and a fall respectively.

**Participant 7:** She divides the utterance in b) into two chunks, and in the first, she uses a rise-fall. See fig. 12 below:

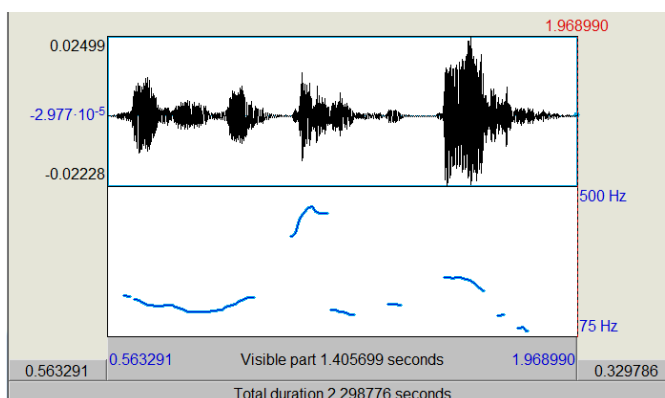
Fig. 12



La nena estaba asustada.

**Participant 8:** This informant applies an emphatic rising head (“climbing head” for O’Connor & Arnold, 1973; “glissando ascending head” for Tench, 1996) before the fall on “asustada” in b). See fig. 13 below:

Fig. 13



La nena estaba asustada.

This glissando ascending head (Tench, 1996) expresses a forceful appeal to the listener to believe the speaker’s verdict on the girl’s mood.

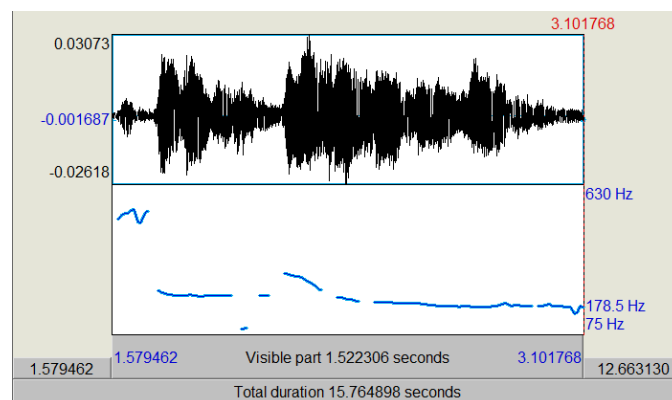
**Participant 9:** The same as participant 4 in a).

**Participant 10 and 11:** The same as participant 5 in b). Two tone units, one with a rise and the other one with a fall.

**Participant 13 and 15:** They do not divide b) and place the nucleus at the end.

**Participant 14:** a) exhibits a falling nuclear tone on “asustada” with right dislocation of the subject “la nena” See fig.14 below:

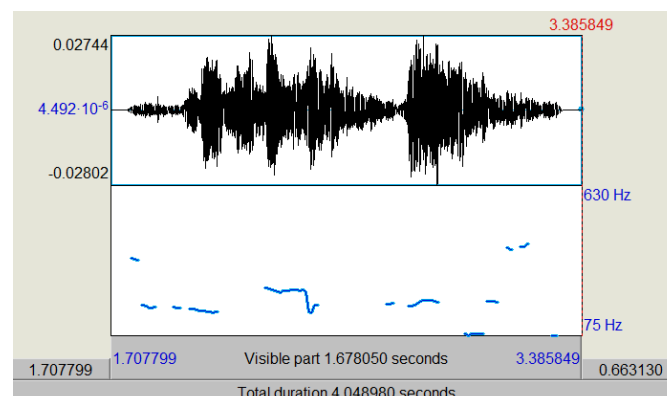
Fig. 14



Estaba asustada la nena.

b) sounds like an exclamation. The informant divides it into two and applies a rise-fall to both tone units. The first marks continuity; the second pursues the exclamatory effect mentioned. See fig. 15 below:

Fig. 15



La nena estaba asustada.

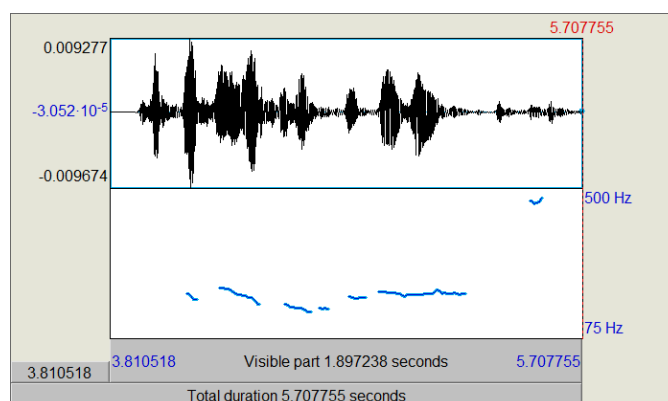
**Participants 15 and 17:** Idem participant 4 in a). In b), participant 17 idem participant 5 (divided); and participant 15 idem participant 4 (undivided).

**Participant 18:** He divides b) it into two, applying a rise-fall to the first chunk and a fall to the second.

**12. Participant 3:** She applies a level nuclear tone in b), which gives the utterance a purely exclamatory air. The prenuclear pattern is lower at some point, so this step up in pitch at the level of the nucleus adds more intensity to the exclamation.

See fig. 16 below:

Fig. 16



Esa piba es una estúpida.

**Participant 5:** In b), he follows the pattern applied in answer to question 11.

**Participant 8:** Identical to participant 5.

**Participant 9:** He divides utterance a) into two tone units and applies a rise to the first and a fall to the second.

**Participant 12:** Like participant 5, she divides b) into two chunks using first a rise and then a fall.

**Participant 14:** She divides b) into two tone units, choosing the typical River Plate Spanish rising-falling tone to mark continuity. She closes the utterance with a fall.

**Participant 15:** Idem participants 5 and 8: early nucleus on “estúpida” in a) and divided utterance in b).

**13. Participants 4, 9 and 12:** They apply the LLI rule placing the nucleus on “lunes”.

**Participant 11:** He divides the utterance into two tone units, also placing the nucleus at the end. He uses a level tone in the first and a fall in the second.

**Participants 13 and 17:** They also divide it into two but use a rise for the first.

**Participant 16:** Similar to participants 4, 9 and 12 but he marks the onset (high) on “DEA” in “idea”.

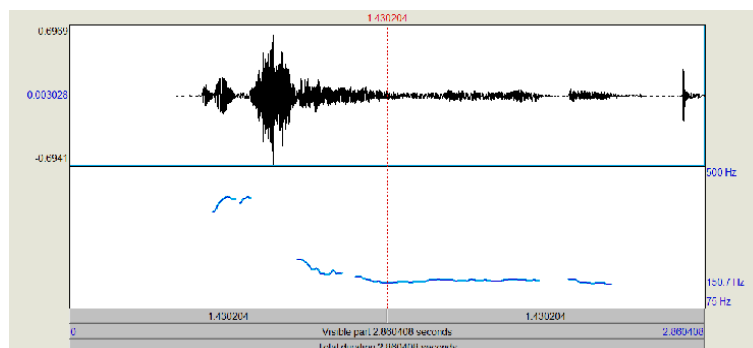
**14. Participant 7:** She divides the utterance into two chunks, using first a rise and then a fall.

**Participant 8:** She uses a high prehead and a low fall on “yo”, turning the utterance into a pure exclamation.

**Participants 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 17 and 18:** They all use a high prehead on “que” + a low fall on “yo”, giving a purely exclamatory air to the utterance.

See fig. 17 below, corresponding to participant 14:

Fig. 17



¡Qué sé yo donde andará el perro!

**15. Participants 2 and 3:** They place the nucleus on “parece” in the first two utterances, since the verb seems to carry the heaviest load of information and “bien” could easily be recovered from the context.

**Participant 4:** In a), she places the nucleus on “bien”. In b), she shifts it to “parece” (“bien” is given).

**Participant 5:** He accents “bien” in a) and b).

**Participant 6:** She accents “parece” in a) and b).

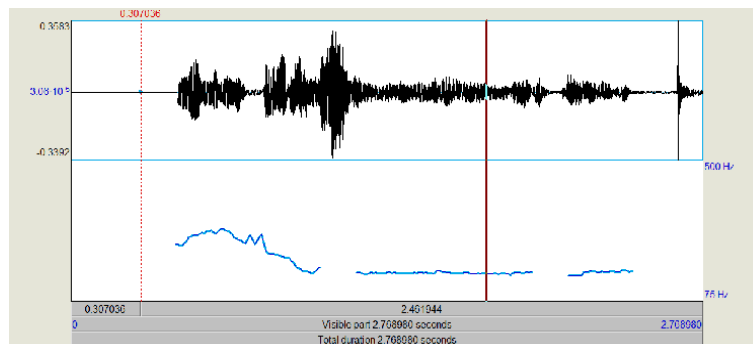
**Participant 8:** In b), she accents “no” in the last tone unit. In c), she uses an informal version of “por favor”: “porfi”, and she utters it separately with a fall. This marks insistence (similarity with English, where a fall applied to “please” marks insistence).

**Participant 9:** This informant utters sentence a) as one tone unit and applies the LLI rule, placing the nucleus on “tarde”. Besides, he complies with the rule in b) as well, not in c) though.

**Participant 10:** In c), this informant utters “por favor” separately and with a fall, showing insistence.

**Participant 14:** Like speakers 2 and 3, she places the nucleus on “parece” in a) and b), thus narrowing the focus even further. See figs. 18 and 19 below, which represent a) and b) respectively:

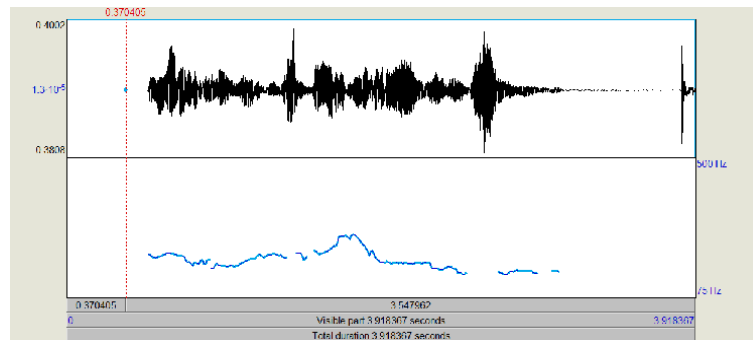
Fig. 18



No me parece bien llegar más tarde.



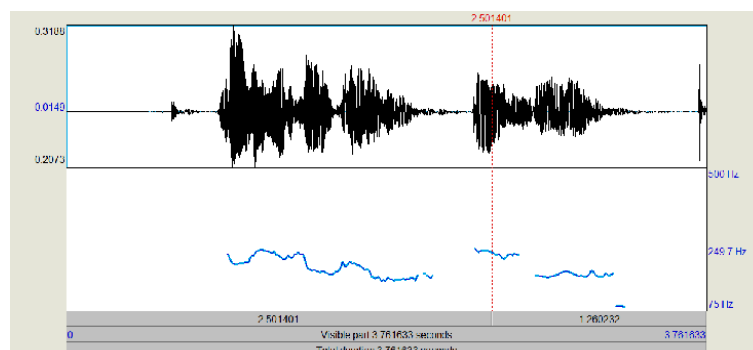
Fig. 19



No, llegar más tarde no me parece bien.

And in c), she utters “por favor” in a separate chunk, making it nuclear and applying a falling nuclear tone preceded by a high prehead. This resource turns a suggestion or an indication of a course of action into an urgent exhortation. See fig. 20 below:

Fig. 20



¡Lleguemos temprano! ¡Por favor!

**Participant 15:** a) and b) idem participant 14 but in c), “por favor” is postnuclear.

**Participant 16:** He first marks the nucleus on “bien”, and the second time that “bien” is repeated he deaccents it. In “llegar más tarde” (the S in b)), he

uses a level nuclear tone on “tarde” to mark continuity.

**Participant 17:** She divides a) into two tone units (applying a rise to the first and a fall to the second). She places the nucleus at the end in a) and b) but not in c) where “por favor” is in the tail.

**Participant 18:** He places the nucleus on “bien” in a) and in b) as well (refocusing on old information). In c), “por favor” is postnuclear.

**16. Participants 3 and 6:** The repetition in this reply is a good example of focus on old information. In utterance a), the nucleus falls on “puede”, and “resolver” is part of the tail. In b), “resolver” is nuclear though; it sounds as if the speaker needed to highlight almost every word in his reply (except for the pronoun “se”) to reinforce his announcement.

**Participant 14:** She places the nucleus on “resolver” in both utterances; but in b), she accents “puede”. So, there is a clear step up in pitch from the prehead to the onset “PUE”.

**Participant 17:** She uses a high fall for the nucleus in “resolver” in a) but a low fall for the second “resolver” in b). We can attribute this to pragmatic purposes. It seems as if the speaker wanted to sound more conclusive in her second utterance. The first utterance sounds exclamatory.

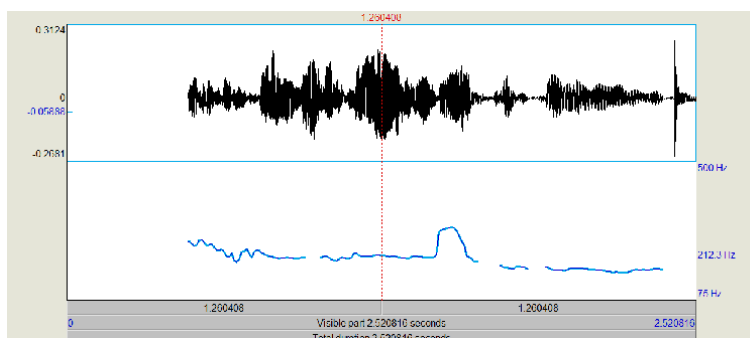
**17. Participants 5 and 18:** Unlike most participants, these place the nucleus on “también”.

**Participant 9:** He divides the utterance into two tone units. “También” takes a separate chunk and a falling nuclear tone.

**Participant 15:** She leaves “también” in the tail and uses a rise-fall as the nucleus in “fotos”, which turns the statement into an exclamation.

See fig 21 below:

Fig. 21



¡Como una que estaba sacando fotos, también!

**18. Participant 3:** She applies a rising tone to “vayas”. “No te” is a high prehead and “entonces” is postnuclear and part of the rising tail.

**Participant 8:** She uses a rise-fall on “vayas”, which turns the command into a pleading request.

**Participant 14:** She uses a high prehead on “No”. As a result, the utterance sounds more emphatic altogether.

**Participant 18:** He divides the utterance into two tone units, applying a fall to the first and a rise to the second (“entonces”). This gives an air of politeness, liveliness and warmth to the utterance.

**19. Participant 1:** He fragments the utterance into two tone units. “Gracias” takes a separate chunk and is nuclear. Its nuclear tone is a fall.

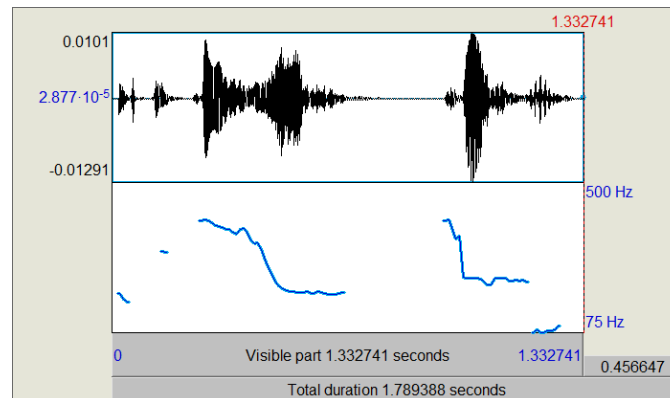
**Participants 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 17** also divide the utterance into two and assign a fall to “gracias”. It shows genuine gratitude.

**Participants 3 and 18:** Like participant 1, they utter “gracias” separately; the difference lies in their choice of nuclear tone. They choose a rise, which shows politeness, warmth and self-reliance.

**Participants 4 and 5:** Unlike most participants, they leave “gracias” in the tail, unaccented.

**Participant 8:** She applies a rising prenuclear pattern plus a falling nuclear tone to “bien”. “Gracias” is also nuclear and falling. As a consequence, the utterance as a whole sounds formal and categoric. See fig. 22 below:

Fig. 22



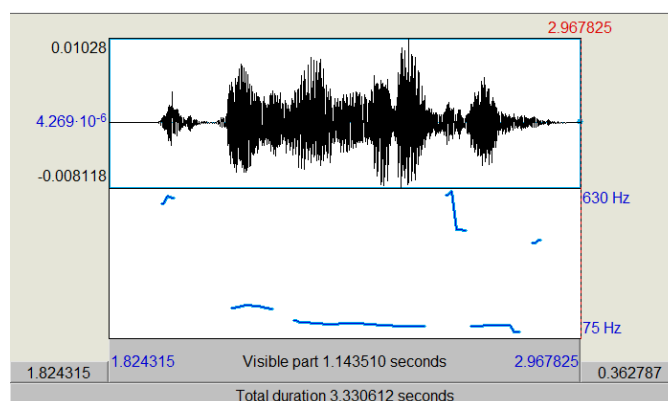
Estoy bien, gracias.

**Participant 12:** Like participants 4 and 5, she leaves “gracias” in the tail, unaccented. The first tone unit is said with a high head and a low fall. This postnuclear “gracias” sounds more routine, everyday.

**Participant 14:** Similarly to participant 3, she utters a rising nuclear “gracias”. In the first tone unit, the prenuclear pattern is high and the nucleus a low fall.

**Participant 16:** He divides the utterance into two chunks but applies a level nuclear tone to both. As a result, the utterance sounds routine and casual. See fig. 23 below:

Fig. 23



Estoy bien, gracias.

**20. Participant 1:** He leaves “por favor” in the tail in both a) and b). Observe the

typical River Plate Spanish accentuation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (vos) of the imperative mood of the verb “comprar”: comPRAlo and conseGUÍmelo.

Interestingly enough, even when this informant accents “GUÍ” in “conseguímelo”, he places the nucleus on the enclitic pronoun “LO”; GUÍ is the onset :conseGUÍmeLO.

**Participants 2, 8 and 12:** Unlike participant 1, these participants follow

Peninsular Spanish (also heard in other Spanish varieties, though certainly not in RP Spanish) in their version of “conseguímelo”; they say: “conSÍguemelo”.

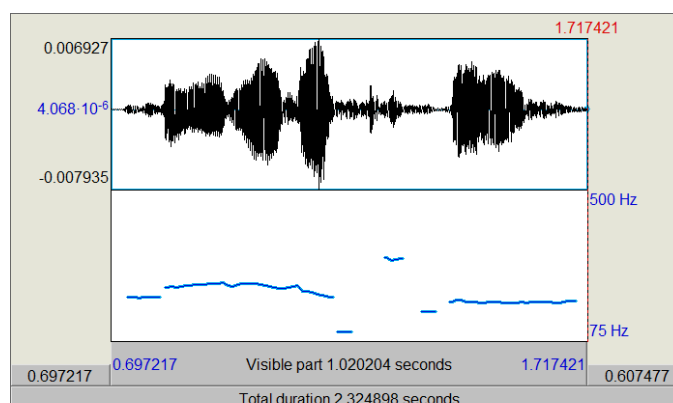
These forms can be heard in RP Spanish in formal contexts. It is not the case of “comPRAlo”, which is the characteristic River Plate variant.

**Participants 3 and 17:** They assign the nucleus to “GUÍ” in “conseguímelo”.

They do not accent “LO” as is the case of other informants.

**Participants 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16 and 18:** Like participant 1, these informants accent both syllables in “consequímelo”: “GUÍ” and “LO”. The latter is the nucleus: conseGUÍmeLO. This stress pattern is heard colloquially in informal register. Fig. 24 below illustrates this from participant 4:

Fig 24

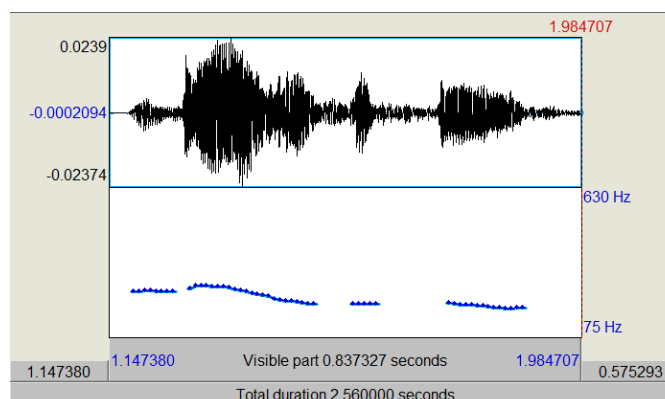


Consequímelo, por favor.

These speakers leave “por favor” in the tail in both utterances as we see in figs.

24 above and 25 below which also represents participant 4:

Fig. 25



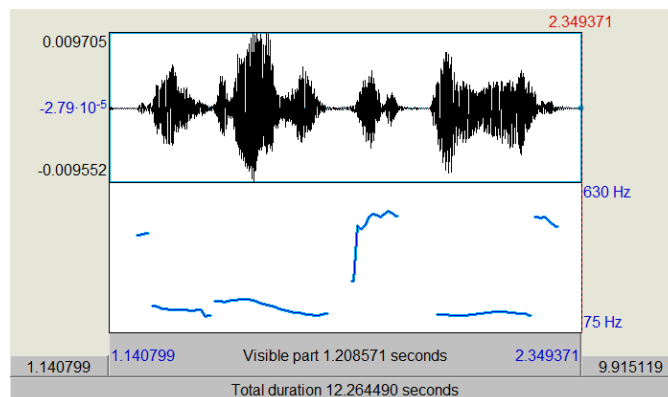
Compralo, por favor.

**Participants 9 and 14:** They utter “por favor” separately and with a fall both in

a) and b). Neither of them accents “lo” in b). In these versions of answer 20, both utterances show insistence and impatience.

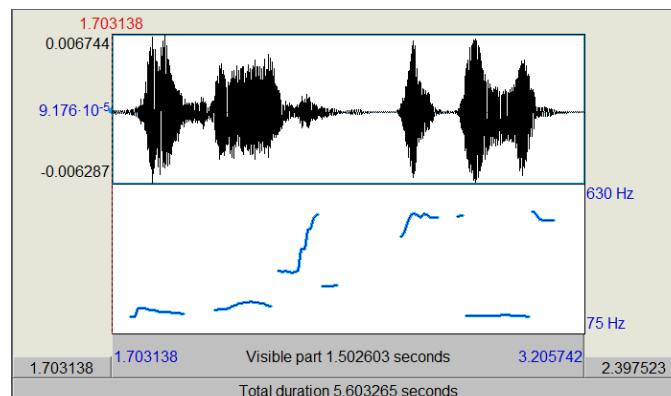
The following figs. 26 and 27 represent a) and b) respectively from participant 9:

Fig 26



Compralo, por favor.

Fig. 27



Conseguilo, por favor.

**Participant 18:** In a), this informant utters a nuclear “por favor”, whereas in b)

“por favor” is postnuclear.



## Comments

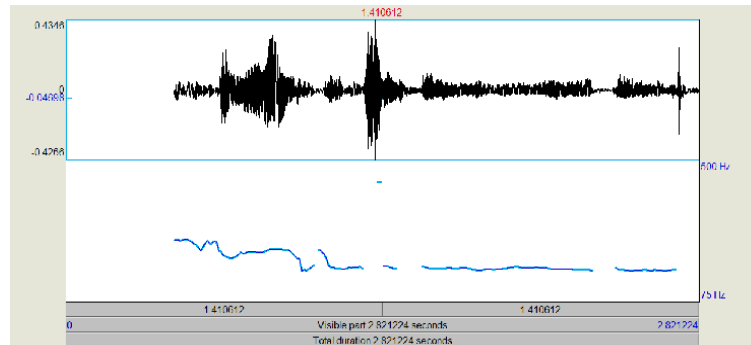
### Historietas (Cartoons)

#### Answers

- 1. Participant 1:** He places the nucleus on “también”. The rest is known information and even when in Spanish we frequently accent “old information”, not in this case, since it is recoverable. “También” could easily be the last word in the utterance. See fig. 28 below:

- Paula tamBIÉN parece estar enamorada de Pedro.

Fig. 28



Paula también parece estar enamorada de Pedro.

**Participant 2:** He assigns the nucleus to the word “también”.

- Ella tamBIÉN parece estarlo.

The old information is deaccented here as well.

**Participant 3:** Identical to participant 1. Rising-falling nuclear tone.

**Participant 4:** This informant divides the utterance into two tone units and places “también” at the end of the second:

- / PAUla | parece que tam \BIEÉN ||.

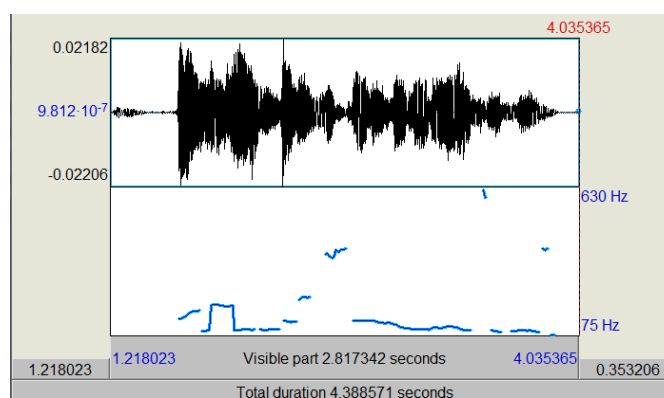
She complies with the LLI rule in both cases, applying a rise for continuity in the first and a fall for completion in the second.

**Participant 5:** Similar to participant 4. He divides his utterance into two word groups. The first takes a rise and the second a fall. “También” is final and nuclear.

See fig. 29 below:

- / PAUla | parece estar enamorada tam \BIEÉN||.

Fig. 29



Paula parece estar enamorada también.

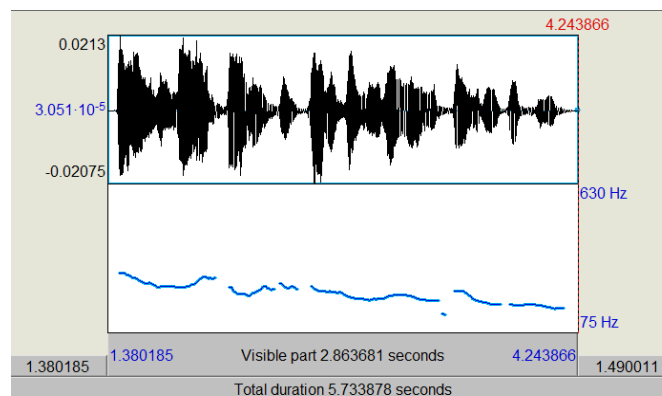
**Participant 6:** This informant leaves “también” in the tail, unaccented, unlike the previous participants who not only accent it but mark it as nuclear.

- Paula parece estar enamorada de PEdro. también.

**Participant 7:** As with participant 6, this speaker utters a postnuclear “también”. The difference lies in the fact that she presents the S in a separate chunk and assigns a falling-rising tone to it. See fig 30 below:

- V PAUla | parece enamorada de \ PEdro. también.||

Fig 30



Paula parece estar enamorada de Pedro también.

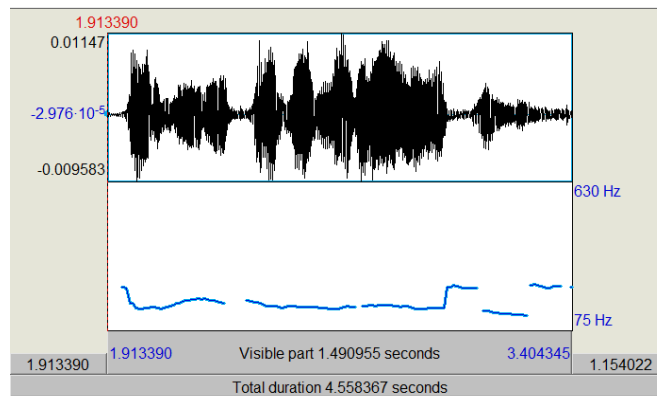
**Participant 8:** this informant provides an elliptical answer with a nuclear “también” at the end:

- Me parece que tamBIÉN.

**Participant 9:** His utterance shows the nucleus at the end. “También” bears the onset. See fig 31 below:

- TamBIÉN está enamorada de PEdro.

Fig. 31



También está enamorada de Pedro.

**Participant 10, 11, 16 and 17:** These informants place “también” in final position and assign the nucleus to it:

- Paula parece estar enamorada tamBIÉN.

**Participant 12:** She deaccents “también” at the end.

- Paula parece estar enamoRAda también.

**Participant 13:** Identical to participant 1. “También” is initial in the P of the sentence, and it is nuclear. The rest of the utterance makes up the tail:

- Paula tamBIÉN parece estar enamorada de Pedro.

**Participant 14:** Her utterance displays the nucleus at the end on “también” (final nucleus placement):

- > Y..| / PAUIa | no \ SÉ | pero / PEdro | seguro está enamorado de María  
tam \ BIÉN.

**Participant 15:** Her tonicity choice is identical to that of participant 12. She places the nucleus on “enamorada” before “también”. “También” is postnuclear.

**Participant 18:** Identical to participant 5.

**2. Participant 1:** Here we can see an example of “right dislocation” where the S of the sentence moves to its rightmost position and the nucleus falls on the adverb “bien”. This example illustrates the word order mobility that is typical of Spanish, which is not the case of English:

- Está BIEN, Papá Noel.

**Participant 2:** Exactly the same as participant 1, this participant places the nucleus on a non-final lexical item:

- Está canSAdo, Papá Noel.

**Participant 3:** As with participants 1 and 2, for this informant “Papá Noel” is postnuclear:

- Y que tiene que hacer muchos reGAlos, Papá Noel.

She applies a rising-falling nuclear tone to “regalos”

**Participant 4:** Both the adverbial of time “últimamente” and the S “Papá Noel” are in the tail for this informant:

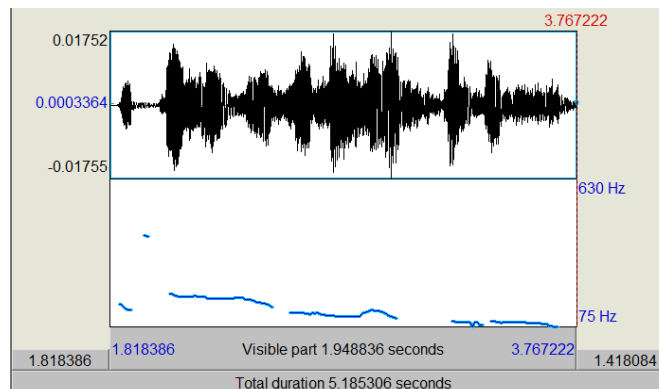
- Está pasando FRío últimamente Papá Noel.

**Participant 5:** Like his previous counterparts, this informant leaves “Papá Noel” in the tail as the real message comes before. For the nucleus he uses a word

typically heard in RP Spanish to refer to a lazy person: “remolón”. See fig. 32 below:

- Está medio remolÓN, Papá Noel.

Fig. 32



Está medio remolón Papá Noel.

**Participant 6:** This participant provides a different answer, but “Papá Noel” is still postnuclear:

- Está desconcerTAdo, Papá Noel.

**Participant 7:** Like all the previous informants, this participant leaves “Papá Noel” in the tail.

- Tiene que acercarse al psi<sup>^</sup>CÓlogo | porque pobrecito está depreSIVo,  
Papá Noel.

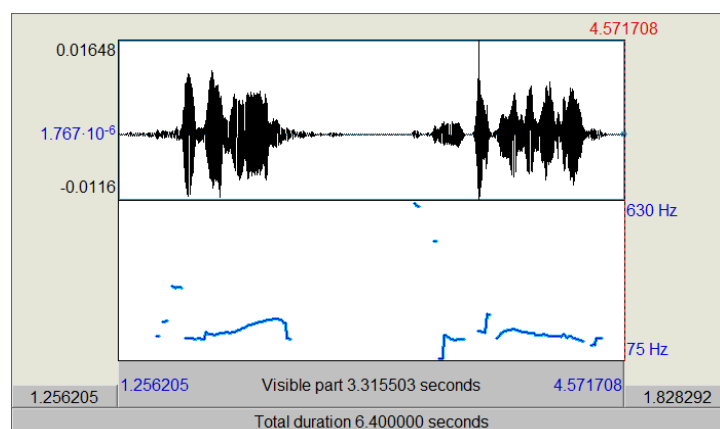
**Participant 8:** Her treatment of tonicity is identical to that of previous informants. “Papá Noel” is postnuclear:

- Me parece que está canSAdo | y se quedó dorMido Papá Noel.

**Participant 9:** He divides his utterance into two clear tone units corresponding to S and P. He places the S “Papá Noel” at the beginning in a separate chunk and utters it with a rise. The P comes after the typical River Plate verbal filler “eh” and takes a fall to close the utterance. See fig. 33 below:

- Papá no / EL | > EH | está cuidando a los RE nos.

Fig. 33

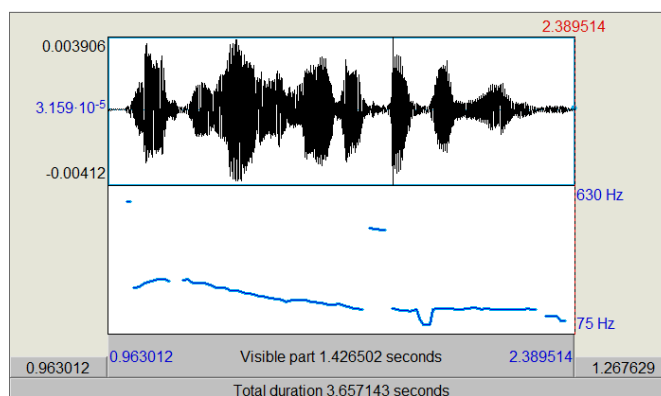


Papá Noel... ehh... está cuidando a los renos.

**Participant 10:** Similarly to most participants, this speaker places the nucleus before “Papá Noel” which is the S of the sentence and has been displaced to its rightmost position by means of what authors call “right dislocation” (eg. Mauricio Véliz, 2001). See fig. 34 below:

- No tiene diNEro Papá Noel.

Fig. 34

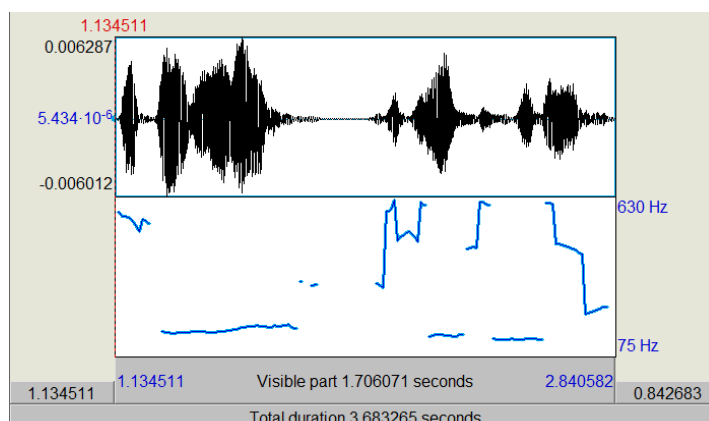


No tiene dinero Papá Noel.

**Participant 11:** Similarly to participant 9, this speaker places “Papá Noel” at the beginning of the utterance and assigns a rising nuclear tone to it. The P takes a separate chunk with a fall. See fig. 35 below:

- Y Papá no/EL | se quedó sin di\NEro.

Fig. 35



Papá Noel... se quedó sin dinero.



**Participants 12, 13, 16, 17 and 18:** Identical to participant 10 (postnuclear).

**Participant 14:** Identical to participant 2 (early nucleus placement).

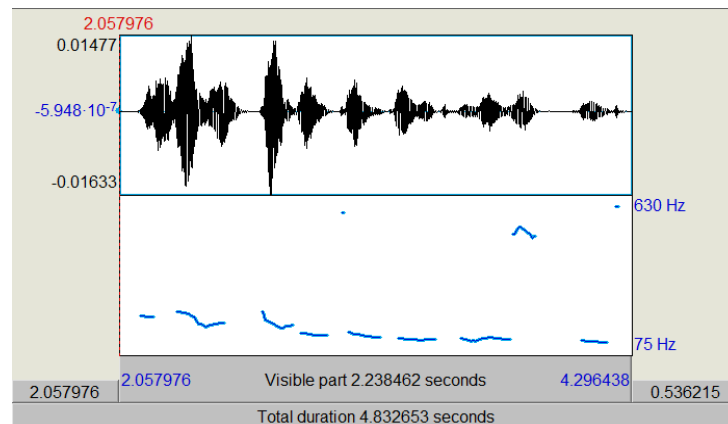
**Participant 15:** Like most participants, she places the nucleus immediately before “Papá Noel”, which is postnuclear.

**3. Participant 1:** Another example of postnuclearity in Spanish where we find old information in the tail. It illustrates what Cruttenden calls “counterpresuppositional utterances”. The speaker sounds assertive.

See fig. 36 below:

- Ella no es TÁ contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

Fig. 36

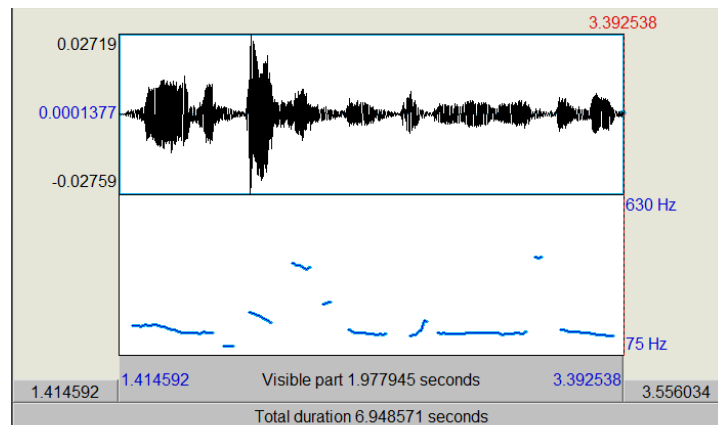


Ella no está contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participants 2 and 3:** Choice of tonicity identical to that of participant 1. See fig. 37 below which corresponds to participant 3:

- **Part. 2.** \\_ NO , | ella no es \\_ TÁ contenta de que vuelva a fumar.
- **Part. 3.** \\_ NO , | no es \\_ TÁ contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

Fig. 37



No, no está contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 4:** Like the previous participants, this informant places the nucleus early in the tone unit too. She chooses the verb “desagradar” which is the item that bears the nucleus:

- Me parece que le desa\\_GRA da que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 5:** Similar to participant 4. His utterance shows postnuclearity. He chooses the word “enojada” making an explicit contrast with the word “contenta” used by the interviewer. Thus, the resource this participant makes use of is antonymy:

- \NO,| está eno\JAda de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 6:** This informant, like the previous ones, deaccents the old information (“que su marido vuelva a fumar”) in the utterance.

- Le parece una tonteRía que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 7:** Like participants 1, 2 and 3, this informant places the nucleus on “está”. The rest is part of the linguistic context shared by speaker and listener, so it is postnuclear. The answer could, in fact, be reduced to “No lo está”:

- NO es\TA contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

In English, speakers generally accent either the negative contraction:

- She Isn’t pleased that he started smoking again.

Or the negative adverb:

- She is NOT pleased that he started smoking again.

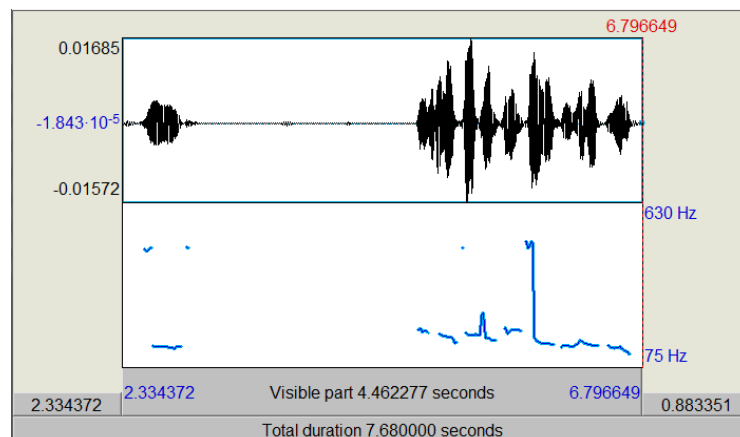
**Participant 8:** This informant places the nucleus on “contenta”, leaving some information shared in postnuclear position. She adds an exclamation of disagreement:

、MM. | Yo creo que 、NO . | No creo que esté con 、TENta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 9:** He divides his utterance into two tone units, thus avoiding postnuclearity. And he introduces it with a verbal filler which shows hesitation: “eh”. See fig. 38 below:

- >EH | Ella no está con / TENta | de que vuelva a fu\ MAR.||

Fig.38



Ehh... Ella no está contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 10:** Similarly to participant 9, this speaker places the nucleus on the LLI “fumar”. In addition, she uses a stepping head in the prenuclear pattern:

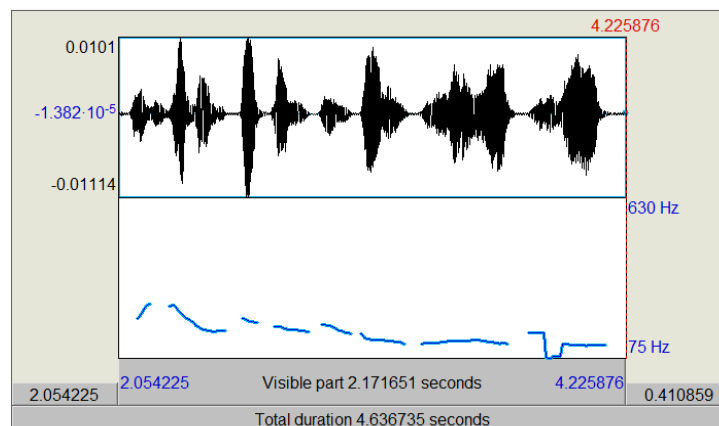
- <sup>l</sup> Ella no está con <sup>l</sup> TENta de que vuelva a fu\ MAR .

**Participant 11:** Identical to participant 1 (postnuclearity)

**Participant 12:** Like participant 8, she places de nucleus on “contenta”. Thus, her utterance exhibits clear postnuclearity. See fig. 39 below:

- Ella no está conTENta de que vuelva a fumar.

Fig. 39



Ella no está contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 13:** Identical to participant 1. She adds two more tone units to her utterance. She introduces an echoed question with a rising-falling tone and a verbal filler with a level nuclear tone. Then she completes her echoed question with a rise, to finally answer it with a negative statement showing postnuclearity.

- ¿La mujer de Ro<sup>A</sup>BERto? >ESte.... ¿Que vuelva a fu / MAR?

No es\TÁ contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 14:** Her utterance shows postnuclearity:

- Es diFÍcil que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 15:** Her utterance is postnuclear. She places the nuclear falling tone on the verb “parece”:

- No paREce estar contenta de que vuelva a fumar.

**Participant 16 and 17:** Identical to participant 9 except that these do not add a verbal filler.

**Participant 18:** Identical to participant 1. It s a typical case of postnuclearity. The nucleus is placed on the verb.

**4. Participant 1:** Similar to reply 1. The nucleus falls on “también”. It is a high fall.

- Yo tam\BIÉN tengo mucha hambre.

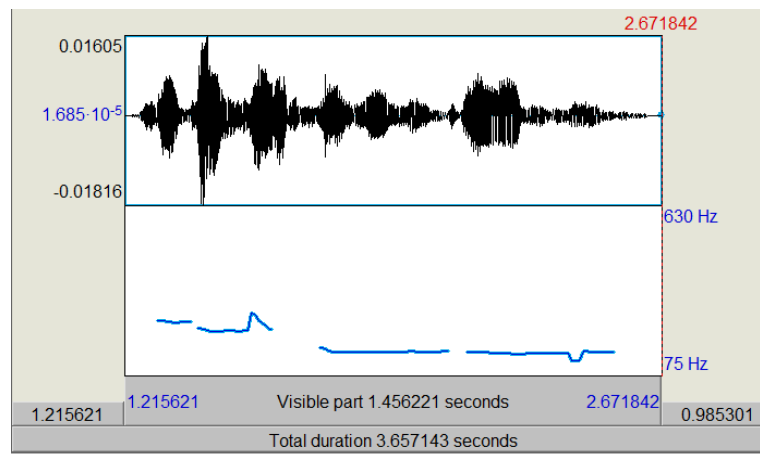
**Participant 2:** He assigns the nucleus to “también” too.

- Yo tam\BIÉN tengo hambre.

**Participant 3:** The same tonicity choice as for participants 1 and 2. She seems to prefer the rising-falling tone though. See fig. 40 below:

- Yo tam<sup>^</sup>BIÉN tengo mucha hambre.

Fig. 40



Yo también tengo mucha hambre.

**Participant 4:** This informant provides an elliptical answer:

- Yo tamBIÉN.

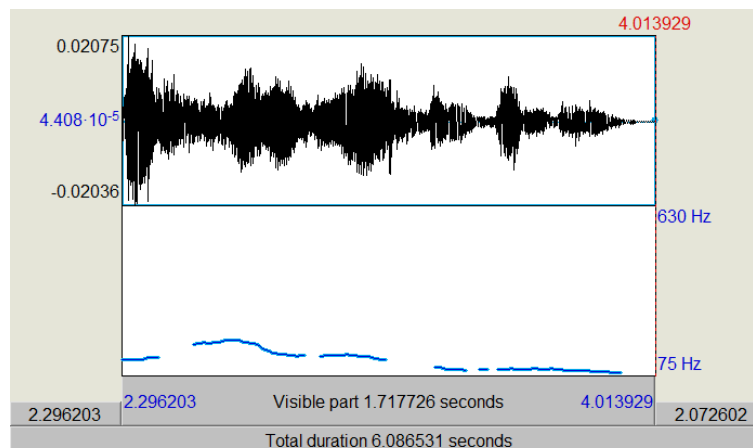
The word “también” is nuclear and final since she omitted “tengo hambre”, which is common ground between speaker and listener.

**Participant 5:** Unlike participants 1 and 2, this informant not only places “también” in final position but also deaccents it.

The expression “agarrarle hambre a alguien” is typical of informal register. See fig. 41 below:

- A mí me agarrö HAMbre también.

Fig. 41



A mí me agarró hambre también.

**Participant 6:** This participant utters a nuclear “también” in final position.

- Tengo hambre tam\BIÉN.

**Participant 7:** Like participant 5, this informant leaves “también” in the tail, deaccented.

- Yo tengo mucha HAMbre también.

**Participant 8:** For this informant, “también” is postnuclear too.

- Tengo HAMbre también.



**Participant 9:** He places the nucleus finally. “También” bears the onset.

- TamBIÉN tiene mucha HAMbre.

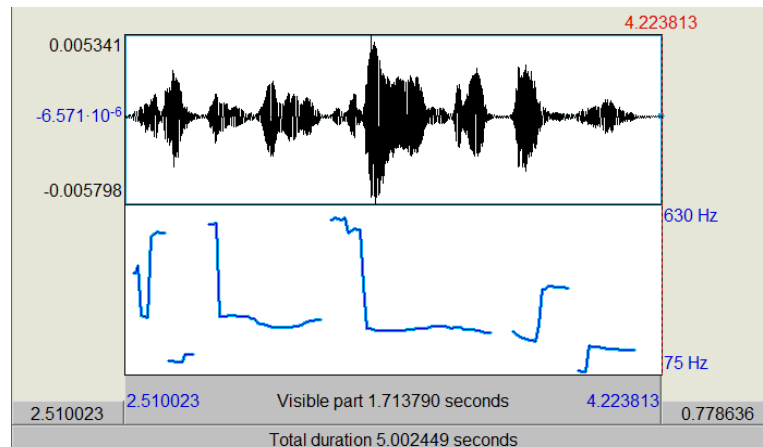
**Participants 10 and 12:** Identical to participant 1. The adverb “también” is non-final and nuclear.

**Participant 11:** Identical to participant 7. “También” is final in the utterance but not nuclear.

**Participant 13:** Similarly to participant 6, this informant utters a nuclear “también” in final position. She adds the quantifier “mucha”. See fig. 42 below:

- Yo tengo mucha hambre tam\BIÉN.

Fig. 42



Yo tengo mucha hambre también.

**Participant 14:** Identical to participant 8. “También” is deaccented in the tail.

**Participants 15 and 17:** Identical to participant 7. The nucleus falls on “hambre” and “también” is final and deaccented.

**Participants 16 and 18:** Identical to participant 13. He complies with the LLI rule.

**5. Participant 1:** This informant also follows the LLI rule. He fragments the utterance into two tone units. In the first, “noche” attracts the nucleus, and in the second, the vocative “querida” bears it. They both take a falling nuclear tone. Note “esta noche” is an adverbial of time in final position, frequently deaccented in English.

- Yo preparo la cena esta \NOche| que\RIda.||

**Participant 2:** Unlike participant 1, he deaccents the adjunct of time “esta noche” (similarity with English). The vocative “querida” is said with a rise-fall in a separate chunk:

- Comeremos \PAs<sub>T</sub>as esta noche | que^RIda ||.

**Participant 3:** Choice of tonicity identical to that of participant 1:

- Voy a preparar la comida esta \NOche | que^RIda.||

**Participant 4:** Similar to participants 1 and 3. The difference lies in the fact that she makes two utterances. The first with an initial vocative and a recommendation.

- A / MOR, | quedate tran\QUila||

The initial vocative takes a rise and the recommendation a fall. The rest is the same:

- Yo preparo la cena esta \NOche| que\RIda.||

**Participant 5:** This informant marks three nuclear tones in this utterance: one on “cena”, another on the adverbial “esta noche” and the last one on the vocative “querida”. The former are falling, the latter is rising -falling:

- Te espero con la \CEna| esta \NOche| que<sup>^</sup>RIda||.

**Participant 6:** This speaker leaves the adverbial of time in the tail and the vocative is said in a separate chunk with a rising-falling nuclear tone of its own:

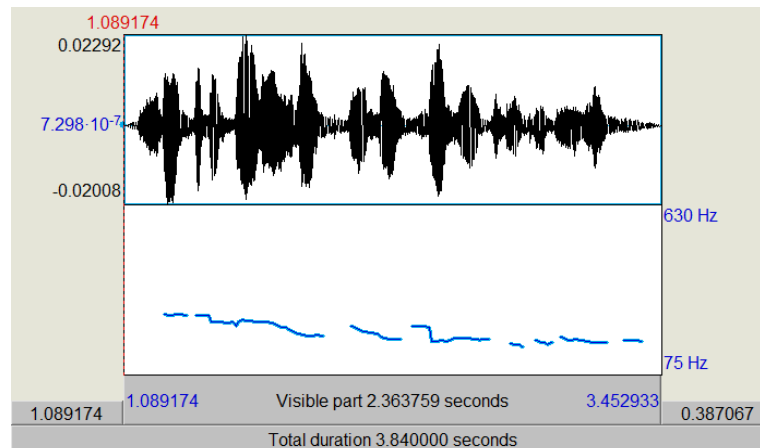
- Preparo yo la \CEna esta noche| que<sup>^</sup>RIda.||

There is inversión of S + V; it is examples like this which give proof of the grammatical mobility characteristic of the Spanish language (difference with English).

**Participant 7:** Like participant 6, this speaker leaves the adverbial of time deaccented in the tail and utters the vocative separately, in a tone unit of its own and with the typical rising-falling pitch pattern. In this case, she starts her utterance with the S. See fig. 43 below:

- Yo preparo la \CEna esta noche| que<sup>^</sup>RIda.||

Fig .43

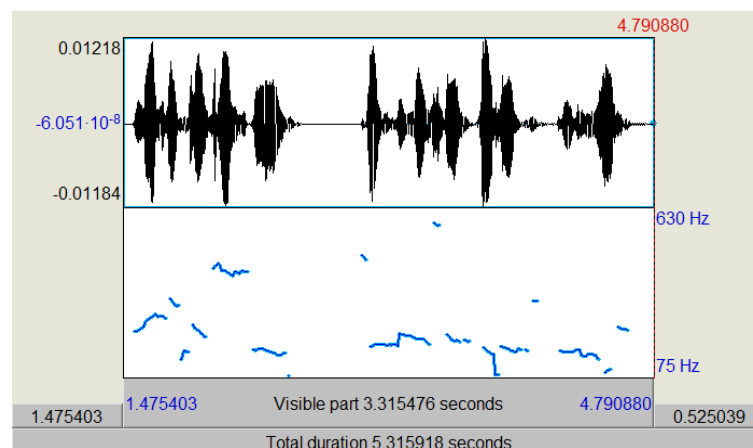


Yo preparo la cena esta noche querida.

**Participant 8:** Like participants 2, 6 and 7, this informant deaccents the adjunct of time. Besides, the vocative is postnuclear as well. She includes an initial exhortation. See fig. 44 below:

- No te preo\CUpes. Cocino \ YO esta noche querida. ||

Fig. 44



No te preocupes, cocino yo esta noche,  
querida.

**Participant 9:** He divides the utterance into two, thus avoiding postnuclearity.

The tone group sequence is rise + fall. The adjunct of time is fronted:

- Esta <sup>I</sup> NOche que/ RIda | voy a comer tu co \ MIda. ||

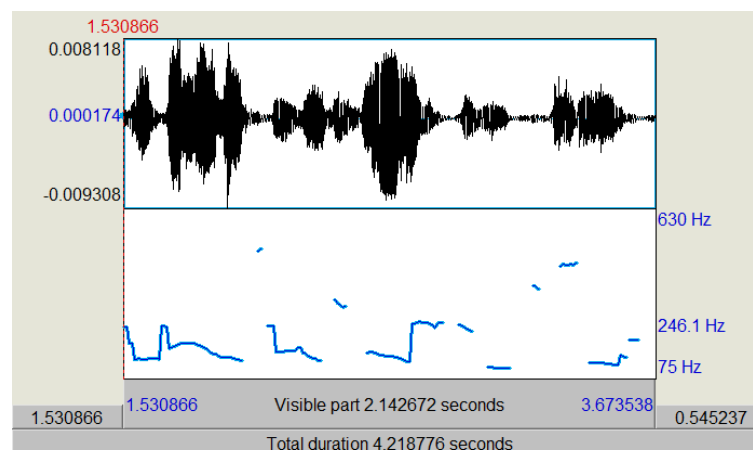
**Participant 10:** This participant places the nucleus on the adjunct of time “esta noche” and ends his utterance with a rising-falling vocative. Furthermore, she inverts the order of S + V:

- Preparo la cena yo esta NOche| que<sup>^</sup>RIda.||

**Participant 11:** He places the nucleus on “yo” and leaves the adjunct of time deaccented, in the tail. The vocative is nuclear and rising-falling. There is also inversion of S + V. See fig. 45 below

- Preparo la cena YO esta noche| que<sup>^</sup>RIda.||

Fig. 45



Preparo la cena yo esta noche, querida.

**Participant 12:** Her choice of tonicity is identical to that of participant 11. The difference lies in the fact that she fronts the adjunct of time:

- Esta noche preparo la cena YO | que<sup>^</sup>Rida.||

**Participant 13:** Identical to participant 11. “Esta noche” is postnuclear. The vocative takes a rising-falling nuclear tone.

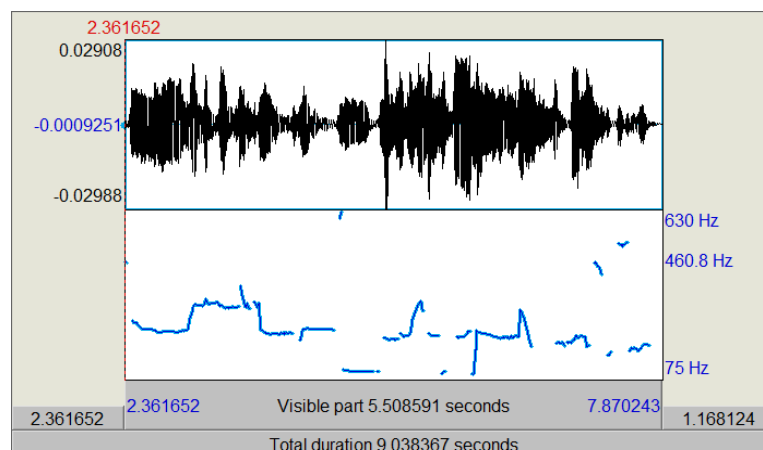
**Participant 14:** “Esta noche” and “querida” are both postnuclear. “Yo” attracts the nucleus. The direct object “la comida” is fronted.

- La comida la preparo YO esta noche querida.

The informant introduces her utterance with an informal negative request preceded by the filler “eh” and followed by the filler “este”. The three tone units are said with a level nuclear tone. See fig. 46 below:

- >EH... | No te preo>CUpes....|| Es >TE ...||

Fig. 46



Ehh... No te preocupes...este... la comida la preparo yo esta noche querida.

**Participant 15:** Identical to participant 7. “Esta noche” is in the tail. The vocative takes a separate tone unit, and it is therefore nuclear.

**Participant 16:** This participant divides the utterance into three tone units. The first ends with a rise. The second marks finality with a fall, while displaying a postnuclear adjunct of time. Finally, the rising vocative shows convergence and politeness:

- Preparo la / CEna | \ YO esta noche| que / RIda.||

**Participant 17:** Identical to 11. “Esta noche” is in the tail. The vocative takes a separate chunk with a rising-falling nuclear tone.

**Participant 18:** Very similar to participant 10. The onset is “yo” and the tonic syllable is “no” in “noche”.

- Preparo la cena YO esta \ NOche| que<sup>^</sup>RIda.||

**6. Participant 1:** He utters his answer with clear postnuclearity; early nucleus placement on “yo”. There is explicit contrast between “Vos no sos...” in the question and:

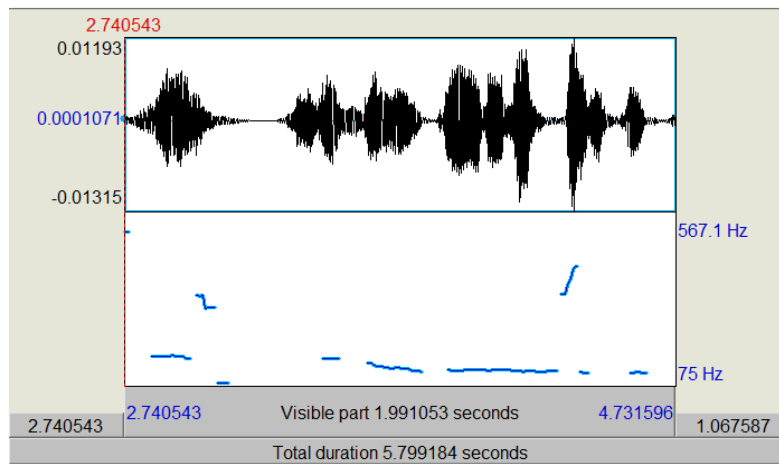
- SÍ, | YO soy el que abre las puertas del Cielo cada día.|| in the answer.

Another example of what, in the English literature, is frequently referred to as “counterpresuppositionals”, within the broader category of “insists” (Cruttenden, 1997)

**Participant 2:** We observe postnuclearity in this utterance too. See fig. 47a below:

- SÍ, | YO soy el que abre las puertas.||

Fig 47a



Sí, yo soy el que abre las puertas.

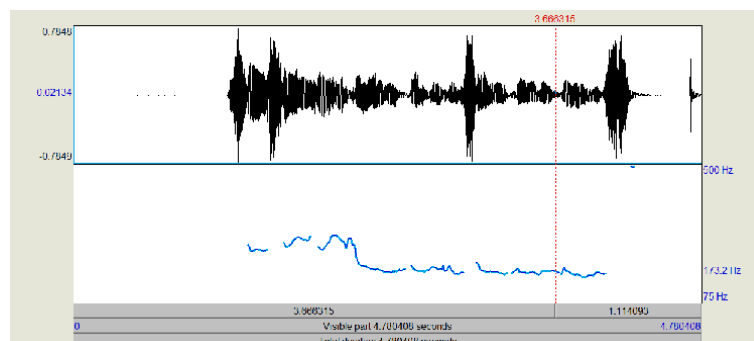
**Participant 3:**

- Sí, | soy YO el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los días.||

This version shows the verb first. It is a typical example of clefting, where the speaker gives thematic and focal prominence to the subject: the nucleus thus falling on “yo” as for participants 1 and 2. Her choice of tonicity is marked as well.

See figure 47b below:

Fig. 47b



Sí, soy yo el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los días.



**Participant 4:**

- \ SÍ | que <sup>^</sup>RIdo. | Yo soy el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los \ Días.||

This informant keeps to the LLI rule, placing the nucleus on “días”, in the adverbial of frequency “todos los días” at the end. However, she introduces her utterance with the affirmative adverb “sí” followed by the vocative “querido”, frequently used ironically in RP Spanish to show annoyance and add to the exclamatory overtone.

**Participant 5:** This participant fragments the utterance into three tone units. The first is said with a fall, the second with a rise and the third with a fall again. This seems to be a resource RP Spanish speakers tend to use to avoid early nucleus placement.

- \ SÍ, | yo / SOY | el que abre la puerta todos los \ Días.||

**Participants 6, 7 and 8:** Identical to participant 3. As with participant 3, there is inversion of S + V: Soy YO el que.....

**Participant 9:** He places the nucleus on the adjunct of time at the end of the utterance:

- SÍ, | soy yo el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los Días.||

**Participant 10:** This informant carefully structures the information dividing her utterance into four tone units:

- \ SÍ, | yo soy el >Ángel | que abre la puerta del >CIElo | todos los \ Días.||

She uses a level tone for non-finality and a falling nuclear tone to close her utterance.

**Participants 11 and 12:** Identical to participant 3. Early nucleus placement on “yo”.

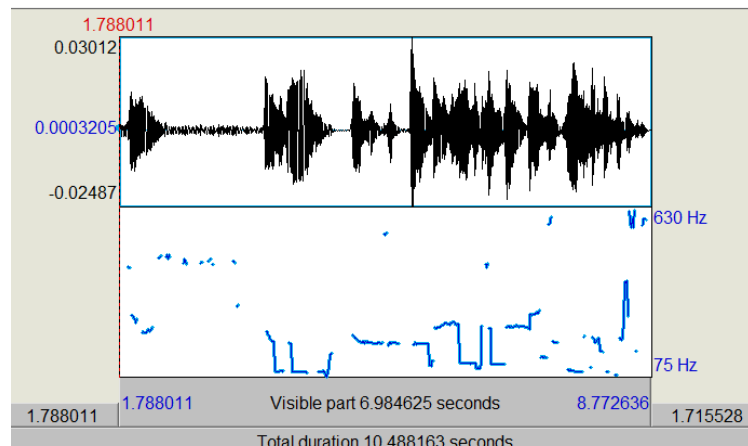
**Participant 13:** Like informant 4, this speaker provides an answer with the nucleus on the final adjunct of frequency “todos los días”. She complies with the LLI rule:

- \ SÍ | Yo soy el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los \ Días. |

**Participant 14:** She places the nucleus finally on “yo”. See fig. 48 below:

- .... El que abre las puertas soy \ YO.

Fig. 48



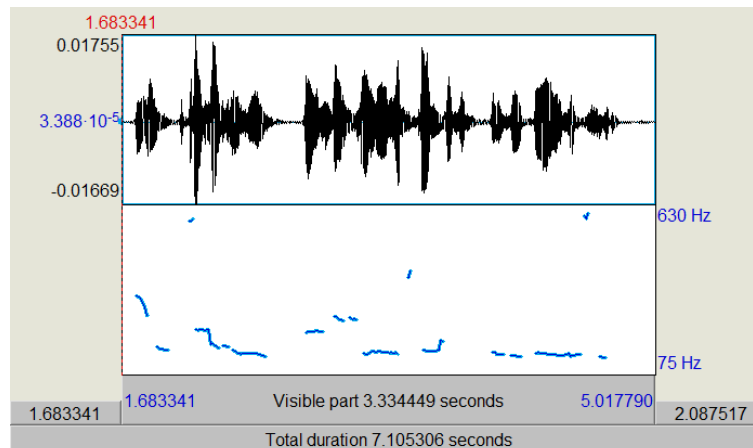
SÍ... pero... desde que San Pedro dejó el puesto, el que abre las puertas soy yo.

**Participant 15:** Identical to participant 3. The utterance shows postnuclearity.

See fig. 49 below. She reinforces it with a defiant question, which sounds more like an exclamation:

- ¿CÓmo que no? | Soy YO el que.....

Fig .49



Sí... ¿cómo que no? Soy yo el que abre las puertas del cielo todos los días.

**Participant 16:** Similarly to participant 10, this informant divides his utterance into several tone units. However, he utters three rather than four:

- >Sí,| soy yo el que abre las puertas del >CIElo| todos los \ Días.||

His choice of tonicity is unmarked too.

**Participants 17 and 18:** Identical to participant 3. There is a long postnuclear segment in the utterance, representing given information. In fact, an elliptical answer such as: \ Sí. || Soy YO. would easily suffice.

**7. Participant 1:** He divides the utterance into two tone units. He marks a level tone for the first and a low fall for the second. He applies the LLI rule:

- Ya te >Dije | que no te levantes de la \ CAma.||

**Participant 2:** This informant makes the same intonation choices regarding tonality, tonicity and tone as those made by participant 1. The nucleus is placed finally too:

- Ya no sé que de >CIR | por esta situa ↘ CIÓN.||

**Participant 3:** This participant places the nucleus on the verb. Here, we find a striking similarity with the counterpresuppositional utterances found in English, which Prof. Cruttenden explains in his book *Intonation* (1997). There is assertiveness on the part of the speaker:

- Ya le Dije que tenía que hacer todo lo que le indiqué.

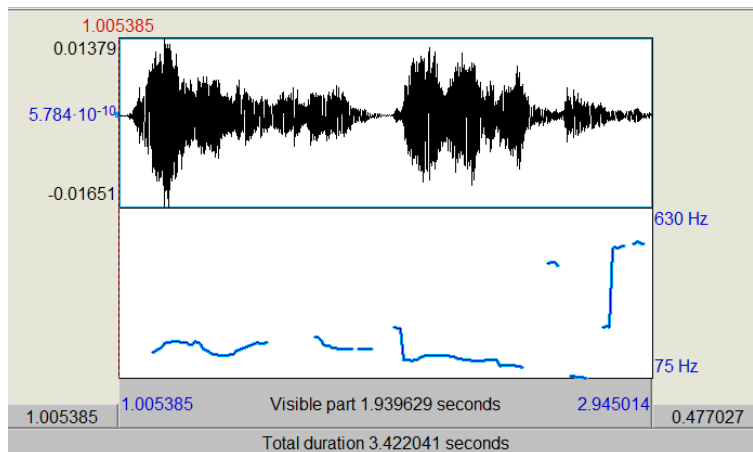
**Participant 4:** Very similar to participant 1:

- Ya le >Dije | que no se levante de la ↘ CAma.||

**Participant 5:** Like most of his previous counterparts, this speaker avoids early nucleus placement by dividing his utterance into two tone units. The first takes a level nuclear tone and the second a fall. See fig. 50 below:

- Ya le >Dije | que haga re ↘ POso.||

Fig. 50



Ya le dije que haga reposo.

**Participant 6:** This informant complies with the LLI rule and places the nucleus on “cama” at the end of the utterance:

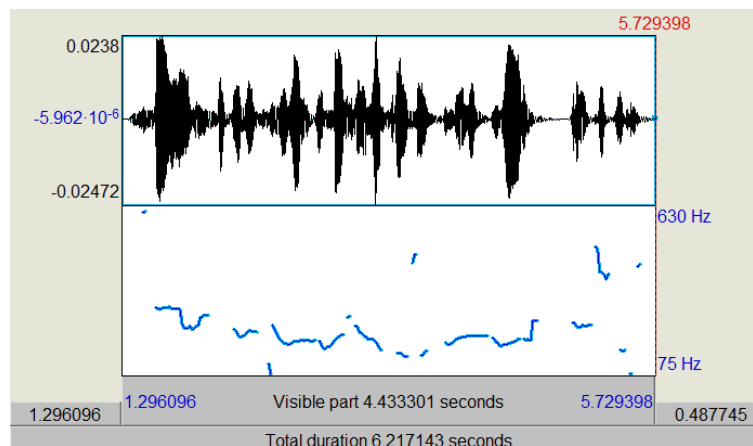
- Ya le dije que se quede en  $\searrow$  CAma.||
- **Participant 7:** As with participant 6, her utterance exhibits a final falling nuclear tone:
- YA le dije que no tiene que levan  $\searrow$  TARse.||

The onset “YA” is high in pitch, which gives more exclamatory force to the utterance.

- **Participant 8:** Her utterance shows the nucleus on the LLI “cama”. There is a series of prominent syllables in the prenuclear pattern which form like a stepping head (O’Connor & Arnold, 1973). See fig. 51 below:
- <sup>1</sup>YA le <sup>1</sup>DIje que <sup>1</sup>NO se levante <sup>1</sup>MÁS de la CAma.|| Si <sup>1</sup>NO no se

<sup>1</sup>VA a <sup>1</sup>REcupe, RAR. ||

Fig. 51



Ya le dije que no se levante más de la  
cama. Si no no se va a recuperar.

**Participant 9:** Identical to Participant 7. Nucleus on the LLI.

**Participant 10:** This participant places the nucleus at the end of the utterance too.

- Ya le dije que no se levante de la CAma.

**Participant 11:** Identical to participant 1: two tone units. The nucleus is final.

**Participants 12, 13 and 17:** Identical to participant 10 (final nucleus).

**Participant 14:** Similarly to most participants, she places the nucleus on the final lexical item. Her choice of words varies slightly though. She includes the verb “poder” which semantically reinforces the doctor’s order. However, intonationally it is not prominent:

- Ya le dije que no se puede levantar de la CAma.

**Participant 15:** She makes a long utterance with several tone units, all exhibiting the nucleus in final position. She includes a rising vocative and an instruction with a fall:

- Ya te \Dije | / JUAN | que si NO haces re **V** POso| va a ser peOR para

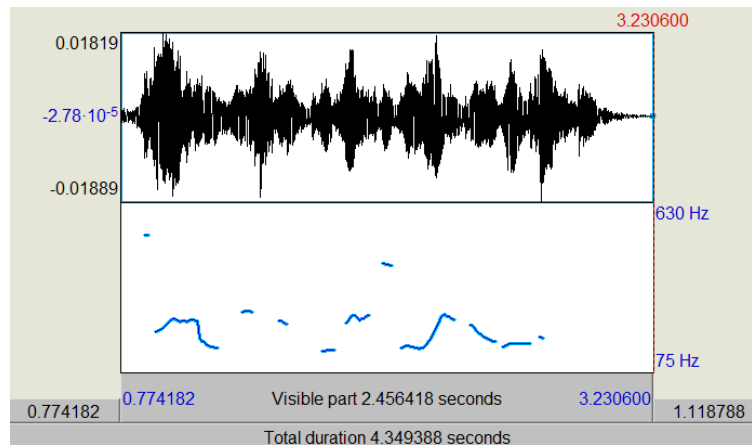
\ VOS| SeGUÍ tomando los medica、 MENtos||

**Participant 16:** Identical to participant 4. He divides the utterance into two tone units and places the nucleus on the LLI, here “dije” in the first and “cama” in the second.

**Participant 18:** Similarly to participant 10, his choice of tonicity is unmarked. He places the nucleus on “cama”. Nevertheless, this is an emphatic version, which exhibits an emphatic high head, similar to what O’Connor & Arnold called “stepping head”. See fig. 52 below:

- <sup>1</sup>YA le <sup>1</sup> Dije que <sup>1</sup>NO se le <sup>1</sup>VANte de la 、 CAma.

Fig. 52

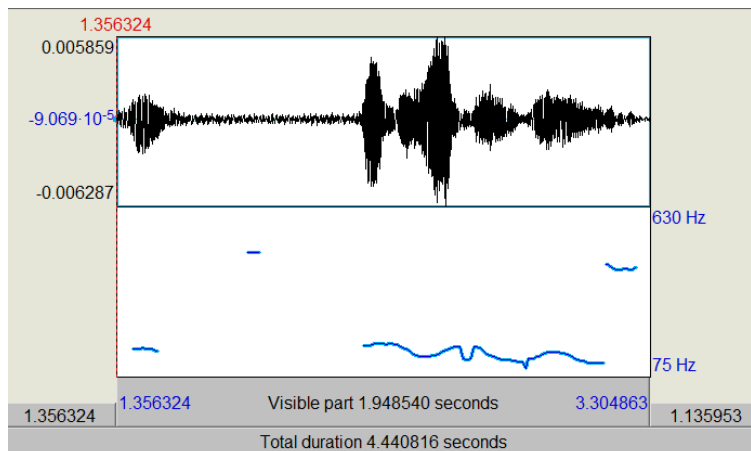


Ya le dije que no se levante de la cama.

**8. Participant 1:** He utters a clear exclamation divided into two tone units. This purely exclamatory effect is given by the use of the rise-fall in both. See fig. 53 below:

- $\wedge_{ii}\underline{S}\acute{I}, | \text{ est}\acute{a} \text{ nevando de } \wedge_{NUE}\underline{V}o!||$

Fig 53



SÍ, está nevando de nuevo.



**Participant 2:** The same tonality and tonicity choice as that made by participant 1. The difference is in his tone choice. He applies a fall:

- \ SÍ, | está nevando de \ NUEvo.||

**Participants 3, 4 and 6:** Their choice of tonality, tonicity and tone is identical to that of participant 2.

**Participant 5:** Like his previous counterparts, he places the nucleus finally. The utterance is fragmented into three tone units. The first two are said with a level nuclear tone. He seems to be taking time to organize his thoughts. He finally proclaims the new information:

- > SÍ, | es > TÁ | nevando de \ NUEvo.||

**Participant 7:** This informant makes the same tonality and tonicity choice as that made by most participants. She applies a level nuclear tone to the initial affirmative adverb, as does informant 5:

- > SÍ, | está nevando de \ NUEvo.||

**Participants 8, 9 and 10:** Identical to participant 2.

**Participant 11:** His choice of tonality and tonicity is identical to that of participant 2. His tone choice is peculiar, though: level + rise:

- > SÍ, | está nevando de / NUEvo.||

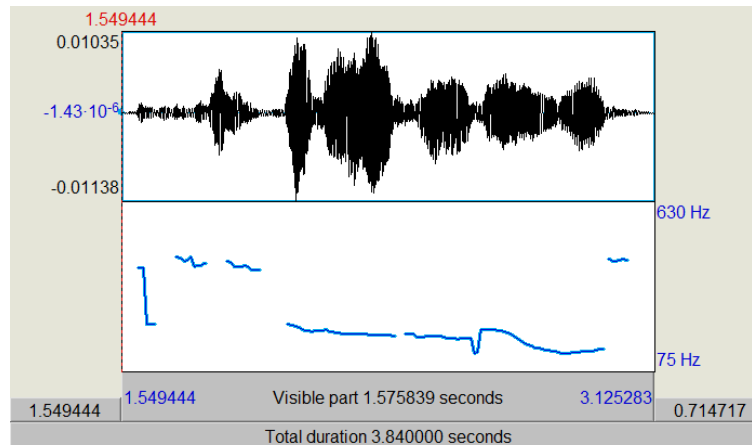
He sounds more casual and nonchalant.

**Participant 12:** Identical to participant 3. She adds a filler (the coordinating conjunction “y”) as if acknowledging the piece of news received.

See fig. 54 below:

- Y \ SÍ, | está nevando de \ NUEvo.||

Fig. 54



Y sí, está nevando de nuevo.

**Participant 13:** This informant provides an unexpected answer. She replies with a question exhibiting the nucleus at the end of the utterance. This echoed question shows disbelief:

- ¿De nuevo está ne<sup>^</sup>VANdo?

**Participant 14:** Like most participants, this speaker places the nucleus on the LLI “nuevo”. She reinforces her statement with an introductory and categoric “es verdad” which takes a low fall:

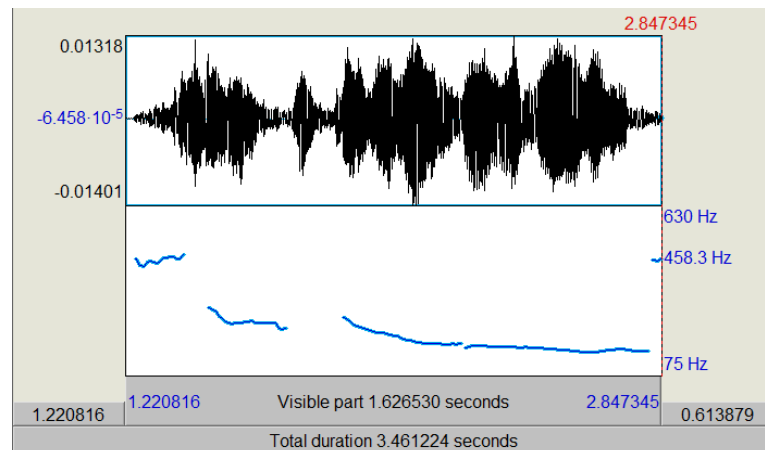
- >SÍ, | es ver \ DAD.| Está nevando de \ NUEvo.||

**Participants 15, 16 and 17:** Identical to participant 2 (final nucleus).

**Participant 18:** This is the only participant who breaks the LLI rule and leaves the adverbial “de nuevo” in the tail, unaccented. His tone choice for the second tone unit is also peculiar. He applies a level nuclear tone to both, which makes him sound nonchalant. See fig. 55 below:

>Sí, | está ne >VANdo de nuevo.||

Fig. 55



Sí, está nevando de nuevo.

**9. Participant 1:** In utterance a), where “tampoco” appears initially before the action expressed by the verb, he marks the nucleus on “tampoco”, whereas in b), where “tampoco” appears finally, he treats it as part of the tail and therefore deaccents it:

- a) \ NO, | hoy tam \ POco fui al colegio.
- b) \ NO, | no fui al co \ LEgio hoy tampoco.

**Participant 2:** Similarly to participant 1, he accents “tampoco” when it is initial (before the verb) and deaccents it when final:

- a) \NO,| hoy tam\POco fui.||
- b) Porque >NO |que\R[á ir hoy tampoco.||

**Participant 3:** a) Identical to participant 1.

In b), there is early nucleus placement but “FUI” is the tonic syllable this time. “Tampoco” is deaccented as well as for participants 1 and 2:

- b) \NO,| No\FUí al colegio hoy tampoco.

**Participant 4:** This participant deaccents “tampoco” in both utterances a) and b). In a, the nucleus falls at the end but in b), there is early nucleus placement:

- a) >NO,| / HOY | tampoco hubo \CLase.
- b) \NO,| no\FUI hoy tampoco.

**Participant 5:** He deaccents “tampoco” in both utterances. In the first, “tampoco” precedes the action expressed by the verb. In the second, it is final.

- a) \NO,| hoy tampoco\FUI.||
- b) \NO,| no\FUI hoy tampoco.

The verb bears the nucleus in both cases.

**Participant 6:** This speaker accents “tampoco” when it appears before the verb but deaccents it when final:

- a) \NO,| hoy tam \POco fui.||
- b) \NO,| no \FUI hoy tampoco.

**Participant 7:** This participant chooses to place the nucleus on the LLI in both utterances. In the second, she accents “tampoco” in final position.

- a) \NO,| hoy tampoco \FUI.||
- b) \NO,| no fui hoy tam \POco

**Participant 8:** Identical to participant 5. His first utterance shows unmarked tonicity, the second marked tonicity.

**Participant 9:** Utterance a) is identical to that of participant 1. “Tampoco “ precedes the verb and it is nuclear.

In b), “tampoco” appears finally and bears the nucleus too (similar to participant 7).

- b) \NO,| No fui al co >LEgio |hoy tam\POco.||

**Participant 10:** In both a) and b), she places the nucleus at the end.

In a), “tampoco” precedes the verb and is accented but not nuclear.

In b), it is final and bears the nucleus:

- a) >NO,| hoy tamPOco fui al co\LEgio.
- b) >NO,| No fui al colegio hoy tam\POco.

**Participant 11:** He places the nucleus on “tampoco in both a) and b).

In a), it precedes the verb; in b), it is final.

**Participant 12:** Identical to participant 1 except for the negative adverb “no”, which is said with a level nuclear tone: This makes the utterance sound more routine, uninterested:

- >NO ...

**Participant 13:** This informant places the nucleus finally. In a), she places it on the adverb of time “hoy”. In b), on the negative adverb “tampoco”:

- a) ) \NO,| \NO,| tampoco \HOY.
- b) No fui al colegio hoy tam\POco.

**Participant 14:** She places the nucleus finally in both utterances. b) is divided into three tone units:

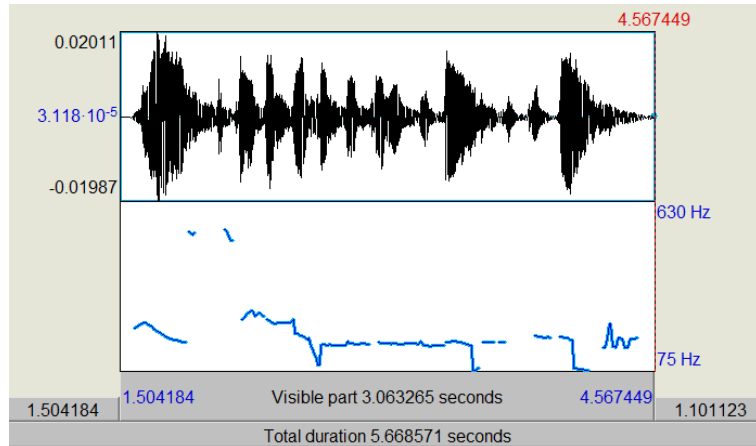
- a) \NO,| hoy tam\POco.||
- b) \NO,| no \FU I .| Hoy tam \POco.||

**Participant 15:** Her intonation choices are identical to those of participant 6. Both utterances show postnuclearity. In a), “tampoco” is non-final and nuclear; in b) it is final and non-nuclear. Her choice of words in a) is quite original, though; she includes an informal, typically River Plate Spanish vocative, “pá.” with a level tone and an apology with a fall. In this reply, we observe the unmistakable lengthening of the nuclear syllable, also characteristic of this Spanish variety.

See fig. 56 below:

- a) \NO,| hoy tam \ Poco fui al colegio. | >PA| |Discul\PAme.||

Fig. 56



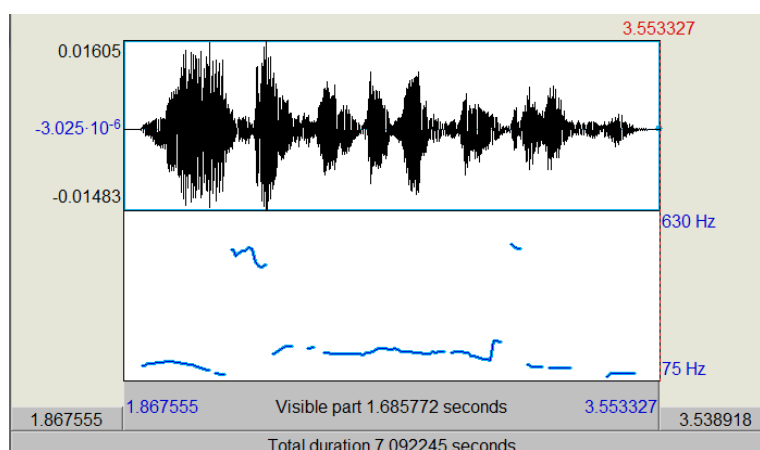
No, hoy tampoco fui al colegio, Pa...  
Disculpame.

- b) \NO,| no \ FUI hoy tampoco.

**Participant 16:** Identical to participant 10. The only difference is to be found in the first tone unit in a), where he applies a fall: \NO, (see fig. 57 below) and in b) that he divides into three rather than two tone units (like part. 14), applying a level tone to “colegio” in the second, before the closure of the utterance with the last chunk “hoy tampoco”, which takes a conclusive fall:

- a) \NO,| hoy tampoco fui al co\LEgio.

Fig 57



No, hoy tampoco fui al colegio.

- b) >NO.| No fui al co>LEgio | hoy tam\POco.

**Participant 17:** Similar to participant 16. The difference lies in b), which she divides into two rather than three tone units. The nucleus falls on “colegio” in the second tone unit in both cases. In b), “hoy” and “tampoco” are postnuclear. Neither in a) nor in b) is “tampoco” prominent in her answer.

**Participant 18:** Identical to participant 10. He complies with the LLI rule.

**10. Participant 1:** He divides the utterance into two tone units and places the nucleus finally, choosing a rise for the first and a fall for the second. The rise indicates there is something else to follow; it is used for continuative purposes:

- Hace sesenta / Años | que estamos ca\SAdos.||



**Participant 2:** He divides his utterance into two chunks, similarly to participant 1. He places the nucleus finally, and his tone choices are similar as well.

- Hace más de sesenta años que te co NOZco | y ya me estoy

can \ SANdo.||

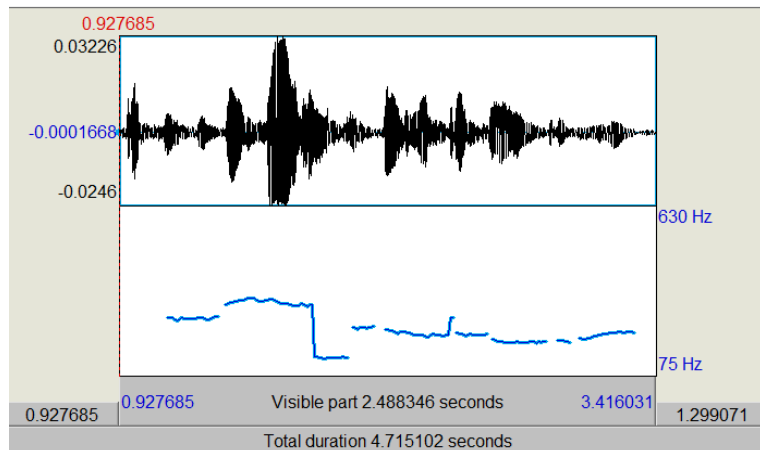
**Participant 3:** The adverbial of time is fronted. The nucleus falls on “años”. The rest is postnuclear, the vocative included (similarity with English). There is left dislocation:

- Hace sesenta Años que estamos casados querido.||

**Participant 4:** We observe postnuclearity in her utterance with left dislocation. The adverbial of time is displaced to its leftmost position for emphasis. Therefore, the nucleus falls on “años”. The final vocative takes a separate chunk and is nuclear. See fig. 58 below:

- Hace sesenta \ Años que estamos casados | que RIdo.||

Fig. 58



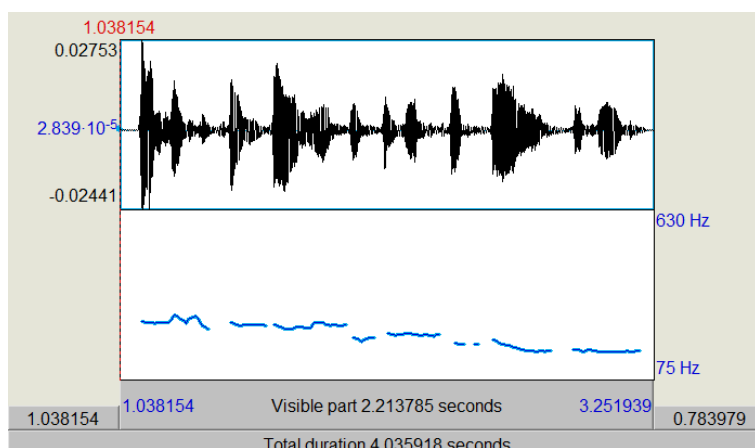
Hace 60 años que estamos casados, querido.

**Participant 5:** Identical to participant 1. He avoids early nucleus placement by dividing the utterance into two tone units, assigning a rise to the first and a fall to the second.

**Participant 6:** The speaker places the nucleus finally on “casados”, except for the vocative, which is in the tail. See fig. 59 below:

- Hace sesenta años que estamos ca\ SAdos amor.

Fig. 59



Hace sesenta años que estamos casados, amor.

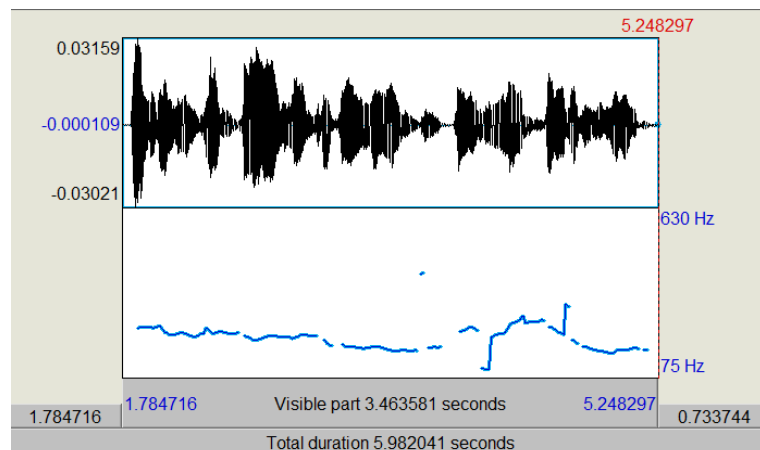
**Participant 7:** Similar to participant 3 (postnuclear). She does not include a final vocative though:

- Hace sesenta Años que estamos casados||

**Participant 8:** Her tonicity choice is identical to that of participant 2. The utterance differs in wording, and it is much more emphatic though. She includes a purely colloquial RP Spanish expression of annoyance: “estoy repodrida” Moreover, she applies a kind of stepping head in her first utterance and a high prenuclear pattern in the second. See fig. 60 below:

- Hace se<sup>l</sup>SEnta<sup>l</sup> Años que te a、GUANto|| Estoy<sup>l</sup>REpo、DRIda||

Fig. 60



Hace sesenta años que te aguanto, estoy re podrida.

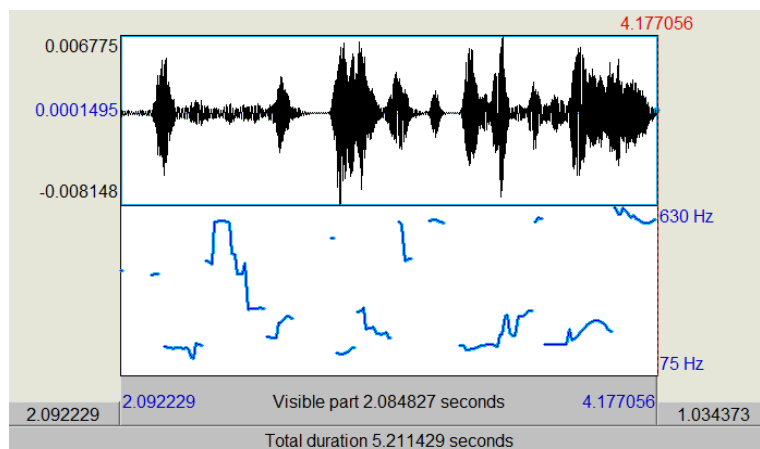
**Participant 9:** His choice of tonicity is identical to that of participants 3 and 7.

**Participant 10:** He also places the nucleus early in the utterance, on “años”.

**Participant 11:** He presents this utterance in the form of an exclamatory disbelieving question. The word “casados” bears the rising-falling nuclear tone. Besides, extra emphasis is added by making use of a series of falls in the prenuclear pattern. See fig. 61 below:

- ¿Hace se\SENta \Años que es\TAmos ca^SAdos?||

Fig. 61



¿Hace sesenta años que estamos casados?

**Participant 12:** Identical to participant 7 (postnuclearity).

**Participant 13:** Identical to participant 6 (final nucleus on “casados”) but without the vocative.

**Participant 14:** She places the nucleus on “años”, but the word is final in the tone unit:

- Hace sesenta \ Años. || ¡Esto es un mi \ LAgro! ||

**Participant 15:** She emphasizes the number of years they have been married. Therefore, she places the nucleus on “sesenta”.

**Participant 16:** Identical to participant 1. The utterance is divided into two tone units.

**Participant 17:** Like participant 15, she focuses on the number of years: “sesenta”. Her utterance is likewise emphatic.

**Participant 18:** Identical to participant 1. The utterance is divided into two (rise + fall).

**11. Participant 1:** In a), he fronts the adverbial of frequency “muchas veces” for emphasis, and the result is “left dislocation” with postnuclearity. The reporting clause “dijo la maestra” is also in the tail.

- Ya son muchas VEces que te expliqué esto, dijo la maestra.

In b), we observe the speaker emphasizes the verb:

- b) Yo ya te expliQUÉ esto, dijo la maestra.

This is a good example of what in the English literature is called “counterpresuppositional utterances”, where “the speaker denies something presupposed in the previous speaker’s utterances”. The presupposition is frequently in the consciousness of the first speaker and indeed it is frequently present verbatim” (Cruttenden, 1997).

**Participant 2:**

- a) Ya son muchas veces que lo expliQUÉ, dijo la maestra.
- b) Yo ya NO | no sé cómo explicar ESto.|

In a), the reporting clause is in the tail, as is generally the case in English.

In b), his tonicity choices are unmarked.

**Participant 3:** Identical to participant 1.

**Participant 4:** As with the previous participants, informant 4 deaccents the reporting clause.

a) is similar to that of participant 2.

b) is similar to that of participant 1. She uses the word “docente” rather than “maestra” in the reporting clause, though.

- b) Yo ya te expliQUÉ esto, dijo la docente.

**Participant 5:** there is coincidence with participant 1 in a) and with participant 2 in b):

- a) Ya son muchas VEces que te lo expliqué, dijo la maestra.
- b) Yo >YA | te expliqué \ ESto.

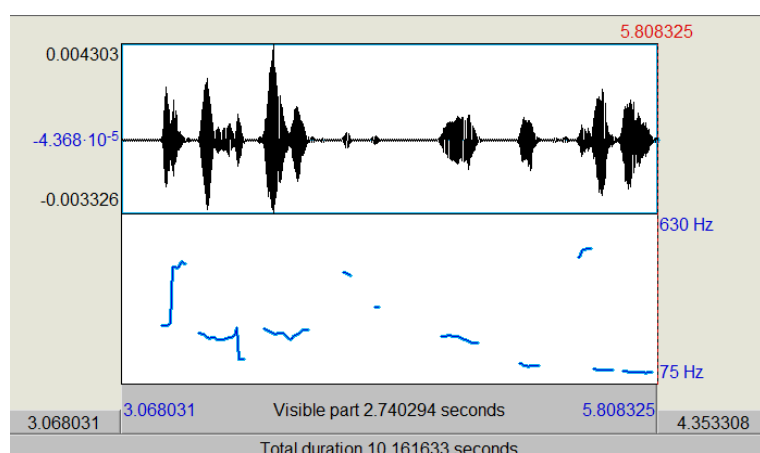
There is marked tonicity in the former and unmarked tonicity in the latter.

**Participants 6, 7, 12 and 17:** These informants accent “esto” in utterances a) and b). In both, they leave the reporting clause in the tail.

See figs. 62a and 62b below which represent 11 a) and b) respectively from participant 12:

- a) Ya son muchas veces que te expliqué ESto, dijo la maestra.

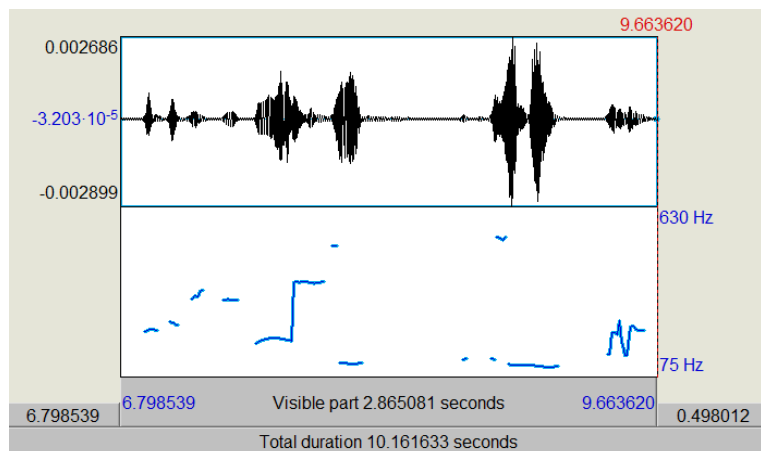
Fig. 62a



Ya son muchas veces que te expliqué  
esto, dijo la maestra.

- b) Yo ya te expliqué ESto, dijo la maestra.

Fig. 62b



Yo ya te expliqué esto, dijo la maestra.

**Participants 8, 10 and 11:** Identical to 1. Both utterances a) and b) exhibit clear postnuclearity.

**Participant 9:** Identical to participant 7. He places the nucleus on “esto” in both utterances.

**Participant 13:** Her choice of tonicity is identical to that of participant 5:

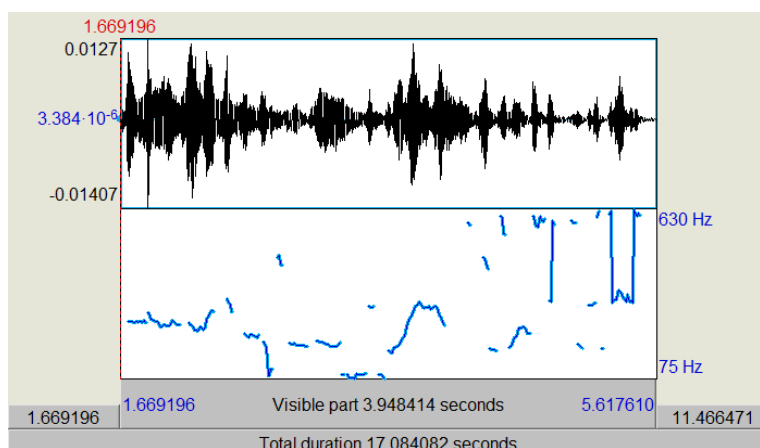
- a) Son muchas \ VEces, dijo la maestra. Marked ( non-final nucleus)
- b) Yo >YA | ESto.te lo \ DIje. Unmarked (final nucleus)

**Participant 14:** Similar to participant 1. She provides several examples of postnuclearity in her reply. In b), she utters the reporting clause with a rise to indicate she has something else to say. See figs. 63 and 64 below which represent 11 a) and b) respectively:

- Ya son muchas \ VEces que te expliqué esto....



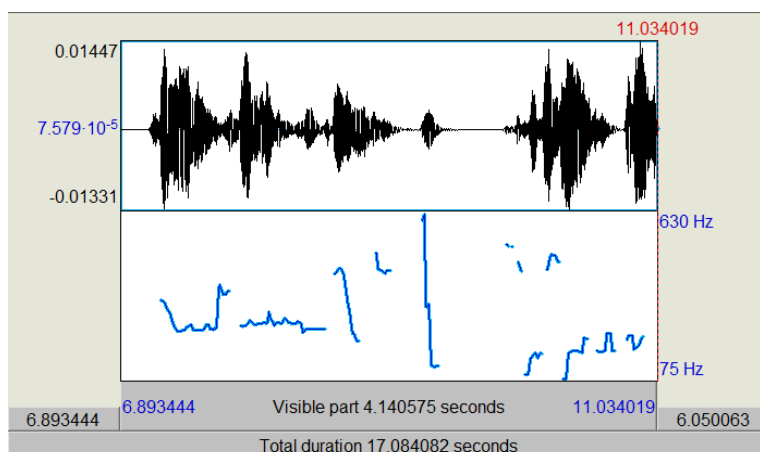
Fig. 63



Ya son muchas veces que te expliqué esto pero no hay problema, vení que te explico otra vez.

- Yo ya te expli \ QUÉ esto | dijo la ma / EStr||

Fig. 64



Yo ya te expliqué esto, dijo la maestra...

**Participant 15:** a) Identical to participant 1 (nucleus on “veces”).

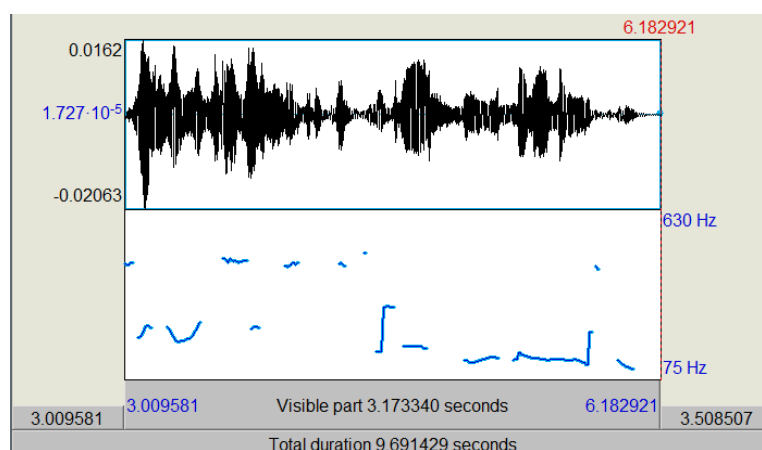
b) Identical to participant 12 (nucleus on “esto”). The reporting clause is in the tail in both.

**Participant 16:** Like participants 6, 7 and 12, this participant accents the word “esto” in both utterances, and the reporting clause is postnuclear too. His choice of tonality is different though. He pauses more and applies several level nuclear tones with the purpose of organizing the information carefully.

**Participant 18:** Identical to Participant 1. There is observable postnuclearity. See figs. 65 and 66 below:

- Ya son muchas VEces que te expliqué esto, dijo la maestra.

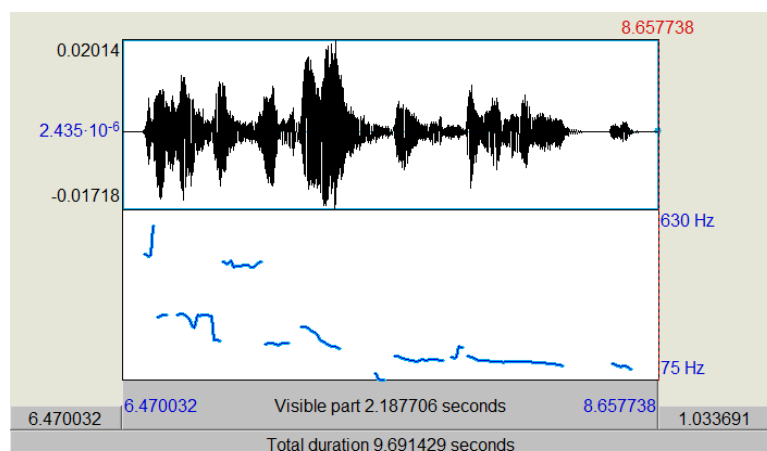
Fig 65



Ya son muchas veces que te expliqué esto,  
dijo la maestra.

- Yo ya te expliQUÉ esto, dijo la maestra.

Fig 66



Yo ya te expliqué esto, dijo la maestra.

**12. Participant 1:** Unlike his previous reply, here in a) the informant places the nucleus on the last lexical item, which is “trabajo”. This is an unemphatic version:

- a) Hace mucho tiempo que estoy buscando tra\ BAjo.

In b), there is also unmarked tonicity, thus the nucleus falls at the end, on “trabajo” too.

- Estoy muy cansado de buscar tra、 BAjo.

**Participant 2:** His tonicity choices are unmarked

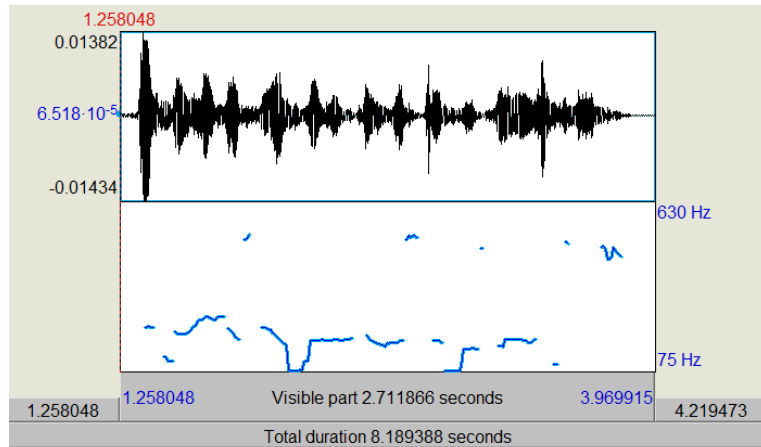
- a) Hace mucho tiempo que vengo buscando tra\ BAjo.

- b) Estoy muy cansado >DE | de buscar \ Esto.||

**Participant 3:** Her choice of words is identical to that of participant 1. Her choice of tonicity is different though. See figs. 67 and 68 below:

- a) Hace mucho TIEMpo que estoy buscando trabajo.

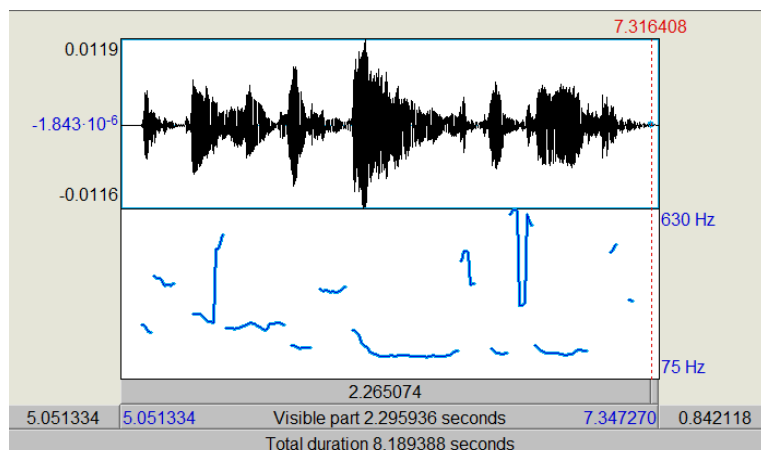
Fig 67



Hace mucho tiempo que estoy buscando trabajo.

- b) Estoy muy canSado de buscar trabajo.

Fig. 68



Estoy muy cansado de buscar trabajo.

There is left dislocation in a). The adverbial of time is fronted for emphasis. The rest is postnuclear.

In b), the speaker highlights her feelings about a situation that is not unknown.

**Participant 4:** Her first utterance shows the nucleus at the end, on “trabajo”, identical to that of participant 1. The second exhibits postnuclearity:

- b) Estoy <sup>1</sup> MUY preocup<sup>1</sup> PAdo de no encon TRAR el trabajo.

She accents both the intensifier “muy” and the adjective “preocupado” (similar to O’Connor & Arnold’s “stepping head”). She adds the definite article “el”, making it clear that that information (trabajo) is familiar to both speaker and listener and there is no need to focus on this further.

**Participant 5:** Identical to participant 3. Both utterances exhibit postnuclearity.

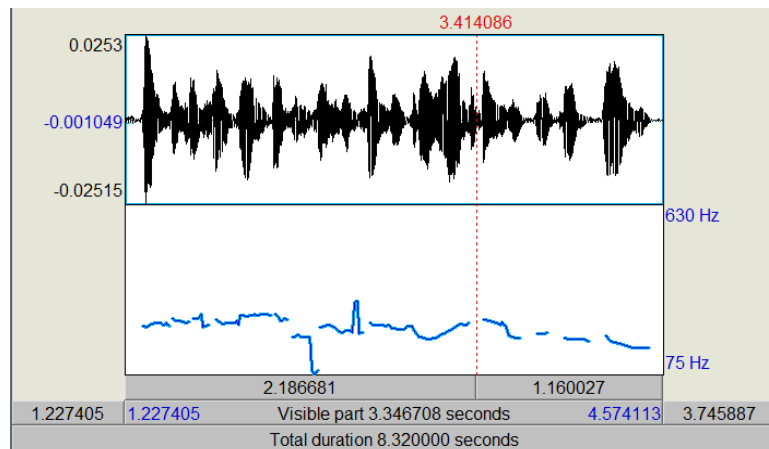
**Participant 6:** This participant places the nucleus at the end on “trabajo” in both utterances. If compared with those of participants 3 and 5 (non-final nucleus), these are plain statements, there is not so much feeling or emotion.

- a) Hace mucho tiempo que busco tra\ BAjo.
- b) Estoy muy can>SAdo | de buscar tra\ BAjo.

**Participant 7:** This informant provides only one utterance divided into two tone units. The first ends in a rise to indicate there is something else to be said, and the second marks the end with a fall. See fig. 69 below:

- Hace mucho tiempo que estoy buscando tra / BAjo | y estoy can\ SAdo. ||

Fig. 69



Hace mucho tiempo que estoy buscando trabajo y estoy cansado.

**Participant 8:** Her utterances show the nucleus on the LLI like those of participant 1.

a) is identical to that of participant 1.

b) differs in wording: Estoy muy cansado de an\ DAR.

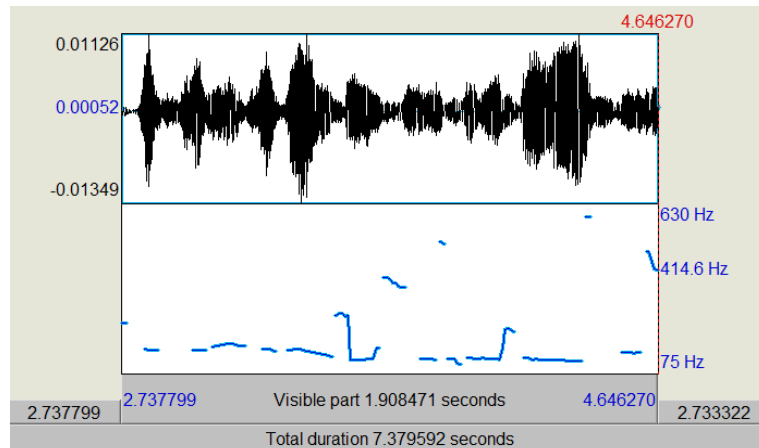
**Participants 9 and 12:** Identical to 1. Nucleus at the end.

**Participant 10:** His utterance in a) is identical to that of participants 3 and 5 (non-final nucleus). But b) is identical to that of participant 6 (final nucleus).

**Participant 11:** Identical to participant 3. There is clear postnuclearity in both utterances a) and b). See figs. 70 and 71 below:

- a) Hace mucho TIEMpo que estoy buscando trabajo.

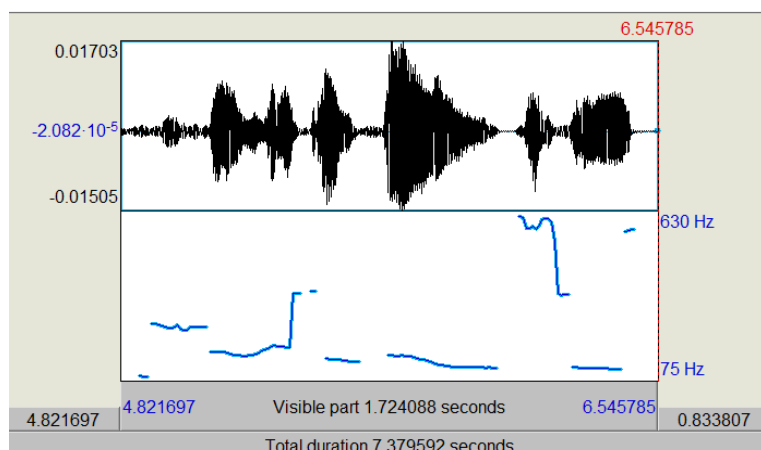
Fig. 70



Hace mucho tiempo que estoy buscando trabajo.

- b) Estoy muy canSado de buscar trabajo.

Fig. 71



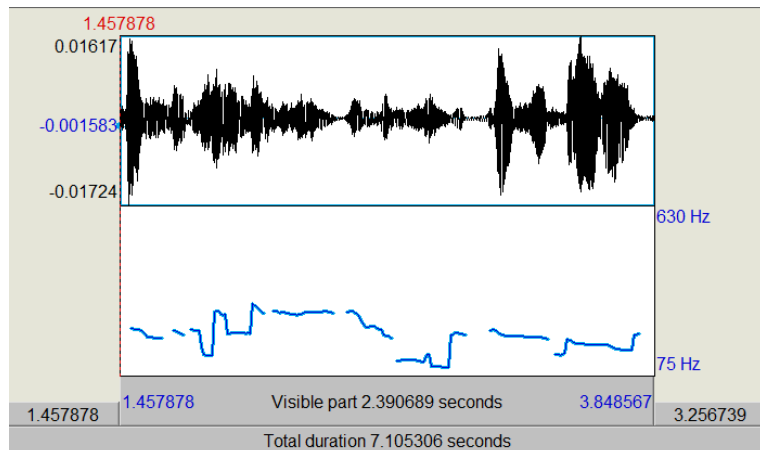
Estoy muy cansado de buscar trabajo.

**Participant 13:** She divides her utterances into two tone units, marking continuity with a rise in the first and finality with a fall in the second.

See figs. 72 and 73 below:

- a) Hace mucho / TIEMpo| que estoy buscando tra\BAjo.||

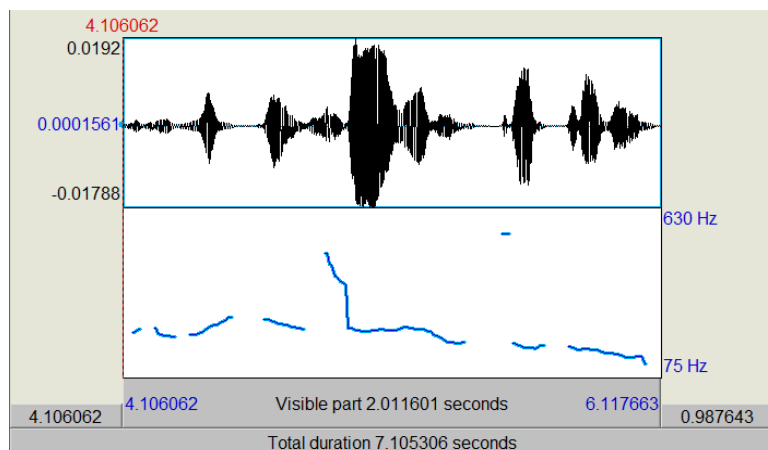
Fig. 72



Hace mucho tiempo que estoy buscando trabajo.

- b) Estoy muy can / SAdo| de buscar tra\BAjo.||

Fig 73



Estoy muy cansado de buscar trabajo.



**Participant 14:** She places the nucleus finally in both utterances, like participant 1, but finishes her reply with a question exhibiting postnuclearity:

¿Usted <sup>l</sup> QUÉ me <sub>、</sub> PUEde ofrecer?

**Participant 15:** Identical to participant 3. It shows postnuclearity.

**Participant 16:** Similar to participant 13. However, he does not use a rise for the first tone unit in both utterances. Rather, he prefers a level tone.

**Participant 17:** In a), her utterance is identical to that of participant 13. She divides it and sticks to the LLI rule. In b), her utterance is identical to that of participant 3. “Cansado” bears the nucleus; the rest is in the tail.

**Participant 18:** Identical to participant 3 (non-final nucleus).

**13. Participant 1:** Similarly to what he did in exercise 10, the informant divides this reply into two tone units. The first is rising and the second falling. It seems to be a good resource Spanish speakers have to avoid early nucleus placement:

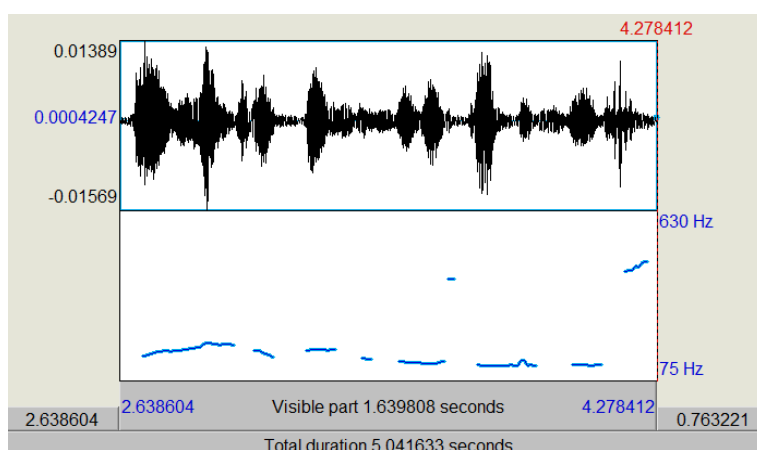
- Hay muchos / PEces | en la pe\ CEra.||

**Participant 2:** This informant utters the sentence with marked tonicity. The adverbial of place is postnuclear (similarity with English).

See fig. 74 below:

- Hay muchos PEces en esta pecera.||

Fig. 74



Hay muchos peces en esta pecera.

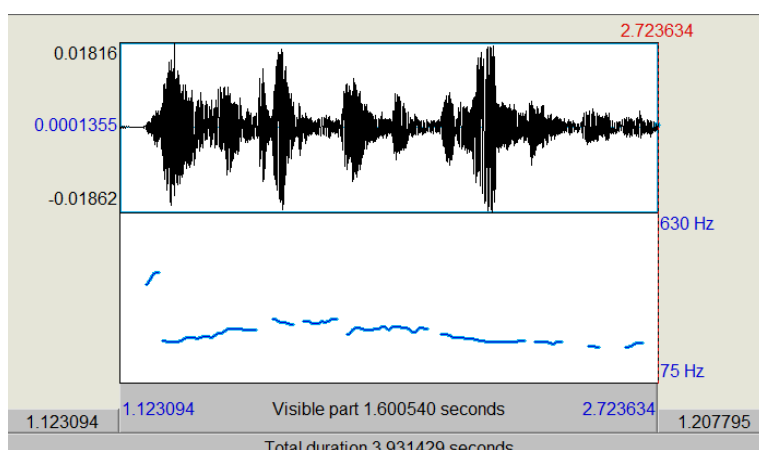
**Participant 3:** Her choice of tonicity is identical to that of participant 2, but her tone choice is rising-falling.

- Hay muchos <sup>^</sup>PEces en la pecera.||

**Participant 4:** Her utterance exhibits the nucleus on the final adverbial (difference with English). See fig. 75 below:

- Hay muchos peces en la pe\CEra.||

Fig. 75



Hay muchos peces en la pecera.

**Participant 5:** Like participants 2 and 3, he leaves the adverbial of place in the tail. He uses the word “pescados”:

- Hay muchos pesCAdos en la pecera.||

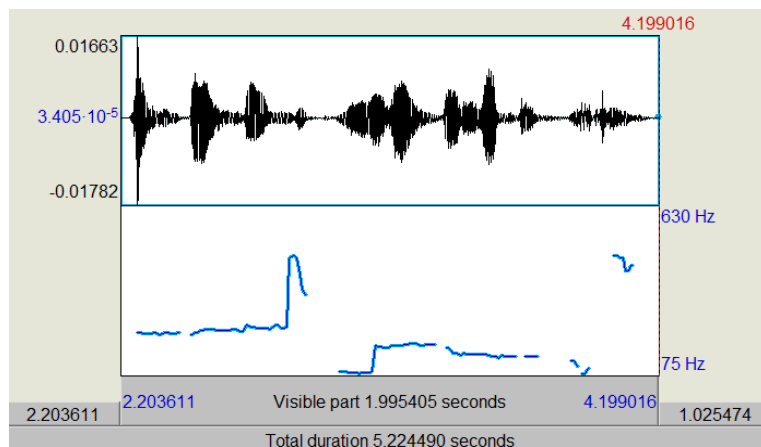
**Participant 6:** Similarly to participant 1, this informant utters her reply fragmented into two units. The first is said with a level tone, and in the second, the adjunct of place is prominent. It bears a falling nuclear tone:

- Hay muchos >PEces | en la pe\CEra.||

**Participants 7, 8, 9 and 10:** For all these informants, the adjunct of place is nuclear. Participants 7 and 10 divide the utterance, while participants 8 and 9 say it undivided. In particular, participant 8 applies an emphatic head. See fig. 76 below:

- Hay <sup>!</sup> PEces y <sup>!</sup> PIEdras en la pe CEra.||

Fig. 76



Hay peces y piedras en la pecera.

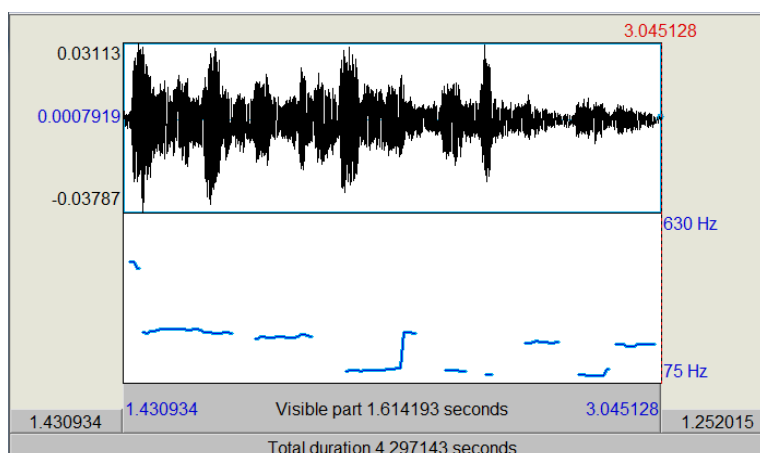
**Participants 11, 12 and 15:** Identical to participant 3 (clear postnuclearity).

**Participants 13 and 17:** Identical to participant 4. The nucleus falls on the final adjunct of place. They comply with the LLI rule.

**Participant 14:** Funny answer. The nucleus falls on the LLI “pecera”. See fig. 77 below:

- Hay un embotellamiento en la pe\CEra. ||

Fig.77



Hay un embotellamiento en la pecera.

**Participant 16:** Identical to participant 6

**Participant 18:** This speaker shows a peculiar closure of the sentence with a level nuclear tone. This provides a casual and informal air to the utterance:

- Hay muchos PEces en la pe>CEra.||

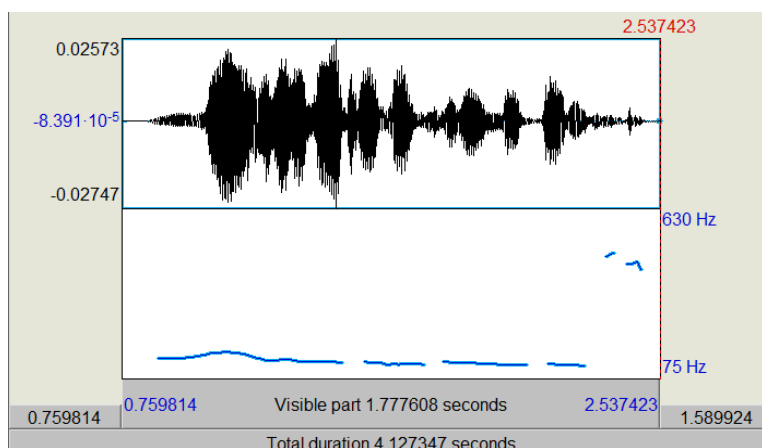
**14. Participant 1:** He places the nucleus at the end, even when there is right dislocation and it is obvious to whom the speakers are referring:

- No tiene buena relación la paREja.

**Participant 2:** Unlike participant 1, this informant places the nucleus early in his utterance. It is a counterpresuppositional. See fig. 78 below:

- No HAY buena relación en la pareja.

Fig 78



No hay buena relación en la pareja.

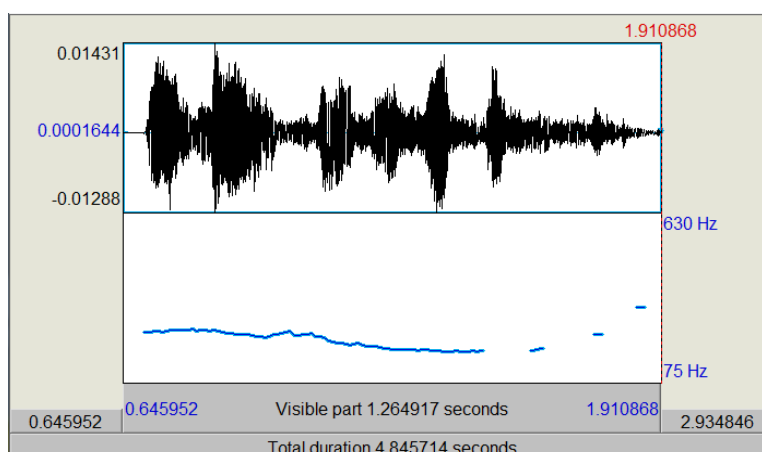
**Participant 3:** The same choice of tonicity as for participant 2:

- NO,| No TIEne buena relación la pareja.||

**Participant 4:** There is clear postnuclearity in her utterance. The old information is left in the tail. See fig. 79 below:

- Hay tenSIÓN en la pareja.

Fig. 79

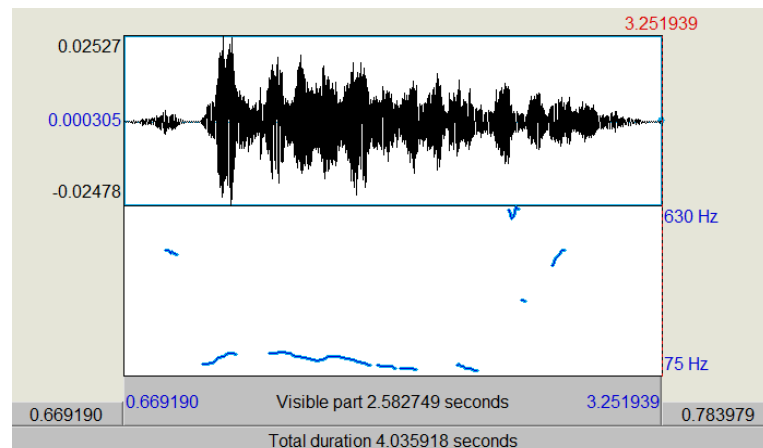


Hay tensión en la pareja.

**Participant 5:** The S is displaced to the end of the sentence (right dislocation). The P is fronted and the verb deaccented. The nucleus falls on “relación”. See fig. 80 below.

- No tiene buena relaCIÓN la pareja.

Fig. 80



No tiene buena relación la pareja.

**Participant 6:** Identical to participant 3.

**Participant 7:** She makes an utterance divided into two tone units. Both with the nucleus on the LLI. The first marks non-finality with a rise. The second completion with a fall.

- No me pa / REce | que tenga una buena relación la pa \ REja. ||

- **Participant 8:** Similar to participant 1. Nucleus on the LLI. The wording is different, however. She accents words in the prenuclear pattern. It sounds like a “stepping head” (O’Connor & Arnold):

- Me pa <sup>1</sup>REce que hay <sup>1</sup>MAla <sup>1</sup>ONda en la pa REja.

She uses a typical River Plate Spanish expression “mala (or buena) onda”.

**Participants 9 and 10:** Identical to participant 5 (postnuclearity).

**Participant 11:** Like participant 5, he places the nucleus on “relación” but divides the utterance into two tone units:

- No <sup>></sup>TIEne | una buena rela\CIÓN la pareja ||

**Participant 12:** Like participant 3, she places the nucleus on the verb “tener” (postnuclearity). She introduces her utterance with a level nuclear tone on the negative adverb:

- <sup>></sup>NO | No \TIEnen una buena relación.||

**Participant 13:** Similarly to participant 1, she places the nucleus on the LLI “pareja”

- No tienen una buena relación de paREja.



**Participant 14:** Similar to participant 4. The utterance exhibits postnuclearity:

- Hay proBLEmas en la pareja.

**Participants 15, 17 and 18:** Identical to participant 3: Early nucleus placement on the verb.

**Participant 16:** Identical to participant 1. He sticks to the LLI rule.

**15. Participant 1:** This informant again chooses to assign the nucleus to the last lexical item, even when the interviewer explicitly mentions the item in question, “libros en papel”, so it is part of their linguistic context:

- No me gustan los libros en pa▶ PEL

**Participant 2:** Unlike participant 1, this speaker chooses to apply marked tonicity in his utterance:

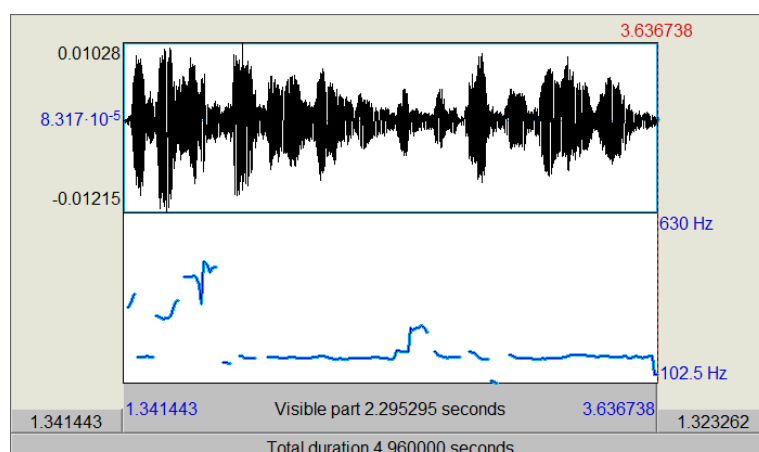
- No me aGRada cómo leés.

This is another example of counterpresuppositional utterance.

**Participant 3:** There is early nucleus placement. The vocative is nuclear and rising-falling. See fig. 81 below:

- No me <sup>^</sup>GUsta leer los libros en papel,| a<sup>^</sup>BUEla.||

Fig. 81



No me gusta leer los libros en papel, abuela.

**Participant 4:** Like participant 1, this informant places the nucleus finally, on the LLI. Nonetheless, rather than repeating the interviewer's words ("libros en papel"), he makes use of synonymy ("este formato") as one of the resources available to refer to "given" information, (difference with English, which tends to deaccent old information):

- No me gusta este forMAto.

**Participant 5:** His choice of tonicity is the same as for participants 2 and 3. The nucleus falls on the verb:

- No me ↘ GUSta leer libros en papel.

**Participant 6:** Very similar to participant 5. She uses the word "lectura" rather than "leer":

- No me ↘ GUSta la lectura de libros en papel.

**Participant 7:** Her choice of tonicity is identical to that of participant 1.

- No me gusta leer libros en paPEL.

**Participant 8:** Similar to participants 1 and 7. The nucleus occurs at the end of the utterance:

- No me gustan los libros en paPEL.|| Prefiero la TAblet.||

**Participants 9, 13 and 16:** Identical to participant 7. Nucleus on the LLI.

**Participants 10, 11 and 12:** Identical to participant 5 (postnuclearity).

**Participant 14:** This participant places the nucleus finally:

- No me gusta para >NAda|| >LEER || estos libros an、 TIguos.

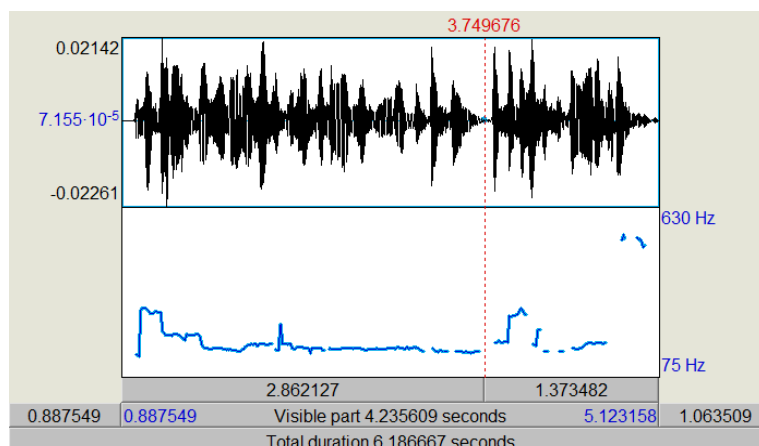
**Participant 15:** Early nucleus placement on the verb:

- No me paREce bien| a<sup>^</sup>BUEla que tenga que leer libros en  
papel.|| Pasame la computadora \YA||

She finishes her utterance with an urgent exhortation where she places the nucleus on the adverb “ya”, which means “now”, “immediately”, contributing to the emphatic effect pursued.

See fig. 82 below:

Fig. 82



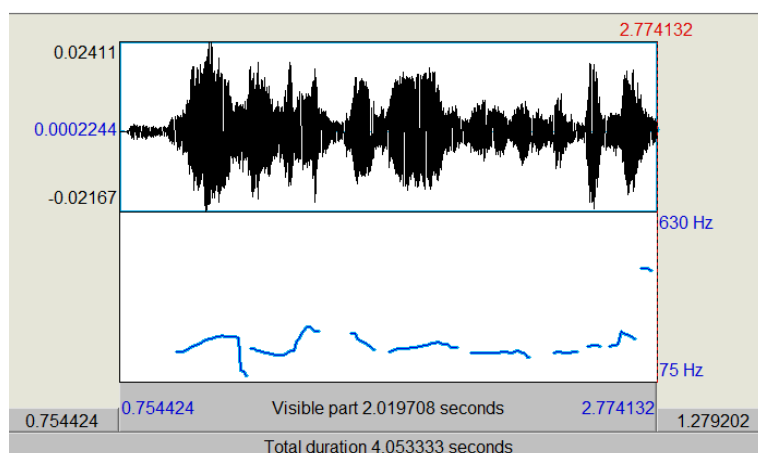
No me parece bien abuela que tenga que leer libros en papel... Pasame la computadora ya.

**Participant 17:** Identical to participant 5. The utterance exhibits postnuclearity. The verb of liking “gusta” bears the nucleus.

**Participant 18:** Similarly to participant 7, he complies with the LLI rule and places the nucleus on “papel”. However, he chooses an emphatic high head or what O’Connor & Arnold referred to as “stepping head”. See fig. 83 below:

- <sup>1</sup>NO me <sup>1</sup>GUS<sup>1</sup>ta leer <sup>1</sup>L**ibros en pa**\u**PEL**

Fig. 83



No me gusta leer libros en papel.

## 10. Results

### Mini-intercambios (Exchanges)

#### Answers

**1.** All the informants place the nucleus on the LLI both in a) and b). Out of these, 3 informants divide b) into subject (S) and predicate (P), applying a rise to the S and a fall to the P.

Participant 9 departs from the common tone choice made by all the other speakers in a). He uses a level nuclear tone. There seems to be a pragmatic reason for this. The state of the kettle boiling does not seem to be totally unexpected; the speaker is not just informing, as is the case with the other participants (who use a fall). His utterance sounds more like a routine answer, like an announcement of something not completely new. And there is also an element of warning and exhortation: "Turn the gas off.

**2.** All the participants choose a final nuclear tone, 5 of whom divide b) into S and P, using a rise for the former and a fall for the latter.

It is worth mentioning participant 15, who turns the statement into an exclamation by using a rising-falling pitch pattern.

**3.** Only 1 speaker (5%, participant 9) out of 18 places the vocative in the tail in the 3 answers in exercise 3. Participant 8 does so but only partially, in b) and c). Similarly, participant 10 utters a postnuclear vocative in b) and participant 14 in c). All informants except 1 (94.5%) utter at least 1 nuclear vocative.

Most speakers utter nuclear vocatives in all the answers: 78%.

A recurrent tone choice for the vocative is a rise for the monosyllabic “Ruiz” and a rise-fall for the paroxytonic “Salinas” and the proparoxytonic “Álvarez”. We also recorded level and falling tone choices.

Those greetings uttered with a level nuclear tone either in the host sentence or in the vocative sound more casual, routine and everyday.

- 4.** In this case, we recorded just 1 example of postnuclear vocative in a) and b), participant 18. His tone choice is peculiar; he uses a rising tune ending. It reminds us of O’Connor & Arnold’s Low Bounce; he sounds interested and polite. His vocative in c) is rising as well but nuclear though.

All the other informants utter nuclear vocatives: 66% of them

(12 speakers) make the characteristic River Plate Spanish tone choice: rising for the oxytonic vocative “Juan” and rising-falling for the paroxytonic word “Susana” and the proparoxytonic word “Máximo”.

- 5.** Most informants (94.4%) utter nuclear vocatives. The only participant who exhibits postnuclear vocatives is participant 18. His vocatives are part of a rising tail.

In this exercise, we recorded the highest percentage of participants producing a rising tone for the oxytonic vocative “Martín” and a rising-falling tone for the paroxytonic vocative “Clara” and the proparoxytonic vocative “Úrsula”.

- 6.** In this exchange, 94.5% of the informants utter a postnuclear direct speech marker (as Prof. Crystal calls them). Only participant 4 shows a falling nuclear reporting clause preceded by a host sentence said with a level nuclear tone.

**7.** Only 27.7% of the informants exhibit a nuclear reporting clause. The majority (72.3%) utter it in the tail.

Just 33.3% of the participants show early nucleus placement on “Morán” (eg. of narrow focus, the last lexical item representing new information); and 55.5% of the informants divide the utterance into S and P and apply a rising or level nuclear tone to the subject and a falling tone to the predicate (irrespective of the fact that it represents old information).

**8.** While 83.4% of the informants utter the reporting clause in the tail, all of them (100%) place the nucleus on “mismo”.

**9.** The reply in this exchange represents an example of clefting, one of the resources Spanish speakers make use of, to show narrow focus, thus avoiding early nucleus placement. Here, we recorded just 2 cases of postnuclearity (11%).

In 89% of the cases, speakers prefer to divide the utterance into two tone units and place the nucleus at the end in each, rather than having a long tail.

**10.** In this exchange, we recorded 61% of cases of postnuclearity. Out of a total of 18 participants, 22.2% divide the utterance into two units, placing the nucleus at the end of each chunk, thus avoiding postnuclearity; 16.6% of the informants utter the sentence undivided and place the nucleus on “conozco”, the LLI.

We recorded peculiar instances of emphatic heads eg. the stepping head (participant 8) and the high head preceded by a low prehead (participant 14).



**11.** Here, 78% of the participants utter a) with postnuclearity, while in b) 100% of the speakers place the nucleus on the LLI. It seems that the 22% of the participants who place the nucleus at the end in a), do so because they misinterpreted the situation: they thought the person who was crying was somebody else, not the girl.

In b), 39% of the informants divide their reply into two; 4 of them apply a rise in the first and a fall in the second, and 3 apply a rise-fall instead of a rise in the first. One of these (participant 14) ends the utterance with another rise-fall. As a result, the effect is purely exclamatory (typically River Plate Spanish).

In this exchange, we also recorded cases of emphatic heads in b), eg. the climbing head (participant 8).

**12.** Only 1 informant out of 18 (5.5% of the total) did not exhibit postnuclearity in a) (participant 9), but he divides his utterance into two, thus giving prominence to “estúpida”, which is nuclear in his version as well.

All the participants comply with the LLI rule in b) (nucleus on “estúpida”), out of whom, 33% divide the utterance into two: the first generally takes a rise (except in the case of participant 14 who uses the characteristic River Plate Spanish rise-fall) and the second a fall.

An instance worth noting is that of participant 3, who turns a statement into a real exclamation by using a level nuclear tone on “estúpida”. This tone is frequently heard in exclamations in RP Spanish.

**13.** The majority of the informants (61%) show postnuclearity in this utterance. They place the nucleus on “idea”, which is the LLI representing new information. The words in the tail refer to old information.

Of the remaining 39% of the informants who stick to the LLI rule, 22.2% utter the reply undivided and 16.6% divided.

**14.** All the informants except 1 (94.4%) place the nucleus early in the utterance: on “yo”. The only one who places it at the end utters a divided sentence.

The use of the combination of high pre.head + low fall by half of the participants adds extra exclamatory force to the utterance.

**15.** In a), only 2 informants (11.1%) assign the nucleus to the LLI.

Nevertheless, 1 utters a divided sentence, choosing a rise for the first chunk and a fall to close the utterance.

Of the majority who choose to place the nucleus early in the utterance, 61.1% prefer the adverb “bien” and 27.7% favour the verb “parece”.

In b), over half of the informants (55.5%) place the nucleus at the end of the utterance on “bien”, and the rest (44.4%) favour early nucleus placement on “parece”.

In c), 83.3% of the participants utter “por favor” in the tail. Just a minority (16.6%) say it in a separate chunk with a nuclear tone of its own, preferably a fall, with the resulting change in meaning, showing more intensity, urgency and insistence.

**16.** In a), most informants ((88.8%) place the nucleus on “resolver, the LLI.

Only 2 apply early nucleus placement on “puede”.

Curiously enough, in b) which exactly repeats the words of a) (except for the affirmative adverb “sí”), we did not record a single informant who chooses to shift the nucleus to an earlier position, eg. “puede”.

- 17.** In this utterance, a minority speakers (just 16.6%) accent “también”. The rest (83.3%) utter it in a postnuclear position.
- 18.** In this case, only 1 speaker chooses to utter a nuclear “entonces”, in a separate chunk and with a rise. The rest (94.4%) leaves it unaccented in the tail.
- 19.** In this reply, just 3 participants (16.6%) utter a postnuclear “gracias”. The majority (83.3%) say it separately and with a nuclear tone.
- 20.** Both in a) and b) most informants (83.3%) leave “por favor” in the tail. Participant 18 accents it the first time he utters it, in a), but leaves it unaccented in b).

# Results

## Historietas (Cartoons)

### Answers

- 1.** In this reply, 10 informants (55.5%) stick to the LLI rule and place the nucleus on “también”, which appears in final position in the utterance.

We recorded just 1 informant who places the nucleus at the end, though not on “también”, which, in this case, appears in initial position in the predicate and bears the onset.

Half of the informants who favour postnuclearity, place “también” in final position.

We observe that when “también” is initial (before the verb), it is either nuclear (all cases but one) or accented (participant 9), in which case it is the onset.

When “también” is final, it is nuclear in most cases, 69.2%. Only in 30.7% of the cases studied is “también” postnuclear.

Most informants place “también” in final position (72.2%) and a minority (27.7%) initially, before the verb.

- 2.** In this reply, we recorded 88.8% of cases of postnuclearity and just 11.1% of instances which comply with the LLI rule. “Papá Noel” is always postnuclear except in two cases where the informants front it (participants 9 and 11) and say it with a rise.

- 3.** Here, we observed that 77.7% of the participants utter their reply with postnuclearity. The minority (22.2%) of the informants who assign the nucleus to the LLI mostly divide the utterance into two tone units and apply a rise to

the first and a fall to the second. One (part.10) uses a stepping head to avoid postnuclearity.

Of those informants who repeat the interviewer's words "está contenta", most favour the verb as the bearer of the nucleus; some place it on the adjective, however.

- 4.** In this context, 66.6% of the informants exhibit postnuclearity in their reply; thus the remaining 33.3% place the nucleus at the end.

We observed a wide range of possibilities regarding the position of "también" and either its accentuation or deaccentuation.

When the informants place it initially before the verb, it is either nuclear or accented, whereas when it appears at the end, it may be either nuclear or postnuclear.

When "también" appears initially (33.3 % of the cases) before the verb, it is nuclear in all cases, except 1 in which it is still accented, as it bears the onset.

When it appears finally (66.6%), it is postnuclear in over half of the cases studied, being nuclear in the rest.

- 5.** In this reply, 55.5% of the participants apply postnuclearity. Most participants (88.8%) utter the vocative in a separate chunk and, therefore, with a nuclear tone of its own. Thus, a minority (just 11.1%) leave it in the tail unaccented.  
55.5% of the informants leave the adverbial of time "esta noche" in the tail.

- 6.** In this case, over half of the informants (61.1%) apply clefting as well as early nucleus placement. We also recorded several cases of word order variation, which clearly illustrate how flexible the Spanish language is in this sense: "Yo soy el que abre las puertas...", "Soy yo el que abre las puertas..." "El que abre las puertas soy yo...." (difference with English).

In 66.6% of the cases, the nucleus falls on the pronoun “yo”.

**7.** In this particular answer, we observe 94.4% of the participants who follow the LLI rule. Some speakers seem to prefer making use of other resources rather than favour early nucleus placement, such as fragmenting the utterance into two tone units or applying an emphatic head, eg. the stepping head (O'Connor & Arnold, 1973).

**8.** Similarly to reply 7, here we recorded just 1 answer showing postnuclearity. Almost all speakers (94.4%) place the nucleus on the LLI, here “nuevo” in the adverbial “de nuevo”, the equivalent of which in English (again) is frequently deaccented, particularly when it means “go back to a previous position” (difference with English).

Something worth noting, in this case, is how the speaker’s tone choice varies depending on their attitude. Some choose a rise-fall to sound exclamatory, some a fall to sound definite and categoric and others a level or even a rise to express either a casual or a self-reliant attitude.

**9.** In a), over half of the informants (55.5%) place the nucleus on the LLI, whereas in b) the majority favour postnuclearity.

In a), 44.4% of the speakers utter a nuclear “tampoco” and 11.1% just accent it; the rest deaccent it.

In b), 55.5% of the speakers deaccent “tampoco” and 44.4% utter it as nuclear.

**10.** Half of the informants utter this sentence with postnuclearity, and the other half comply with the LLII rule. In the latter case, half utter the sentence divided and the other half undivided.

Out of the speakers who apply early nucleus placement, 11.1% assign the nucleus to the number (“sesenta”) for the sake of emphasis. They have not been married just for 10 or 20 years but 60, a long time.

**11.** In a), the majority (94.4%) of the informants apply postnuclearity: 55.5% of them place the nucleus on the noun “veces”; only 5.5% on the verb and 38.8% on the complement.

In b), the majority (83.3%) also favour postnuclearity.

Half the informants assign the nucleus to the verb and the other half to the complement (difference with English). The reporting clause is, in all cases, postnuclear, except for 1 informant (participant 14) who utters it separately with a rise.

**12.** a) In this reply, 66.6 of the informants place the nucleus on a final word (unmarked tonicity), and 33.3% utter the sentence with postnuclearity.

b) In this case, 61.1% of the speakers comply with the LLI rule, while 38.8% of the participants show postnuclearity.

Some informants choose to divide their utterance either a) or b) (or both) into two tone units and assign the nucleus to the LLI, rather than apply postnuclearity (eg. participants 13 and 16, both a) and b), 17 and 6 b).

**13.** Out of all the informants, 72.2% stick to the LLI rule here and locate the nucleus on the adjunct of place at the end the utterance. Of this 72.2%, 61.5% (the majority) utter the sentence undivided. We also recorded a case of an emphatic head, a stepping head (O’Connor & Arnold, 1973) and a high head (with the onset on “peces”) among those who utter it undivided.

**14.** Here, we observe that the majority of the informants, 72.2% exhibit early nucleus placement. The proportion of the speakers who place the

nucleus on the verb and that of those who place it on the complement (noun) is almost even, almost half and half, 53.8% on the verb and 46.1% on the complement (noun).

- 15.** Half the speakers place the nucleus on the LLI, and the other half place it early in the utterance, preferably on a verb of liking, eg. “gustar”, “agradar” or of mental perception, such as “parecer (bien or mal)”, which denote how the speaker feels about an obvious situation.

We are pleased to observe that the data collected from our experimental analysis are in perfect agreement not only with our theoretical considerations and perceptual study, but also with the results from recent research conducted by the aforementioned intonationists, thus adding empirical weight to our work.

Now, after having explained the results achieved from experimental observation and having corroborated their consistency not only with our a priori assumptions but also with other authors' findings, we consider we are in a position to draw the pertinent conclusions.



## 11. Conclusions

### EVENTS

We observed that in event sentences all the informants place the nucleus on the LLI. Even when the order of the sentence is inverted V + S, the nucleus still falls at the end. There is no early nucleus placement on the noun, as is the case in English. However, it is true that in English we cannot say \* “Is boiling the kettle”. Word order in English does not allow so much flexibility. We recorded cases where the informants prefer to divide their utterance into smaller chunks (particularly when the sentence follows the canonic S + V word order), rather than apply early nucleus placement.

### VOCATIVES

The majority of the informants utter independent<sup>8</sup> nuclear vocatives; in fact we recorded limited cases of postnuclear vocatives (difference with English). We confirmed the expected tendency towards a rising tone choice for oxytonic vocatives and towards a rising-falling one for paroxytonic and proparoxytonic vocatives. We also recorded falling vocatives (coincidence with Ortiz Lira, 1994) and level ones.

### REPORTING CLAUSES

In all answers including reporting clauses, most informants utter them in the tail.

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<sup>8</sup> In a separate chunk

## OLD vs NEW INFORMATION

We confirmed that in Spanish repeated information can frequently be accented.

Therefore, the nucleus can readily fall on a repeated item. Speakers sometimes prefer to divide the utterance into smaller chunks, marking the boundary between old and new information, rather than apply postnuclearity. Nevertheless, we recorded cases of postnuclearity as well.

We noted that in sentences where the informants have to repeat the exact words for the second time, not even one speaker shifts the nucleus to an earlier position (eg. Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 16).

Conversely, in English when we find repeated items in final position in the tone unit, speakers tend to deaccent them, i.e. postnuclearity frequently applies.

However, we observed cases of postnuclearity in Spanish worthy of mention, where the speakers focus on “given” information. These cases are comparable to what authors like Prof. Cruttenden call “counterpresuppositionals” (which fall into the broader category of “insists”) where “the speaker denies something that has been presupposed in the previous speaker’s utterances” (Cruttenden, 1997).

They are frequent cases of early nucleus placement in Spanish, a language in which speakers seem to be more reluctant to place the nucleus anywhere other than on the LLI.

The nucleus may fall on words that are not so frequently accented, as is the case of personal pronouns (eg. “yo” in Exchange (Mini-intercambio) 14 or Cartoon (Historieta) 6).

In our corpus, we recorded many examples where we could confirm the flexibility of Spanish word order (“soy yo el que abre las puertas...,” “yo soy el que abre las

puertas...”, “el que abre las puertas...soy yo”). English grammar is much more rigid in this respect.

## DISLOCATION

We recorded cases of right dislocation of the S, where most informants apply postnuclearity. The nucleus can fall on the verb or on other words (eg. complements) but always before the displaced subject. The same sentences said with the canonic S + V word order display compliance with the LLI rule. We observed cases where the informants fragment the utterance into S and P and apply a rise-fall to the subject. A use curiously reminiscent of that of the fall-rise in English for the topic.

In the examples recorded with left dislocation of adverbials, we found both cases of postnuclearity and cases of final nucleus placement, with a larger proportion of the latter, 65%.

We confirmed that the informants, more often than not, prefer either to divide the utterance and place the nucleus at the end of each tone unit or even use emphatic heads, rather than apply early nucleus placement.

## POR FAVOR

The expression “por favor” is mostly postnuclear in Spanish (similarity with English), particularly in imperatives. Those informants who utter it separately and preferably with a fall, show impatience and insistence.

We recorded instances of final “por favor” in interrogative sentences (mainly requests) in our *Prosodia Comparativa del Inglés y el Castellano* (USAL Research Project, 2012), in which this expression appears in an independent tone unit and is therefore nuclear, particularly rising.

## TAMBIÉN

When “también” is initial (or rather, when it appears before the verb) in the utterance, it is either nuclear or accented (onset). When it is final, it can be either nuclear or postnuclear, but it is usually part of the same tone unit, not independent, as opposed to its equivalent in English, “too” which, as a rule, appears in a separate tone unit and is therefore always nuclear (frequently said with a fall).

## ENTONCES

This inferential behaves similarly to its counterpart “then” in English: it is generally postnuclear when final.

## GRACIAS

It is typically independent and nuclear, but it can also be postnuclear. The tones most frequently recorded are the fall, 61.1%, the rise, 16.6% and the level, 5.5%.

We recorded 16.6% of the speakers who utter “gracias” in the tail, the same percentage as those who say it with a rise.

## FINAL ADVERBIALS OF TIME AND PLACE

We observed cases of final adverbials of time and place which are deaccented, particularly when they denote recoverable information, i.e. information that is being taken for granted (similarity with English). However, we recorded nuclear adverbials in final position as well, even when they indicate “given” information. The proportion is similar.

## DE NUEVO

In general, Spanish speakers seem to accent it as opposed to English speakers, who may deaccent its equivalent “again”, particularly when it means “back to an earlier state”.

## TAMPOCO

The behaviour of the negative adverb “tampoco” varies. When it appears initially, it is more frequently prominent but when it is final, it is typically non-prominent (difference with English where “either” is regularly nuclear).

In *wh*-questions ending with a verb (in Spanish, “preguntas pronominales”) Spanish speakers seem to give preference to the verb rather than the noun as the bearer of the nucleus.

Furthermore, in the data collected from River Plate Spanish speakers, we could confirm that the prevailing accentual pattern recorded was the paroxytonic one, in agreement with the statistical evidence obtained by Delattre and Quilis for General Spanish.

In our corpus, we analyzed numerous instances of postnuclearity where the deaccented items represent information that is being taken for granted.

Of course, it is the speaker who ultimately has the last word in deciding which information to take for granted and which not to take for granted and finally where to place the nucleus. As Prof. Cruttenden states, nucleus placement can be highly “haecceitious”.

At this stage in this dissertation, we can safely claim that the hypothesis we put forward in the introduction has simply been confirmed: Spanish and English share similarities and differences as regards nucleus placement.

Similarities:

- In broad-focus tone units, when all the information is new, we observed both languages favour the location of the nucleus on the last lexical item.
- We recorded many instances of early nucleus placement in Spanish which involves postnuclearity of lexical words, our findings being consistent with previous research conducted by other authors and confirming cases of right and left dislocation (Ortiz Lira, 1994; Mauricio Veliz, 2001) and clefting as well as assertiveness, counterpresuppositionals and insists (Cruttenden, 1997).

Differences:

- English seems to be more “permissive”, allowing grammatical words to bear the nucleus, Spanish, in turn, being more “conservative” in this respect and more resistant to nucleus movement. Nevertheless, we observed a small number of contrastive-focus or emphatic tone units where the nucleus falls on a function word (eg. on the personal pronoun “yo” in the contradiction “Si, soy YO el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los días”).

- In English, old information tends to reject the nucleus, whereas in Spanish, we documented many instances where it is reaccented, eg. A: “Está nevando de NUEvo”, B: SÍ, está nevando de NUEvo”.
- We recorded numerous cases of word-order variation (as an alternative to nucleus movement) to mark narrow focus, eg. “El bebé está lloRANdo”, “Está llorando el beBÉ”.

Another device we could confirm Spanish makes use of, in order to avoid early nucleus placement, is the fragmentation of the tone unit into smaller chunks, eg. “La PAva |, está hirVIENdo”|. This was wisely observed by Prof. Cruttenden in reference to Romance languages (ibid, 1997: 143).

By the same token, we can confidently state that our objectives have been successfully fulfilled:

- We compared and contrasted samples of both linguistic varieties: General British English (GB) and River Plate Spanish (RP).
- We studied the fragmentation of utterances into tone units (tonality).
- We analysed nucleus placement (tonicity).
- We perceived and examined tone contours in both linguistic varieties (tone).
- We applied the theoretical contributions to the experimental analysis of Spanish spoken texts.
- We extracted data from the experimental analysis and drew the pertinent conclusions.
- We compared and contrasted our findings and conclusions with those of other authors.

In this research, we focussed our attention and laid particular emphasis on one of the three Ts representing the systems operating in English intonation, namely “tonicity”, and sought to see how it operates in Spanish. In the process, we not only recorded valuable data related to this system but also to the other Ts, i.e. “tonality” and “tone”. After years of experience teaching phonetics and phonology, I found prosodic difficulties are not always easy to deal with by students and nucleus placement is not a simple task, as the negative transfer from their mother tongue is always present and can be very strong, resulting, in some cases, in a marked “foreign accent”. It is our sincere desire that the result of this work should serve to shed some new light on the teaching-learning process and help teachers bridge the gap in this sense. We hope this work has made a humble contribution to other students of comparative prosody who have a long way ahead in the study of the field and may feel tempted to take over the research tasks. As we pointed out at the beginning, this study is, by no means, intended as an exhaustive one, but rather as a representative one. Some areas of prospective examination which could be the subject of further experimental work may be categories from Gussenhoven’s and Ortiz Lira’s classifications (eg. indirect questions, noun + to infinitive, utterances indicating causation, final relative clauses or fossilized expressions, among others) which were not covered in our acoustic analysis (though they were included in our theoretical and perceptual study) for the reasons given above and because we would have needed twice as many pages if we had explored them. I am confident that future empirical findings will not only confirm but also support our own, as ours confirm and support previous findings, and will surely facilitate our understanding of prosodic aspects which remain as yet unexplained.



Finally, I hope our work will prove of some use as a reference tool in EFL courses and if this contrastive analysis has served to open the door for further development of the research work connected with these and other categories of analysis in the “tonicity”, “tonality” and “tone” systems, we feel we have accomplished our main objective.

## 12. Appendices

### Appendix A

#### Mini-intercambios (Exchanges)

Mini-intercambios de preguntas y respuestas. Escuche la pregunta y proceda a la lectura expresiva de la respuesta correspondiente.

	A	B
1	¿Qué es ese ruido?	a) Está hirviendo la pava.
		b) La pava está hirviendo.
2	¿Escuchás? ¿Qué pasa?	a) Está llorando el bebé.
		b) El bebé está llorando.
3	¿Cómo está Sr. López?	a) Buenas tardes, Sr. Ruiz.
		b) Buenas tardes, Sr. Salinas.
		c) Buenas tardes, Sr. Álvarez.
4	¿Cómo te va Luisa?	a) Buen día, Susana.
		b) Buen día, Juan.
		c) ¡Hola, Máximo!
5	¿Qué hacés?	a) Me voy, Úrsula.
		b) Me voy, Martín.
		c) Me voy, Clara.
6	¿Qué dijo Clemente?	Tengo hambre, dijo Clemente.
7	¿Quién hacía el papel de la mamá en la película?	Mercedes Morán hacía el papel de la mamá, me dijiste.

8	¿Quién preparó la torta?	Él mismo, me comentó.
9	¿No está confirmada la huelga del viernes?	Es por ese motivo que quería hablar con vos.
10	¿Cómo sabés que iba a decir que no?	Hace 25 años que te conozco.
11	¿Por qué lloraba tanto?	a) Estaba asustada la nena.
		b) La nena estaba asustada.
12	¿Por qué te enojaste tanto con ella?	a) Es una estúpida esa piba.
		b) Esa piba es una estúpida.
13	¿Cómo va la reunión del lunes?	No tengo idea de cómo va la reunión del lunes.
14	¿No sabés dónde andará el perro?	¡Qué sé yo donde andará el perro!
15	¿Y si llegamos más tarde entonces?	a) No me parece bien llegar más tarde.
		b) No, llegar más tarde no me parece bien.
		c) Lleguemos temprano, por favor.
16	¿Viste que difícil este problema?	a) Sí, no se puede resolver.
		b) No se puede resolver.
17	¿Te fijaste qué desubicada esa mujer en la iglesia? No paraba de	Como una que estaba sacando fotos, también.
18	¿Y si me quedo a hacerte compañía?	No te vayas entonces.
19	¿Cómo estás Daniel?	Estoy bien, gracias.
20	¿Querés que te compre el remedio, Carlos?	a) Compralo, por favor.
		b) Consequímelo, por favor.

## Appendix B

### Historietas

Observe las imágenes y en todos los casos **responda con una oración completa utilizando la o las palabras claves que se dan entre paréntesis, según corresponda.**

Ejemplo:

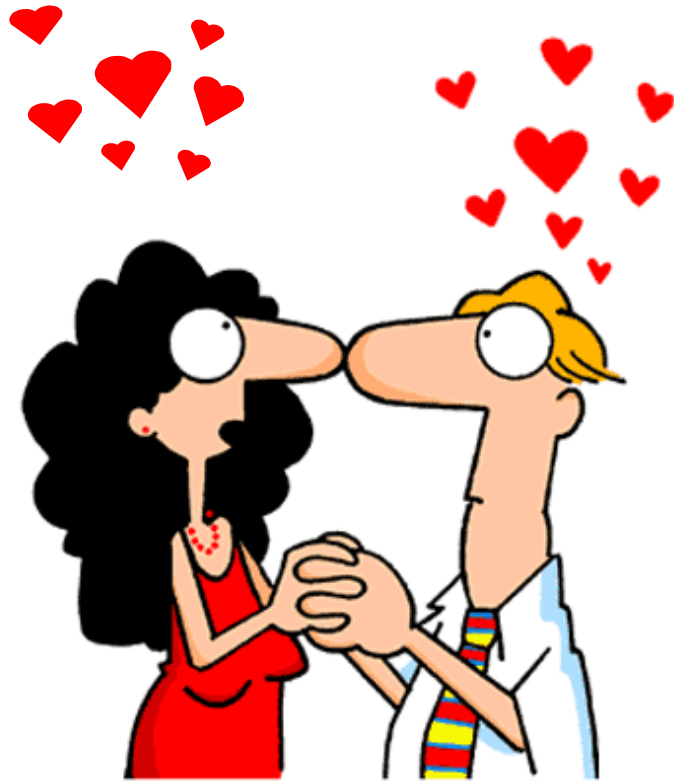
¿Qué le pasa al señor? (salud)

El señor tiene un problema de salud.

¿Quién está cansado? (Juan)

Juan está cansado.

1.



Entrevistador: Pedro parece estar enamorado de Paula. ¿Y Paula?

Informante: (también)

2.



Entrevistador: ¿Qué le sucede a Papá Noel últimamente?

Informante: (....., Papá Noel.)

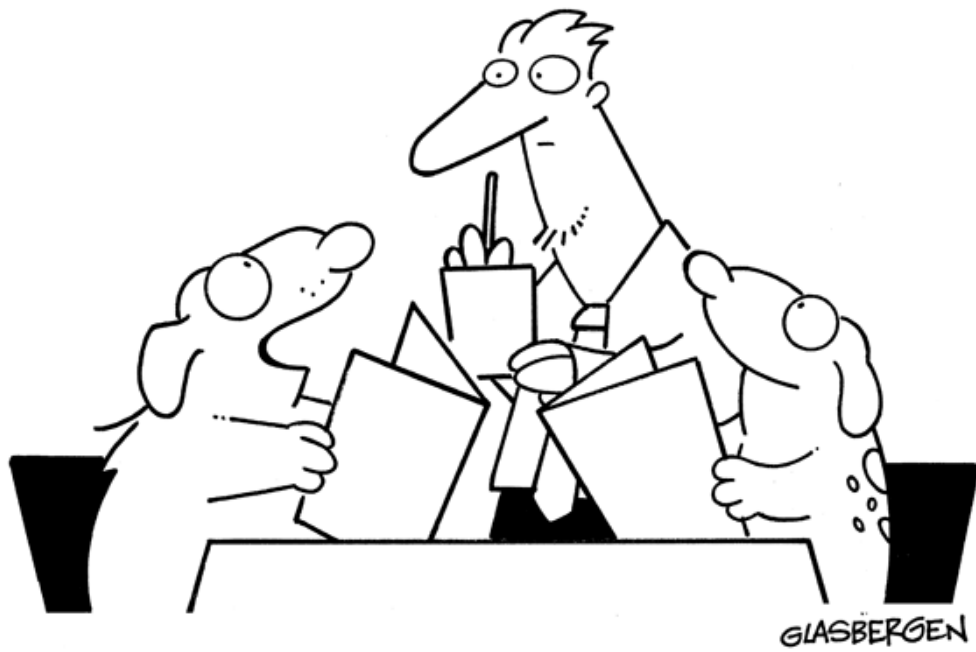
3-



Entrevistador: ¿Está contenta la mujer de Roberto de que vuelva a fumar?

Informante: (..... que vuelva a fumar)

4-



Entrevistador: El ratoncito de la izquierda dice: 'Tengo mucha hambre.' ¿Qué le contesta el de la derecha?

Informante: (también)



5.



Entrevistador: Alicia dice: 'Voy a llegar tarde a casa esta noche, mi amor.' Su marido se ofrece a preparar la cena. ¿Cómo lo diría?

Informante: (.....esta noche, querida)

6.



Entrevistador: El Arcángel Gabriel le dice al Arcángel Miguel: '¡Vos no sos el que abre las puertas del Cielo todos los días!' El Arcángel Miguel lo contradice con otra exclamación. ¿Cómo sería?

Informante: (.....,..... el que .....

7.



Entrevistador: Parece que el enfermo de la figura no obedece las reiteradas instrucciones del médico y se levanta de la cama. ¿Qué le dice el médico?

Informante: (Ya, decir.....)

8.



Entrevistador: Un pingüino le dice al otro: 'Está nevando de nuevo.' El otro concuerda. ¿Qué le responde?

Informante:

9.



Entrevistador: El padre le dice al hijo: '¿No fuiste al colegio hoy tampoco?' El hijo admite que no fue. ¿Qué le responde?

Informante: (tampoco)

10.

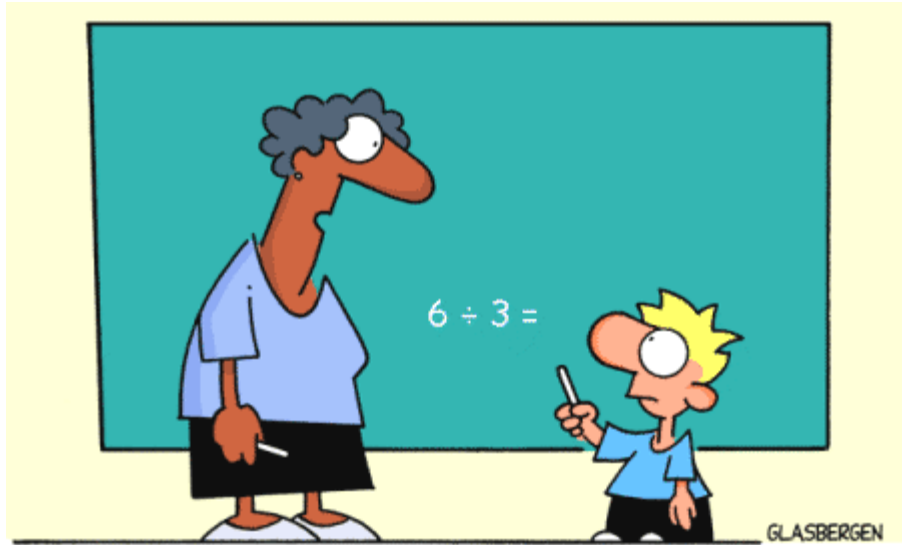


Entrevistador: La esposa le recuerda al marido los 60 años que llevan casados.

¿Qué le dice?

Informante: (Hace...)

11.



Entrevistador: El niño de la figura parece no saber realizar la operación matemática después de que la maestra lo haya explicado reiteradamente. ¿Qué le dice la maestra después de explicar la división tantas veces?

Informante: (“Ya son muchas veces....”, dijo la.....) o (“Yo ya.....esto”,dijo la...)

12.

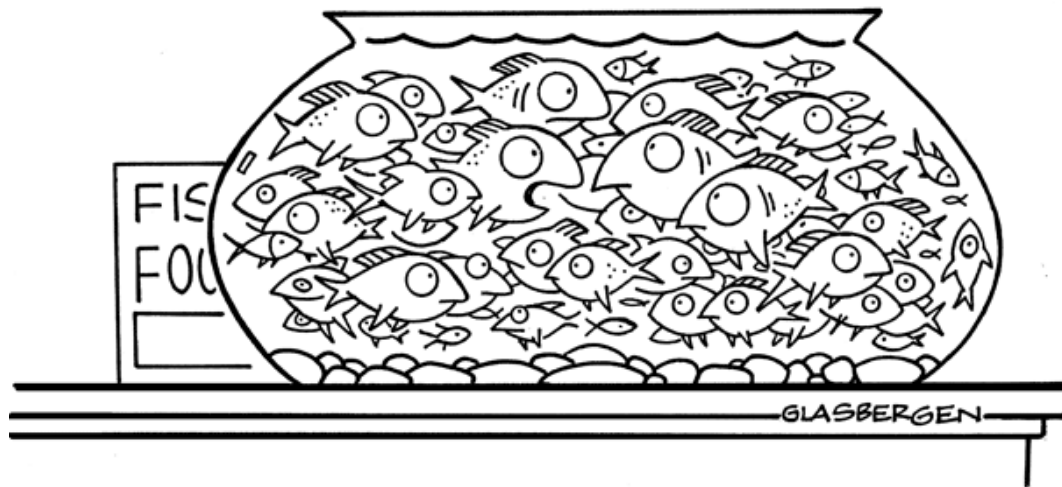


Entrevistador: El perrito ya lleva mucho tiempo buscando trabajo y está cansado.  
¿Qué le dice a la entrevistadora?

Informante:



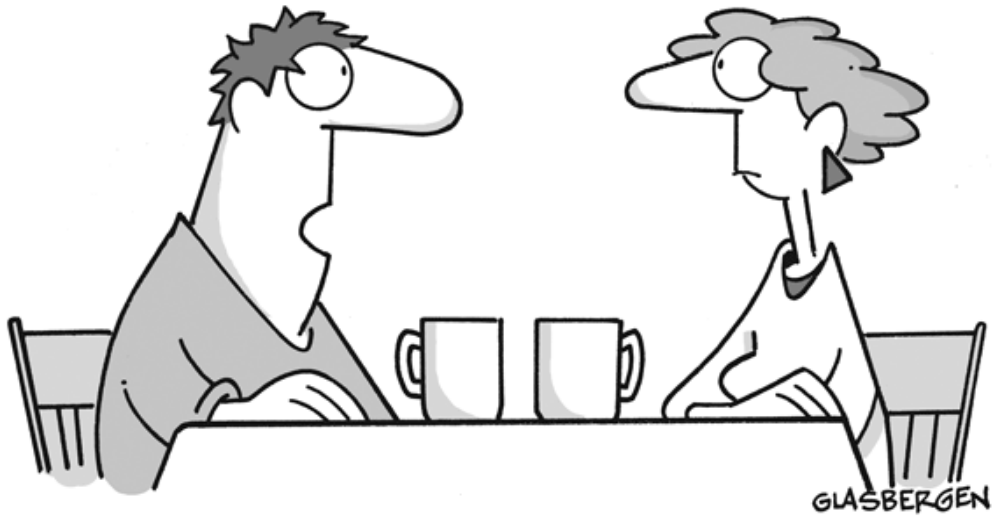
13.



Entrevistador: Observe la figura. ¿Cuál es el problema?

Informante: (pecera)

14.



Entrevistador: Mire la pareja de la figura. ¿Le parece que tienen una buena relación? Responda en forma negativa.

Informante: (.....la pareja)

15.



Entrevistador: ¿Qué le dice la nena a su abuela con respecto a su desagrado por la lectura de libros en papel?

Informante:

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