

# *Spanish Intonation of Hungarian Learners of Spanish: Yes or No Questions*

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“SPANISH INTONATION OF HUNGARIAN LEARNERS  
OF SPANISH: YES-OR-NO QUESTIONS”

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I am also grateful to Francisco José Cantero Serena, for his hospitality and helpfulness, and for clarifying various aspects of his framework to me.

Needless to say, I am alone the responsible for any error in this work.

And last but not least, I thank all my family who supported me while I was writing this dissertation.

## Abstract

The present dissertation is a comparative study of the intonation of yes-no questions in Hungarian and Spanish. Based especially on my own corpora, I examine the realization of the main accent in utterances, pitch range, and the intonational patterns applied. First, these aspects will be investigated in a Spanish corpus (Corpus 1) then in a Hungarian corpus (Corpus 2) and after that, I will make hypotheses about the ways Hungarians pronounce Spanish yes-no questions. These predictions then will be validated by means of a corpus containing Spanish yes-no questions produced by Hungarian learners of Spanish (Corpus 3). My predictions were the following:

(a) As the place of main accent in an utterance depends on lexical stress, and lexical stress placement obeys different rules in the two languages, it is predictable that Hungarian learners of Spanish will not produce Spanish main accents according to the Spanish norms. (b) Hungarian uses a narrower pitch range than Spanish, thus, the Spanish yes-no interrogatives produced by Hungarian learners are expected to have a narrower pitch range. (c) The intonation contours applied will be investigated in 3 subgroups of yes-no questions: ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions and yes-no questions followed by a vocative. Ordinary yes-no questions in Hungarian are typically accompanied by rising-falling contours, whereas in Spanish, by rising ones; Hungarian echo yes-no questions have several main accents, each triggering a rise-fall contour, while in their Spanish counterparts there is one main accent in these cases, with a characteristically rising pattern. Yes-no question + vocative sequences contain two intonation units in both languages, but in Hungarian the yes-no interrogative conserves its rising-falling melody, and the vocative is accompanied by a fall, unlike in Spanish, where both contours are rising, and the final vocative is given the higher rise. Based on these observations, the prediction is that Hungarians will transfer their Hungarian intonational patterns to Spanish yes-no questions, which may be found unacceptable by Spanish listeners.

My hypotheses will be validated by the analysis of the Spanish yes-no interrogatives of Hungarian students, which will cast light on those areas of intonation which should be given more attention in Spanish language teaching in Hungary.

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a comparative study of Spanish and Hungarian yes-no question intonation. The choice of the topic, “Spanish intonation of Hungarian learners of Spanish: yes-or-no questions”, is justified because of the following facts:

- I am interested in second language teaching, and as Spanish is the mother tongue of more than 300 million people in the world, it should be given more attention in Hungary as well.
- Hungarian-Spanish interlanguage (the Spanish of Hungarian learners) has not been widely investigated until now. As a correct pronunciation, including correct intonation, forms part of the communicative competence, I consider the teaching of intonation necessary in language classrooms, especially as Spanish course books usually neglect this area.

The present chapter introduces some basic concepts related to intonation and explains the main aims of this dissertation.<sup>1</sup> These aims include: (a) establishing three intonational corpora: a corpus of Spanish yes-no questions (Corpus 1), a corpus of Hungarian yes-no question (Corpus 2) and a corpus of Spanish yes-no questions produced by Hungarian learners of Spanish (Corpus 3), (b) analyzing these corpora in the analytical framework elaborated by Cantero (2002) and Font-Rotchés (2007), (c), improving – when possible – the existing description of Spanish or Hungarian intonation, (d) predicting areas where Hungarian learners of Spanish might encounter problems in the intonation of Spanish yes-no questions and drawing the attention of Spanish language teachers to these problems.

After presenting the structure of this work, I explain the choice of the analytical framework, and give a concise outline of the history of intonation research.

## 1.2 Some basic concepts

**Intonation** is identifiable as a subset of prosodic devices. The prosodic devices include pitch patterns, pitch range, pitch register, stress, volume, tempo, voice quality and pause. Broader definitions of intonation cover all the prosodic devices, but most scholars reduce the scope of

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<sup>1</sup> Parts of this chapter were also discussed in Pálvölgyi (2003).

intonation to the use of pitch variations (pitch patterns, pitch range and pitch register, the most important among them being pitch patterns), on condition that the use of pitch is relevant at the level of utterances (and not at the level of words). Even these restricted definitions agree that pitch variation interrelates with other prosodic devices, especially stress and pause (Varga 2002:20).

**Intonation**, according to Cruttenden (1997:7), entails the occurrence of recurring pitch patterns, all of which are used with a set of relatively consistent meanings on utterances. O'Connor—Arnold (1961, 1973:1) recognize three basic features which characterize intonation: (a) it is **significant**, i.e. utterances differing only in respect of intonation may, as a result, differ from each other in meaning; (b) it is **systematic**, i.e. there is a limited set of pitch patterns in any language that are used to produce definite meaningful effects; it is possible to describe these recurring patterns and to give rules that govern their use; (c) it is **characteristic**, i.e. the pitch patterns of one particular language do not necessarily produce the same effect in other languages.

Intonation is closely related to **accent**. Stress and accent are not equivalent terms; stress means syllabic prominence achieved by non-intonational means (i.e. by loudness and duration), whereas accent refers to syllabic prominence in which pitch is involved as well (Cruttenden, 1997:13).

### **1.3 The structure of this work**

The present work is a comparative study, examining similarities and differences in Spanish and Hungarian intonation. The particular purpose of this thesis is to point out the areas where Hungarian intonation differs from and coincides with Spanish intonation in yes-no questions.

In order to compare two languages from an intonational point of view, one has to apply the same methodology. Thus, after a short revision of intonation theories in this chapter, Chapter 2 will present the analytical framework used in this study: the intonational model worked out by Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2009) and Font-Rotchés—Cantero (2009). Chapter 3 will focus on the inventory of Spanish intonation patterns based on this approach, while Chapter 4 will deal with the inventory of Hungarian intonation patterns, based on Varga (2002a). Chapter 5 will concentrate on Spanish, and Chapter 6 on Hungarian yes-no interrogative intonation.

There are certain features of Hungarian intonation which, if transferred to another language, may change the intended meaning, or sound foreign or unacceptable. I will focus on

this area in the realization of yes-no questions in Chapter 7 (predictions) and Chapter 8 (validation of the predictions).

The three Appendices contain the three corpora which serve as a background for the present study.

### 1.3.1 The areas of research

It is often claimed that Hungarian yes-no questions have a typical rising-falling contour, which is not characteristic of the yes-no questions of other languages and is not perceived as such by speakers of other languages (cf. Kassai 1991, 1995).<sup>2</sup> I will examine whether its transfer actually occurs in the case of Spanish, and whether in Spanish this would be an unacceptable solution. Also, I will examine if Hungarians produce the typical Spanish yes-no question intonation, which is characteristically rising. It is not expected that Hungarians would produce rising contours in yes-no questions as in Hungarian the final rise has limited applicability in yes-no questions (cf. 6.3).

In this work, I will concentrate on three types of yes-no questions, all with a characteristic Hungarian intonational pattern: ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions and combinations of a yes-no question + a vocative. It will be examined whether or not these typical Hungarian solutions are transferred to the Spanish utterances in these cases, and if so, whether they sound ungrammatical in Spanish.

I will not only look at intonational patterns used in yes-no interrogatives, but also at other factors pertaining to intonation, such as accent-realization and pitch range. As Hungarian is a language of fixed lexical stress<sup>3</sup>, as opposed to Spanish, a free stress language, it is predictable that Hungarians will use their own accentual system when producing Spanish sentences. This will yield erroneous solutions, especially if the stress in question has a special intonational role in the utterance. As far as pitch range is concerned, Hungarians have a rather narrow pitch range at utterance level and also in inflections as compared to Spanish. Whether this narrower pitch range is present in Spanish yes-no interrogatives produced by Hungarian speakers will also be examined in this work.

The results will cast light on areas which need special attention in teaching Spanish intonation to Hungarian learners.

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<sup>2</sup> Grice—Ladd—Arvaniti (2000:148), however, are of the opinion that the rising-falling question intonation of Hungarian is a manifestation of the *Eastern European Question Tune* (EEQT).

<sup>3</sup> The lexical stress is on the first syllable of the word.



## 1.4 The study of intonation: a brief historical survey

The following section will place the Cantero—Font-Rotchés analysis in the wider framework of the history of intonational research.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.4.1 Contour analysis and level analysis

There are two main traditional approaches towards the study of intonation: the **contour-based tradition** and the **level-based analysis**.

The traditional contour-based (or “musical”) approach, mainly followed by British linguists, goes back to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in which Steele’s *Prosodia Rationalis* and Walker’s *The Melody of Speaking Delineated; or Elocution Taught Like Music; By Visible Signs...* appeared.<sup>5</sup> This tradition characterized such works as Sweet (1892), Jones (1909, 1964), Palmer (1922, 1933), Armstrong—Ward (1926), Kingdon (1958), Schubiger (1958), Halliday (1967, 1970), O’Connor—Arnold (1961, 1973), Crystal (1969), Roach (1983, 1991), Tench (1996), Cruttenden (1997), etc.

The level-based tradition, accepted widely by American structuralist linguists, including Pike (1945), Trager—Smith (1951), Hockett (1955) or Gleason (1961) represented intonation by usually four level pitches (marked at the beginning of the utterance and at points where a change to another pitch level takes place) and terminal junctures (indicating the melodic transition to silence at the end of each intonational unit).

The main difference between the two approaches, according to Bolinger (1972:51)<sup>6</sup> is that the contour-based analysis is **global** in the sense that it describes entire contours with their grammatical (and attitudinal) meanings, whereas the level-based tradition is **atomistic**, in the sense that it describes meaningless subunits which are related to intonation in the same way as phonemes are related to words. In other words the American level-based approach tries to reduce the enormous variability of intonational phenomena to a relatively small set of “pitch” phonemes.

The two approaches can express the same pattern of intonation by different means (cf. (1a), (1b)):

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<sup>4</sup> This brief survey of intonation research is based on Pálvölgyi (2003), Cantero (2002), Font-Rotchés (2007), Llisterri et al. (2003), Prieto (2002, 2003), Sosa (1999).

<sup>5</sup> There are manuals of elocution and pronunciation including remarks on intonation from as early as the sixteenth century as well (Cruttenden 1997:26).

<sup>6</sup> Cited in Prieto 2002:129.

(1a) contour-based analysis:<sup>7</sup>

˘Usually / 'John goes to □London

(1b) level-based analysis:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Usually<sup>1</sup> // <sup>2</sup>John goes to <sup>3</sup>London<sup>1</sup> # (Cruttenden 1997:39)

In the orthodox British tradition (e. g. Kingdon 1958), the inner structure of intonation unit is characterized by a **prenuclear part** (stretching from the beginning until the last accented syllable of the last word of the intonation unit, called the **nucleus**) and a **nuclear part** (starting from the nucleus and lasting till the end). The prenuclear part is further divisible into a **prehead** (the syllables before the first accent) and the **body** (spreading from the first accented syllable, called the **head**, to the nucleus). This structure is shown in Figure 1.1. The level-based tradition does not consider any inner structure for the intonation unit.

Figure 1.1: The orthodox structure of the intonation unit in the British School (the bracketed parts are optional)

(Prehead) + (Body) + Nuclear Part

The two traditional schools are both characterized by the predominant use of read corpora, ear-based analysis and manual representation. In Roach (1991) one can find helpful ideas for a correct recognition of the direction of the pitch movement, as it is not always easy to tell a rise from a fall either for an untrained ear.

Concerning these two approaches, two special cases must be mentioned: Bolinger, though American, was one of the most influential critics of the American structuralists' level analysis. In the British tradition, Brazil (1981) and Brazil et al. (1980) offered an innovative intonational analysis not at utterance but at discourse level. There were various attempts to conciliate the two traditional approaches, cf. for instance Daneš (1960), Vanderslice—Ladefoged (1972), Stockwell (1972), Quilis (1975), and Cruttenden (1997).

As for the Spanish followers of the British school, we must first mention the somewhat eclectic approach of N. Tomás (1944, 1966), whose structural description of the Spanish intonation unit mostly coincides with that proposed for the English intonation unit by British scholars. His work was very influential in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are a number of linguists

<sup>7</sup> The symbols (called “tonetic stress marks”) reflect stresses and tonal movements. The slash in the example indicates the boundary between adjacent intonation units.

<sup>8</sup> The numbers indicate relative pitch height within the intonation unit: 4 here being the highest and 1 being the lowest. # stands for falling and // for rising terminal juncture.

adopting his guidelines, such as Alarcos Llorach (1950), Gili Gaya (1950), Alcina Franch y Blecua (1975), Gil Fernández (1988).<sup>9</sup> The American tradition has also influenced the study of Spanish intonation, see e.g. Bowen (1956), Silva-Fuenzalida (1957), Bowen — Stockwell (1960), Quilis (1981). Regarding Hungarian intonational studies, most of those that came to light before the 1980s belonged to the contour-based tradition, see eg. Deme (1962), Fónagy—Magdics (1967). The American type of structuralist levels analysis did not take root in Hungary, although Hetzron (1980) and Kozma—Szendé (1981) came quite close to that kind of analysis.

#### 1.4.2 The autosegmental approach

The level-based tradition served as an antecedent to the development of **autosegmental approaches** to intonation, which kept the use of levels in the guise of tones and added explicit mapping rules. The segmental or syllabic sequence constitutes the first tier of phonological representation, and the tones, another tier. The rules that connect the two tiers are referred to as “tune-text association rules” (Cruttenden 1997:56). The autosegmental approach characterizes works by e.g. Gussenhoven (1983, 2007), Pierrehumbert (1980), Beckman—Ayers (1994), Grice (1995) and Ladd (1996), etc., and is the dominant approach in intonational studies worldwide today, although it exists in varieties that differ in detail.

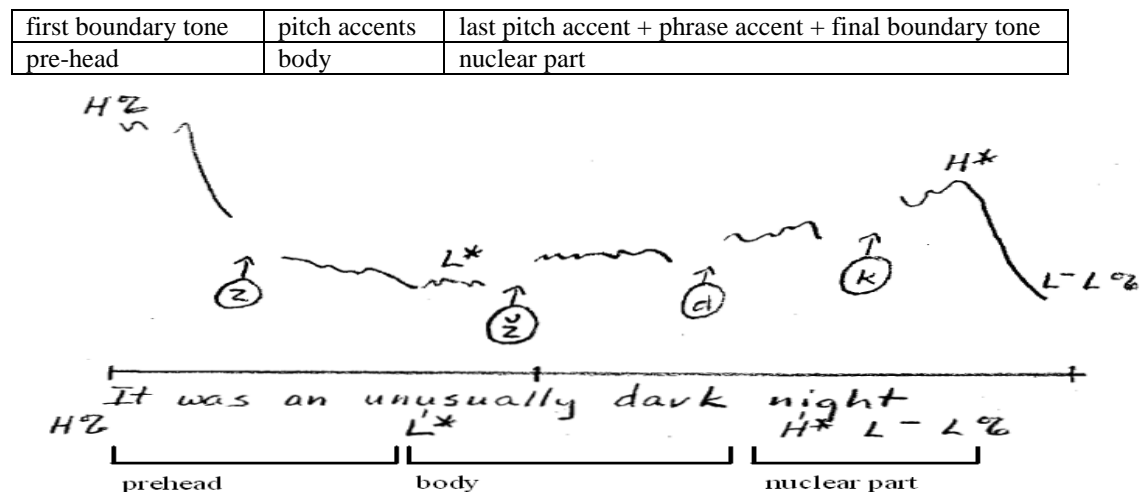
Since Pierrehumbert (1980) the two-level (or two-tone) approach has prevailed (the two levels or tones being High [H] and Low [L]). On the tonal tier, two types of tone are marked: those associated with **pitch accents** (which are associated with lexically stressed syllables and their representation includes a starred H\* or L\*), and those associated with intonational boundaries (these may be associated with both stressed and unstressed syllables). The tones associated with a fundamental frequency change after the last pitch accent are the **phrase accents** (also known as phrase tones) marked H- and L-, and those associated with the last syllable of the utterance are the **boundary tones** marked H%, if there is a rise on or to the last syllable, and L% otherwise (Cruttenden 1997:60). A boundary tone may occur at the beginning of the intonation unit, too. The structure of the intonation unit in Pierrehumbert’s analysis consists of an optional initial boundary tone, one or more obligatory pitch accents (which can be bitonal), an obligatory phrase accent, and an obligatory final boundary tone. In

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<sup>9</sup> All cited in Prieto 2003:49.

Figure 1.2, Pierrehumbert's representation is completed by showing the structural parts of the intonation unit according to the British tradition:

Figure 1.2: Correspondences between the structure of the intonation unit in the autosegmental representation and in the British tradition, illustrated with an example taken from Pierrehumbert (1980: 292)



There are other, non-mainstream proposals for the number of levels in this approach: Martínez Celdrán (2003) considers it necessary to introduce a third level for the autosegmental representation of intonation, whereas Cabrera-Abreu (1996) proposes a radically minimalist transcription model for English using merely H (high) and the lack of it, thus reducing the use of symbols from two to one.

It was in the autosegmental model that a new notational system developed in the 1990s, known as the ToBI (Tone and Break indices) system, which has been applied to numerous languages, even to Serbian (Godjevac 2000), Korean (Jun 2000), Greek (Arvaniti—Baltazani 2000), Japanese (Venditti 2005), German (Grice—Baumann 2002). As intonation and prosodic organization differ from language to language, and often from dialect to dialect within a language, there are many different, language-specific ToBI systems (Beckman—Hirschberg 1999).<sup>10</sup>

Nowadays, the autosegmental intonational analysis of both read and spontaneous corpora is assisted by software (such as Pitchworks or CSL 4300, for instance) but labelling is characteristically carried out manually.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For example, the Dutch counterpart is called ToDI (Gussenhoven et al. 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Software-based intonation analysis is characteristic from the 1960's. The Aix-en-Provence model, developed in the laboratory 'Parole et Langage' of the University of Aix-en-Provence by Daniel Hirst, Albert di Cristo and Robert Espesser, aims at recovering a symbolic representation from the F<sub>0</sub> curve. The process is carried out by the program MES (Motif Environnement for Speech), which contains two modules: one for the automatic stylization (called **MOMEL**, "MOdelling **MEL**ody"), and the other used for annotations (**INTSINT**,

Autosegmental approaches to Spanish intonation include Sosa (1999), Nibert (2000), Pamies et al., (2001), Fernández et al., (2001), Hualde (2002). Those working within the ToBI framework, are e.g. Beckman et al. (2002), Face—Prieto (2006/2007), Patiño (2008).<sup>12</sup> For autosegmental treatments of Hungarian intonational patterns, see Kornai—Kálmán (1989), Olaszy (2001) and Varga (1994, 2002a, 2008).

### 1.4.3 Cantero—Font-Rotchés’s model

The model proposed by Cantero (2002) and later complemented by Font-Rotchés (2007) combines modern contour standardization procedures with a rather traditional conception of the structure and representation of the intonation unit. Their empirical and experiment-based model is called “Melodic Analysis of Speech” (MAS)<sup>13</sup>, which describes intonation from a phonetic point of view but is a phonological model, without the use of other (grammatical, pragmatic, etc.) levels of analysis. The method excludes paralinguistic aspects from the phonological component of intonation, the only phonological features being /±interrogative/, /±suspended/ and /±emphatic/. The combinations of these binary phonological features are called **tonemes**, which are realized by certain recurrent intonational contours called the **melodic patterns**. A melodic pattern is submitted to perceptual tests in order to be characterized by its binary features and thus to be relegated to a particular toneme. Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007) found 12 melodic patterns with subtypes in European Spanish. The method is also suitable for the purposes of applied linguistics, such as speech reconstruction, for example.

The inner structure of the intonation unit corresponds to the one accepted by the mainstream British tradition, with an **Anacrusis**, **Body**, and **Final Inflection**, corresponding to the traditional concepts of pre-head, body and nuclear part, respectively. The identification

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“**IN**ternational Transcription System for **INT**onation”). As an important proposal of the model is to design a method capable of comparing different languages, a comparison of 20 languages was carried out within this framework in Hirst—Di Cristo (1998). As for Spanish applications of the model, we have to cite Mora (1996), Le Besnerais (1995), and Alcoba y Murillo (1998). For Hungarian, see Fónagy (1998). There are other intonation models strictly connected to text-to-speech conversion programs, such as MINGUS, “Modular Intonation Generation Using Syntax”, based on the research of Mertens (1987), the Fujisaki-model (designed originally for Japanese in Fujisaki—Nagashima 1969) and the Thorsen-Grønnum-model (originating in Thorsen 1979). Intonation plays a crucial role in speech recognition and synthesis, and in man-machine interaction. In dialogue systems, which permit personal communication with a computer, there is a need to consider intonation for the better understanding of user interventions and in the automatic generation of a correct answer.

<sup>12</sup> This work can also be seen as an adaptation of Cantero (2002)’s theory of tonemes.

<sup>13</sup> For a description of the model, see also Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2009) and Font-Rotchés—Cantero (2009).

of an intonation unit is not assisted by any external cues, the only criterion for determining its boundaries being the presence of the Final Inflection.

They use spontaneous corpora exclusively, taken from television programs as they guarantee not only high quality but also that the speakers are unaware of being analysed within intonational research.

It is an essential step in their analysis that the original  $F_0$  curve is reduced to a standardized copy of it without micromelodic variations, ultimately with the help of the analysis and synthesis program Praat (Boersma—Weenink 1992-2011). Standardization of contours was first done in terms of semitones in the Dutch School of intonation research, also known as the IPO model, which was worked out in Eindhoven and existed between about 1965 and 1995<sup>14</sup>. The difference between the standardized curves in the Cantero—Font-Rotchés model and the ones in the Dutch School is that the Cantero—Font-Rotchés model gives the standard values in percentages, a system easier to handle than the one with semitones. The standardized contour is represented by a line which starts with an arbitrary value of 100% and anchors in each syllable, which is itself characterized by a percentage based on its position with respect to the previous syllable. It is a negative percentage if the syllable is lower and a positive one if it is located higher than the previous syllable. The standardized contour, as in the case of the Dutch school, is submitted to perceptual tests to confirm that it is melodically identical to the original curve; if not, manual correction is made. The percentages can show more than the autosegmental labels would, in the sense that they can express illocution (in Spanish, for instance, a final rise of over 70% is perceived as an interrogative).<sup>15</sup> (2) shows the original (thinner) curve of the Hungarian utterance *Kipihente magát?* ‘Did you have a good rest?’ plus the standardized (thicker) curve<sup>16</sup>. The two curves should be perceptually identical.

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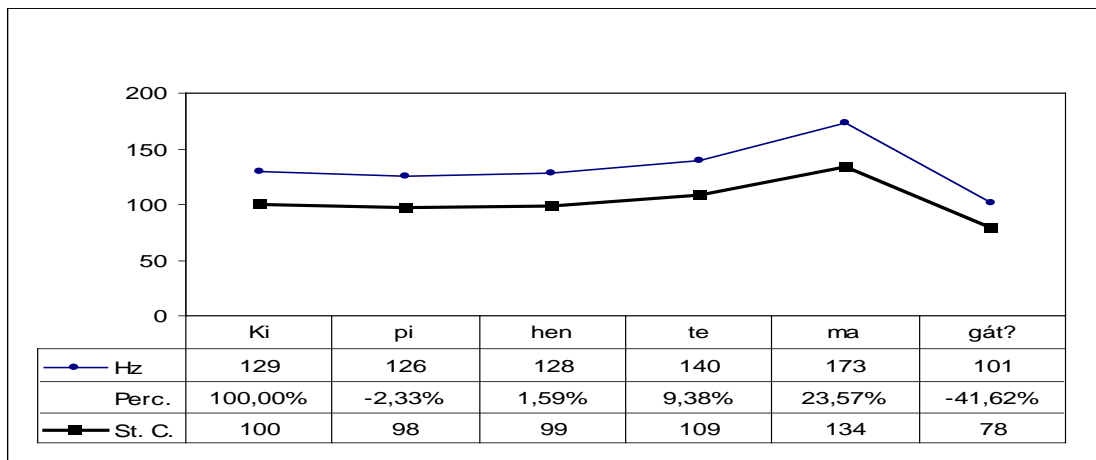
<sup>14</sup> The most emblematic work of this approach is ‘t Hart, Collier et al. (1990), which was followed by various researches in different languages (Adriaens 1991, Beaugendre 1994, Odé — van Heuven 1994). In Spanish, Garrido (1991, 1996) and Estruch et al. (1999) work with similar methods of automatic stylization. For more information on the Dutch School, see Cantero (2002), Garrido (2003), Estruch et al. (2007) and Font-Rotchés (2007).

<sup>15</sup> Still, Font-Rotchés thinks that their melodic analysis is compatible with autosegmental notations, as it is a model “that also permits any subsequent type of notation, including ToBI methodology”, cf. Font-Rotchés—Mateo (2011a:1112).

<sup>16</sup> *Perc.* stands for percentages, and *St. C.* for Standardized Curve in the diagrams.

(2)

| 'Kipihente magát?|  
rested-3sg himself/herself-acc  
'Did you have a good rest?'



A more detailed description of the Cantero—Font-Rotchés model will follow in Chapter 2. I have chosen this model because it unites in itself *all* of the following advantages:

- it is based on vast corpora of spontaneous utterances;
- it establishes a limited set of intonational patterns with a minimalized set of meanings attributable to them;
- it provides a detailed explanation of data processing and analysis;
- its representation of the intonational patterns is iconic and easier to use for pedagogical (language teaching) purposes than, for example, the ToBI labelling is.

Though first applied to Spanish intonation (Cantero et al. 2005, Cantero—Font-Rotchés 2007, Font-Rotchés—Mateo 2011), it has been extended to the study of intonation in other languages as well, e.g. Catalan (Font-Rotchés 2005, 2007, 2009), or Chinese (Kao 2011). For a partial Spanish application see Patiño (2008). In Hungarian, a partly similar analysis is done in Olaszy—Koutny’s investigations, who also work with percentages and stylized contours. In their version, however, the first number (100%) is not an arbitrary value, but a value representing the first abstract  $F_0$  value of declarative sentences. As compared to this value, yes-no questions start at 80% (Olaszy—Koutny 2001: 182-183).

## 1.5 Summary

The introductory chapter had two objectives:

- explaining that the purpose of the study is to compare Spanish and Hungarian yes-no question intonation, based on a Spanish (Cantero 2002) and a Hungarian intonation

model (Varga 2002a) and two corpora collected for the present study (Corpus 1 with Spanish utterances and Corpus 2 with Hungarian utterances).

- after a brief historical survey of the intonational theories, presenting the model I chose for carrying out the comparative analysis.

After pointing out similarities and differences between the two intonational systems in yes-no interrogatives, several predictions will be made about how Hungarian students will realize Spanish yes-no interrogatives. The focused areas are accent realization, pitch range and the application of intonational patterns, in three subtypes of yes-no questions: ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions and yes-no questions followed by a vocative.

The selected approach is based on Cantero—Font-Rotchés’s melodic analysis of speech (MAS), which combines the traditional British concept of the structure of the intonation unit with modern contour standardization procedures.



## Chapter 2 The theoretical background: Cantero's model

### 2.1 Introduction

The theoretical background used in this work is the theory for intonational study presented by F.J. Cantero in his *Teoría y análisis de la entonación* (2002). This is an acoustically and perceptually based analytical model, which, by instrumental means, is capable of describing intonation objectively from both a phonetic and a phonological point of view.

The model also offers a method for intonational analysis, called “Melodic Analysis of Speech”, originally worked out for Spanish and Catalan, but current investigations suggest it is applicable to describe the intonations of different languages of the world.

The following traits make this model attractive:

- It separates the phonetic and the phonological aspects in the description of intonation.
- It analyzes spontaneous speech, without forcing the speakers to produce the “expected” data. The speakers are unaware of being recorded, so their utterances are not influenced by the experiment.
- The melodic analysis is not done by ear, but by a software developed for acoustic analysis.
- It offers an easily employable standardization procedure. With the standardization of the obtained melodic curves, contours produced by men and women, old and young people, etc. are easily comparable.

Now I present the main points of the model, following the argumentation of Cantero (2002:75-102), Font-Rotchés (2007:69-93), Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2009), and Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2009).

### 2.2 The levels of intonation

For Cantero, intonation equals meaningful variations in the  $F_0$  of utterances. He defines it as “the  $F_0$  variations that accomplish a linguistic function in voice emission” (2002:18).<sup>17</sup> Other

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<sup>17</sup> “Las variaciones de  $F_0$  que cumplen una función lingüística a lo largo de la emisión de la voz”. (Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations here and elsewhere in this dissertation are mine, K.P.B.) This definition, however, is not restrictive enough because it applies not only to the *intonation* of utterances, but also to *tones* of words in tonal languages, cf. e.g. Tench (1996:3).

elements sometimes traditionally taken to be part of intonation (tempo, intensity, duration, timbre) are out of his scope.<sup>18</sup> With this definition he recognizes that intonation has a linguistic nature (with which not all intonational phonologists would agree, especially in the past). However, not all about intonation is linguistic, i.e., phonological. Intonation, for Cantero, works at three levels, among which only one is linguistic.

At the first, or **prelinguistic** level, intonation acts as a means of organising the phonic blocks into discourse, with the co-operation of accent. This is the common ground between accent and intonation, as for Cantero both phenomena are the product of  $F_0$  variation.<sup>19</sup> The second is the **linguistic** level, this is where the units and meanings of intonation are distinguished. Three binary phonological features, /±interrogative/, /±emphatic/, /±suspended/, are combined to make up 8 possible language **tonemes**.<sup>20</sup> Tonemes, for Cantero (2002: 136) are “intonational linguistic signs”.<sup>21</sup> The typical tonemes of a language with their dispersion margins (i.e. realizational latitudes) are realized by the **melodic patterns** of that language.<sup>22</sup> The third level comprises the **paralinguistic** aspects of intonation, responsible for adding emotional information, but this belongs to the field of pragmatics. The following points explain how intonation works at these three levels.

### 2.3 Prelinguistic intonation. The hierarchy of intonationally relevant phonetic units

The model (developed by Cantero (2002) and Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2008)) makes use of a hierarchy of phonetic units: the **Syllable**, the **Rhythmic Group** (or phonic word) and the **Phonic Group**. We will now discuss these terms one by one.

Within the **Syllable**, only vowels are tonally relevant, because voiceless consonants interrupt the melody, while voiced consonants and glides depend on the vowel's tone. Consonants occupy a marginal status in the syllable. Vowels always constitute syllabic nuclei,

---

<sup>18</sup> Cantero refers to changes in tempo, intensity and the accentual pattern as non-melodic alterations that are often analysed as emphatic features of intonation (2002: 178). Intensity enters the definition of intonation in Quilis (1981: 394), for example, but Cantero holds that it can add intonational information only in whispered speech, where there is no  $F_0$ . Hombert (1978), Mateo (1988), Di Cristo (1982) and Gili Gaya (1924) all suggest that timbre can be part of intonation; Cantero, however, rejects this idea (2002: 17-18).

<sup>19</sup> This is an important point, as for Cantero both intensity and length play a secondary role in the perception of accent, and the  $F_0$  is the main indicator. For English, this was also suggested by American experiments in the 1950's and 60's (cf. Bolinger (1955, 1958), and Hultzén (1955, 1964)).

<sup>20</sup> Contrarily to the international practice, which uses square brackets for phonological features, Cantero (2002: 137 and everywhere else) applies slashes, which I will follow throughout the present work.

<sup>21</sup> “Signos lingüísticos entonativos” (Cantero 2002:136).

<sup>22</sup> The tonemes and the melodic patterns are further explained in 2.4 below.

but stressed vowels are more salient as they have extra intensity and may represent tonal contrast. When they represent tonal contrast, they can be called accents. The smallest unit for the melodic analysis is the **tonal segment** with the – relative – tonal value of the syllabic nucleus (the vowel). Each vowel constitutes one tonal segment, except for the accented vowels, which can constitute **tonal inflections**, that is, combinations of two or more tonal segments.<sup>23</sup> The vowel can be either part of a lexically unstressed word (article, preposition, conjunction, unstressed pronoun) or part of a lexically stressed one (noun, adjective, verb and adverb). Lexically unstressed words do not have phonic independence in speech, it is only in their graphic representation that they seem independent. Only lexically stressed words have phonic independence, created by their stressed vowel. The accent of a lexically stressed word is called **paradigmatic accent**.

The **Rhythmic Group** is the unit for rhythmic analysis, it is a phonetic unit which is defined as a string of sounds that are grouped around a paradigmatic accent, including also the sounds that belong to the adjacent lexically unstressed words.<sup>24</sup> The following examples would all be Rhythmic Groups: *car, the car, in the car*. Cantero and Font-Rotchés use this unit only for finding paradigmatic accents and for expressing how speech is organised into blocks, but from the point of view of intonation the tonal segment and the Phonic Group play a more significant role.

A further unit in the phonetic hierarchy is the **Phonic Group**. This is a conglomeration of Rhythmic Groups around a hierarchically superior paradigmatic accent, called **syntagmatic accent**. This accent is especially significant because it contains an obligatory tonal inflection, and it is the last paradigmatic accent in the Phonic Group.<sup>25</sup> The syntagmatic accent is the nucleus of the Phonic Group and the nucleus of the melody from which the **Final Inflection** (FI) starts. The Phonic Group (with a certain melody, called **intonational contour**) is the unit for the intonational analysis.<sup>26</sup> Figure 2.1 sums up the phonetic hierarchy.

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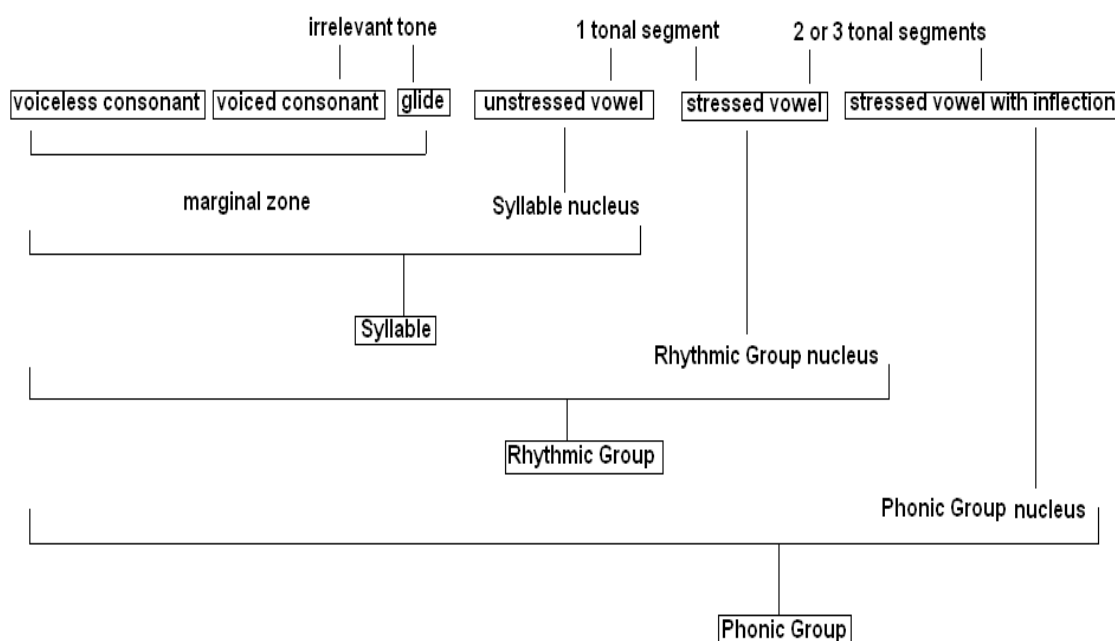
<sup>23</sup> We will deal with the way tonal inflections are realized in 2.4 below.

<sup>24</sup> The direction of grouping the sounds around an accent is not fixed, it can be either from the left or from the right. According to Cantero (2002:53-54), we cannot predict with precision the Rhythmic Group boundaries in a written text, as it is a category existing in speech; furthermore, speakers can posit these boundaries quite arbitrarily. In languages where lexical stress has a fixed position (e.g. French, where it is on the last syllable, or Spanish, where lexical stress tends to be on the penultimate syllable), Rhythmic Groups will mostly follow this pattern, that is, the speaker will attempt dividing the speech into Rhythmic Groups in a way that its stress occupies that preferred position.

<sup>25</sup> The exact location of Phonic Group boundaries is of secondary importance in Cantero's theory; the presence of the Final Inflection is the criterion for segmentation. More on speech segmentation into Phonic Groups will be found in 2.6.

<sup>26</sup> As we will see, the boundaries for Phonic Groups are not very important (cf. 2.6). As in the case of syllables, Rhythmic Group and Phonic Group perception is accumulative, and what matters is the "Nucleus" of each unit (2002:78).

Figure 2.1: The phonetic hierarchy based on Cantero (2002:102)<sup>27</sup>



## 2.4 Linguistic intonation

### 2.4.1 The structure of the intonational contour

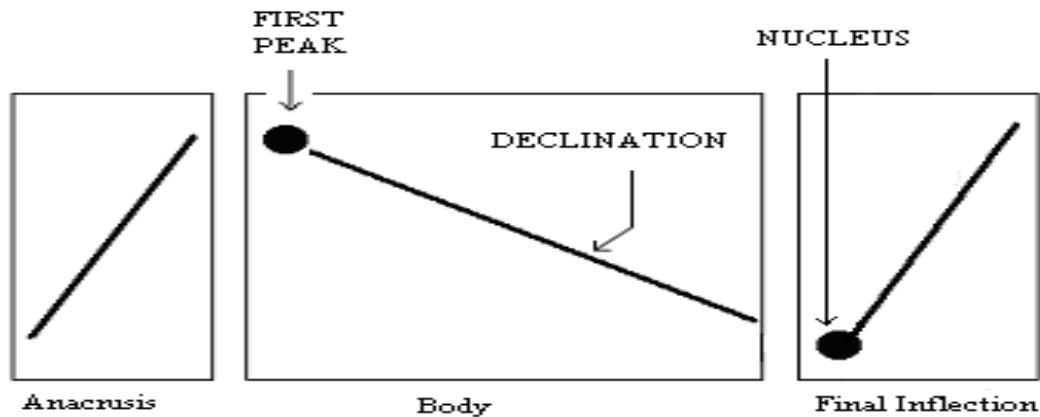
An intonational contour is the melody of a given Phonic Group. The elements of the intonational contour are the following: **Anacrusis**, **Body** and **Final Inflection (FI)**. By **Anacrusis** Cantero and Font-Rotchés mean the unaccented syllables preceding the **First Peak**, which is normally on the first accented vowel in the contour but can also be displaced to the left or to the right from the first lexical stress.<sup>28</sup> They define as **Body** the syllables between the First Peak and the last accented vowel in the contour (the latter also known as the **Nucleus**), from which the **Final Inflection** begins, see Figure 2.2. Thus there are two important accents that separate these 3 parts, the First Peak and the Nucleus.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> In the original version, Cantero did not associate the stressed vowel with more than one tonal segment, but such an association is possible if there are inner inflections in the Phonic Group preceding the FI (cf. 2.4.5). Also, liquids (subsumed under “voiced consonants”) are sometimes not marginal, but tone-carrying elements (see Fig. 2.7 in 2.4.4).

<sup>28</sup> This implies that the Anacrusis can contain lexically stressed syllables when the First Peak is shifted to right of the first lexical stress.

<sup>29</sup> There is a parallel between this structure and the classical British division of English intonational phrases into prehead, head, body, nucleus and tail, as suggested e.g. by Kingdon (1958).

Figure 2.2: The structure of the intonational contour



Typically, the First Peak is on the first paradigmatic accent and the Body is a continuous descent (declination). The Final Inflection starts from the syntagmatic accent.

Apart from the Final Inflection all parts are optional, but we cannot speak about a Phonic Group without FI. Also, as inflections must have two tonal segments at least, one tonal segment cannot form an FI, thus cannot be considered a Phonic Group.

## 2.4.2 Tonemes

As we have seen, Cantero's unit for the intonational analysis is the Phonic Group. Every Phonic Group works as a container of a recurring speech melody, called "intonational contour". The phonologically significant intonational contours realize "tonemes". These should be understood as intonational linguistic signs, each with a dispersion margin (latitude of phonetic realizations) within which it is interpretable (Cantero 2002:84, 136). There are three binary phonological features that characterize the tonemes: /±interrogative/, /±suspended/ and /±emphatic/. These make up 8 possible combinations altogether, which we represent in the following table, together with the punctuation marks associated with them in Spanish:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> According to Cantero (2002:143), reading is in fact an auditive process, that is why it is no surprise that written language punctuation marks correlate with this phonological classification.

Table 2.1: Tonemes (Cantero 2002:143)

Toneme number	Binary features	Abbreviations	Punctuation mark
1	/+ interrogative, + emphatic, + suspended /	/+I +E +S/	¡¿...?!
2	/+ interrogative, + emphatic, – suspended /	/+I +E –S/	¡¿ ?!
3	/+ interrogative, – emphatic, + suspended /	/+I –E +S/	¿...?
4	/+ interrogative, – emphatic, – suspended /	/+I –E –S/	¿ ?
5	/– interrogative, + emphatic, + suspended /	/–I +E +S/	¡...!
6	/– interrogative, + emphatic, – suspended /	/–I +E –S/	¡ !
7	/– interrogative, – emphatic, + suspended /	/–I –E +S/	...
8	/– interrogative, – emphatic, – suspended /	/–I –E –S/	.

### 2.4.3 Dispersion margins

The description of the structural elements of the intonational contour (the relative height of the First Peak, the shape of the Body, and especially the Final Inflection) allows Cantero to define the contour melodies in his corpus and to establish the melodic patterns as “typical contours” or “variants” of the tonemes, together with their **dispersion margins**.<sup>31</sup> Dispersion margins indicate the phonetic values within which a toneme can be realised. These values characterize the rise or fall of the Final Inflection, but the other elements of the contour, such as the Anacrusis, First Peak and Body also have a default value. An appropriate example is (1), showing the dispersion margins of the most unmarked toneme, Toneme 8.

(1) The dispersion margins of the Intonational contours realizing Toneme 8 in Spanish

#### TONEME 8 /-I-E-S/

**Anacrusis:** Rise of maximally 40% up to the First Peak.

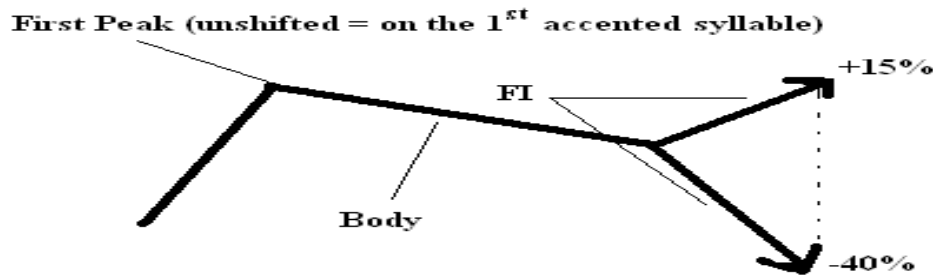
**First Peak:** The first accented syllable of the contour, which is located at the highest point of the whole contour.

**Body:** smooth and constant declination.

**Final Inflection (FI):** pitch movement between a rise of 10-15% and a fall of 30-40% from the last accented syllable.

<sup>31</sup> *Márgenes de dispersión* (Cantero 2002:14).

Figure 2.3: The schematic shape of Toneme 8 contours



With values outside the given interval of the FI (i.e. with a falling FI of more than -40% or a rising FI of more than +15%), the examined contour would be regarded as belonging to (realizing) another toneme. If there is a change in any other element of the list above, it might cause the contour to be classified as another toneme.

#### 2.4.4 The Final Inflection

Now we have to discuss the concept of Final Inflection. Cantero (2002:89) enumerates various terms roughly corresponding to his *Final Inflection* in the literature. The Dutch School calls it “tonal movement” (‘t Hart, Collier & Cohen, 1990), the British school “tone pattern” (Palmer, 1922), or “accent” (Bolinger, 1986),<sup>32</sup> or “nuclear tone” (Cruttenden, 1986), and Navarro Tomás (1944) calls it “toneme”.<sup>33, 34</sup> Traditionally it has been described as a constituent definable with reference to pitch direction and pitch range, but rarely to its elements. Cantero assumes, however, that we can define inflection as consisting of well-defined parts, called tonal segments. He defines the tonal segment as “every more or less stable tonal stage which is clearly perceptible and the duration of which coincides with one **mora**”<sup>35</sup> (2002:89). Thus, each vowel has minimally one tonal segment, that is, it has the duration of one mora, and it may have two or three if it constitutes an inflection. If three, the inflection is circumflex,<sup>36</sup> which means that it has two tonal movements, with three tonal

<sup>32</sup> Bolinger, though American, fought against the American structuralist intonational theory, this is why Cantero mentions him among the followers of the British tradition.

<sup>33</sup> A toneme for Cantero stands for a radically different concept, cf. 2.4.2.

<sup>34</sup> The list, however, is not complete, for labels corresponding to the FI by American structuralists and the autosegmentalists, see Chapter 1.

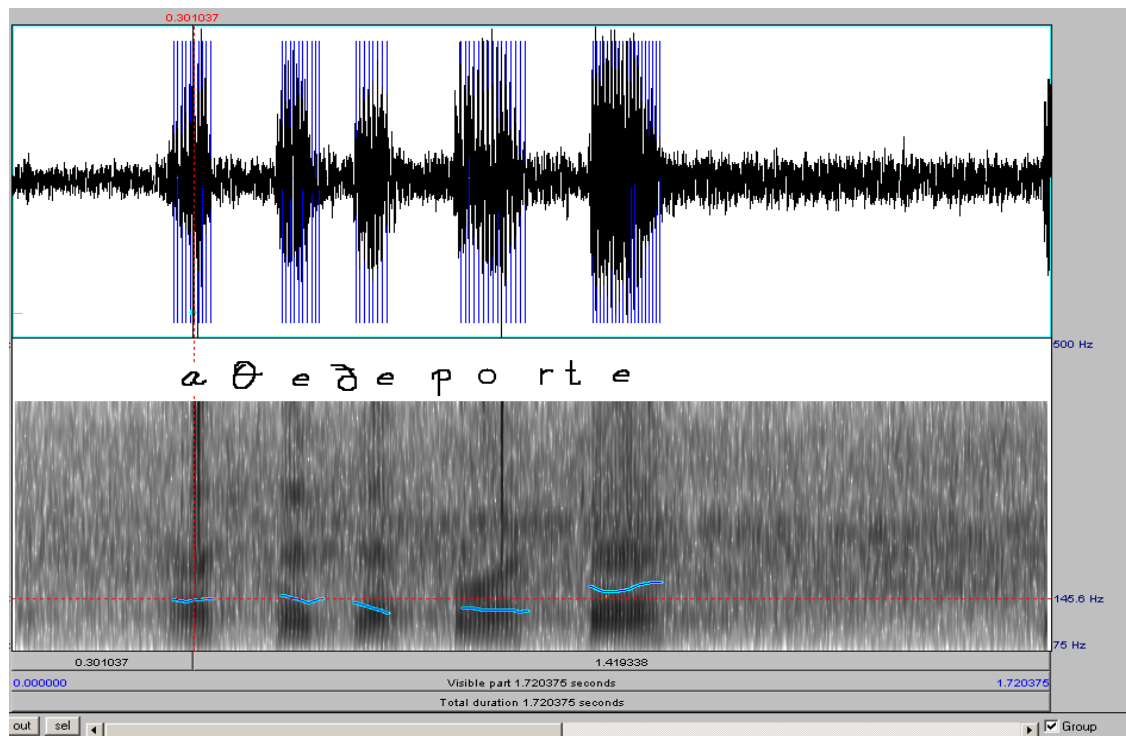
<sup>35</sup> “Cada uno de los estadios tonales más o menos estables y claramente perceptibles, que suelen coincidir con una mora”, Cantero (2002:89).

<sup>36</sup> For Cantero *circumflex* means two-directional, i.e. both rising-falling and falling-rising.

segments altogether. This is why an inflection is the succession of at least two distinct and contiguous tonal segments.

Figures 2.4.a-e below show how the distinct tonal values can be perceived in the utterance *¿Hace deporte?* ‘Do you do any sport (formal)?’.<sup>37</sup> We can see five syllables, each of which has a tonally stable vowel, and there is a bigger pitch jump between the penultimate and the last syllable. Figures 2.4.a-d show the measuring of the pitch height of three of these vowels: the first one, the penultimate one and the last one, and then in 2.4.e we can see a schematic graphic display showing the whole curve with the relevant pitch heights measured at each vowel. In Figure 2.4.a, the red cursor shows that the pitch value measured for the middle of the first vowel “a” is 145,6 Hz (that is, roughly, 146 Hz); this can also be seen in the amplified version in Figure 2.4.b. In Figure 2.4.c, the red cursor shows that the pitch value for the middle of the amplified vowel “o” is 130,49 Hz (that is, 130Hz), and in Figure 2.4.d the cursor shows that the pitch value measured at the end of the last amplified vowel “e” is 168,35 Hz (that is, 168 Hz). While in the case of last vowels it is the end point of the vowel, in the case of other vowels it is the mid-point of the vowel’s duration where the pitch-height is measured.

Figure 2.4.a: Pitch value of the first vowel in *¿Hace deporte?*



<sup>37</sup> The diagrams are produced by the voice analysis software Praat (the text is my addition).



Figure 2.4.b: Pitch value of the first vowel in *¿Hace deporte?* (amplified)

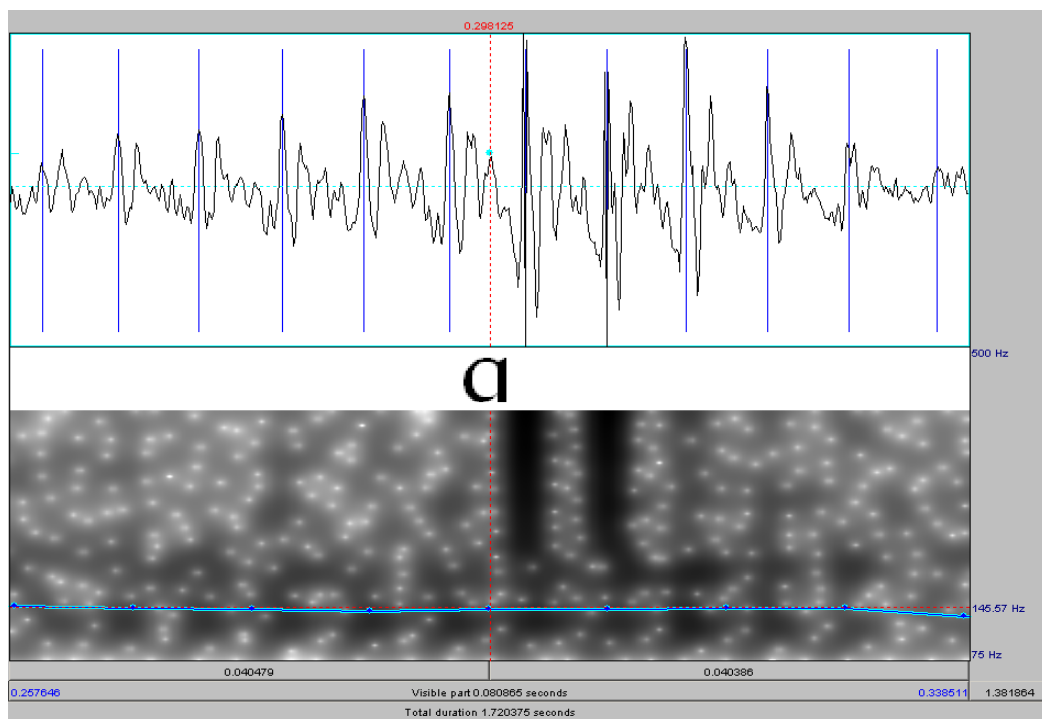


Figure 2.4.c: Pitch value of the vowel “o” in *¿Hace deporte?* (amplified)

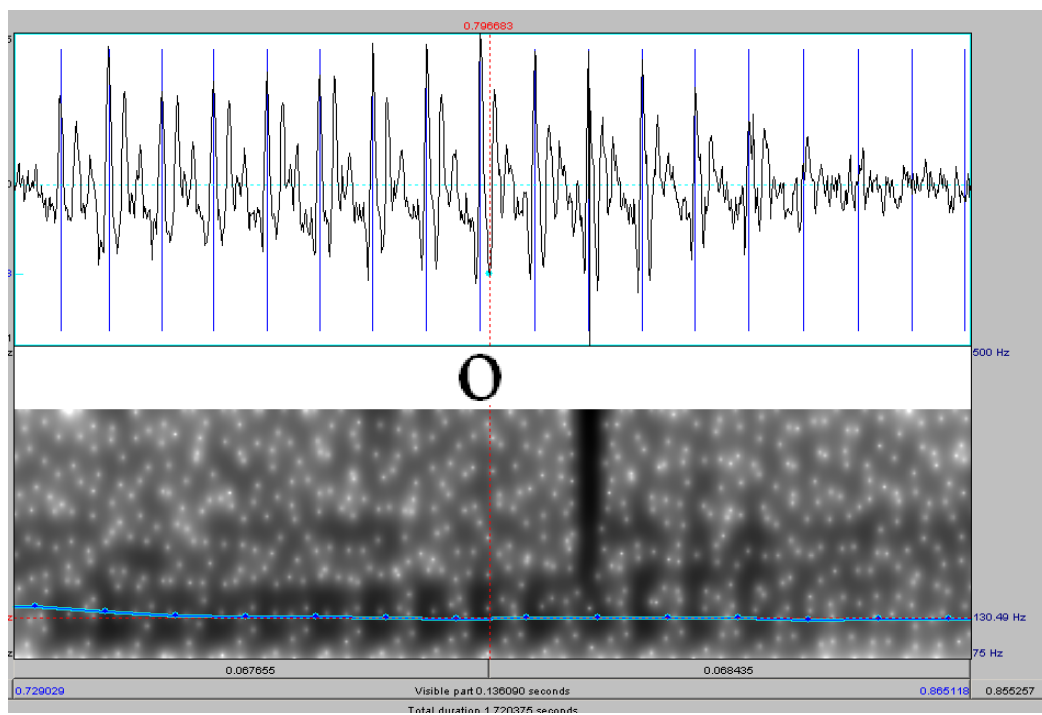


Figure 2.4.d: Pitch value of the last vowel in *¿Hace deporte?* (amplified)

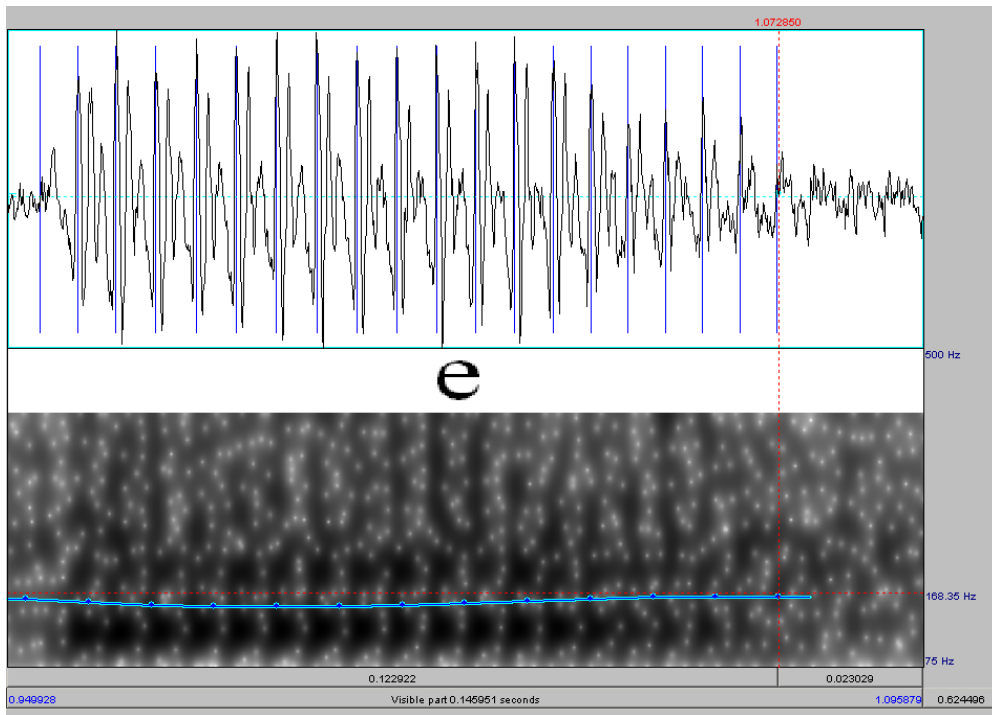
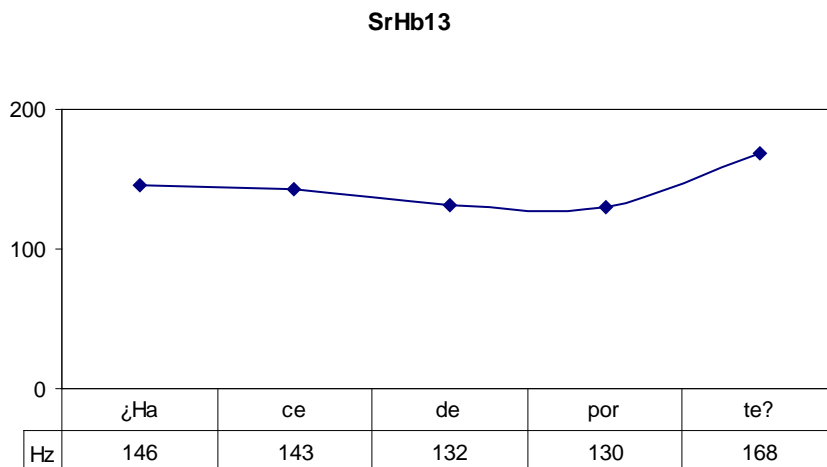


Figure 2.4.e: Pitch values of all five vowels in the utterance in *¿Hace deporte?*<sup>38</sup>



As can be seen in Figures 2.4.a-e, there is tonal stability (i.e. no or hardly any pitch change) in the first three vowels, but there is a big jump, that is, tonal instability (i.e. radical pitch change) between the fourth and the fifth vowels, which characterizes the Final Inflection.

Now we will see how tonal segments are distributed in an inflection (Cantero 2002:90). First, we must mention that Spanish words tend to have the lexical stress on either the penultimate syllable, or the last one, or on the third syllable from the end, but rarely before this. Lexical stress on the fourth vowel from the end is only possible in verb + unstressed

<sup>38</sup> The label SrHb13 is the code-number of the utterance with which it appears in my corpus.

pronoun combinations,<sup>39</sup> such as the imperative *léetelo* ('Read it to yourself').<sup>40</sup> This means that as a Final Inflection normally starts from the last lexically stressed syllable, there can be a maximum of three unstressed syllables after an unshifted Nucleus<sup>41</sup>. When the Nucleus is displaced – shifted to the left –, obviously there can be more than three syllables after the Nucleus<sup>42</sup>.

Now we will concentrate on the form Final Inflections take in normal circumstances: with the FI in its normal position, and no lexically unstressed words after it. When the syntagmatic accent falls on the last vowel, the inflection is realized on the lengthened vowel (lengthening is indicated by doubling the vowel letter):

(2)

$\text{¿estás aquí} \quad \nearrow \quad \text{i?}^{43} \quad (\text{'Are you here?'})$

When the syntagmatic accent falls on the penultimate vowel, this vowel tends to lengthen less, as the two tonal segments are occupied by this vowel and the last one, which serves as a support to the inflection:

(3)

$\text{¿estás cansa} \quad \text{do?} \quad (\text{'Are you tired?'})$

<sup>39</sup> Thus, in Spanish, superproparoxitone words can only be verbs (cf. Quilis 1993:390).

<sup>40</sup> An example for this tendency could be the following: as the position of stress is preserved after pluralization, the word *régimen* ('diet') would have its stress on the 4<sup>th</sup> syllable from the end in its plural form *\*régimenes*. But to avoid this anomaly, stress is exceptionally shifted here to the third syllable from the end (*regímenes*), cf. Harris (1996:131-35).

<sup>41</sup> As for the extension of simple Final Inflections, such as rise or fall, Prieto (2003:42) holds that it can be of maximally three syllables, but complex inflections, according to certain authors, can be longer, even up to the whole length of the intonational unit. As we will see, Hungarian Final Inflections can also be realized on chunks longer than three syllables (cf. 4.2).

<sup>42</sup> Whether the Nucleus can be shifted at all in Spanish constitutes a matter of debate even today. When it comes to signalling the focus ("new information"), the most influential traditional works, such as Navarro Tomás (1944) or even modern theories (for instance the autosegmentalist Sosa (1999) discard the possibility of such a movement, and maintain that the informational structure (focus) is not reflected this way, rather by alternative solutions such as the elimination of known elements, for example). From the 50's on, however, some views started to accept nucleus shifts, see Bolinger (1954), Contreras (1978), Ortiz Lira (1994), García-Lecumberri: (1995, 1996), García-Lecumberri et al. (1997) (cited in García-Lecumberri (1996) and Prieto (2003:50). Cantero does not deny the possibility of a Nucleus shift, but acknowledges that it is not natural for signing the place of focus; on other possible reasons for nucleus shift, see also 2.4.6.

<sup>43</sup> The representations (2)-(6) only concentrate on the realization of the inflection, so relative heights in the pre-nuclear part are not shown.

In this case, there is another common practice: the stressed vowel is lengthened and carries the inflection, while the last unstressed vowel does not carry any tonal information:

(4)

a-do?  
¿estás cansá

When the syntagmatic accent falls on the third vowel from the end, the stressed vowel together with the following one bears the inflection, and the last vowel is tonally redundant:

(5)

tico?  
¿estás reumá ('Do you have rheumatic fever?')

In the case of two-directional inflections, consisting of three tonal segments, the stressed vowel or the following one is lengthened, to bear the inflection:

(6)

o?  
¿estás segú ro ('Are you sure?')

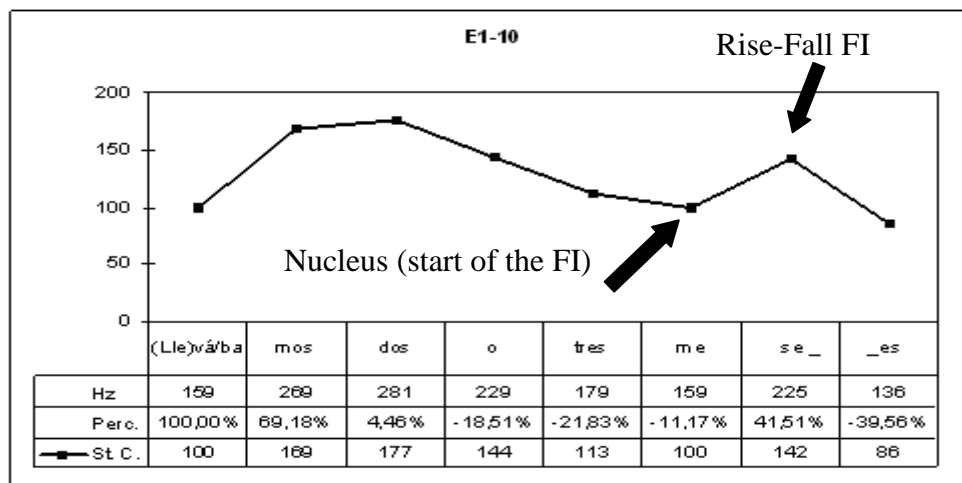
It is essential to note, however, that although a two-directional movement at the end of the utterance might be identified as a two-directional FI at first sight, this is not always the case. As every FI must start from a stressed syllable, normally the last one in the utterance, movements that look like rise-falls, but which do not start on the syntagmatic accent of the utterance are not regarded to be rise-falls. The following examples from Cantero (2005:33-34) show exactly this case. In Figure 2.5, *(Lle)vábamos<sup>44</sup> dos o tres meses*, ('Two or three months passed'), we see a genuine rise-fall, a two-directional FI, where the movement starts

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<sup>44</sup> The first syllable is not pronounced, and only one of the two following syllables can be perceived. (It is not known which one, as in Spanish both are pronounced the same, "βa")

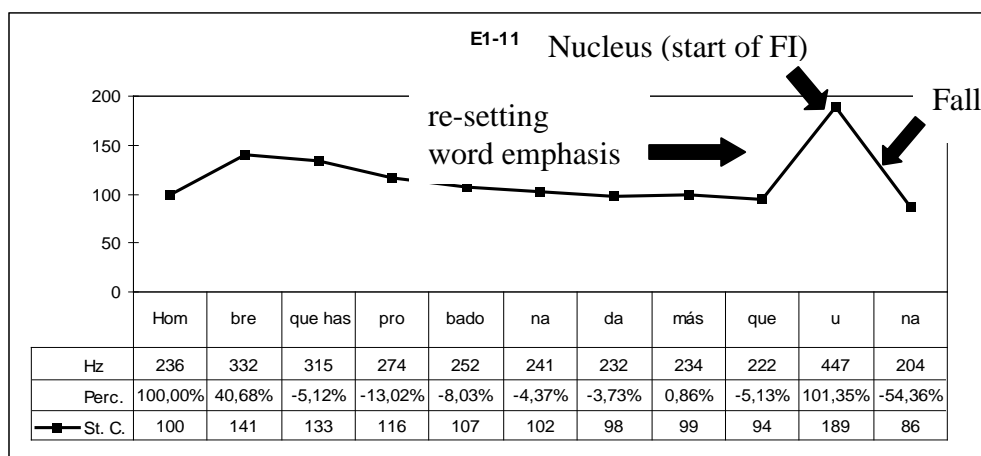
from the last lexically stressed syllable (*me-*), and with the lengthening of the last syllable, the FI spreads through three tonal segments (*me se \_ \_es*).<sup>45</sup>

Figure 2.5: An utterance with Rise-Fall inflection<sup>46</sup>



In Figure 2.6, *Hombre, que has probado nada más que una*<sup>47</sup> ('Man, but you've tried only one'), we only have an unstressed syllable *que*, which rises towards the Nucleus, from where a falling FI (i.e. not a Rise-Fall) starts. In Figure 2.6 Cantero identifies a word emphasis on *una* 'one' (an inner rise, cf. 2.4.5, 2.4.6, 3.3.2) plus a falling FI, but not a two-directional FI.

Figure 2.6: Inner rise plus final fall in an utterance



<sup>45</sup> Cantero indicates the lengthening by doubling the orthographic form of the last syllable (*ses ses*). However, I use my own notation, doubling the lengthened vowel with *\_ \_* between the two parts, if they represent a complex tonal movement.

<sup>46</sup> "Hz" stands for absolute values, whereas St. C., i.e. "standard curve" stands for the values obtained after the standardization. For the process of standardization, see 2.6.

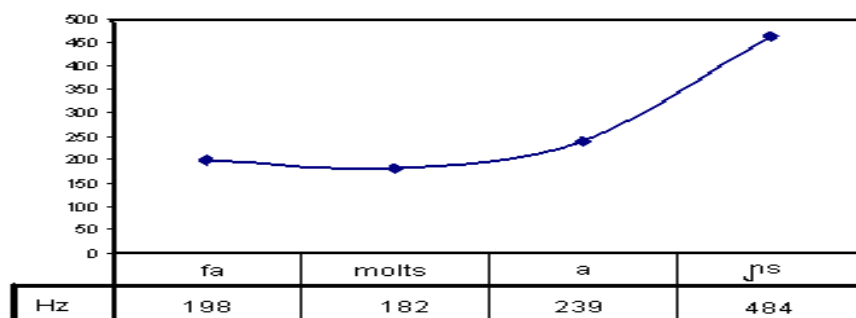
<sup>47</sup> As is shown in the diagram, the two words *que has* are said with the duration of one mora, that is why they are given a single value. The same applies to the syllables *bado*.

Thus, for Cantero an extra mora is responsible for the perceived lengthening of a vowel, as in Figure 2.5 *me se\_ \_es*. As Spanish vowels are inherently short,<sup>48</sup> the concept of mora is exclusively used for intonational purposes, because vowels have two or more moras when they constitute a Final Inflection and so they are perceived long.

Font-Rotchés's contribution to Cantero's theory is that utterance-final nasals and laterals can also be tonal segments if they follow a stressed vowel, i. e. they can bear one part of the inflection,<sup>49</sup> as seen in the Catalan example shown in Figure 2.7.

In this sentence, *Fa molts anys?* ('Many years ago?'), the syntagmatic accent is on the last stressed vowel, – *a* – of *anys*. The [ɲs] final nasal – normally not a syllabic nucleus in Catalan – contains part of the FI, it bears much of the rise, so it has intonational content.

Figure 2.7: Pitch values for the utterance *¿Fa molts anys?*



(Font-Rotchés 2007: 86-87)

The nasal or lateral need not be the last consonant in the utterance, but if it is followed by another consonant, as in *anys*, the latter is tonally irrelevant (*s* in *anys* is voiceless and does not have  $F_0$ ).

## 2.4.5 Inflections in the interior of the Body

**Inner inflections** are characterized by an upstep / downstep in the body of the contour. They occur where one pitch point is at least  $\pm 10\%$  different from the previous one. This is so because the human ear, according to Cantero and Font-Rotchés, cannot perceive smaller changes in the melody. According to Cantero (2002:97), inner inflections are normally falling, and not too informative. Rising inner inflections, however, can be more significant. They can

<sup>48</sup> There is no considerable difference of length between a stressed and an unstressed Spanish vowel, cf. Monroy (1980:134), Martínez Celdrán (1984:246), both cited in Cantero (2002:64). Increased length characterizes the stressed syllable when it forms part of the FI.

<sup>49</sup> This is not surprising if we take into consideration that generally, apart from vowels, nasals and liquids are considered to be possible tone-carriers (Durand 1992:236).

signal subsidiary emphasis on words in the utterance. Generally speaking, any alteration in the continuous descending declination of the Body will result in an emphatic contour, and these alterations are mainly achieved when an inflection occurs in the interior of the Body. Though inflection was defined as a pitch difference of more than 10%, sequences of smaller rises in the Body are significant to the human ear, because, though one small rise will not, a succession of small rises will be noticed. That is the case in rising bodies, an emphatic feature; and in zigzag bodies, i.e. successions of small falls and rises. Emphatic features will be exhaustively dealt with in 3.3.

#### 2.4.6 Shifted “Final Inflections”

There are two common cases in which the syntagmatic accent can be displaced: emphasis and focusing.<sup>50</sup> When the whole sentence is new information, it is said to have **broad focus**, when a particular part of the sentence is singled out as new or contrasted, it has **narrow focus** (Tench 1996:57-61). Both kinds of sentences can occur with or without displacing the Final Inflection. Cruttenden (1986:75-81) cites English cases of broad focus with Nucleus dislocation. These are called **presentation sentences** or **event sentences**.<sup>51</sup> One of his examples, (7a), also mentioned in Cantero (2002:95), however, is translated into Spanish with a Nucleus in its normal position, i.e. on the last lexically stressed syllable, because it sounds better in Spanish, cf. (7b).

(7)

- a. That **chimney**'s falling down
- b. Aquella chimenea se está cay**endo**

The other case, narrow focus, is a phenomenon totally dependent on the speaker's wish, because he/she can emphasize any element of an utterance this way. In Spanish, two types of “narrow focus” are recognised: first, when there is a new element in the utterance to be emphasized, and second, when the key-word of the utterance has to be highlighted (Canellada—Madsen (1987:90), cited in Cantero (2002:96)). It also occurs in cases of **accents of insistence**, where normally unstressed vowels become stressed, because the speaker gives additional emphasis to the word this way. This is a phenomenon which occurs when the

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<sup>50</sup> Actually, Cantero treats intonational focusing as a type of emphasis (word emphasis if only one word is concerned), cf. Cantero (2002: 95-97, 115).

<sup>51</sup> These “event-sentences” or “presentation sentences” are defined in Cruttenden 1986: 83.

speaker wants to give additional emphasis to the last element of the contour, which bears the FI anyway, by converting some (or all) unstressed vowels of this Rhythmic Group into stressed ones. For example, in the utterance *Esta vez será la definitiva* ('This time it will be the definitive one'), the Rhythmic Group that bears the FI is the last one, /ladefinitíva/, but the speaker can regroup the syllables and form new Rhythmic Groups by creating stressed syllables, either as in /láde finitíva/ or /ladéfi nitíva/ or even /lá défi nitíva/<sup>52</sup> (Cantero 2002:97). These stresses could result in inner rises in the Body, but as narrow focus normally entails smaller inflections in the interior of the contour, we can distinguish them from the real FI.

When the focused word contains a considerable inner inflection, it can be a mark of surprise, or incredulity, but it does not change the binary features of the toneme. Thus Cantero thinks that "narrow focus" that entails Nucleus dislocation cannot make phonological changes in the intonation<sup>53</sup>. His examples are two versions of the question *¿Qué curso has seguido?* ('Which course did you take?').

In the first version, (8), there appears an early copy of the Final Inflection but the Final Inflection is also realized.

(8)

	so	do?	
¿qué	has		
cur		seguí	

The second example is a more radical one, as the dislocated Nucleus bears the only inflection in the contour:

(9)

	so has seguido?		
¿qué			
cur			

This means that in (9) the dislocated Nucleus has the Final Inflection as there are no more inflections in the contour. Consequently, dislocated nuclei cannot cause phonological changes

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<sup>52</sup> The newly created Rhythmic Groups, however, should follow Spanish stress-placing rules, such as "all vowel-ending words have their stress on the penultimate syllable". That is why /ladefinitíva/ can be cut into blocks like /láde finitíva/ etc.

<sup>53</sup> Note that for Face (2006: 309), the most frequent intonational strategy used for expressing narrow focus is the insertion of an intonational unit boundary after the focussed element.



in intonation, as they leave the toneme's binary features unchanged (this utterance, for instance, remains /+interrogative/).

#### 2.4.7 The segmentation of speech into Phonic Groups

The segmentation of speech into Phonic Groups is based on the presence of the FI. Many authors cite pauses as elements that segment speech, but according to Cantero, the presence of the syntagmatic accent is a more solid criterion to establish Phonic Group boundaries, as pauses can be very small or even virtual. One example he takes is the one of defining and non-defining relative clauses cf. (10). The presence of the pauses is less significant than the presence of different FIs in the following example (2002:78):

(10)

Los alumnos que viven lejos llegan tarde ('The students who live far arrive late').

There are two possible ways of the segmentation of this sentence, one containing a defining and another containing a non-defining relative clause:

(11a)

[Los alumnos *que viven lejos*] [*llegan tarde*]. Here the string *que viven lejos* is a defining relative clause, and the sentence means 'The students who live far arrive late.' It has two FIs, thus two Phonic Groups, the syntagmatic accent nuclei are bold typed.

(11b)

[Los *alumnos*] [*que viven lejos*] [*llegan tarde*]. Here the string *que viven lejos* is a non-defining relative clause. The sentence means 'The students, who live far, arrive late.' It has three FIs, thus three Phonic Groups, with the syntagmatic accent nuclei bold typed<sup>54</sup>.

With this example Cantero demonstrates that in the segmentation of speech into Phonic Groups it is the number of syntagmatic accents, i.e. the number of FIs, and not the pauses that should have a decisive role. Pauses may or may not be there. On the other hand, FIs should always be present.

Cantero even made an experiment to prove that pauses are not perceptively relevant elements in the process of segmenting speech into Phonic Groups. He recorded pairs of

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<sup>54</sup> If recursive prosodic structures are allowed, then the initial two Phonic Groups, which together are coextensive with the subject, may be looked upon as constituting a higher-ranking Phonic Group, whose sister is the 3<sup>rd</sup> Phonic Group, coextensive with the predicate, cf. Ladd (2008:291-293, 296-298); and Hunyadi (2006).

utterances that were different solely in the distribution of Phonic Groups, such as the following mathematical expressions which differ only in bracketing:  $9 + (4 - 1)$  and  $(9 + 4) - 1$ . Then, in each pair he eliminated the existing pauses and added pauses where there were not any. After that, listeners had to listen to the randomly organized sentences and had to write them down. Surprisingly, they heard a pause where there was none, and they did not hear it where it was put in by manipulation. The results showed that they recognized over 80% of the utterances correctly after the manipulation.<sup>55</sup>

We must conclude, then, that FIs play a significant role in the segmentation of speech into Phonic Groups, while pauses do not. Thus Cantero's analysis is not dependent on pauses. But his method is not dependent on grammatical structures either. First, because utterances without (complete) grammatical content are possible, e.g. hummed utterances such as *hmm???*. These go with a completely meaningful intonation, but obviously have no words in them, therefore lack grammatical structure. Also, if we utter a string of invented words, the listener will not understand what we say but he/she will be able to interpret the Phonic Groups into which we segmented our utterance (2002:77). The second reason is, as Cantero observes, that in dialogues one independent monosyllabic utterance often completes the melody of the preceding utterance, even if uttered by a different speaker, and so one Phonic Group can contain two complete utterances (called **shared inflection** by Cantero 2002:183). In these shared inflections, utterances of one tonal segment that alone could not form an FI (cf. 2.4.1), get attached to another utterance, of a different person, and "gain" the other tonal segment from it, thus they can form an FI together. The following dialogue, consisting of two turns, exemplifies this phenomenon. The examples are from Cantero (2002:183-184).

(12)

Speaker A: *-Saca los huevos de la nevera.* ('-Get the eggs from the fridge')

Speaker B: *-¿Tres?* ('-Three?')

The second turn is a monosyllabic question, therefore its duration cannot be of one tonal segment only, as it would not form an FI then. So a natural realization would be (13), with two moras, and a rising inflection spreading over them:

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<sup>55</sup> A short summary of the experiment can be found in Cantero (2002:118), a longer version in Cantero (1995: 359-365, 557-579).

(13)

es?  
¿Tres?

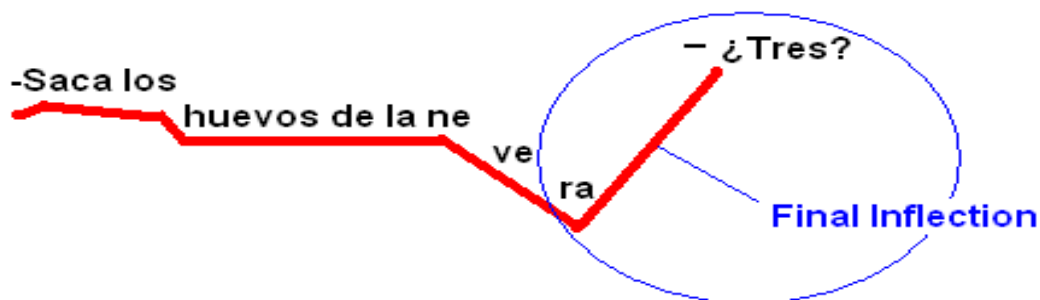
But in this case, when it is preceded by another turn, as in (12), it can also be realized as having only one tonal segment:

(14)

¿Tres?

and form the inflection of two tonal segments with the last syllable of the preceding turn:

Figure 2.8: Cantero's "shared inflection"



These phenomena explain why Cantero bases the segmentation of speech into Phonic Groups on the presence of FIs rather than on syntactic structures or pauses.

When analysing their corpus, most of which is dialogue, as that is the most natural way of communication, Cantero and Font-Rotchés proceed in the following way: they separate the turns, and then they examine how many FIs go in each turn (this may further be modified by recognizing cases of FIs shared by two turns, as in Fig. 2.8). By identifying FIs, Phonic Group boundaries are established, which may not coincide with syntactic units, though in most cases they do. Each Phonic Group is segmented into syllables<sup>56</sup>, and then the  $F_0$  of each vowel is measured. As soon as they have the relevant pitch points, they standardize the contour and classify it according to the inventory of the existing patterns, based on features such as the First Peak, the shape and direction of the Body and the amount of rise or fall of the FI. We will explain the method of standardization in 2.6.

<sup>56</sup> The Rhythmic Groups are irrelevant from the point of view of the present analysis.

## 2.5 Paralinguistic intonation

Cantero refers to paralinguistic intonation when contemplating the diverse possible manifestations of one toneme, strictly within its dispersion margins, which help the speaker express emotional, affective and other circumstantial nuances in his/her discourse. It is not linguistic in the sense that it does not involve a change of toneme, e.g. it cannot change a /-interrogative/ toneme into a /+interrogative/ one.

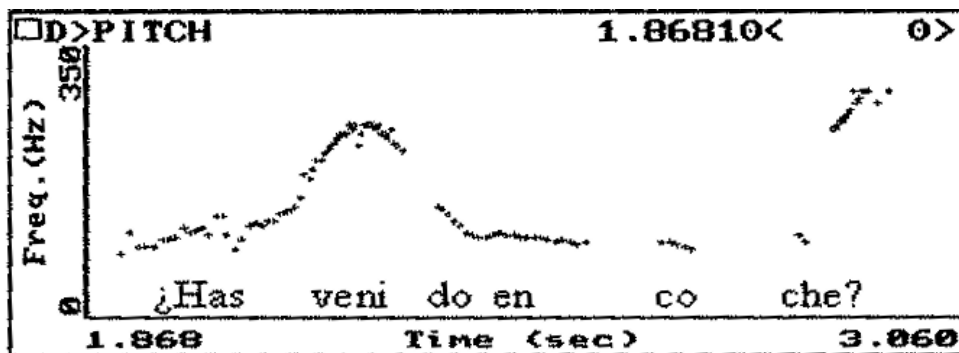
In Figures 2.9.a–b we can see two realizations of *¿Has venido en coche?* ('Have you come by car?'). By placing the First Peak on the first lexically stressed syllable (*has*, present perfect auxiliary, meaning 'have' 2sg), or on the syllable after it (*ve-*), the speaker does not change the /+interrogative/ feature of the toneme. Both contours represent Toneme 4 /+I-E-S/ because in the case of interrogative intonation –Toneme 4 – the position of the First Peak can be on either the first lexically stressed syllable, or the one after it (cf. 3.3). The pair of examples is from Cantero (2002: 159).

Figure 2.9: Pitch tracks of two realizations of *¿Has venido en coche?*

a.



b.



Evidently, Figures 2.9.a–b exemplify the paralinguistic use of intonation, with no linguistic change caused by intonational means.<sup>57</sup>

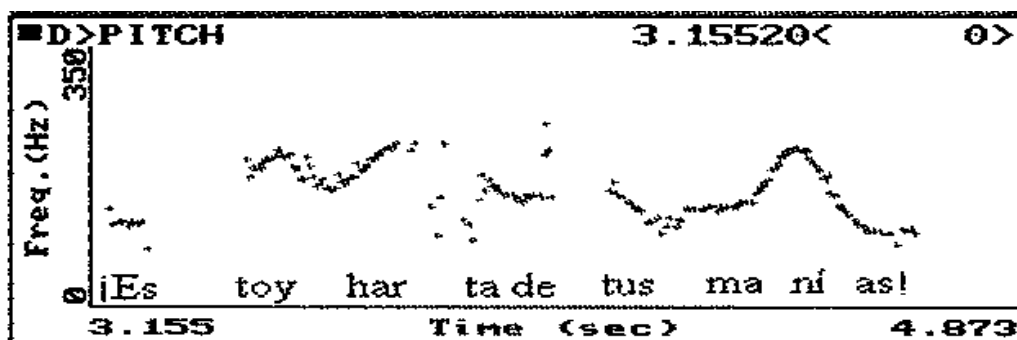
The next two examples, Figures 2.10.a–b show two ways of saying *Estoy harta de tus manías* ('I'm fed up with your manias'). Here the intonational change involves a linguistic change. While in Figure 2.10.a we have a standard Body with a descending declination, in Figure 2.10.b the Body has a zigzag shape, a typical emphatic feature,<sup>58</sup> which converts the neutral Toneme 8 /-I-E-S/ into the emphatic Toneme 6 /-I+E-S/. The examples are from Cantero (2002: 176).

Figure 2.10: Pitch tracks of two realizations of *Estoy harta de tus manías*.

a.



b.



<sup>57</sup> Actually, the displaced First Peak can change a /-interrogative/ toneme to a /+interrogative/ one if the Final Inflection does not reach a 70% rise, as contours with a 40-60% rise in the FI are decoded as /-interrogative, +suspended/ as long as they do not have a displaced First Peak. If the First Peak is displaced, the contour is /+interrogative/ instead of /+suspended/.

<sup>58</sup> More on emphatic features in 3.3.

That is to say, what happens in the case of tonemes is parallel to what happens in the case of phonemes. For instance, a vowel phoneme of a language or dialect can be realized in a number of ways as long as they do not invade the dispersion margin of another vowel; the realizations may be affective or expressive variants, but still pertain to the same vowel phoneme because they are inside its realizational field. All the varieties of a phoneme are called allophones. If those margins are transgressed, we are talking about a different vocalic phoneme. With intonation we have a parallel situation: all the varieties of a toneme (called *allocontours* by Cantero 2002:197) are phonetic and not phonological, because they do not invade the dispersion margins of another toneme.

## **2.6 Intonational analysis in Cantero's model: the acoustic and the perceptual phases**

Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2009) separate two phases in data analysis: the acoustic phase and the perceptive phase. In the acoustic phase, they search for the outstanding frequency values and then they standardize the contours. In the perceptual phase, they check the validity of the standardized curves and then they interpret the results phonologically.

### **2.6.1 The acoustic phase: standardization in Cantero's model**

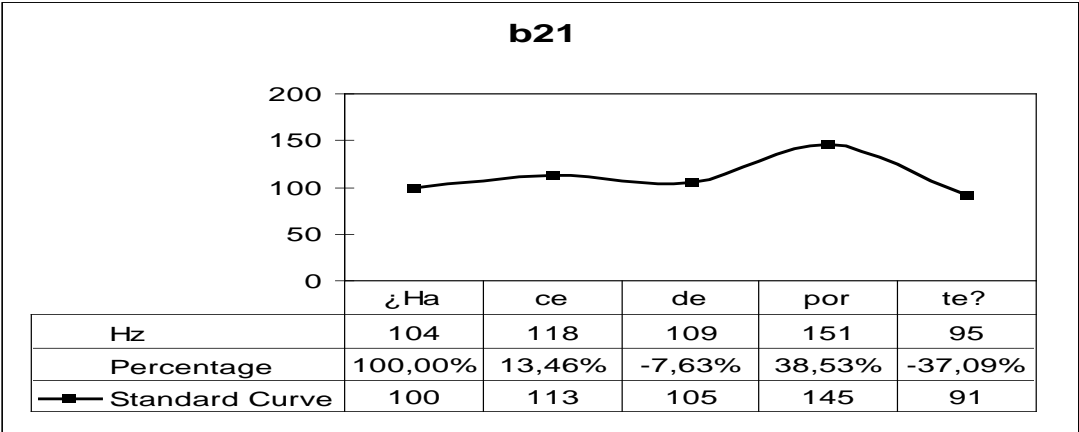
Cantero and Font-Rotchés work with spontaneous speech, they record TV programmes and convert them into audio files. The melodic analysis is done with Praat, a software for acoustic analysis, and later the melodically analysed utterances are “translated” into a version with standard values, which are also displayed. This is an essential step towards the comparison of melodic curves, because, as Cantero (2002:144-153) and Font-Rotchés (2007:84-91) argue, it is not the absolute value in the melody that is informative, but the relative values in the curve compared to one another. It is also important to neglect micromelodic variations, which are not perceptible to the human ear. According to their experiments, less than 10% of rise is not perceived as a rise; though, many small rises add up and show a rising tendency, which can be perceived. The pitch value of the middle of every vowel corresponds to a pitch point in the represented curve, but in the case of lengthened vowels or of vowels containing an inflection, two or three pitch points are marked, and the last tonal segment in the inflection is represented by its end value, not the mid one. The reduction of every syllable to one pitch point can solve the problem of redundant micromelodic variations in the curve, but we still have to face the problem of the significance of each movement. This is a question of considerable importance,

as tonal movements of a certain size can convey different meanings to the listener: a certain amount of inflection suggests that the utterance is a question, for example. But it would be impossible to generalize this amount if we did not standardize the melodies. Let us imagine, for example, the same utterance said by a male adult and a female child. Obviously, at first the two versions seem to be very different, as the female child pronounces the melody with much higher pitch; even the same movements may seem steeper. We cannot compare these melodies unless we have a reliable system of data standardization.

To express the relative pitch level difference between two tonal segments, different approaches have been made, for instance the Dutch School applied a system of semitones, but Cantero argues that the system of percentages is easier to handle. The tonal distance between 100Hz and 150Hz is not the same as the tonal distance between 200Hz and 250Hz, as in the first case the rise to 150 Hz as compared to 100 Hz is 50%, while in the second case, the rise to 250 Hz as compared to 200 Hz is only 25%.

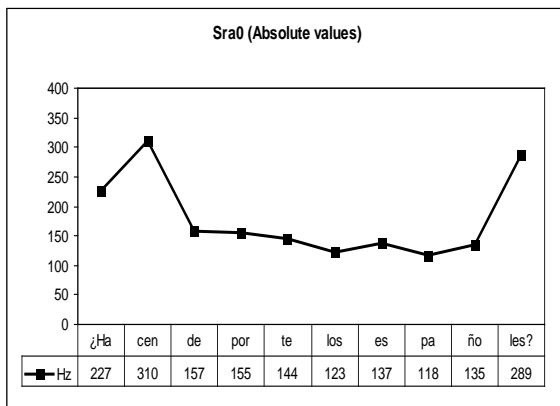
In their process of standardization, the first pitch point is situated at 100 (which is an arbitrary value), and the successive values are represented compared to this number, that is, in terms of the percentage of fall or rise that occurs in the contour at that point compared to the previous point. For example, in Figure 2.11, ¿Hace deporte? (‘Do you do any sport (formal)?’), the absolute value of the first vowel, *a* of *Ha-*, of 104 Hz, is converted to 100; the absolute value of the second vowel, *e* of *-ce*, of 118 Hz, is 13,46% higher than the previous absolute value, so it will be converted to 100 + 13%, that is, 113. The diagrams give both the absolute and the relative values in the table, as well as the percentages of falls or rises compared to the previous pitch point, but only the standard curve values are represented in the graphic displays:

Figure 2.11: The representation of standard values in the graphics

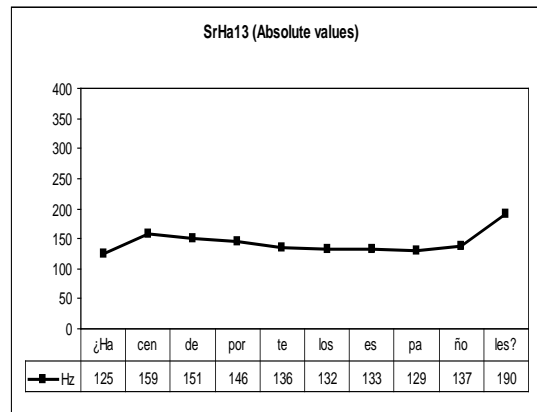


If the values were not standardized, it would be difficult to differentiate (15a) and (15b) showing the values of two realizations of *¿Hacen deporte los españoles?* ('Do the Spanish do sports?'). Their shape is nearly identical, and the lexical content of the utterances also coincides. Traditionally, a final rise is considered to be a sign of "interrogative intonation", and both figures have rising FI. But in Spanish we need at least a rise of 70% to perceive a melody as interrogative.<sup>59</sup> The standardized values of (15a) and (16a) shown in (15b) and (16b), respectively, reveal that only (15a) has a rising FI with that value. (16a) shows a much flatter realization.

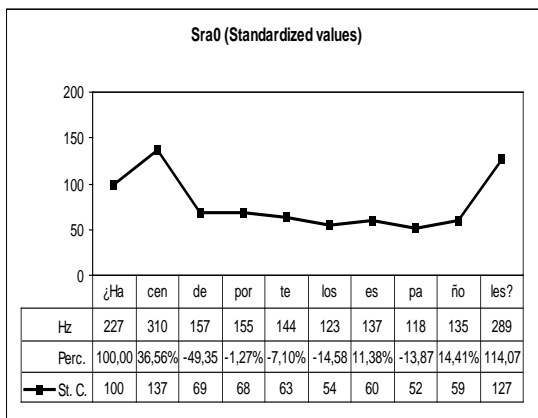
(15) a



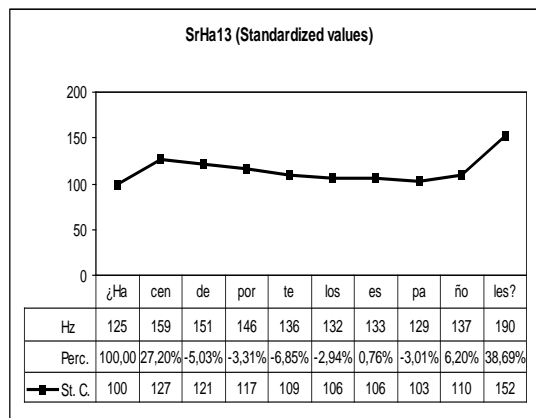
(16) a



(15) b



(16) b



The figures obtained by the process of standardization yield objectively analyzable melodies, deprived of all their original micromelodic variations and the idiosyncratic factors of the speaker's voice.

<sup>59</sup> Or, if the First Peak is displaced, a minimum of 40% in the FI, see SP3, in 3.3.2.



## 2.6.2 The perceptual phase: analysis validation and data interpretation

After the acoustic phase, they check the validity of the results with a series of perceptual tests submitted to the listener's judgement from an exact copy of the analyzed sentences. This synthesized copy is achieved by the programme *Praat* (with PSOLA method), in which all original relative pitch values are erased and then replaced by the standardized values. This way they can check if the melodic analysis has been correct and if it reflects the original melody, without micromelodic variations and with the normalized values.

The following step is the interpretation of the obtained melody, by the extraction of the outstanding melodic data. In this theoretical pattern, there are three phonological features that are studied: /±interrogative/ /±emphatic/ and /±suspended/, whose combination allows them to characterize the language *tonemes*. In these perceptual tests, the listeners are asked whether the utterances they hear (with the standardized  $F_0$  values already) sound to them as questions or not, that is, /±interrogative/; as finished, i.e. /± suspended/, and as exclamations or not, that is to say, /±emphatic/.

The melodic features are, in turn, the characteristic of the functional elements of the contour: *Anacrusis*, the *First Peak*, the *Body* and the *Final Inflection (FI)*. The description of these elements (especially the description of the FI) allows them to define the contour melody and to establish the typical melodic patterns in a corpus (as “typical contours” of the *tonemes*) and their dispersion margins (cf. 2.4, and especially for Spanish, Chapter 3).

## 2.7 The adaptability of Cantero's method to other languages

The method has been worked out for Spanish (Cantero et al. (2005), Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007), Font-Rotchés—Mateo (2011), Catalan (Font-Rotchés 2005, 2007, 2009), and is being applied to Brazilian Portuguese and Chinese (Kao (2011)). It has also been used in studies on the acquisition of Spanish by Chinese people, speakers of a tonal language (Cortés, 2000, 2004; Liu and Cantero, 2002; Liu, 2003) and the acquisition of Catalan by Hungarian people (Pálvölgyi 2010), the acquisition of Spanish by Brazilian Portuguese people (Fonseca—Cantero (2011)), by Italians (Cantero—Devís, in press), and by Swedes (Martorell (2011)).

The present study is an attempt to compare Spanish intonation and Hungarian intonation with a view to the intonational difficulties that Hungarian learners of Spanish may encounter

in their Spanish speech. In this special context it is necessary to try to describe Hungarian intonation in Cantero's terms to make comparison possible. In the course of this it will be seen how successful such an adaptation of Cantero's model to Hungarian intonation can be and what kind of problems it involves.

## 2.8 Summary

In this chapter I presented F. J. Cantero's model, which deals with intonation at the prelinguistic, linguistic, and paralinguistic levels.

The model is based on a phonetic hierarchy, in which there are three major units: Syllables, Rhythmic Groups and Phonic Groups. Rhythmic Groups are built around lexical stresses (called Paradigmatic Accents), whereas Phonic Groups are organized around Syntagmatic Accents. A Syntagmatic Accent is the last and hierarchically superior Paradigmatic Accent in a Phonic Group, which contains the most radical tonal inflection.

At the prelinguistic level, intonation has the only function of organizing speech into blocks, by the help of Paradigmatic Accents. It is not yet linguistic in a sense that it is only responsible for helping the listeners understand the meaning at lexical level, but the meaning of the whole utterance is only expressed by intonation at the next level.

At the linguistic level, intonation can express three meanings according to Cantero, which he captures by means of 3 binary features: /±interrogative/, /±suspended/ and /±emphatic/. These 3 features can make up altogether 8 tonemes, which are intonational linguistic signs.<sup>60</sup> Every toneme has dispersion margins, within which it can be realized. These are defined with the help of perception tests, in which listeners have to decide whether the utterances in question are /±interrogative/, /±suspended/ and /±emphatic/. Thus, when these dispersion margins are established, the investigator can go on finding the intonational patterns that are regularly used for expressing the given toneme. The patterns are characteristic intonational contours, which have 3 characteristic parts in Cantero's framework: the Anacrusis, which stretches from the first syllable of the utterance to the First Peak (or – if there is no First Peak – to the Nucleus); the Body, which goes from the First Peak to the Nucleus (= Syntagmatic Accent); and the Final Inflection, the segment spreading from the Nucleus to the end of the Phonic Group. The description of the patterns considers the peculiarities of these 3 components.

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<sup>60</sup> He regards these as binary phonological features, although they might also be considered to be suprasegmental morphemes, i.e. morphemes expressed by tones (cf. Bolinger 1958, 1986, Gussenhoven 2004).

At the paralinguistic level, intonation no longer adds predictable linguistic meaning to the utterances; this is the field where emotional intonation works, pertaining to pragmatics.

Cantero's model can handle spontaneous sentences, submitted to instrumental analysis, using Praat. The intonation of utterances is easier to compare in this model, as there is a system of standardization that is applied for pitch movements within an utterance.

The model is used primarily but not exclusively for analysing Spanish intonation. The present study is an attempt to use it for comparing the intonations of Spanish and Hungarian.

## Chapter 3 Spanish intonation patterns recognised by Cantero

### 3.1 Introduction

As we have seen in 2.4.2, there are altogether 8 possible tonemes, which we represent again in the following table. (The grey background indicates the Spanish tonemes actually found in Cantero's corpus, cf. Cantero—Font-Rotchés 2007).

Table 3.1: Tonemes

<b>Toneme number</b>	<b>Binary features</b>	<b>Abbreviations</b>
1	/+ interrogative, + emphatic, + suspended /	/+I +E +S/
2	/+ interrogative, + emphatic, – suspended /	/+I +E –S/
3	/+ interrogative, – emphatic, + suspended /	/+I –E +S/
4	/+ interrogative, – emphatic, – suspended /	/+I –E –S/
5	/– interrogative, + emphatic, + suspended /	/–I +E +S/
6	/– interrogative, + emphatic, – suspended /	/–I +E –S/
7	/– interrogative, – emphatic, + suspended /	/–I –E +S/
8	/– interrogative, – emphatic, – suspended /	/–I –E –S/

Cantero used a large corpus of spontaneous Spanish speech, and asked listeners whether the sentences they heard sounded like questions /+interrogative/ or non-questions /–interrogative/, unfinished /+suspended/ or finished /–suspended/, and exclamative /+emphatic/ or non-exclamative /–emphatic/. In this way Cantero could find the most frequent tonemes, and the characteristics of typical contours, i.e. the patterns. He finally found that four tonemes, viz. 4, 6, 7, 8, and twelve frequent melodic patterns with subtypes occurred in spontaneous Spanish. We shall examine the schematic pitch curves of these patterns, and provide a description for them, following Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007).

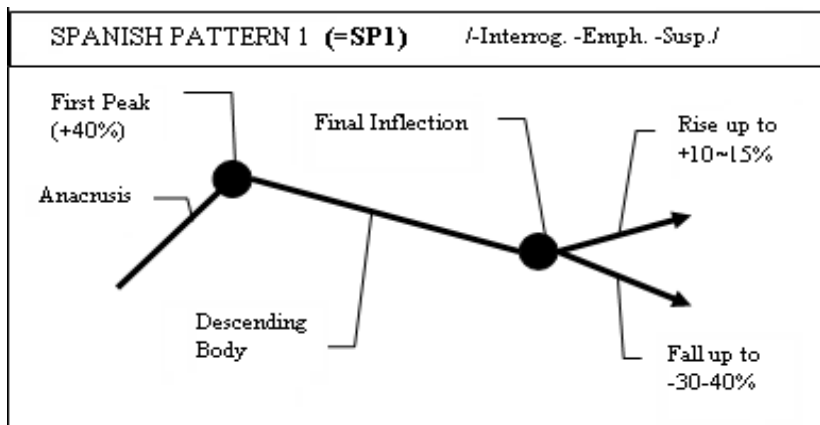
### 3.2 Non-emphatic intonation

#### 3.2.1 Neutral intonation (Toneme 8) /-I-E-S/

Neutral intonation for Cantero is the one not marked positively for any of the three binary features /±interrogative/, /±suspended/ and /±emphatic/. This is the intonation of Toneme 8, as realized by Spanish Pattern 1 (i.e. SP1). That is to say, the melodies of the utterances that pertain to SP1 are all perceived as non-interrogative, non-emphatic and non-suspended. The FI starts on the last lexically stressed syllable. This pattern is used to produce finished declarative sentences as well as question-word questions. Obviously, the fact that it is perceived as a /-interrogative/ pattern does not mean that it cannot be used for asking any type of question at all.

Though neutral intonation could appear as the most common one, in fact it is quite rare, as in normal speech there abound /+emphatic/ contours.

(1)



Anacrusis: Rise till the First Peak of up to 40%.

First Peak: The first stressed syllable of the contour, which is located at the highest point of the whole contour.

Body: Smooth descending.

Final Inflection: Pitch movement between a rise of 10-15% and a fall of 30-40%.

As it is only the FI which is an obligatory part of a Phonic Group, utterances without Anacrusis and Body but having an FI with these characteristics (viz., between a rise up to

15% and a fall up to -40%) also represent this pattern.<sup>61</sup> This must be considered for all the forthcoming patterns, too.

### 3.2.2 Interrogative intonation (Toneme 4) /+I –E –S/

The dichotomy between a rising-interrogative and a falling-affirmative intonation is not universal.<sup>62</sup> According to Cantero's investigations (1988), for example, Hungarian questions have a falling FI rather than a rising one.<sup>63</sup>

We have four /+interrogative/ intonational patterns in Spanish (SP2, SP3, SP4a, SP4b). The common feature in all four is some sort of rise in the FI.

Naturally, /+interrogative/ should not be understood as the “intonation of questions”, as the notion of “question” belongs to semantics and pragmatics, and it is not a phonological term. In Spanish, a /+interrogative/ contour can serve as a phonological marker of other types of utterances (not interrogatives) as well, such as “threat”, or can indicate “politeness” in question-word questions, which normally would have a falling FI. Actually, question-word questions do have a falling /–interrogative/ contour identical to the one in declarative utterances because their interrogative nature is expressed by other, non-intonational means, such as interrogative pronouns (Cantero 2002:137-139).

The most important phonetic characteristic of the phonological feature /+ interrogative/ is the Final Inflection, which is characterised in Spanish by a rise higher than 70%, but normally over 100%. Rise up to 15% is still perceived as /–interrogative/ (that is, declarative), and a rise between 15 and 70% is identified as /+suspended/ by listeners.<sup>64</sup> So a rising FI is not automatically associated with the meaning /+interrogative/, the percentage of the rise is a decisive factor in the categorization.

Other melodic characteristics of /+interrogative/ contours are the following: the First Peak is situated at approximately the same height as the last point of the FI rise; and it may be

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<sup>61</sup> Font-Rotchés (2005:258) calls the contours which only have FIs “contours formed by FI only”, and the rest, “complete contours”.

<sup>62</sup> Chickasaw, for instance, is reported to have rising patterns for declarative sentences and falling patterns for yes-no interrogatives, cf. Gussenhoven (2004: 54).

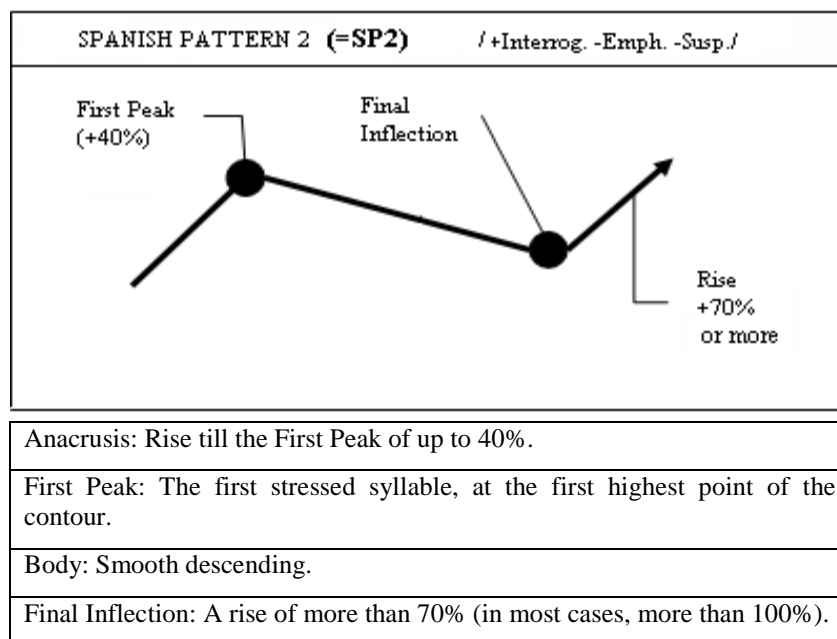
<sup>63</sup> Cantero does not specify in this work whether he investigated yes-no questions or question-word questions in Hungarian. He also cites Catalan questions as having falling FIs, but according to the most recent studies, only a minority of Catalan questions end in a falling FI, where from the context it is obvious that the utterance is a question; the vast majority have rising FIs (cf. Font-Rotchés 2008). On Hungarian questions, see Chapter 6.

<sup>64</sup> Actually, a rise between 40 and 60% in the FI is decoded as /+interrogative/ if the First Peak is displaced to the unstressed syllable following the first stress, see SP3 in (3).

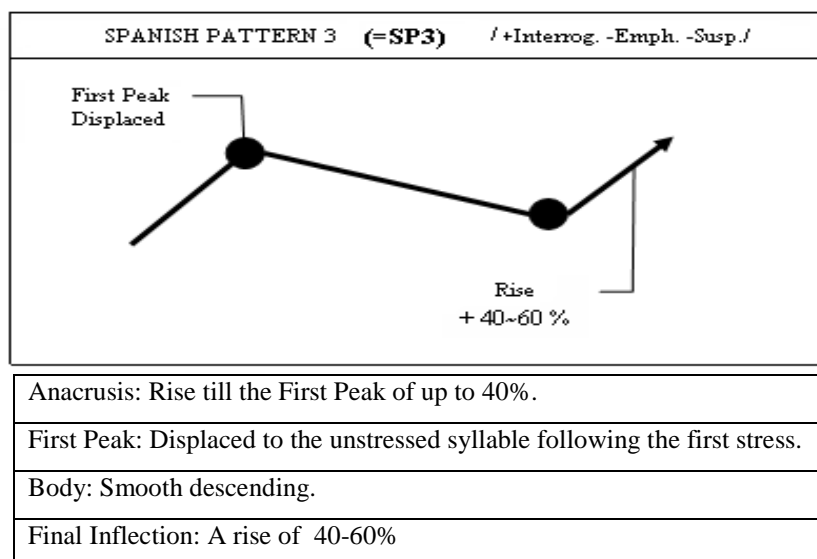
displaced to the unstressed tonal segment following the first stressed vowel (Cantero 2002: 172-3).

Now let us consider patterns SP2 and SP3, the most common /+interrogative/ patterns, shown in (2) and (3), respectively.

(2)



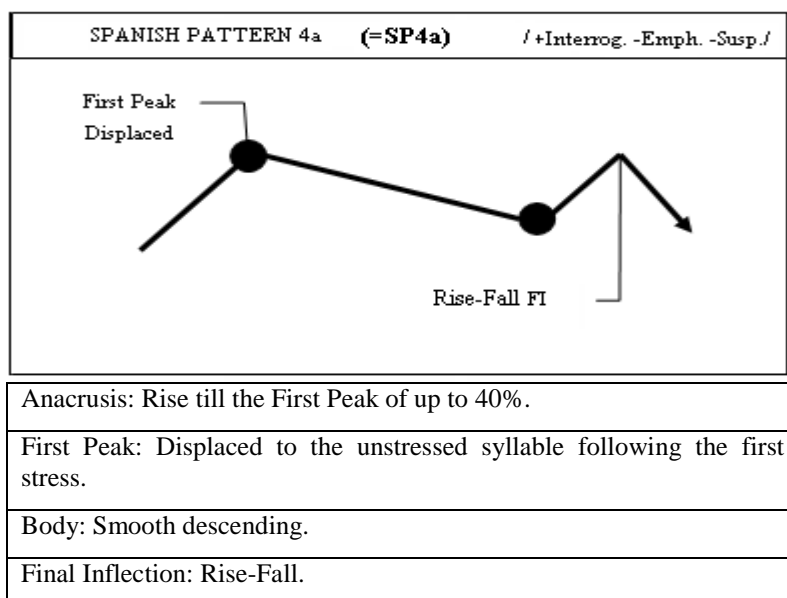
(3)



The following two interrogative patterns, SP4a and SP4b, presented in (4) and (5), are of special interest to us, as their shape and function seem to be similar to those of their Hungarian counterparts. They are interrogative but have a restricted use, as mentioned in

Navarro Tomás (1944).<sup>65</sup> Before Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007), these patterns were not recognised among the interrogative ones, and it is interesting to note that Central European yes-or-no interrogatives tend to use a similar pattern (Grice et al. 2000:148-162). The shape of the FI in SP4a and SP4b seems to be identical to the one applied in Hungarian yes-no interrogatives.<sup>66</sup> Since every FI should normatively start on the last lexically stressed syllable (the Syntagmatic Accent), and the FI has two directions, a monosyllabic FI would be lengthened to accommodate the three tonal segments; in a disyllabic FI one syllable would be lengthened to accommodate two tonal segments, and in an FI having three syllables or more there would be no lengthening.

(4)

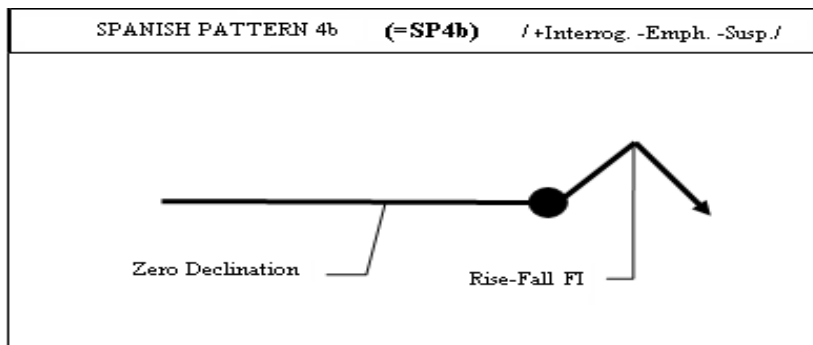


<sup>65</sup> Navarro Tomás (1944, 1966) found SP4b in the so-called “interrogación relativa” or “pregunta relativa” (a type of question to which the speaker already knows the answer).

<sup>66</sup> The Hungarian pattern is similar to the FI in SP4a in that it requires three tonal segments, but it is not initiated necessarily by a Syntagmatic Accent: it is a pattern that is not sensitive to lexical stress (for stresses which initiate FIs, see É. Kiss–Kiefer–Siptár (2003:378)). These similarities and differences will be treated in more detail when the Hungarian pattern is analysed.



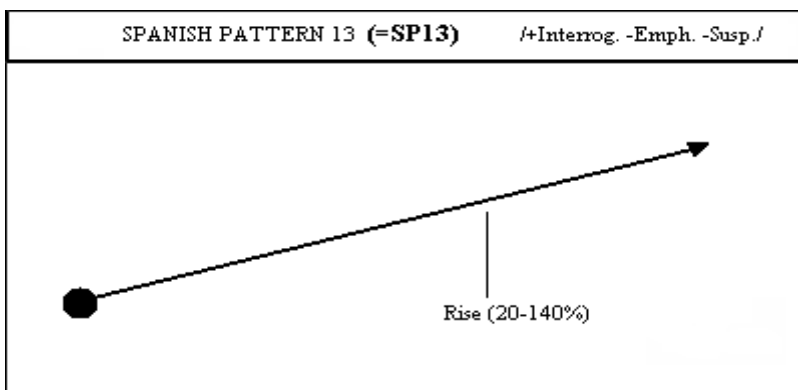
(5)



First Peak: None.
Anacrusis: Level.
Body: None. <sup>67</sup>
Final Inflection: Rise-Fall.

We must mention here a recently discovered pattern ((6), temporarily classified as XIII (SP13) in Font-Rotchés—Mateo (2011)), which is somewhat different from the previous /+ interrogative/ patterns: it lacks a salient First Peak<sup>68</sup>, and is defined as having a constantly but not abruptly rising Body.

(6)



First Peak: None (not necessarily salient).
Anacrusis: None (if there is no First Peak).
Body: Rising (altogether with the FI of 20-140%) <sup>69</sup>
Final Inflection: Rising.

<sup>67</sup> Though in Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007:8) the description of SP4b speaks of a Body with plain declination, there is no Body only an Anacrusis here, since the First Peak is not realized.

<sup>68</sup> This pattern is already identified in N. Tomás 1966: 258, but he found it in the case of reiterative questions only.

<sup>69</sup> Again, strictly speaking there is no Body in this pattern either, as the Body is defined as having a First Peak. As this is a recently recognized pattern, its description needs further considerations.

### 3.2.3 Suspended intonation (Toneme 7) /-I-E+S/

Contours can also be /+suspended/. The staple melodic characteristic of /+suspended/ contours is that they lack an FI, or their FI has a rise of between 15 and 70 per cent with a non-displaced First Peak. Generally, the position of /+suspended/ contours is in the interior of the conversational turn, but they can also appear turn-finally, either because the speakers do not want to miss a conversational turn, or because they do not know how to continue but do not want to lose the floor, or they want to leave their discourse suspended, for some other reason.

The contour was defined on the basis of the lack of FI, as in SP5 (7). This can imply that either the Body has reached the end of its normal declination because of its length, thus losing the physical possibility of finishing the contour with an FI, or the Body has been interrupted, which can happen at any point (Cantero 2002:141-142, 172-174). In any case, SP5 is an incomplete contour.

(7)

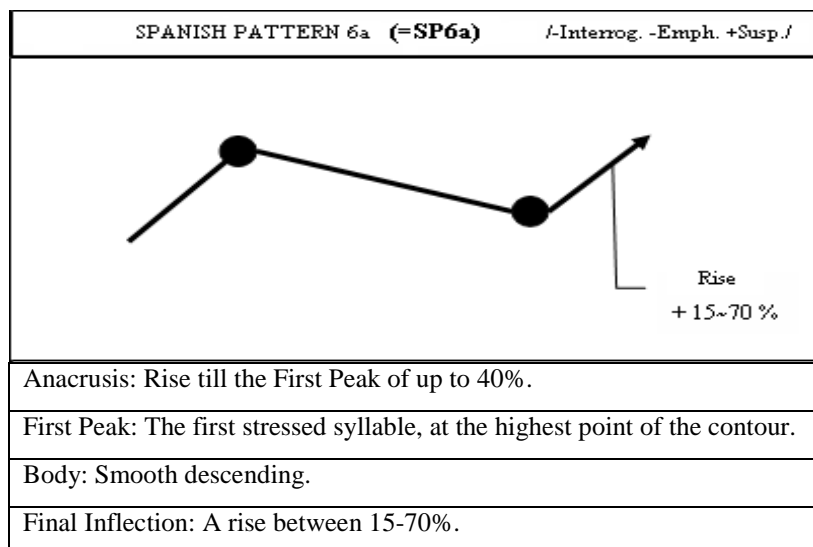
SPANISH PATTERN 5 (=SP5)	/-Interrog. -Emph. +Susp./
Anacrusis: Rise till the First Peak of up to 40%.	
First Peak: The first stressed syllable.	
Body: Smooth descending.	
Final Inflection: None. <sup>70</sup>	

A rising FI can also be interpreted as a suspended contour, but the rise in this case must be less than 70%, as in (8) or (9). Pattern SP6a (8) differs from SP1 with a final rise (1) because here the final rise is over 15%, while in SP1 the maximum of the final rise is 15%. It differs from SP2 (2) as well because its final rise must be under 70%, whereas in SP2 it is more than

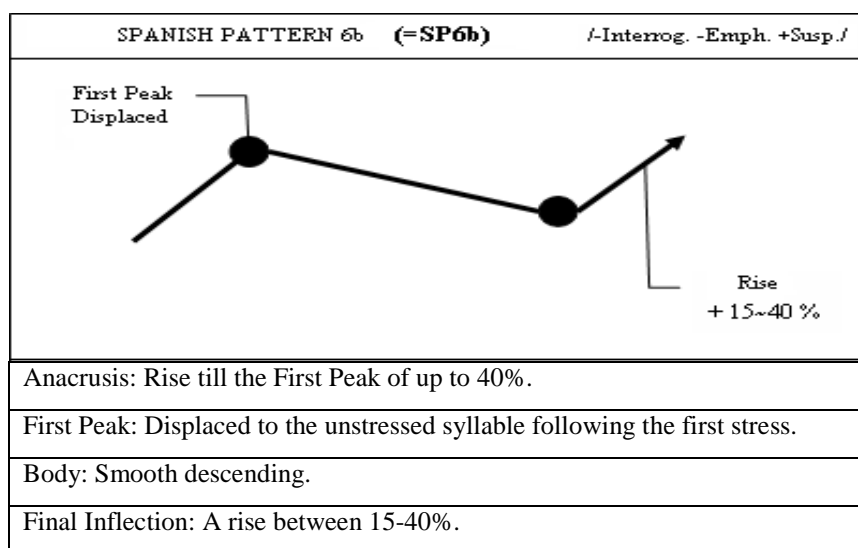
<sup>70</sup> As the FI is the only obligatory part of an intonational contour (cf. 2.4.1), it might sound strange to regard these FI-less contours as the representatives of any pattern. These are anomalous contours, but as the lack of an FI is in contrast with the presence of an FI in other patterns, they are also listed here in the inventory of patterns. (7) cannot generalize all FI-less cases: the black circle suggests that the FI is missing, partly or completely.

70%. Pattern SP6b (9) differs from SP3 (3) in that its final rise is between 15 and 40%, while in SP3 the final rise is between 40 and 60%.

(8)



(9)



### 3.3 Emphatic intonation (Toneme 6) /-I+E-S/

The feature /+emphatic/ refers to the “marked” character of the typical /+interrogative/, /-interrogative/ and /+suspended/, /-suspended/ contours, but in Cantero—Font-Rotchés’s

(2008) corpus all /+emphatic/ patterns are /-interrogative/ and /-suspended/.<sup>71</sup> It is the emphasis of the contour that is relevant, not the type of emphasis, nor the type of emotion or pragmatic modality it may express.

Thus, an emphatic contour would suit a certain utterance that in a certain context could express, for example, irony; but we cannot say that the intonation of the utterance itself is ironic; irony is a characteristically pragmatic kind of content. Equally, “joy”, “surprise”, “sadness”, “subtlety”, “courtesy”, “anger” or “paternalism”, for instance, are pragmatic categories, and are not expressed by intonation alone. Different types of emphatic intonation are not different linguistic signs, but different concrete uses of one and the same sign (Cantero 2002:140).

We can declare that /+emphatic/ contours are characterised by a perceptible melodic alteration in the normal scheme of the contours. This means that a deviation in one or more of the following features signals emphasis and converts the contour into /+emphatic/:

- First Peak on the First lexically stressed syllable (or in some patterns, on the syllable after it, see 3.3.1)
- Smooth descending Body (see 3.3.2)
- Place or interval of the FI (see 3.3.2)

We can classify the most common characteristics of /+emphatic/ contours according to the structural constituent of the contour that is involved: alterations in the First Peak, in the declination of the Body and in the FI. We can also combine them with two other melodic features of the contours, especially in dialogues, namely pitch range and tonal register. Alterations in these two often accompany but do not in themselves constitute /+emphatic/ contours.

### **3.3.1 Changes in the First Peak**

A First Peak outside the normal pitch range of the discourse means either a very high First Peak, above the upper limits of the normal pitch range, or just the contrary, a very low First Peak, below the lower limits. This can either serve as a means to “steal a turn” in a dialogue or simply to introduce an especially interesting topic. Another way of making a contour /+

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<sup>71</sup> This does not mean that they do not exist in Spanish or Catalan, only that they were not present in the corpus; Cantero and Font-Rotchés, with synthesized models, generated such contours and the listeners accepted them as existent in their language.

emphatic/ is by moving the First Peak to an unusual place, which is neither the first lexically stressed syllable nor the one after it, as the First Peak normally falls on one of these two places in the contour. It is also a means of emphasis if the First Peak shifts to the first lexically stressed syllable in patterns SP3, SP4a, SP6b and in the patterns to be presented below, viz. SP10a, SP10b, SP11, SP12a, SP12b, SP12c, as these are the patterns that have their First Peaks on the syllable after the first lexically stressed one. Similarly, in the remaining patterns (SP2, SP5, SP6a, SP7, SP8; the latter two will be presented soon), not having the First Peak on the first lexically stressed syllable would result in /+emphatic/ contours, and an extreme case would be SP9, presented in 3.3.2, in which the FI starts from the First Peak, an obvious case of displaced Nucleus.

### 3.3.2 Changes in the Body and in the FI

As the declination is normally a continuous descent or a series of falling inflections in the Body (cf. 2.4.1 and 2.4.5), every perceptible rise in the Body means an emphatic trait.<sup>72</sup> This can affect only one word (for example in the case of “word emphasis”) or the whole contour if there are more interior rises.

Re-settings in the declination also yield emphasis: one re-setting, as in (10), (14) and (15), or several, when the Body looks like a succession of sawteeth (zigzag Body), presented in (17) and (18). Sentences with great anger or big surprise can have this type of emphasis. Another type of emphatic Body is just the opposite of the preceding one: “level Body”, that is, a Body which is neither descending nor ascending, see (16). It is a very strong mark of emphasis, showing that the speaker eliminates the normal physiological phenomenon of a descending Body. It can express sadness or threat, or even contained anger.

An FI with a fall deeper than -30% signals emphasis, cf. (12). The most radical emphasis, according to Cantero (Cantero et al. 2005:5), is when the Nucleus is fronted to the First Peak, so the FI is shifted, as shown in (11). The Rise-Fall FI is also listed among the possible emphatic features, see (13).<sup>73</sup>

The following patterns (SP7-SP12c) are “inherently” emphatic, that is, they are used systematically to express emphatic content, but theoretically any pattern, even the ones seen

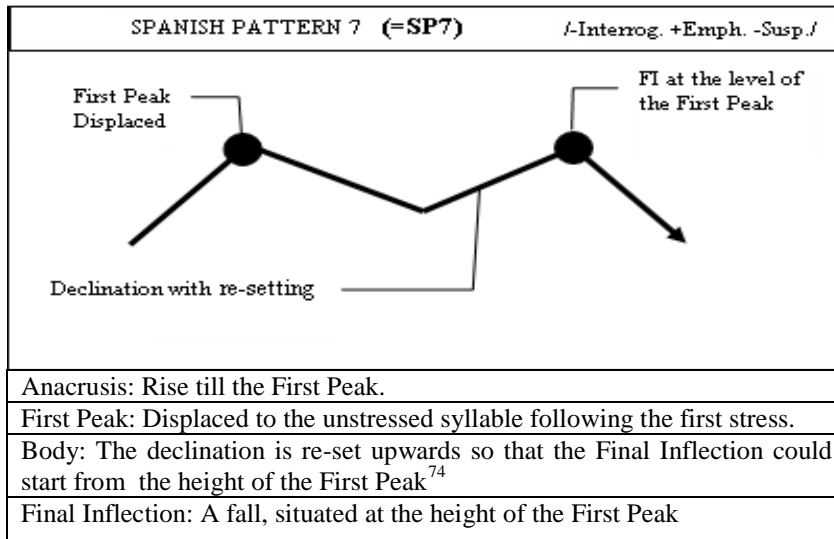
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<sup>72</sup> In the FI there can also be additional rises, in the case of “Recursive accent” (or “accent of insistence”, cf. 2.4.6), which cause emphasis, too.

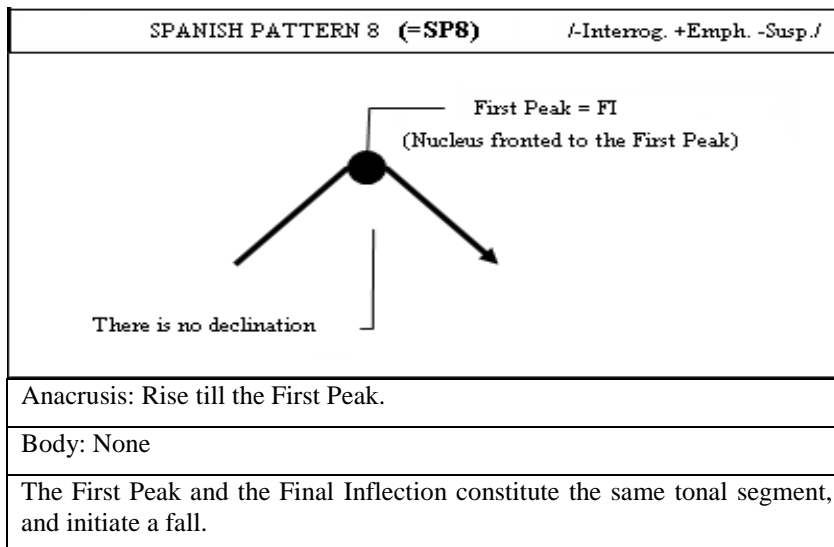
<sup>73</sup> Note that this pattern can also be /-emphatic/ but /+interrogative/, but then there are no specifications for the percentages of the FI, cf. (4).

so far (SP1-SP4b) can be made emphatic by changing one element of the set (place of the First Peak, descending Body, place and range of the Final Inflection) (Cantero (2002:139-141, 174-179; 2005:38).

(10)

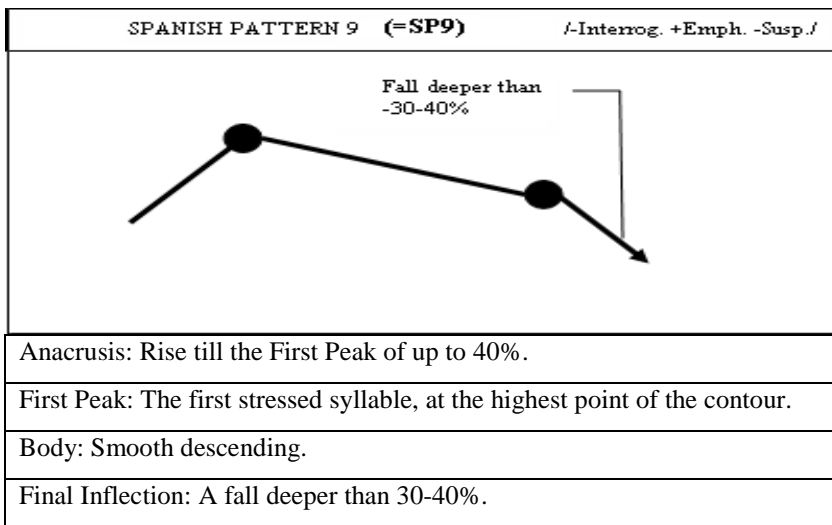


(11)

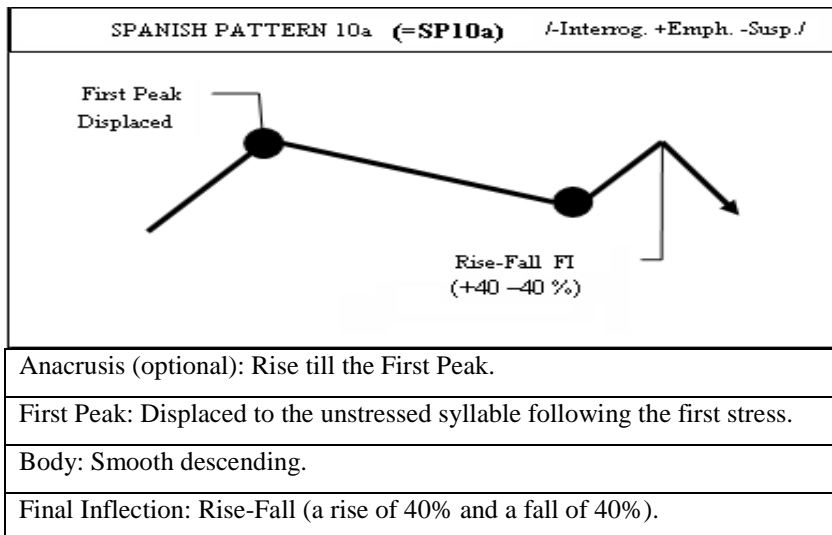


<sup>74</sup> Font-Rotchés (2005: 325) calls this characteristic a “high Syntagmatic Accent”, which perhaps describes the situation better.

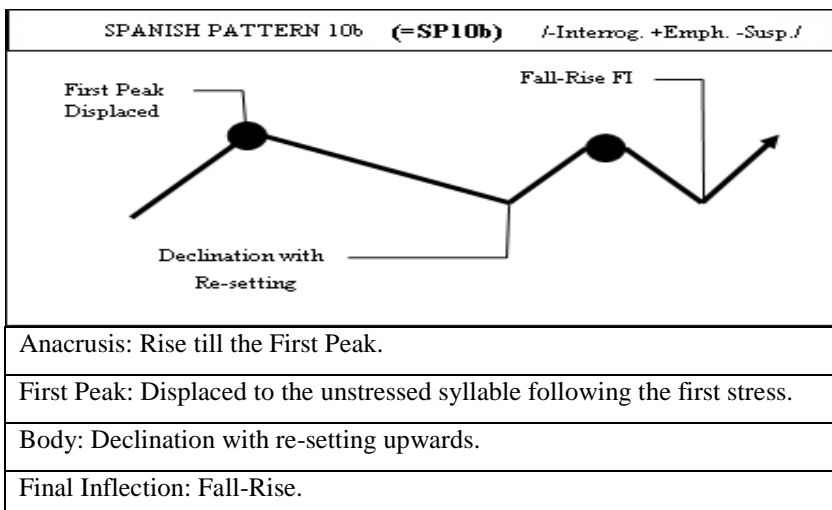
(12)



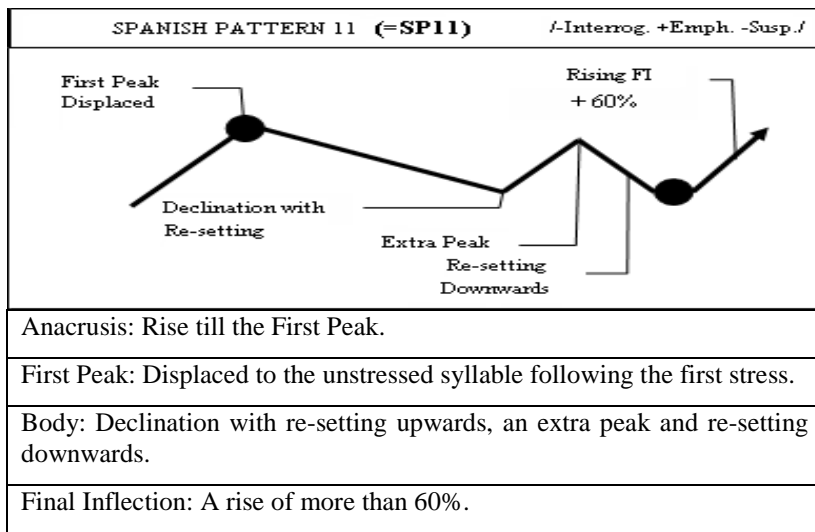
(13)



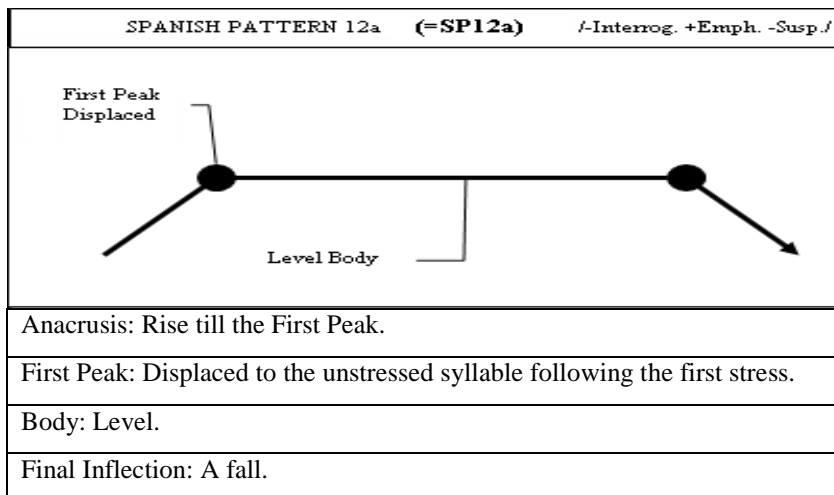
(14)



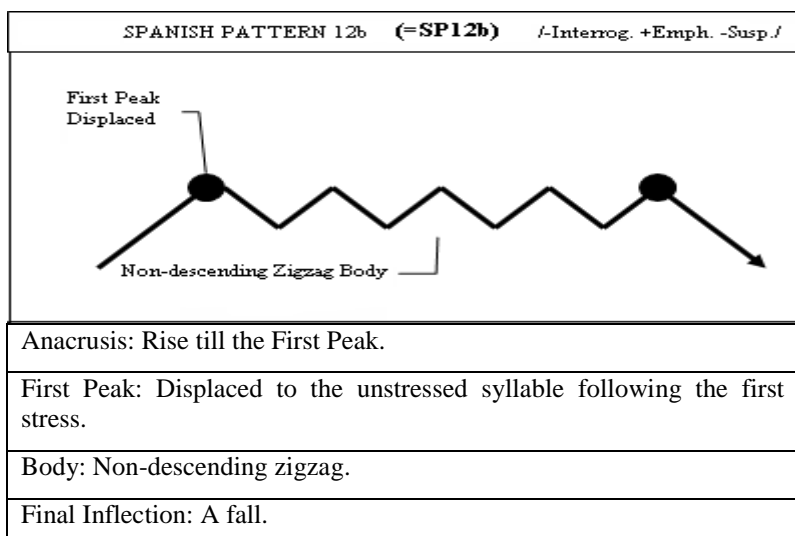
(15)



(16)

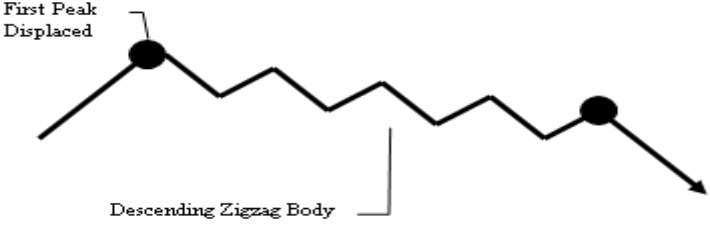


(17)





(18)

SPANISH PATTERN 12c (=SP12c) /-Interrog. +Emph. -Susp./

Anacrusis: Rise till the First Peak.
First Peak: Displaced to the unstressed syllable following the first stress.
Body: Descending zigzag.
Final Inflection: A fall.

Note that minimal contours containing only an FI sometimes cannot be distinguished; for example, if there is only a falling FI no further specified, SP1, SP7, SP8, SP12a,b,c coincide.

### 3.3.3 Summary of emphatic traits

The following summary is based on Cantero (2002, 2005), and contains the elements that can convert a /-emphatic/ contour to /+emphatic/.

Table 3.2: A summary of emphatic traits in different structural elements of the Phonic Group

<b>First Peak</b>
- First Peak on an unstressed syllable (in some patterns) - First Peak out of the pitch range of the dialogue
<b>Body</b>
- Non-descending level Body - Internal Inflection (rising or falling word emphasis) - Zigzag Body (non-descending or descending) - Re-setting within the Body before the FI at the level of the First Peak
<b>FI</b>
- Final Inflection with a fall deeper than 30-40% - Two-directional FI (Fall-Rise and Rise-Fall) - Displaced FI (Nucleus fronted to the First Peak)

### 3.4 Summary

For Cantero, an absolutely neutral melody would include a First Peak on the first lexically stressed syllable, a Body with descending declination, with no considerable upsteps, and a Final Inflection starting from the last lexically stressed syllable.

Cantero recognises 12 patterns in Spanish spontaneous speech, with subtypes. In the description of the patterns Cantero includes the interval of values that characterize the Final Inflection of the pattern. For example, in the melodic pattern representing neutral intonation (/–interrogative, –emphatic, –suspended/, Toneme 8), the Final Inflection is characterised by a value between a fall of 30-40% and a rise of 15%. Beyond these values, the melody will cease to be neutral and will be converted to:

- Suspended: if the final rise is between 15 and 70% (corresponding to SP6a, a suspended intonation);
- Interrogative: if the final rise is greater than 70% (in which case it would correspond to SP2, an interrogative intonation);
- Emphatic: if the final fall is lower than -30% (in this case, the melody would correspond to SP9, an emphatic intonation).

In the same way, any change in the values of the First Peak, or in the shape and direction of the Body, or in the Final Inflection, beyond the dispersion margins given for the values specified in the patterns of a toneme, converts that pattern into a new melody, representing a different toneme.

From the eight tonemes that are possible, Cantero (2005: 22) only describes patterns for the following four: Toneme 4, Toneme 6, Toneme 7, Toneme 8 (cf. 2.4.2; 3.1). These are the ones that occurred in his corpus, and can be regarded as basic.

Table 3.3: Spanish tonemes and their realizations in Cantero’s corpus

Toneme N <sup>o</sup>	Binary features	Patterns
Toneme 4	/+ interrogative, – emphatic, – suspended/	<b>SP2, SP3, SP4a, SP4b</b>
Toneme 6	/– interrogative, + emphatic, – suspended/	<b>SP7, SP8, SP9, SP10a, SP10b, SP11, SP12a, SP12b, SP12c</b>
Toneme 7	/– interrogative, – emphatic, + suspended/	<b>SP5, SP6a, SP6b</b>
Toneme 8	/– interrogative, – emphatic, – suspended/	<b>SP1</b>
Toneme 3	/+ interrogative, – emphatic, + suspended/	<b>Not found</b>
Toneme 5	/– interrogative, + emphatic, + suspended/	<b>Not found</b>
Toneme 2	/+ interrogative, + emphatic, – suspended/	<b>Not found</b>
Toneme 1	/+ interrogative, + emphatic, + suspended/	<b>Not found</b>

The remaining four possible tonemes have not been found in Cantero's corpus but can easily be generated. **Toneme 3** /+I -E +S/ can be derived in one step from Toneme 4 or from Toneme 7. **Toneme 5** /-I +E +S/ can be derived in one step from Toneme 6 or Toneme 7. **Toneme 2** /+I +E -S/ can be derived in one step from Toneme 4 or from Toneme 6. **Toneme 1** /+I +E +S/ can be generated from the newly generated Toneme 2 or Toneme 5 or Toneme 3. Cantero's corpus, however, contained only the patterns representing the four basic tonemes.

## Chapter 4 The intonation of Hungarian (and its comparison with the intonation of Spanish)

### 4.1 Introduction

Though there are numerous works about various aspects of Hungarian intonation, I prefer to base my presentation on the relevant parts of Varga (2002a).<sup>75</sup>

In the following chapter I first present the structure of the Hungarian intonational unit, then I describe those Hungarian intonational contours that are necessary for the discussion of Hungarian yes-no questions and then I examine these Hungarian contours from the point of view of how Spanish listeners might perceive them in terms of Cantero's analytical framework. This last step is necessary because, in Chapter 8, I will analyse my Corpus 3, i.e. Spanish sentences realized by Hungarian speakers, with the assumption that they may reflect the interference of Hungarian intonation. The comparison of the Hungarian students' intonation of Spanish sentences to the native Spanish intonation is only feasible in the same framework.

This is why one of the chief aims of this chapter will be to discover whether and how Hungarian patterns can be described in Cantero's terms.

### 4.2 The structure of the Hungarian intonational unit

According to Varga (2002a: 54-55), the unit of Hungarian intonation is the **Intonation(al) Phrase (IP)**. Within the Hungarian IP there is an obligatory **Terminal Part**, which stretches from the last accent to the end of the IP.<sup>76</sup> The Terminal Part is preceded by an optional **Scale**, which comprises the syllables from the first accent up to but not including the last one. The Scale can be preceded by a **Preparatory Part**: this part is also optional, and contains only minor stresses or no stresses at all. The Preparatory Part, Scale and Terminal Part constitute the structure of the Hungarian IP.

The internal structure of the Hungarian IP, with examples, is shown in Table 5.1.

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<sup>1</sup> Works on Hungarian intonation include Tolnai (1915), Csűry (1925, 1935, 1939), Laziczius (1944), Molnár (1954), Deme (1962), Elekfi (1964, 1968), Fónagy—Magdics (1967), Kozma (1974), Hetzron (1980), Kozma—Szende (1981), Varga (1981, 1983, 1994, 2002a, 2008), Kornai—Kálmán (1989), Wacha (1985), Fónagy (1998), Olaszy (2002), etc.

<sup>76</sup> The accented syllable in Hungarian is a syllable which is marked not only by extra intensity but also by the presence of a pitch accent on the syllable. The term “accent” is synonymous with “major stress”, and “accented” with “major stressed”.

Table 4.1: Examples for the structural parts of the Hungarian IP

<p><b>IP: Preparatory Part + Scale + Terminal Part</b></p>	<p>És lelőtte a dühöngő medvét.  and off-shot-3sg the raving bear-acc  ‘And (s)he shot the raving bear dead.’</p> <p>  És 'lelőtte a 'dühöngő 'medvét.    És lelőtte a dühöngő medvét.  └──┘ └──────────┘ └────────┘  Prep. Part Scale Terminal Part</p>
<p><b>IP: Scale + Terminal Part</b></p>	<p>  'Lelőtte a 'dühöngő 'medvét.    └──────────┘ └────────┘  Lelőtte a dühöngő medvét.  Scale Terminal Part</p>
<p><b>IP: Preparatory Part + Terminal Part</b></p>	<p>  És a 'medvét.   ‘And the bear.’</p> <p>És a medvét.  └──┘ └────────┘  Prep. Part Terminal Part</p>
<p><b>IP: Terminal Part</b></p>	<p>  'Medvét.   ‘(A) bear.’</p> <p>└────────┘  Medvét.  Terminal Part</p>

Now let us compare Cantero’s (2002) and Varga’s (2002a) views on the internal structure of the intonational unit in Spanish and Hungarian. Varga’s Preparatory Part corresponds to Cantero’s Anacrusis, Varga’s Scale to Cantero’s Body, and Varga’s Terminal Part to Cantero’s Final Inflection, cf. 2.4 above.<sup>77</sup> Both models are reminiscent of the traditional British division of the Intonational Unit, such as Kingdon’s (1958) English tone-group. Table 5.2 shows how Kingdon’s Prehead + Body + Nuclear Part combination can be expressed in Cantero’s and Varga’s terms.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Note that in Spanish, if the FI is not dislocated, there are usually up to 3 syllables after the Nucleus of the FI, whereas in Hungarian, the Terminal Part can be much longer, in principle, it can contain any number of syllables.

<sup>78</sup> Varga says (2002a: 206) that he avoided the traditional British terminology for Hungarian, because, though the internal structural division of the intonational unit in English and Hungarian is similar, the British terminology suggests that the last (and obligatory) part is more prominent than the previous parts. In Hungarian, however, the Scale and the Terminal part are normally equally prominent, cf. Fónagy (1998: 340).

Table 4.2: Internal Structure of the intonational unit in Hungarian (Varga 2002a), Spanish (Cantero 2002) and English (Kingdon: 1958). The bracketed parts are optional.

Cantero's (2002) Phonic Group	(Anacrusis)	(Body)	Final Inflection
Varga's (2002a) Intonation Phrase (=IP)	(Preparatory Part)	(Scale)	Terminal Part
Kingdon's (1958) Tone-group	(Prehead)	(Body)	Nuclear Part

Table 4.3: Spanish, Hungarian and English examples in which all three parts of the intonational unit are filled.

Spanish: Phonic Group (Cantero 2002)	<i>Es</i> Anacrusis	<i>'uno de los ma'yores transa-</i> Body	<i>-tlánticos.</i> Final Inflection
Hungarian: Intonational Phrase (Varga 2002a)	<i>Ez</i> Preparatory Part	<i>'egyike a 'legnagyobb</i> Scale	<i>'óceánjáróknak.</i> Terminal Part
English: Tone-Group (Kingdon 1958)	<i>This is</i> Prehead	<i>'one of the 'biggest 'transatlantic</i> Body	<i>'ships.</i> Nuclear Part

Because of the obvious correspondences between the Spanish “Phonic Group”, “Anacrusis”, “Body” and “FI” on the one hand, and the Hungarian “Intonational Phrase”, “Preparatory Part”, “Scale” and “Terminal Part” on the other, from now on I will extend the use of the Spanish terms to Hungarian, and use *Phonic Group*, *Anacrusis*, *Body* and *FI* instead of *Intonation Phrase*, *Preparatory Part*, *Scale* and *Terminal Part* respectively, when describing Hungarian materials, too. So the Hungarian example of Table 4.3 will be reanalysed as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Hungarian example reanalyzed

Hungarian Phonic Group	<i>Ez</i> Anacrusis	<i>'egyike a 'legnagyobb</i> Body	<i>'óceánjáróknak.</i> Final Inflection
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### 4.3 The Hungarian intonational contours: the Final Inflections in Hungarian Phonic Groups

Varga's intonational lexicon of Hungarian contains 11 “character contours” and an “appended contour”. A **character contour** is a discrete meaningful speech melody that can

appear on independent utterances; it has a characteristic shape with a high pitch for at least part of the contour, and one accent, which is on the first syllable of the phrase that carries the contour (2002a:33). This initial accent is the only one in a Hungarian character contour. The character contour within a Hungarian Phonic Group constitutes the FI of the Phonic Group. The **appended contour** cannot appear on independent utterances, it lacks high pitch and has only minor stresses in it (2002a:48). The appended contour is irrelevant for the present investigation and so are two of the character contours, viz. the second-type descent and the stylized fall. So in my review I will only discuss nine character contours as typical Hungarian Patterns (HPs). After presenting their physical shape and meaning, I will try to express these meanings in terms of Cantero's binary features /±interrogative, ±emphatic, ±suspended/. I will also try to compare the physical shape of each contour to Cantero's patterns.

Cantero's model has limited applicability to Hungarian intonation, owing to the facts enumerated in (1). The first three facts (1a-c) follow from differences in descriptive methodology. The second three (1d-f), however, are intonational differences between the two languages.

(1)

- a. Varga does not give percentages for the pitch height differences produced by pitch movements. For Cantero, the percentage often decides what meaning a contour can convey.
- b. Varga (2002a: 35) distinguishes a **full fall**, i. e. a fall that ends on the bottom pitch of the speaker's normal pitch range, from a **half fall**, i. e. a fall that ends higher, without actually going upwards. Cantero does not consider it important where the falling movement ends, as compared to the bottom pitch of the speaker.
- c. Varga (2002a: 54) distinguishes a half fall or a high descent when they end in an audible pause from a half fall or a high descent when they do not end in a pause, and considers the former two as possible FIs, the latter two as parts of the Body. By contrast, Cantero does not take pauses into consideration.
- d. Hungarian FIs can embrace stretches longer than 3 syllables, whereas in Spanish it is quite rare that the syntagmatic accent is followed by more than two unstressed syllables.<sup>79</sup>
- e. In Spanish, vowel lengthening is a by-product of accentuation. In Hungarian there are inherently short and long vowels, and so Hungarians do not lengthen accented syllables.

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<sup>79</sup> In Spanish, the syntagmatic accent can be followed by more than 2 syllables in the case of imperatives as in *léetelo* (cf. 2.4.4) and in the case of displaced Nuclei.

f. In the rising-falling Hungarian pattern (HP7, see 4.3.3), there is a change in the direction of pitch movements, which is not necessarily connected to the presence of an accent. In Spanish rise-falls, either the syllable before the peak of the rise or the peak itself should be an accented one (cf. 2.4.4, 3.2.2, 3.3.2).

In the following sections, I will present the Hungarian contours that can be used when asking questions. They all correspond to FIs in Cantero's theory, even though the Hungarian FIs can have an unlimited number of syllables, not only four as in Spanish. The realizations of these contours will be illustrated on four Hungarian names, containing 1 to 4 syllables, namely *Pál*, *Mari*, *Mariann* and *Marianna*. This is necessary as many patterns take different realizations depending on the number of syllables of the carrier string.

At the end of the presentation of each group of contours I will give the possible Bodies that can precede these contours. The anacrusis will not be further explained because it necessarily adjusts its movement to the first syllable of the Body.

#### 4.3.1 Front-falling contours

These are characterized by extra intensity on the first syllable of the carrier phrase, and by a radical pitch drop between the first and the second syllable when the utterance is not monosyllabic. Since the first syllable is not only stressed but also initiates an intonation contour, it is intonationally prominent, therefore it is regarded as accented. Varga (2002a) distinguishes three front-falling contours, all three have the general meaning 'self-contained'.

The **full fall** = HP1 (2a) is characterized by a radical fall from the first syllable to the next, and then the contour goes on descending and finally reaches the bottom pitch of the speaker's normal voice range. The meanings this contour conveys are 'self-contained' and 'finished'.

In Cantero's framework, this would be an unmarked pattern, and the 'finished' meaning would be expressed by /-suspended/. In his framework, the radical fall at the beginning of an FI can be a trait of emphasis if it exceeds -30%. Otherwise, the pattern is reminiscent of the FI of SP1, a simple fall in the FI representing the most neutral toneme, /-I-E-S/.

The **half fall** = HP2 (2b) differs from the full fall in ending higher, and thus it does not reach the bottom pitch of the speaker. The meaning associated with this contour is 'self-contained' only. If the full fall expresses a 'finished' meaning, the half fall would be treated as /+suspended/ in Cantero's analysis. For Cantero, however, the fact that a falling contour does not end its movement at the bottom pitch of the speaker is irrelevant, the only important



feature being the percentage of the fall. Thus, this pattern is not different from the full fall in its Spanish interpretation.

The **fall-rise** = HP3 (2c) is characterized by a step-up at its end (late rise, HP3a), or it can start the rise from the second syllable (early rise, HP3b). The two subtypes have the same meaning and are in free variation. They can only be differentiated if the initial accented syllable is followed by at least three unaccented syllables<sup>80</sup>. Its ‘self-contained’ meaning is supplemented by ‘conflicting’. I consider the meaning ‘conflicting’ as a sign of emphasis, thus this contour would be represented as /-interrogative, +emphatic, +suspended/. For Cantero, both realizations of the contour could be analysed as having falling-rising FIs (SP10b), but in the case of the late rise it would be treated as somewhat anomalous, as in Spanish fall-rise patterns the rise immediately follows the fall. However, the Spanish fall-rise is emphatic and not suspended. The following figures (2a-c) sum up the first three contours.

(2a)

<b>HUNGARIAN PATTERN 1 (=HP1) Full fall</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	
<b>Notes on form:</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented
<b>Meaning:</b>	'Self-contained + finished'
<b>Toneme:</b>	/-I-E-S/, Toneme 8
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b>	
Falling FI of SP1 (if the fall is below -30%), /-I-E-S/, Toneme 8	

<sup>80</sup> When HP3a and HP3b cannot be differentiated because the syllable number is too low, the label used in my analysis will be HP3.

(2b)

HUNGARIAN PATTERN 2 (=HP2) Half fall	
<b>Form:</b>	
<b>Notes on form:</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented	
<b>Meaning:</b> 'Self-contained'	
<b>Toneme:</b> /-I-E + S/, Toneme 7	
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b> Falling FI of SP1 (if the fall is below -30%), /-I-E - S/, Toneme 8	

(2c)

HUNGARIAN PATTERN 3 (=HP3) Fall-rise	
<b>Form:</b>	
<b>Notes on form:</b> a) 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented b) HP3 can be differentiated into HP3a and HP3b only if there are at least 3 unaccented syllables after the initial accented syllable in the carrier string. They are in free variation.	
<b>Meaning:</b> 'Self-contained' + conflicting'	
<b>Toneme:</b> /-I+E + S/, Toneme 5	
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b> HP3a: Falling-rising FI of SP10b, a fall-rise, but an irregular one, as the rise does not begin immediately after the fall; /-I+E - S/, Toneme 6 HP3b: Falling-rising FI of SP10b, a fall-rise, /-I+E - S/, Toneme 6	

In the body, there are half-falls (HP2) or high descents (HP6, presented in 4.3.2), which can follow one another before any front-falling FI. The half falls or high descents in the body do not finish with a pause. When a half fall or a high descent ends with a pause, it counts as an FI.

As for sentence types, the front-falling contours are used in Hungarian statements, imperatives, question-word questions and ordinary exclamations (Varga 2002a: 36).

#### 4.3.2 Sustained contours

Sustained contours are also characterized by extra intensity on the first syllable of the string carrying the contour and since the first syllable initiates an intonational contour, this syllable is intonationally prominent, i.e. accented. There are three types: the **high rise** = HP4 (3a), the **high monotone** = HP5 (3b) and the **high descent** = HP6 (3c).<sup>81</sup> The high rise can be gradual (HP4a), late (HP4b, from the last syllable) or early (HP4c, from the second syllable). The gradual, early and late rising subtypes have the same meaning and are in free variation. The high monotone has no considerable inner movements. The high descent is similar to the half fall, but without the big drop between the first and second syllables. All the three patterns have the meaning of ‘forward-pointing’, but the rise also conveys the meaning of ‘tense’, and the descent, ‘routine’.

‘Forward-pointing’ for Cantero would mean /+suspended/, waiting for continuation. The rising contours, with the meaning ‘tense’, would be analysed as /+emphatic/ as well as /+suspended/.

The gradual rise (HP4a) is an unlikely pattern in Spanish, as the rise in an FI usually stretches from the syntagmatic accent to the next unstressed syllable but does not spread to all the possible unstressed syllables after that. Usually, if there are more unstressed syllables after the syntagmatic accent, they are not tonally relevant (cf. 2.4.4). This pattern would most probably be analysed as a rising FI, but its classification would depend on the percentage of the rise between the syntagmatic accent and the following syllable. If it is over 40%, the pattern is likely to be analysed not as pattern SP6 /-I-E+S/, but either as SP3 or as SP2 /+I-E-S/. The late rise is impossible in Spanish in normal circumstances, because in that case the rise would not start on the syntagmatic accent but on an unstressed syllable. The early rise is likely to be analysed as a rising FI in Spanish, as it starts from the syntagmatic accent; again, its classification would depend on the percentage of the rise as in the case of the gradual rise.

The high monotone is unlikely in Spanish because it is an example of the lack of FI to the Spanish ear, i.e. SP5, with a non-descending Body, or is perceived as an SP1 with a non-descending Body and a flat FI. The high descent is again unlikely in Spanish, since no radical



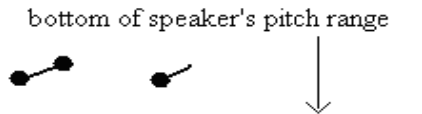

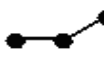


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<sup>81</sup> In Varga (2002a) these are called “rise” and “descent”. The revised labels “high rise” and “high descent” come from Varga (personal communication).

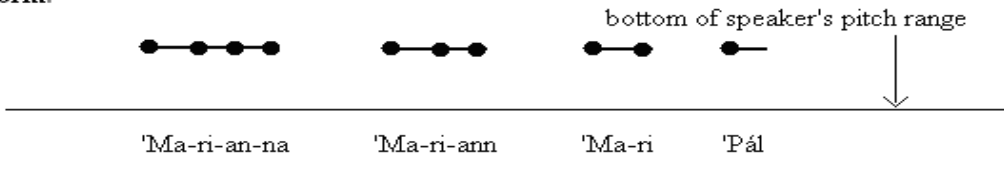
pitch movement can be detected from the Syntagmatic Accent to the next syllable. At any rate, if the descent is not steeper than -30%, it is considered as SP1/-I-E-S/.

All these Hungarian Patterns are characterized by a high starting point of the FI, thus they would be interpreted as /+emphatic/ by Spanish listeners, as a high FI is an emphatic feature in Spanish (cf. SP7, 3.3.2).

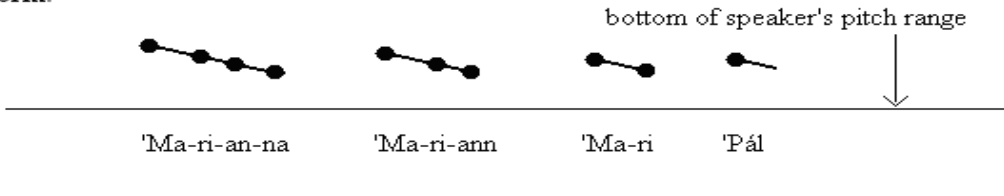
(3a)

<b>HUNGARIAN PATTERN 4 (=HP4) High rise</b>			
<b>Form:</b>			
<b>HP4a</b> (gradual rise)			bottom of speaker's pitch range 
<b>HP4b</b> (late rise)	'Ma-ri-an-na 	'Ma-ri-ann 	
<b>HP4c</b> (early rise)	'Ma-ri-an-na 	'Ma-ri-ann 	
	'Ma-ri-an-na	'Ma-ri-ann	
<b>Notes on form:</b>			
a) 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented			
b) HP4 can be differentiated into HP4a, HP4b, HP4c only if there are at least 2 unaccented syllables after the initial accented syllable in the carrier string.			
c) Hybrids between HP4a and HP4b or between HP4b and HP4c are possible.			
d) The different varieties (HP4a, HP4b, HP4c and HP4 hybrids) are in free variation.			
<b>Meaning:</b> 'Forward-pointing + tense'			
<b>Toneme:</b> /-I+E+S/, Toneme 5			
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b>			
HP4a and HP4c: a rising FI of			
-SP1, /-I-E-S/, Toneme 8, if the rise is below 15%,			
-SP6, /-I-E+S/, Toneme 7, if the rise is between 15-70%,			
-SP2 or SP3, /+I-E-S/, Toneme 4, with a displaced First Peak and a rise between 40 and 60%, and anyway if the rise is over 70%.			
HP4b: an impossible pattern in Spanish as the rise is delayed from the Syntagmatic Accent. May be erroneously interpreted as a level Body + a rising FI of SP1, SP2, SP3, or SP6)			

(3b)

HUNGARIAN PATTERN 5 (=HP5) High monotone				
<b>Form:</b>				
				
Notes on form: 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented				
Meaning: 'Forward-pointing'				
Toneme: /-I-E+S/, Toneme 7				
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b> Either as a smooth FI of SP1 with a non-descending Body ( /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6) or as a non-descending Body with no FI (a truncated Phonic Group, SP5, /-I+E+S/, Toneme 5), and emphatic as the Syntagmatic Accent is positioned high.				

(3c)

HUNGARIAN PATTERN 6 (=HP6) High descent				
<b>Form:</b>				
				
Notes on form: 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented				
Meaning: 'Forward-pointing + routine'				
Toneme: /-I-E+S/, Toneme 7				
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b> Perceived as being a gently falling FI of SP1 with less than 30-40%, /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6, but rare because of the lack of salient pitch movement from the Syntagmatic Accent. Emphatic because the Syntagmatic Accent is positioned high.				

The Body before a sustained FI is characterized by a succession of half falls or high descents, none of which ends in a pause.

These patterns appear in Hungarian complementary questions and certain non-final sentence constituents (Varga 2002a: 38).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Complementary questions (in the sense of Bolinger 1957-58) are unfinished sentences containing a conjunction, e.g. *És?* 'And?', topics with no predicates, consisting of nominal phrases, e.g. *Apja neve?* 'Your father's name?', or topics with no predicates, consisting of subclauses, e.g. *És ha nem jön?*, 'And (what) if he

### 4.3.3 End-falling contours

This group of contours comprises the **rise-fall** = HP7 (4a), the **monotone-fall** = HP8 (4b), and the **descent-fall** = HP9, (4c). All these have extra intensity on the first syllable of the carrier phrase and since this syllable is intonationally prominent, too (initiates an intonational contour), it is regarded as accented. In all three contours the fall occurs between the last two syllables when the utterance is at least 3 syllables long, but this does not make the penultimate syllable accented. The common meaning of all three is ‘yes-no interrogative’. The binary feature expressing this meaning is /+interrogative/.<sup>83</sup>




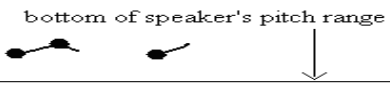
The realization of the **rise-fall** depends on the length of the utterance: in monosyllabic utterances the rise and fall are both realized in the same syllable but the falling part is normally missing (cf. Varga 2002b). In the case of disyllabic utterances, the rise can be located between the two syllables, and the falling movement, in a vestigial form, is positioned on the second syllable. In utterances longer than 2 syllables, the rise goes on until the penultimate syllable and then it drops abruptly between that syllable and the last one. The rising part itself can be gradual (HP7a), late (HP7b) or early (HP7c), but these do not carry meaning differences and are in free variation. The meaning of the rise-fall (HP7) is considered to be ‘yes-no interrogative’ and ‘questioning’.

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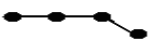
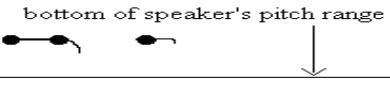
doesn't come?’. Their uses include data-taking questions, informal offers, or simple encouragements for the interlocutor to go on. For the notion of topic, comment (predicate), see É. Kiss (2002:2, 8-9).

<sup>83</sup> The binary feature expressing these meanings is /+ interrogative/ but only from an intonational point of view again; this means that the hearer identifies the contour as having yes-no questioning intonation, but does not mean that the sentence is grammatically a yes-no interrogative, nor that it is used as such in its context. Not all yes-no interrogatives are actually used to ask a question, cf. e. g. *Could you shut the window, please?*

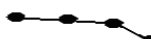
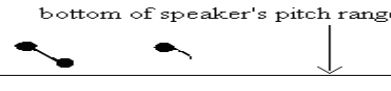
(4a)

<b>HUNGARIAN PATTERN 7 (=HP7), Rise-fall</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	
<b>HP7a (gradual rise)</b>	
<b>HP7b (late rise)</b>	
<b>HP7c (early rise)</b>	
	
	'Ma-ri-an-na      'Ma-ri-ann      'Ma-ri      'Pál
<b>Notes on form:</b>	
a) 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented b) HP7 can be differentiated into HP7a, HP7b, HP7c only when there are at least 3 unaccented syllables after the initial accented syllable in the carrier string. These subtypes are in free variation. c) Hybrids between HP7a and HP7b or between HP7b and HP7c are possible. d) The different varieties (HP7a, HP7b, HP7c and HP7 hybrids) are in free variation.	
<b>Meaning:</b> 'Yes-no interrogative + questioning'	
<b>Toneme:</b> /+I-E-S/, Toneme 4	
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b>	
HP7a: a rising body + a falling FI on the penultimate syllable, emphatic SP1, /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6 HP7b: high Syntagmatic Accent and a falling FI, SP7, /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6 or Rise-Fall FI, SP4, /+I-E-S/, Toneme 4 HP7c: non-existent in Spanish, or misinterpreted as a high level Body + a fall, SP12a, /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6	

(4b)

<b>HUNGARIAN PATTERN 8 (=HP8) Monotone-fall</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	
	
	
	'Ma-ri-an-na      'Ma-ri-ann      'Ma-ri      'Pál
<b>Notes on form:</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented	
<b>Meaning:</b> 'Yes-no interrogative'	
<b>Toneme:</b> /+I+E-S/, Toneme 2	
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b>	
SP1, but as a level Body + falling FI sequence, thus emphatic, /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6	

(4c)

<b>HUNGARIAN PATTERN 9 (=HP9) Descent-fall</b>	
<b>Form:</b>	
	
	
	'Ma-ri-an-na      'Ma-ri-ann      'Ma-ri      'Pál
<b>Notes on form:</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable of carrier string is accented	
<b>Meaning:</b> 'Yes-no interrogative + exclaiming'	
<b>Toneme:</b> /+I+E-S/, Toneme 2	
<b>Possible impression on Spanish listeners, interpreted in Cantero's terms:</b>	
falling FI of SP1, but starting the FI from the penultimate syllable after a normal declining Body, /-I-E-S/, Toneme 8	

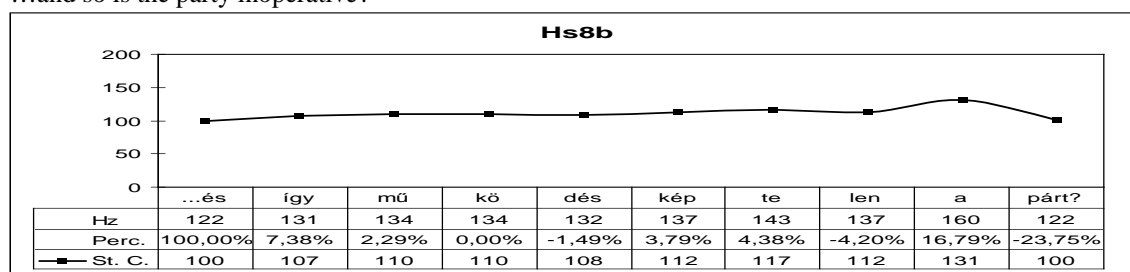
The physical shape of the end-falling contours seems to be problematic from a Spanish point of view. In all the patterns (HP7a-c, HP8, HP9) the most radical pitch movement – a fall – occurs between the penultimate syllable and the last syllable of the string and this does not necessarily coincide with the Syntagmatic Accent (cf. Ladd 2009:145, 228-229). The Hungarian syllable which initiates the whole rise-fall (with the three different shapes of the rise) and is accented is not always perceived as an accented syllable by the Spanish ear, while the non-accent on the penultimate syllable may be perceived as an accent.

HP7 patterns resemble the Spanish SP4 or SP7 in form.<sup>84</sup> However, the Hungarian pattern always has the penultimate syllable at the peak of a rise, which must be from the previous syllable in one variant of HP7 (HP7b), independently of where the Syntagmatic Accent is. As the Syntagmatic Accent tends to be at the beginning of an ordinary Hungarian yes-no question, the highest point of the Hungarian yes-no question is frequently not associated with an accent, in contrast to the Spanish solution. In HP7b, it is the final rise to the penultimate syllable which is the most perceptible movement for Spanish listeners, and they associate this upstep with accent even if there is no accent there in Hungarian. This is so because in Spanish, if there is a considerable rise in pitch, either the syllable which initiates the rise or the one which is located at the end of the rise is a stressed syllable (cf. Chapter 3). Thus, the oddity of this Hungarian pattern for Spanish listeners resides in the fact that the meeting point of the two most characteristic pitch movements of the contour – the rise and the fall – is not associated with an accent.

The following Hungarian example shows a rise-fall with the peak being on the article *a* ('the'), which is completely unstressed.

(5)

...| és így 'működésképtelen a párt?|  
 and so inoperative the party  
 '...and so is the party inoperative?'



<sup>84</sup> Cf. also Baditzné (2011). They also resemble SP4 or SP7 in the sphere of usage, as both can be used in yes-no questions.



This means that in HP7a, where there is a gradual rise until the penult and a radical fall from there, the FI is heard on the penultimate syllable by the Spanish ear, and the intonation is perceived as a rising Body plus a falling FI, i.e. an emphatic SP1 /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6.

Similarly, HP7b would be perceived as having a falling FI on the penultimate syllable which is situated high, an emphatic trait again, i.e. it would be interpreted as SP7 /-I+E-S/, Toneme 6. Or it would be heard as a rising-falling FI (SP4, /+I-E-S/, Toneme 4), but then, with a Nucleus shifted to the penultimate syllable.

HP7c, with a rise on the syntagmatic accent followed by a plateau and then a fall, is a totally non-existent pattern in Spanish. According to Cantero, in complex contours such as the rise-fall the two pitch movements should immediately follow each other, without there being a level sequence between them. Most probably a Spanish listener would analyse this pattern as two Phonic Groups, a rise followed by a new Phonic Group, consisting of a level Body plus a fall.

Consequently, it seems likely that for a Spanish listener none of the patterns in HP7 would count as a rise-fall, for the following reasons: in Hungarian the rising part of the contour

- a) starts on the initial, accented syllable of the FI but is separated from the falling part by intervening syllables (as in HP7c),
- b) or it does not have a salient rising part because the rise is gradual from the initial, accented syllable of the FI and stretches over various syllables including the penultimate one, as in HP7a,
- c) - or it does not start on the initial, accented syllable of the FI at all, as in HP7b.

HP8 has the meaning 'yes-no interrogative' but has not got the meaning 'questioning'. Thus, as a yes-no interrogative under normal circumstances would serve as a question, the Toneme that HP8 represents is an emphatic interrogative, /+I+E-S/, Toneme 2. However, the pattern is heard in Spanish as having a falling FI on the penultimate syllable after a high level Body (an emphatic trait), and so would be interpreted as an emphatic SP1 /-I+E-S/, i.e. Toneme 6.

HP9 is both 'yes-no interrogative' and 'exclamatory', which is an emphatic interrogative toneme, Toneme 2 /+I+E-S/. It is perceived as having a normal declination and a falling FI starting from the penultimate syllable, a standard SP1, /-I-E-S/, Toneme 8.

Since the patterns in HP7 comprise the typical ordinary yes-no question intonation, I will give a more detailed analysis of them in 6.3 below.

Before an end-falling FI, the neutral Body is a descent. In case of emphasis, there can be a succession of copied rise-falls before the rising-falling FI, see 6.4.1.

The end-falling contours accompany ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions, echo question-word questions and repetitive question-word questions, as well as certain imperatives (Varga 2002a:40-42), see Chapter 6.

#### **4.4 Correspondences between the Spanish and Hungarian intonational patterns**

In order to grasp the correspondences between the intonational patterns of the two languages, we had to examine them in a common framework. This is why the Hungarian patterns were presented from Cantero's perspective; I examined how the Spanish ear would decode such patterns.

The 9 patterns presented above would not be perceived as 9 different patterns by Spanish listeners. For example HP1 and HP2 only differ in whether or not the bottom of the speaker's pitch range is reached, which is not always objectively measurable. HP6, HP8 and HP9 would be perceived as different if the percentage of the fall was big enough to be perceived because, according to Cantero's studies, a listener needs at least 10% of rise or fall to perceive the movement as such, otherwise a slight fall between two syllables is not differentiated from a monotone.

The analysis of the Hungarian two-directional patterns is problematic from Cantero's perspective, because of the following reasons:

- a) They can have unstressed syllables between the two movements (cf. HP3a or HP7a and HP7c), whereas in Spanish the two movements must follow each other immediately, without any intervening unstressed syllables (cf. SP4a, SP4b, SP10a, SP10b, SP11, in 3.2.2, 3.3.2)
- b) In Hungarian, the rise that constitutes part of the FI can begin on an unstressed syllable in HP4b and HP7b. In Spanish, the rising part of a complex rising-falling FI or a lonely rise should depart from or end at an accented syllable, the Nucleus. Most probably, such Hungarian rises would be perceived as starting from or arriving at an accented syllable, as in Spanish a radical rise typically has a direct contact with the Nucleus. Thus, radical rises<sup>85</sup> are associated with accent in Spanish: either there is an accented syllable at the starting point of the rise, or, in a smaller number of cases, at the endpoint of the rise. This

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<sup>85</sup> The amount of the rise in HP7 will be examined in 6.3.

is why HP7b, for example, would be perceived as either a high syntagmatic accent with a falling FI (SP7) or as a rise-fall (SP4) starting from a shifted nucleus, shifted in a sense that there is no lexical stress necessarily present at the rise.

It is interesting to note that in HP3a and HP4b, an unaccented syllable starts a radical rise. Similarly, in the two-directional patterns HP7a, HP7b, HP7c, HP8 and HP9 it is an unaccented syllable which starts a radical fall. It seems plausible then to claim that whereas in Spanish it is always the accented syllable that determines pitch movement in the utterance, in some Hungarian patterns it is rather the position of the syllable that counts in determining pitch movement.

Some Spanish patterns, such as SP2, SP3 or SP9, have no Hungarian equivalents because of the extent (high value in percentage terms) of the rise or fall in them. In my corpus no Hungarian utterances have been found with so high values (see 6.3).

Table 4.5 sums up where we can find correspondences between the examined Hungarian and Spanish patterns; ~ means that the two patterns are almost or completely identical. The comparison examines only the FIs of the Spanish patterns and what the Spanish listeners would identify as the FIs of the Hungarian patterns; it is assumed that all Hungarian FI-contours can be preceded by a descending zigzag Body, with local inflections (i.e. half falls and high descents with no pauses after them). In Spanish, there are more restrictions on which Body types can combine with which FIs.

Table 4.5: Correspondences between Spanish and Hungarian intonation patterns

Patterns with FIs existing only in Hungarian (but with parts that can be erroneously identified as FIs by Spanish listeners)	Hungarian Patterns with corresponding Spanish FIs	Patterns with FIs existing only in Spanish
HP3a ~ irregular SP10b HP4b (~ level Body + rising FI of SP1, SP2, SP3 or SP6) HP7a (~ rising Body + SP1) HP7b (~ SP4 or SP7 or SP10a) HP7c (~ SP12a)	HP1 HP2 HP4a,c HP5 HP6 HP7a HP7b HP8 HP9  HP3b ~ SP10b HP4a,c ~ SP6 if the rise is between 15 -40%, SP3 if the rise is between 40-70%, (or misinterpreted as SP13) HP5 ~ SP5 if the FI is between -10-10%	SP2 SP9 SP11

## 4.5 Summary

In this chapter I presented the relevant patterns in Varga's (2002a) Hungarian intonational lexicon and I characterized them in terms of how a native speaker of Spanish would hear them; that is to say, in terms of Cantero's descriptive mechanism. This step helped me to compare Spanish and Hungarian intonational patterns, and will help me to describe Hungarian people's intonational transfers from their native language when producing Spanish sentences (see Chapter 8).

The structure of the intonational unit in Spanish and Hungarian is similar, so I have chosen the Spanish terminology (Anacrusis, Body and Final Inflection) to refer to the parts of the intonation unit in both languages.

There are two salient differences in the description of the intonational patterns of the two languages:

- In Hungarian, the patterns are defined according to their distance from the bottom of the speaker's pitch range, which functions as reference line, especially in the case of HP2 (the half fall); in Spanish, no phonological contrast derives from this distance.
- Cantero's patterns are defined considering two important factors: the position of the First Peak in the Phonic Group and the percentage of the rise or fall in the Final Inflection, as they play an important role in the differentiation of the Spanish intonational patterns. In Varga's description of the Hungarian patterns these factors are not examined, as they play a considerably less important role in the expression of phonological differences.

Apart from these divergences, we can find certain correspondences in the inventories of intonation patterns of the two languages. One of these correspondences is the one between the two patterns which are almost identical in form in Spanish and Hungarian, SP7 and HP7. They are of special interest to us because they might both be used in yes-no questions. Although both patterns have a rising-falling pattern, there is a remarkable difference in their structure. In Hungarian the peak of the rise (or the starting point of the fall) is not necessarily linked directly to the presence of an accent, whereas in Spanish, it is.

## Chapter 5 Types of Spanish yes-no questions and their intonational patterns

### 5.1 Introduction

Simplified grammatical works about Spanish claim that the peninsular<sup>86</sup> Spanish yes-no questions have an intonational contour with a rising FI as opposed to question-word questions which have an intonational contour with a falling FI.<sup>87</sup> The rising FI is not exclusive of yes-no questions, as polite question-word questions are also asked with such contours, for example (Seco 1999:116-118).

According to the corpus analyses of Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007), not only rising patterns (SP2, SP3), but also rising-falling ones (SP4a and b) can signal the questionhood of a sentence for a listener. In my experience, there are several further patterns that can appear in yes-no questions.<sup>88</sup> The conclusions about Spanish intonation in yes-no interrogatives will be based on my own Corpus (Corpus 1, containing 76 read and spontaneous yes-no questions), also taking into consideration Font-Rotchés—Mateo (in press), containing 80 yes-no questions.

I will examine which pattern the sentence takes in three categories of yes-no questions: ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions, and yes-no questions marked with a grammatical particle. I chose the analysis of these categories because in Hungarian these

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<sup>86</sup> There is considerable literature on yes-no question intonation in other, non-peninsular varieties of Spanish as well, cf. Llisterra (2011).

<sup>87</sup> On the universality (or at least the characteristic majority) of rising FIs for Spanish interrogative intonation, see Alcoba—Murillo (1998:160), Congosto et al. (2008:9), Face (2007:194), Fernández et al. (2003:191, 197), Henriksen (2010), Jiménez Gómez (2010:296-297), Martínez Celdrán (2003:72, 74), Quilis (1995:429-431), Sosa (1999:30), Tapia (1995:205, 207) and tacitly in Zamora et al. (2005:127). Martínez Celdrán (2003:78) agrees with Cantero (2002:168-169) that in peninsular Spanish, absolute interrogatives must have a rising inflection starting from a low Syntagmatic Accent. Sosa (1999), with an autosegmental treatment, for example, found only rising yes-no questions in Spanish. A possible reason for this is that he made the informants read out yes-no questions. In read yes-no questions, presumably, speakers are cautious to read out the “expected, normative” version. Canellada—Madsen (1987) also found only rising FIs in yes-no interrogatives. Still, as Sosa (1999:211) remarks, Cunningham (1983) found high falling FIs in Oviedo Spanish, and Díaz Tejera (1973:106) also permits a circumflex intonation for yes-no interrogatives.

<sup>88</sup> The most detailed work about Spanish sentence types and their intonation is N. Tomás (1944, 1966). In N. Tomás (1966:135-181) the author differentiates more than 15 question types with their corresponding intonational patterns. Among these, 13 can be associated with yes-no questions. These types are not always sufficiently defined and some groups cannot easily be separated from each other. For example, there are three groups that cover “echo-questions” (defined in 5.4.1), and some types comprise yes-no questions and question-word questions which share one pragmatic aspect. The basis for separating these subtypes is not homogeneous: it may be the length of the questions, or their pragmatic use, or the presence of certain elements. The results roughly coincide with the results of my investigation; still, I believe that N. Tomás’s classification is hard to follow, unnecessarily diverse and sometimes far-fetched.

attract special and well-definable intonational solutions (cf. 6.3-6.4), so a comparison can be made in the same subtypes.

## 5.2 The Spanish Corpus (Corpus 1)

The corpus consists of 76 Spanish sentences, all representing the standard Castilian dialect. The number of informants is 20 (9 male and 11 female), and the corpus can be divided into two parts: a read and a spontaneous one. The read sentences are taken from Spanish course books (thus, supposedly represent “normative” intonation) or from tv sketches that are not read but certainly rehearsed and learnt, so cannot be called spontaneous. The spontaneous part of the corpus taken from tv programmes.

As for the symbols and abbreviations (see also Appendix 1): | : Phonic Group boundary in the text; ' : main stress at utterance-level (in the case of rising diphthongs, such as *ie, io, iu, ia*, the second element is stressed but the stressmark is before the syllable); **Sr**: Spanish sentences read aloud; **Ss**: Spanish spontaneous sentences; **pl**: plural; **sg**: singular; **refl. pron.**: reflexive pronoun; **fem**: feminine; **subj**: subjunctive; **fut**: future tense, \* **before segment**: ungrammatical form; **Perc.**: percentage of rise / fall in the  $F_0$  as compared to the previous syllable; **St. C.**: Standard curve values; \_ : between the two moras of a bimoraic segment. The vertical dotted line indicates the boundary between two Phonic Groups.

## 5.3 Ordinary yes-no question intonation in Spanish

The normative yes-no intonational pattern in Spanish, SP2 (cf. 3.2.2) is said to have two predominant features (cf. Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007:6)):

- the First Peak is situated at the highest point of the utterance, higher than or at the same height as the endpoint of the Final Inflection;<sup>89</sup>
- the Final Inflection is characterized by at least a 70% rise starting from the Syntagmatic Accent or Nucleus; the rise often exceeds 100%.

Thus, a representative example of a “normative” yes-no question with these features would be (1).

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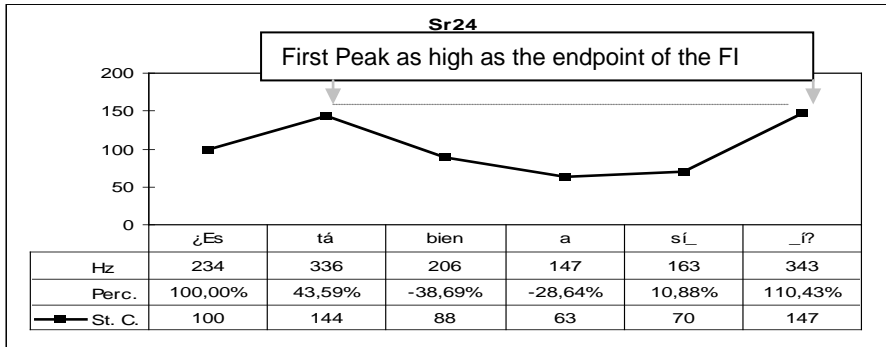
<sup>89</sup> Sosa 1999: 202 also describes the normative peninsular dialects as presenting the First Peak even higher than the endpoint of the final rise, as does N. Tomás (1944), Quilis—Fernández (1964) and Quilis (1987).

(1)

| ¿Está bien a'sí?|

is well so

'Is it all right this way?'



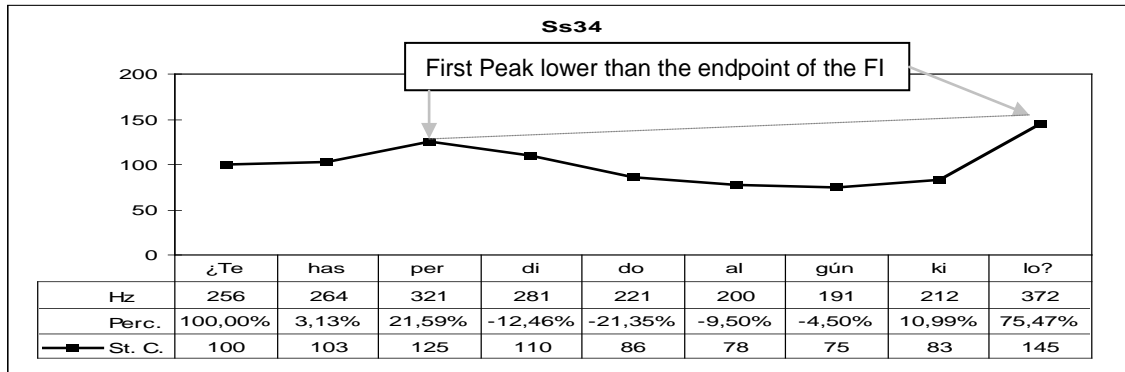
Nevertheless, in my Corpus 1 (containing read and spontaneous Spanish sentences), among the 55 ordinary yes-no questions, the most frequent realization of SP2 is where the First Peak is situated somewhat lower than the endpoint of the Final Inflection, as in (2):

(2)

| ¿Te has perdido algún 'kilo?|

refl.pron.-2sg have-aux-2sg lost some kilo

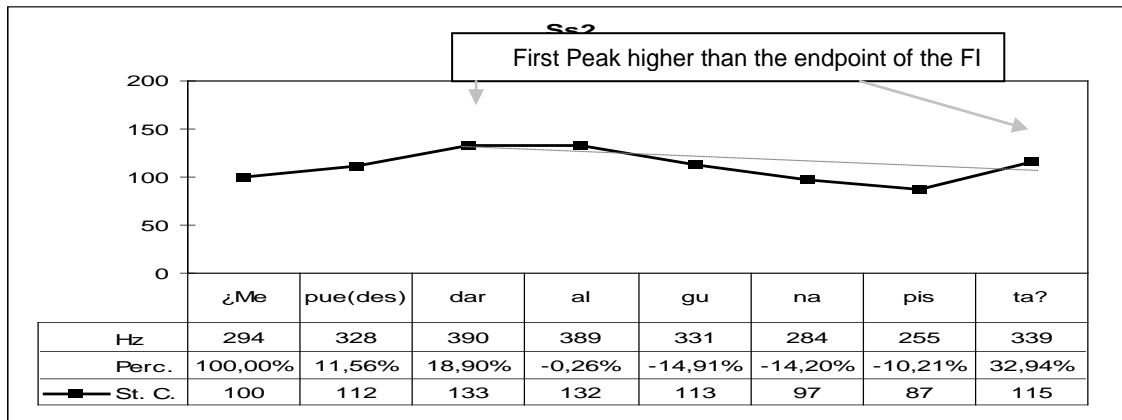
'Have you lost some weight?'



In some cases, it can also happen that the First Peak is situated higher than the endpoint of the FI, though this is less common (cf. (3)). A possible explanation for this is that the speaker runs out of air by the end of a long sentence and is unable to realize the endpoint of the FI as high as it should ideally be.

(3)

|¿Me puedes dar alguna 'pista?|  
me can-2sg give some hint  
'Could you give me any hint?'



Thus, we cannot localize the height of the First Peak with respect to the end of the FI exactly.

As for the position of the First Peak, it is normatively on the first stressed syllable, as in (1), but in my corpus it frequently appears on a syllable after the first stressed one, as in (3).

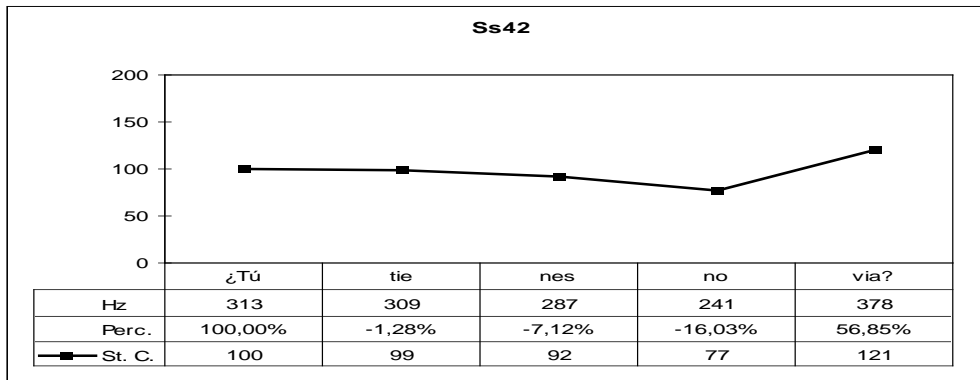
Though predominant, SP2 is not the only pattern in ordinary yes-no questions. In a number of cases, ordinary yes-no questions in Spanish are accompanied by SP3 or SP6.<sup>90</sup> In the case of SP3, the rise at the end is not as marked as in the case of SP2, it is between 40-60%. In my corpus SP3 is represented by only three sentences, while SP6 is a much more frequent pattern. Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007) do not list SP6 among the /+interrogative/ patterns because they claim the hearer associates the rising melody of an SP6 with a /+suspended/ nature instead of /+interrogative/. Still, I have found quite a few instances of SP6 used as /+interrogative/. It is also possible, however, that we are facing only an imperfect performance when the speaker does not have enough breath, for instance, to finish the sentence with a rise over 70% and thus instead of SP2 (s)he realizes an SP6, as in (4).

<sup>90</sup> When there are more subtypes of a pattern depending on the position of the First Peak (as in the case of SP6), we cannot specify the subtype if there are utterances consisting of an FI only. SP6 without specification comprehends both SP6a and SP6b, cf. 3.2.3.



(4)

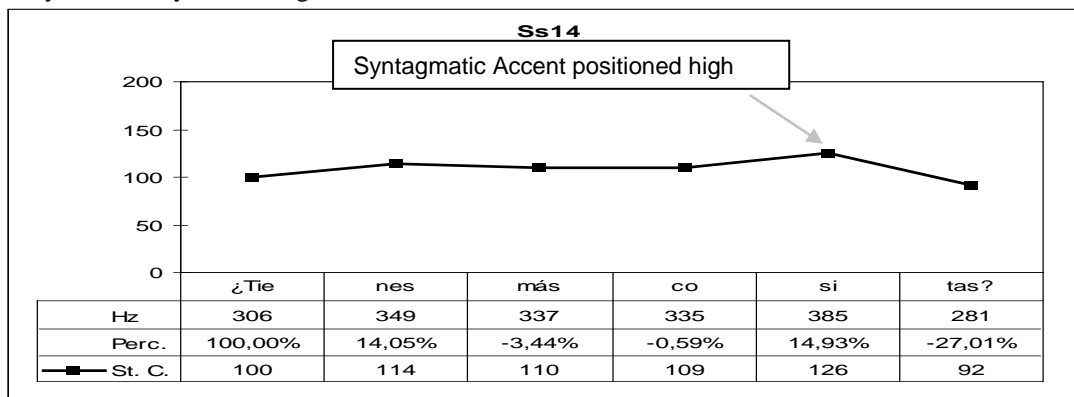
| ¿Tú tienes 'novia?|  
you have-2sg girlfriend  
'Do you have a girlfriend?'



The next most frequent pattern was SP7, a non-interrogative but emphatic contour for Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007). It means that the melody itself is heard as emphatic but non-interrogative. In SP7, the Syntagmatic Accent is positioned higher than the previous syllable even in the declining (normal) Body; and, usually, there is a fall afterwards, see (5).

(5)

| ¿'Tienes más co'sitas?|  
have-2sg more little-things  
'Do you have any other things?'



Ultimately, this pattern is generally descending; but there is a rise preceding the fall, which interrupts the declination of the Body before the Syntagmatic Accent. Thus, it is also characterized by a rise, which however, is not final.

An ordinary Spanish yes-no question may as well end in a fall with no rise before it (in contrast to what we have seen in SP7). In some utterances we have SP1, but a much more frequent realization is SP9. SP9 is characterized by a radical fall from the Syntagmatic Accent onwards, with more than 30%. The following example shows that the fall may reach even -50%, cf. (6).

(6)

| ¿Tus padres saben que te 'casas?|  
 your-pl parents know-3pl that get-married-2sg  
 'Do your parents know that you are getting married?'

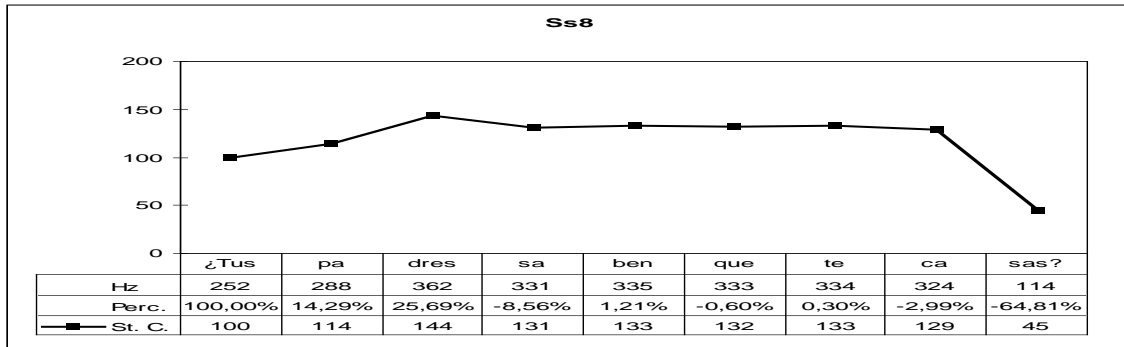


Table 5.1 shows the intonation patterns found in the 55 ordinary Spanish yes-no questions in Corpus 1. As SP2 is represented by far the greatest number of sentences, I will refer to it as the “yes-no question intonation pattern”, with the remark that it is not the only possibility but certainly the most typical one.<sup>91</sup>

Table 5.1: The intonational patterns in ordinary Spanish yes-no questions, according to Corpus 1 (shaded boxes show predominance)

Patterns	Frequency in the read corpus (34)	Frequency in the spontaneous corpus (21)	Frequency (all, 55)
SP2	16 (47%)	5 (24%)	21 (38%)
SP6	4 (11%)	7 (33%)	11 (20%)
SP4	2 (6%)	3 (14%)	5 (9%)
SP3	3 (9%)	1 (4%)	4 (7%)
SP7	2 (6%)	2 (10%)	4 (7%)
SP9	2 (6%)	2 (10%)	4 (7%)
SP1	3 (9%)	0 (0%)	3 (5%)
SP13	1 (3%)	1 (4%)	2 (4%)
SP10b	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)

<sup>91</sup> My results by and large reflect the results found in Font-Rotchés—Mateo (2011b), in the sense that out of the “top” 6 Spanish patterns used in yes-no questions 4 coincide in their analysis and mine (SP2, SP3, SP6, and SP7). Their corpus and mine (Corpus 1) cannot be compared, because Font-Rotchés—Mateo analyse 80 exclusively spontaneous yes-no questions which were not classified according to whether they were ordinary or echo, and 4 of them contained grammatical particles. The patterns they encountered are summed up as follows: 21% of the utterances were characterized by SP13; 18%, by SP7. SP3 follows with 14%. SP1 was present in 9% of the utterances, as well as SP2 and SP6b. Then followed SP4b, with 5%, SP8 and SP11 were represented by 4%, SP4b, SP6a and SP10b by 3%, and finally, SP12b by 1% of the interrogatives. This means that patterns with a rise over 15% in the FI characterized 60% of the utterances. In my corpus, the high occurrence of SP2 is probably due to the fact that my utterances contained read yes-no questions as well, which presumably are characterized by a “more normative” intonation. According to Font-Rotchés (personal communication), in spontaneous speech the speakers do not have to apply so marked inflections as in read sentences.

Table 5.2: The distribution of rising patterns in Spanish ordinary yes-no questions, according to Corpus 1

Patterns	Read (34)	Spontaneous (21)	All (55)
With an FI over 40%	19 (56%)	7 (33%)	26 (47%)
With an FI over 15%	25 (74%)	14 (67%)	39 (71%)

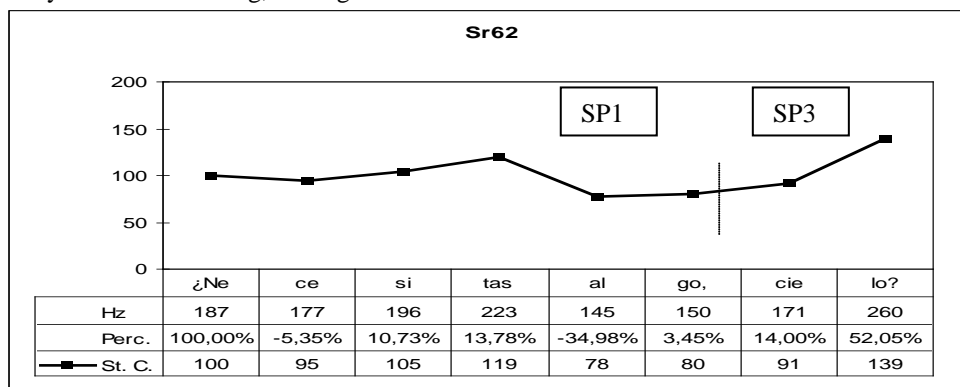
From both my corpus (Corpus 1) and the Font-Rotchés—Mateo (in press) corpus we can see that there are various patterns present in ordinary yes-no questions. The majority of the patterns rise: in my Corpus the 71% of the patterns end with a rise over 15%, only 29% end in a fall.

In my corpus, either SP2 (read utterances) or SP6 (spontaneous utterances) seem to be predominant. This means that in half of the cases, Spanish yes-no interrogatives are accompanied by a rising FI with over 40% of rise. Among the falling patterns, it is SP7 and SP9 which occur most in ordinary yes-no questions.

If a neutral yes-no question is followed by a vocative, generally both the interrogative and the vocative have a rising pattern, the vocative bearing the more radical movement, cf. (7).<sup>92</sup> On this matter, see more in 7.3.2.3.

(7)

| ¿Nece'sitas 'algo, | 'cielo?  
 need-2sg something heaven  
 'Do you need something, darling?'



<sup>92</sup> In Martínez Celdrán (2003: 74), a level-based representation of a yes-no question + vocative sequence (called somewhat surprisingly “interrogative + incisive”) is the following: ¿Aquí viene, María? ‘Does (s)he/it come now, María?’: /<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ki<sup>2</sup>bjé<sup>2</sup>ne|<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup>a↑/ (where small numbers refer to pitch height, | to level terminal juncture, ↑ to a rising terminal juncture). Thus, the interrogative has a definite rise at the end. N. Tomás (1966:175-176) describes various possibilities for such sequences (for example, if the interrogative is rising or falling or circumflex, the vocative, when important, repeats the movement, but if the vocative is an insignificant afterthought, it can be realized with a fall). In my Corpus the general tendency (rise + rise) was attested exclusively, in accordance with Martínez Celdrán’s representation. The vertical dotted line indicates the boundary between two Phonic Groups.

## 5.4 Marked yes-no question intonation in Spanish

In the following sections, we will examine the intonational patterns present in two subtypes of yes-no questions: echo yes-no questions and the ones marked with a grammatical particle.<sup>93</sup>

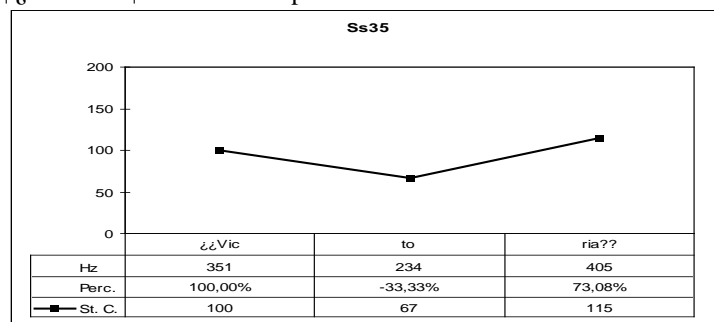
### 5.4.1 Echo-yes-no question intonation in Spanish

Echo yes-no questions are so-called because they “echo” (repeat) some part of the discourse. The first type of these can be called **incredulous/repetitive yes-no questions**. With these the speaker sums up an unexpected experience or statement in the form of a yes-no question, with the aim of making the listener confirm or repeat it. These questions can be looked upon as subordinate clauses after an unsaid matrix sentence “Am I right in supposing that...?”.

In Spanish, these questions do not differ radically in intonation from the ordinary ones, they are predominantly characterized by SP2 (see (8)):

(8)

| ¿Vic'toria?| Context: the speaker has heard that name and wants his/her partner to repeat the name.



In this type of question, we can also find patterns with a falling FI —such as SP7 or SP9 (see (9)):

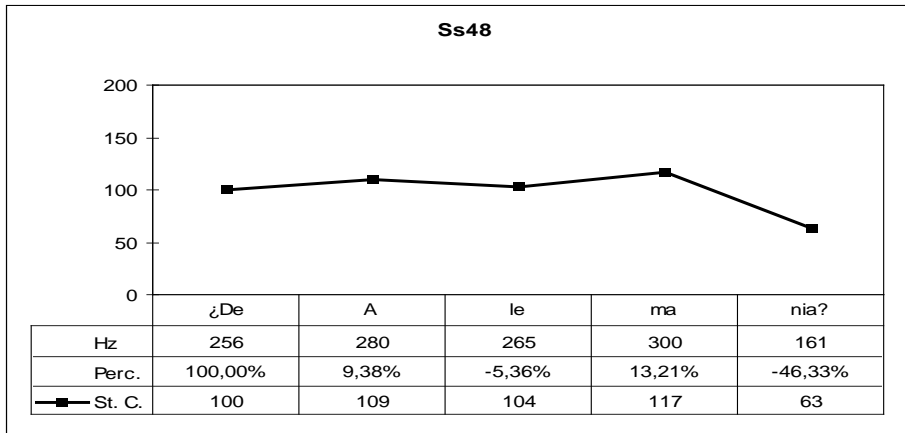
<sup>93</sup> Until now these categories have not received special attention in the description of Spanish intonational patterns in questions, at least not in a clear-cut way (cf. 4.1 footnote 2). Hockett (1958:41, cited in Martínez Celdrán 2003:76-77) gives three possible patterns for echo yes-no questions (not called this way but coinciding with our echo yes-no question category): rise (neutral), level (“colourless”) and rise-fall, with the final fall not reaching as low as the starting point (known answer, waiting for confirmation). N. Tomás 1966: 145-148 also agrees with a rise-fall intonation in this latter subgroup. For N. Tomás 1966: 157-160, a reiterative question (which can more or less coincide with what we call incredulous-repetitive echo-question) is characterized by a rising FI, with a rising or at least high Body (the pattern recognized as SP13 by Font-Rotchés—Mateo 2011a). Examples similar to our clarifying/exclamative echo questions are described as having rising FI (N. Tomás 1966:156). In my corpus, however, echo yes-no questions presented various patterns, not only these. As for yes-no questions with a grammatical particle, N. Tomás gives examples for the hypothetical future (falling FI, 151), and utterances starting with the complementizer *que* (falling or circumflex FI, 158). Alcoba—Murillo only mentions that yes-no interrogatives which contain a grammatical element, “either pronominal or of a different type” (1998:160), the intonation of the question is falling. Again, as my corpus presented a richer variety of intonational patterns, I base my description on my results.

(9)

| ¿De Ale'mania?|

from Germany

'From Germany?' Context: the speaker has heard the utterance "From Germany" and found it surprising.

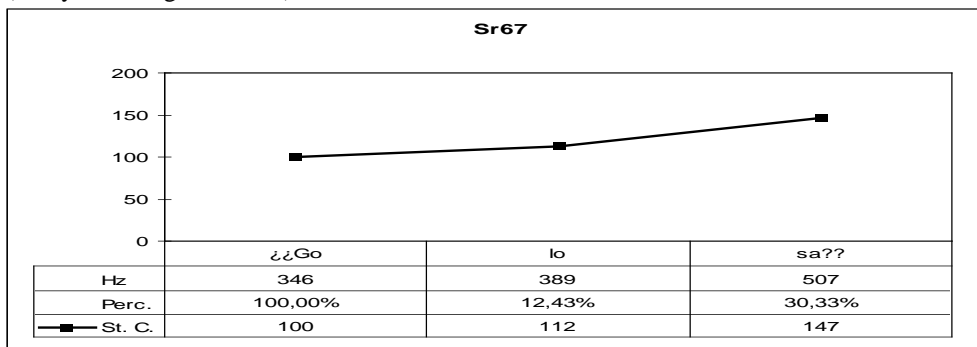


There is another group of echo yes-no questions, in which the speaker repeats a yes-no question (s)he has heard and is pondering about it, in order to think it over before giving an answer, or in order to clarify its meaning. These can be referred to as **clarifying/exclamative yes-no questions**, and they supposedly represent the subclause within the unsaid matrix sentence 'Are you asking if...'. Thus, they are elliptic yes-no questions in that sense, with rising intonation in Spanish, though not as high as in the case of SP2. Example (10) shows a case of SP13.

(10)

| ¿¿Go'losa??|

'(Are you asking if she has) a sweet-tooth?'. Antecedent: 'Does she have a sweet tooth?'



Thus, we have seen that in Spanish echo yes-no questions, the predominant intonational pattern is still rising, typically an SP2, but there are falling patterns as well. The following table shows the relevant data in Corpus 1.

Table 5.3: The intonational patterns in Spanish echo yes-no questions, according to Corpus 1 (shaded boxes show predominance)

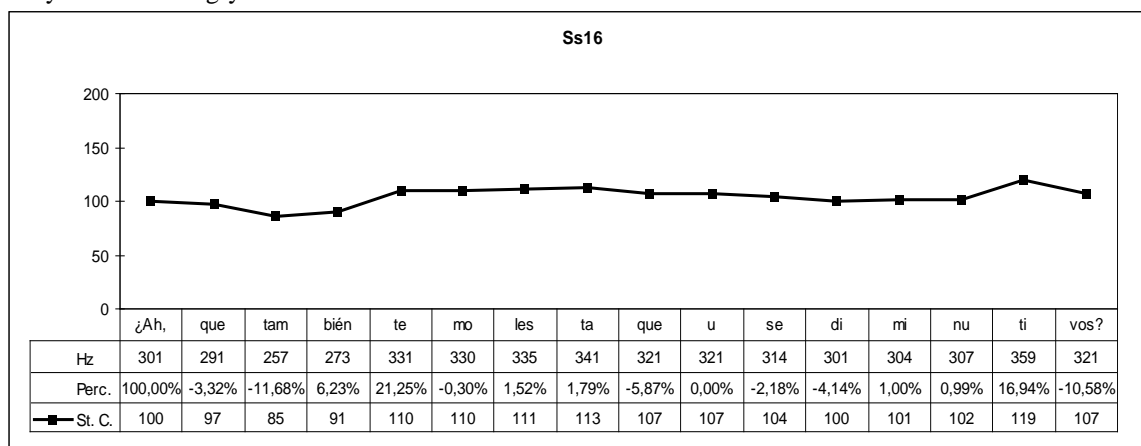
Patterns	SP2	SP7	SP10b	SP9	SP13
Frequency in the read corpus (4)	3 (75%)	0 (0%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Frequency in the spontaneous corpus (7)	2 (28,5%)	2 (28,5%)	1 (14%)	1 (14%)	1 (14%)
Frequency (all, 11)	5 (45%)	2 (18%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)

### 5.4.2 The intonation of yes-no questions with a grammatical particle in Spanish

In Spanish, there are very few grammatical particles that can be present in yes-no questions. The first one to be treated here is *que* (the Spanish counterpart of the complementizer ‘that’). It starts the yes-no question, and very often expresses irritation (for example, when the speaker has to ask the question for the second time, in this case, an echo yes-no question), or it simply sums up an experience, meaning ‘that is, ...’. The intonation of these sentences is mostly falling (from a high Syntagmatic Accent, i.e. SP7, see (11)),<sup>94</sup> or rising-falling (SP4, see (12)).

(11)

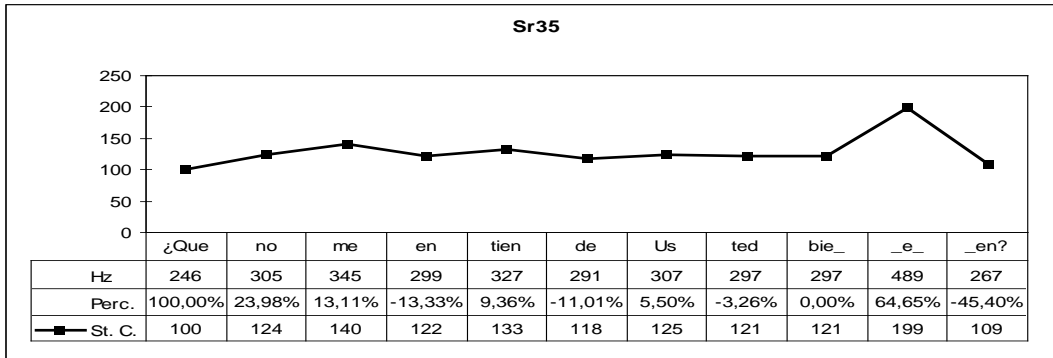
| ¿Ah, que también te molesta que use diminutivos?  
 ah that also you-acc disturb-3sg that use-subj-1sg diminutives  
 ‘So you are also angry if I use diminutives?’



<sup>94</sup> In this case, SP1 would also be acceptable; it seems possible that here we have focalization on the word *diminutivos*, and that is why it has an additional rise, coinciding with a high Syntagmatic Accent (ultimately, an SP7 pattern). The same happens in the case of Catalan final words in focus (Cf. Font—Rotchés 2008).

(12)

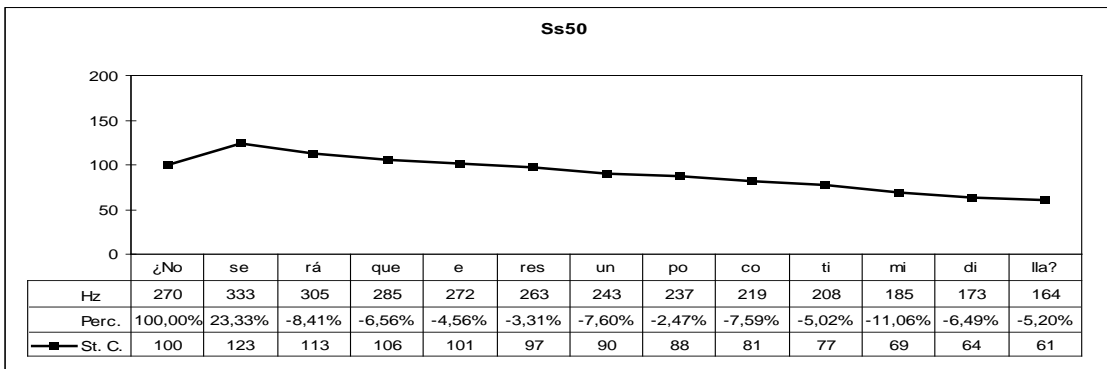
| ¿Que no me entiende Usted 'bien?|  
 that not me-acc understand-3sg you-formal-sg well  
 'So you don't understand me well?'



A structure that expresses a hope for a negative answer is constructed by the combination of the negative particle *no* 'not' and the so called **future of probability**. In these sentences, the characteristic pattern is ultimately falling, either SP1 (13) or SP7 (14):

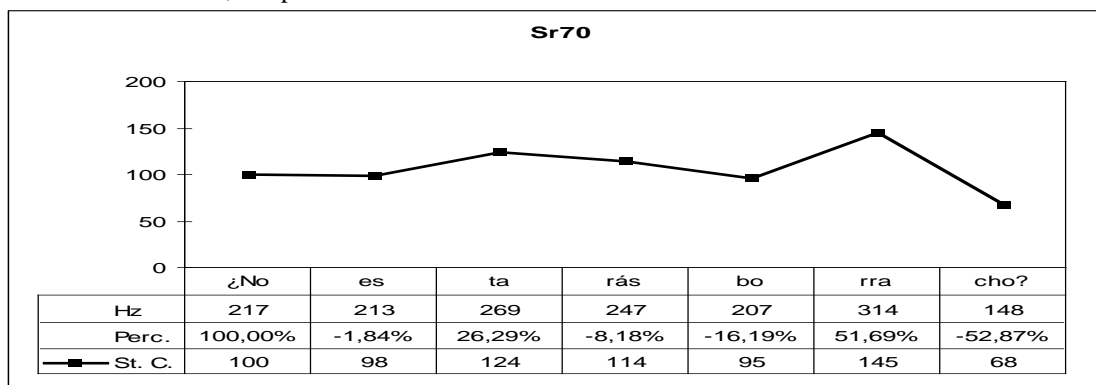
(13)

| ¿No será que eres un poco timi'dilla?|  
 not be-fut-3sg that are-2sg a bit shy-diminutive-fem  
 'Can it not be the case that you are a bit shy?'



(14)

| ¿No estarás bo'rracho?|  
 not be-fut-2sg drunken  
 'You are not drunken, I hope?'

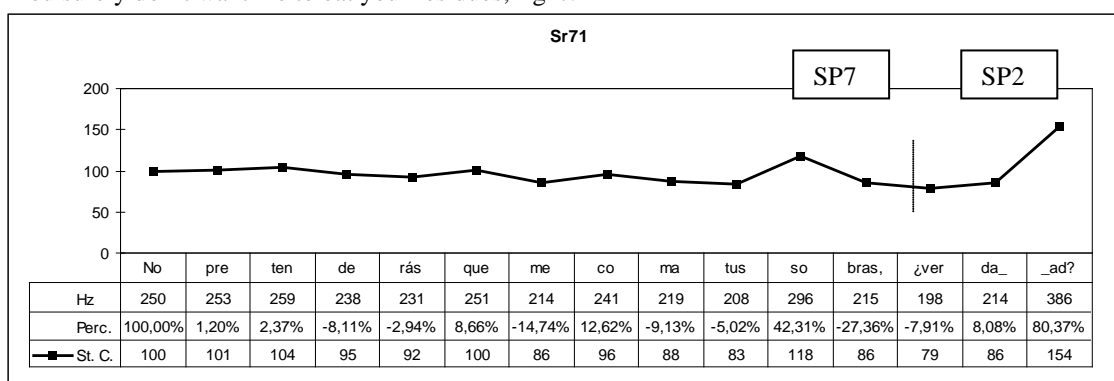


There are two characteristic ways to express by a grammatical particle that the speaker expects a positive answer from the listener. One of them is when the sentence contains the word *verdad*, literally ‘true’.

In the case of *verdad*, it usually ends the utterance, and *verdad* goes into a separate (rising) Phonic Group after a pause (cf. (15)). In (15) we see that a question, a negative sentence with future of probability, which applies SP7, is followed by the final question ¿*verdad?*, with a separate Phonic Group and SP2.

(15)

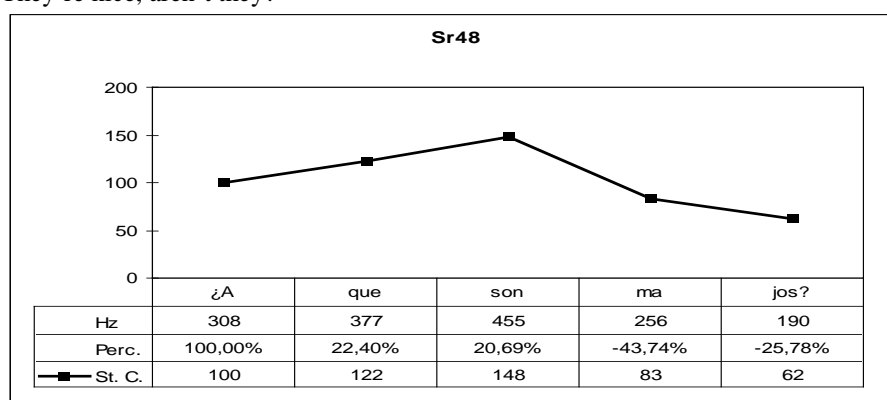
| No pretenderás que me coma tus 'sobras, | ¿ver'dad?|  
 not try-fut-2sg that eat-subj-1sg residues true  
 ‘You surely don’t want me to eat your residues, right?’



The second case when the speaker expects a positive answer to his/her question is when the sentence starts with *A que...* ‘Is it right that...?’ In these sentences, the intonation is falling, with SP1, cf. (16).<sup>95</sup>

(16)

| ¿A que son 'majos?|  
 To that are-pl nice-pl  
 They’re nice, aren’t they?



<sup>95</sup> Cf. also T. Navarro (1966:157), who noted that these questions, occurring with certain frequency in colloquial speech, end with a falling Final Inflection.



In this section we have seen that though it is not typical to include special interrogative particles in Spanish yes-no questions, if there is one in the utterance, the intonation is rather falling than rising. The only exception is *verdad*, which is accompanied by rising intonation, and most characteristically ends the utterance with a separate Phonic Group.

## **5.5 Deviations from Cantero—Font-Rotchés’s method in this work**

### **5.5.1 Diversity in the corpus: inclusion of read and semi-spontaneous material**

Cantero—Font-Rotchés call for the use of exclusively spontaneous corpus as the basis of speech analysis, but my corpus includes read, spontaneous and semi-spontaneous utterances as well. In spontaneous, non-laboratory speech, where the informants do not know that their intonation is being examined, authentic colloquial material is produced, the core of which is characteristically provided by dialogues. In colloquial dialogues there are numerous simplified syntactic solutions which are in turn complemented by extra prosodic devices (cf. Narbona 1989). Thus, emphatic intonational solutions, which in sterile laboratory speech would not turn out, abound in the spontaneous corpus. This is why spontaneity must play an important role in any corpus designed for intonational analysis.<sup>96</sup>

Still, I am convinced that in read sentences there may be intonational patterns that are not present even in large corpora of spontaneous speech but are still possible and grammatical. This is why I included a considerable proportion of read sentences as well in my analysis.

Besides, my corpus produced by Hungarian learners (Corpus 3) contains no totally genuine spontaneous sentences, as it would be impossible to expect spontaneous Spanish sentences from Hungarian speakers. The semi-spontaneous sentences were the result of a questionnaire which the students had to use in an interview, and which helped me to produce nearly (but not totally) spontaneous Spanish utterances.

I believe that a mixed corpus of spontaneous, read (and semi-spontaneous) sentences can represent a fuller picture of intonational phenomena than a merely spontaneous corpus would.

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<sup>96</sup> Although N. Tomás (1966) says that it is only in spontaneous speech that all the intonational richness can be detected, this has remained an unfulfilled ideal in many cases. N. Tomás includes only artificial sentences taken from literature. Sosa (1999) uses a vast, though not spontaneous corpus which he obtained by asking speakers to read out sentences, correct themselves when needed, and the author himself read out part of the corpus. Practice like this is impossible for Cantero—Font-Rotchés, as they hold that preconceptions can falsify the data if the author him/herself is implied in the corpus. As for Hungarian, Markó (2009:28) also assumes that spontaneous speech (as compared to read corpora) reveals a richer array of intonational realizations.

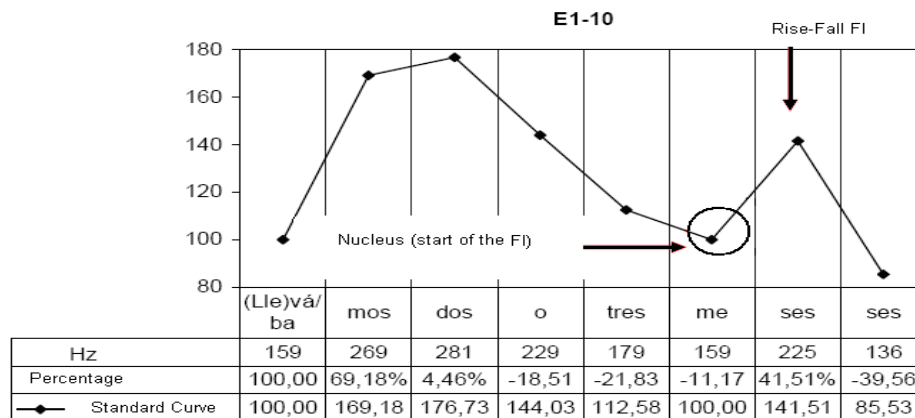
## 5.5.2 Representational differences

This section presents the points where I differ from Cantero—Font-Rotchés’s representations. I believe that my suggestions reduce the possibility of misunderstanding.

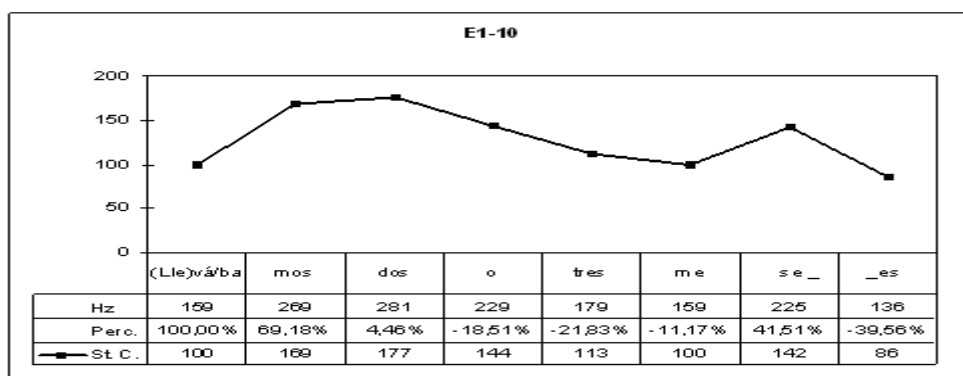
First, when the shape of the intonational contour requires the representation of a syllable in more moras — that is, when a complex movement cannot be parsed into one mora — I do not double the syllable itself, as is done in Cantero—Font-Rotchés’s model, cf. (17), but only double the affected segments (vowels), as in (18).

(17)

| Llevá**b**amos dos o tres 'meses|  
 take-1pl two or three months  
 ‘We have been doing it for two or three months’

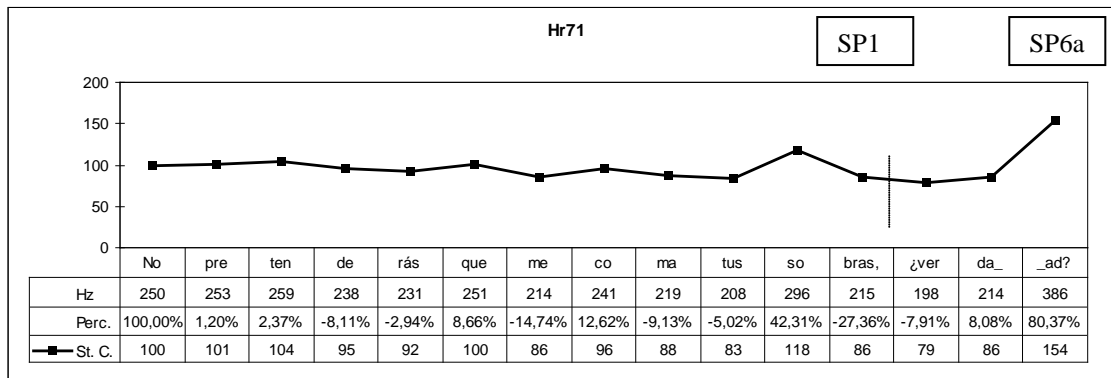


(18)



When there are more Phonic Groups in the utterance, they are separated by the boundary symbol | in my diagrams, as in (19):

(19)



## 5.6 Summary

This chapter examined the intonational patterns occurring in three subtypes of Spanish yes-no questions: ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions, and yes-no questions including a grammatical particle. The analysis of these three categories was necessary because in Hungarian these are the yes-no question types that require special intonational patterns and we will need to see whether, if a Hungarian speaker transmits his or her intonational solution to a Spanish sentence, it is viewed as a possible solution in Spanish or not.

In ordinary yes-no questions, the Spanish predominantly apply SP2, a rising pattern with a high rise from the FI (+70%), and normatively, the First Peak as high as the endpoint of the FI. We have also seen, however, that in real speech the First Peak is often situated somewhat lower, and in a few cases, higher than the endpoint of the FI. And in spontaneous speech, the predominant FI, though rising, is often not as high as 70%: in my corpus it is typically an SP6.

Other intonational patterns occurring in ordinary Spanish yes-no questions are SP3, SP4, SP6, SP7 and SP9; also, we have seen sporadic uses of SP1, SP10b and SP13. It is interesting to note that echo yes-no questions and yes-no questions containing a grammatical particle do not apply radically different patterns from those used in ordinary yes-no questions; the only difference is the higher proportion or the almost exclusive presence of SP9 and SP7 as compared to that of SP2. Thus, we can conclude that there is not a unique intonational pattern used in Spanish yes-no questions, and these three categories do not need utterly different solutions, in contrast to Hungarian (cf. Chapter 6).

In my analysis, I basically followed Cantero—Font-Rotchés's principles, but I diverged from their analytical procedures in two respects: (a) I included in my corpus not only

spontaneous, but also semi-spontaneous and read sentences, to achieve a fuller picture of intonational solutions; (b) I introduced some small modifications to their representational mechanism, to increase the clarity of the visual representations.

Concerning the description of Spanish patterns by Cantero—Font-Rotchés (2007), the following observations can be made: my Spanish corpus (Corpus 1) testifies that contrary to the normative descriptions of SP2, the First Peak is often not the highest point of the contour, but can be lower or higher than the endpoint of the FI. As for the position of First Peaks, in a number of cases they are shifted from their normative place, especially to the right. Also, there seem to be more subtypes for certain patterns (for example SP4 should have an additional variant with a Rising Body as well). The classification of the Spanish patterns would be made more transparent if it was done according to the characteristics of the FI exclusively, the other factors (features of the Body or of the First Peak) would be responsible for the description of subpatterns.

## Chapter 6 Types of Hungarian yes-no questions and their intonational patterns

### 6.1 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter I will describe the intonation of Hungarian yes-no questions. The description will first cover the intonation of ordinary and marked yes-no questions. Among the marked ones, the following two subgroups will be investigated: echo yes-no questions, and yes-no questions with grammatical particles.

I base my observations on my own corpus containing Hungarian yes-no questions.

### 6.2 The Hungarian corpus (Corpus 2)

The Hungarian corpus (Corpus 2) contains read and spontaneous sentences. The latter group was collected from interviews on [www.inforadio.hu](http://www.inforadio.hu), and from various talk shows. There were altogether 69 sentences, out of which 38 were spontaneous (taken from the radio or television), and 31 read sentences (read out by people aged 15-57, with standard Hungarian as their native language). Both the spontaneous and the read sentences were typical utterances in Hungarian, produced by 24 speakers altogether.

The sentences were analysed to find answers to the following questions:

- under what circumstances are the end-falling contours used in yes-no interrogatives;
- which other sentence-types take these contours;
- which of the patterns HP7a, HP7b and HP7c is preferred in yes-no questions;
- what is the extent (in percentage terms) of the fall in patterns HP7a, HP7b, HP7c;
- what is the extent (in percentage terms) of the steepest rise in patterns HP7a, HP7b, HP7c;
- which other patterns are used in yes-no interrogatives;
- what possibilities are there to improve existing descriptions of Hungarian yes-no question intonation.

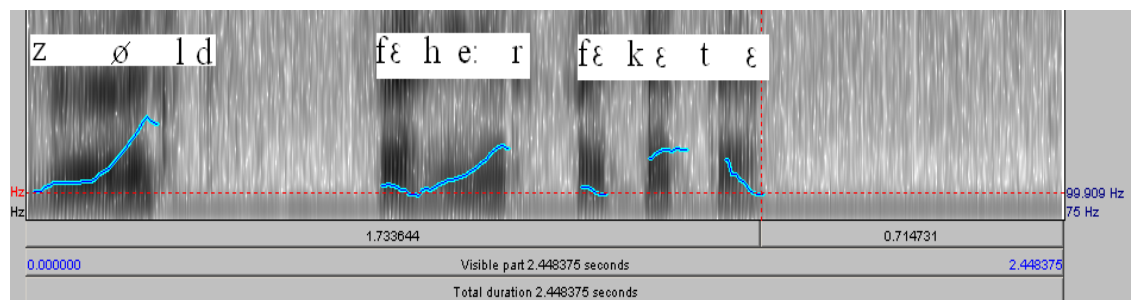
The code names for the sentences read aloud start with *Hr*, while those for spontaneous sentences start with *Hs*. For other symbols, see Appendix 2 and 5.2.

### 6.3 Ordinary yes-no question intonation in Hungarian

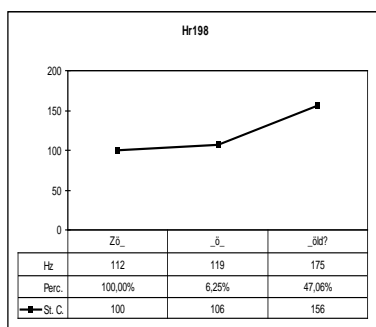
This section will concentrate in detail on HP7a, HP7b, HP7c, i.e. the patterns which are characteristic of ordinary yes-no questions in Hungarian.

Ordinary yes-no questions are used to ask for the confirmation or denial of a proposition. In Hungarian they have no syntactic or morphological markers of their yes-no question status, and so they differ from their declarative counterparts only in their intonation and occasionally in their stress patterns too (see 7.2.2). They have an end-falling contour (cf. 4.3.3), which takes different realizations depending on the number of syllables carrying it. The examples in Figure 6.1 show how the movement is realised on monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic utterances. In ordinary, unsurprised yes-no questions the falling part cannot be perceived in monosyllabic utterances (Fig. 6.1.a), cannot be heard or can only be heard in some vestigial form in disyllabic ones (Fig. 6.1.b), and is fully perceptible only if the utterance consists of three or more syllables (Fig. 6.1.c). Mono- and disyllabic utterances were also analysed at 3 pitch points, to show the shape of the melody.

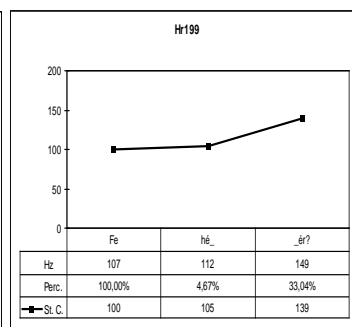
Figure 6.1: Spectrograms of *Zöld?* ('Green?'), *Fehér?* ('White?'), *Fekete?* ('Black?')



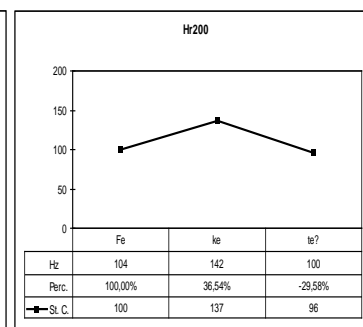
(1) a. | 'Zöld?|  
'Green?'



b. | 'Fehér?|  
'White?'



c. | 'Fekete?|  
'Black?'



That the phonetically rising realizations of monosyllabic Hungarian yes-no questions are phonologically rise-falls is proved convincingly by Varga (2002b:307-320).

Table 6.1 will sum up the percentage of sentences realizing the different intonational patterns in my corpus. Only utterances longer than three syllables are taken into consideration

because in shorter utterances the differences between HP7a, HP7b and HP7c are neutralised. The column with shading shows the predominant pattern.

Table 6.1: Percentage of end-falling patterns in ordinary yes-no questions of more than three syllables

	patterns			
	HP7a	HP7b	HP7c	Other pattern
Spontaneous (26)	9 (35%)	15 (57%)	0 (0%)	2 (8%)
Read (9)	1 (11%)	5 (56%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)
<b>Total (35)</b>	<b>10 (28%)</b>	<b>20 (57%)</b>	<b>2 (6%)</b>	<b>3 (9%)</b>

Table 6.2 shows the extent (percentages) of the steepest rise and of the fall in the utterances. In most cases, the steep rise is located between the antepenultimate and the penultimate syllables, producing a peak on the penult, as most utterances display HP7b, where this rise occurs before the penultimate syllable. In some cases, however, this steepest rise characterizes the syllable before the antepenultimate one, producing a peak on the antepenult, a tendency observable in spontaneous speech (see also (3b) below and Markó 2007). Whether this phenomenon is an anomaly or a variant of the pattern, for example an emphatic one, is left for future research. In examples of HP7c, the steepest rise occurs between the first and the second syllables of the utterance, and the fall between the penultimate and the last syllables. In this table only trisyllabic and longer utterances are analysed, as the falling part is not perceptible in ordinary monosyllabic yes-no questions, and is not fully realized in disyllables either.

Table 6.2: The extent of rise and fall in HP7 patterns (ordinary yes-no questions of more than two syllables)

	Extent of the steepest rise of the utterance in percentage terms			Extent of the steepest fall of the utterance in percentage terms		
	≤30%	30% - 50%	>50%	≤30%	30% - 50%	>50%
Spontaneous (27)	18 (67%)	9 (33%)	0 (0%)	8 (30%)	18 (66%)	1 (4%)
Read (12)	8 (67%)	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	4 (33%)	7 (58%)	1 (8%)
<b>Total (39)</b>	<b>26 (67%)</b>	<b>12 (31%)</b>	<b>1 (2%)</b>	<b>12 (31%)</b>	<b>25 (64%)</b>	<b>2 (5%)</b>

Table 6.3 examines whether in the utterances the extent of the steepest rise is bigger than that of the fall, or the other way round. Again, monosyllabic utterances are not taken into consideration.

Table 6.3: The dominant direction in HP7 patterns (ordinary yes-no questions of more than two syllables)

	Rise > Fall	Rise < Fall
Spontaneous (27)	4 (15%)	23 (85%)
Read (12)	6 (50%)	6 (50%)
<b>Total (39)</b>	<b>10 (26%)</b>	<b>29 (74%)</b>

The data in Tables 6.1-6.3 reveal the following facts:

a) In both spontaneous speech and in speech read aloud, HP7b is predominant. HP7a and HP7c are also possible, though much less common. Patterns not belonging to HP7 have not been found. Among the three different patterns there were two hybrids of HP7a + HP7b and a hybrid of HP7b + HP7c. This means that for an ordinary yes-no question, Hungarian uses either a subtype of HP7, or a hybrid of subtypes of HP7.

b) In most cases, the steepest rise of the utterance is under 30%; and the fall (characteristically between the penultimate and the last syllables) is between 30% and 50%.<sup>97</sup> This information is summed up in Table 6.3, which shows that in 74% of the examined cases the fall is bigger in percentage than the steepest rise. Thus, these contours are better characterized by their final fall than by their rising part, even though to the Spanish ear the rise, especially in HP7b, is more perceptible than the fall.<sup>98</sup>

When an ordinary yes-no question is followed by a vocative, the interrogative is accompanied by any of the HP7 patterns, and the vocative bears a HP1 (a fall). The intonation of this combination will be revisited in 7.2.3.

#### 6.4 Marked yes-no question intonation in Hungarian

This section will concentrate on yes-no questions that are marked in one way or another. The examined groups will be echo yes-no questions, yes-no questions with grammatical particles

<sup>97</sup> In Spanish, though a final fall is considerably rarer in the case of yes-no questions than in Hungarian (in my corpus, only 29% of ordinary yes-no questions presents a final fall, cf. my comment on Table 5.2), the amount of the final fall in these cases is in the same interval of values, between 30% and 50% (Baditzné, in press, a).

<sup>98</sup> This is so in yes-no questions of more than two syllables. As has already been pointed out, in mono- or disyllabic utterances, the falling part is hardly heard or not discernible at all. We might conclude that the falling part is missing in these utterances because they are too short to support two movements, and only the first one, – the rise –, is realized. In spontaneous speech it was attested that both yes-no questions (Markó 2007: 72) and question-word questions (Gósy 1993) have an alternative pattern with a final rise (HP3), a solution considered rather erroneous than a result of a linguistic change by Gósy.



and yes-no questions that express hope. All these subgroups may show differences from the ordinary yes-no questions as far as their intonation is concerned.

#### 6.4.1 Echo yes-no question intonation in Hungarian

In this section I am focusing on echo yes-no questions, i.e. the incredulous/repetitive and the clarifying/exclamative variants of yes-no questions in Hungarian.<sup>99</sup>

In **incredulous/repetitive yes-no questions**, the speaker uses a yes-no question with the intention of expressing surprise and making the listener confirm or repeat an unexpected experience or statement. These questions can be regarded as subordinate clauses after an unsaid matrix sentence “Am I right in supposing that...?”.

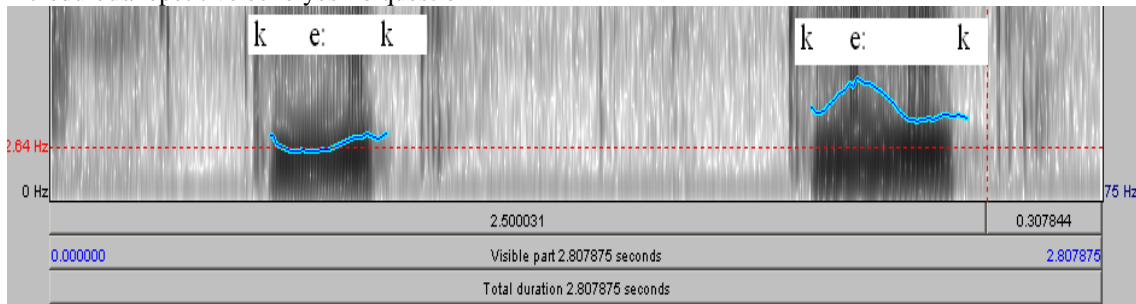
The speaker may repeat a yes-no question (s)he has heard in order to gain some time before giving it an answer, or in order to clarify its meaning. These can be referred to as **clarifying/exclamative yes-no questions**, and they can be looked upon as the subclause within the unsaid matrix sentence ‘Are you asking if...’.

In contrast to ordinary yes-no questions (Fig. 6.1.a), in the incredulous/repetitive echo yes-no questions the falling part of the rise-fall intonation can be observable on monosyllables as well. Figures 6.2.a and b show two renderings of the monosyllabic question *Kék?* (‘Blue?’). Fig. 6.2.a is an ordinary yes-no question, Fig. 6.2.b is an incredulous/repetitive (surprised) echo. In the latter variant the falling part is clearly discernible even on a monosyllable, cf. Varga (2002b). (2)a-b show the standardized pitch curves.

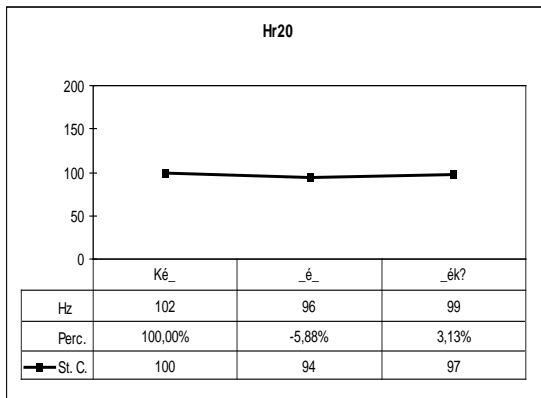
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<sup>99</sup> A general term used for echo questions is *control questions* in Olaszy-Koutny (2001: 193).

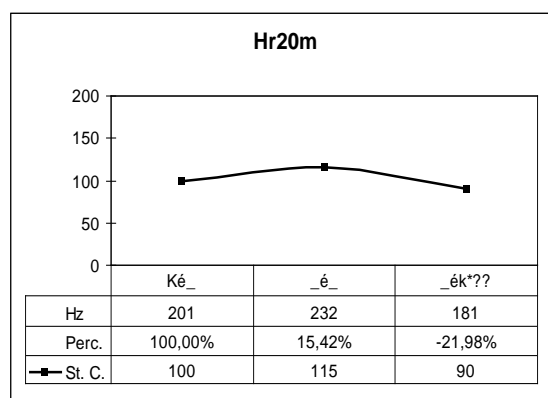
Figure 6.2: Spectrograms of two renderings of *Kék?* ('Blue?'), a: ordinary yes-no question, b: incredulous/repetitive echo yes-no question



(2) a. |'Kék?|  
'Blue?'



b. |'Kék?|  
'Blue?'

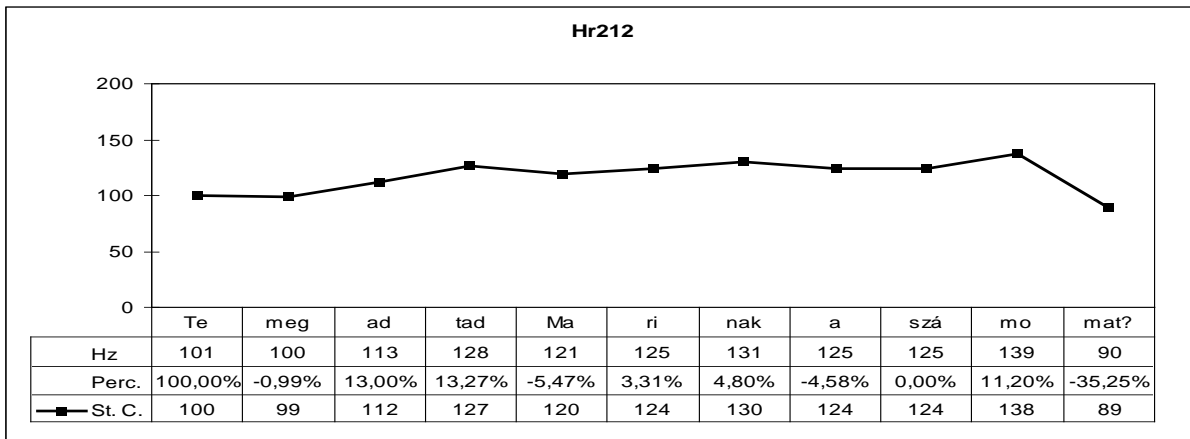


In longer utterances, there may be more accents instead of one, as shown in (3b). In (3a), an ordinary yes-no question, there is only one accent, from which the rise-fall starts. This accent is normally positioned at the beginning of the comment (predicate) or the verb modifier before the verb,<sup>100</sup> with no accent following. In (3b), a surprised variant, there are three accents, and the final rising-falling contour is copied to each one of them. Thus, in an incredulous/repetitive echo yes-no question each accented syllable may start a copy of the last rising-falling contour. These data confirm earlier observations by Csúry (1925) and show that repeated rise-falls occur not only in dialectal but also in standard Hungarian utterances. (In the graphic displays the dotted vertical line indicates the boundary between adjacent Phonic Groups.)

<sup>100</sup> É. Kiss (2002:2, 8-9).

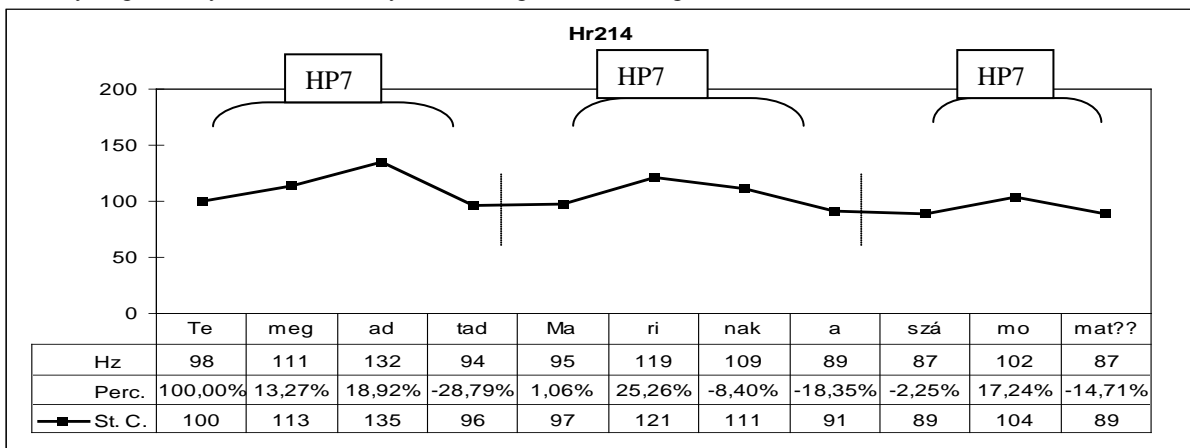
(3a)

| Te 'megadtad Marinak a számomat?  
 you-sg gave-2sg Mary-to the number-my-acc  
 'Have you given my number to Mary?'



(3b)

| Te 'megadtad | 'Marinak a | 'számomat???  
 you-sg gave-2sg Mary-to the number-my-acc  
 'Have you given my number to Mary?' (Am I right in assuming this?)



In (3b), the second HP7 is realized somewhat anomalously, as the peak is realized not on the penultimate but on the antepenultimate syllable (-ri-) (cf. 6.3).

The other group of echo yes-no questions, referred to as clarifying/exclamative yes-no questions, contain two particles: *hogy* (the complementizer 'that') and *-e* ('whether') as they supposedly represent the subclause within the unsaid matrix sentence 'Are you asking if...'. These carry yes-no question intonation in Hungarian. Again, it is typical that there are more accents, with repeated rise-falls starting on each one of them, cf. (4).

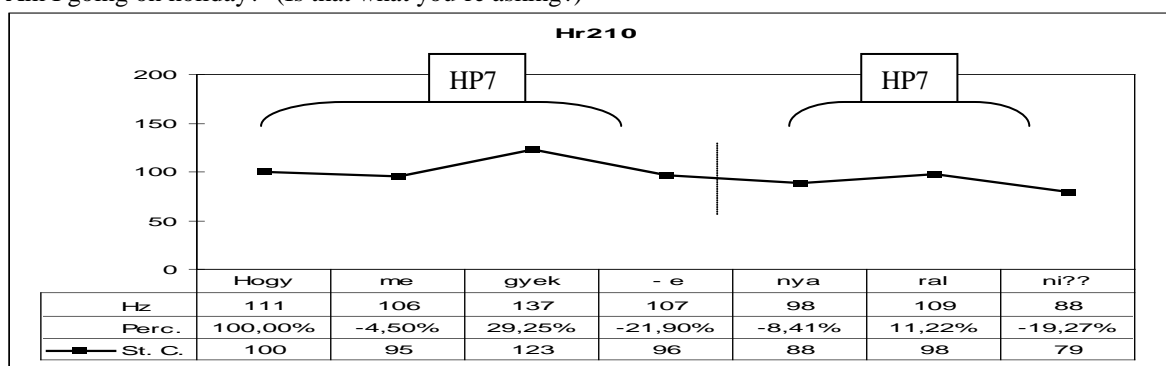
(4)

Context: *Mész nyaralni?* ('Are you going on holiday?')

| Hogy 'megyek-e | 'nyaralni?|

that go-1sg-whether have-holiday-inf

'Am I going on holiday?' (Is that what you're asking?)



In the echo yes-no questions of my corpus only HP7 is used, especially HP7a and HP7b.

#### 6.4.2 Hungarian yes-no questions with the grammatical particles *ugye* and *-e*

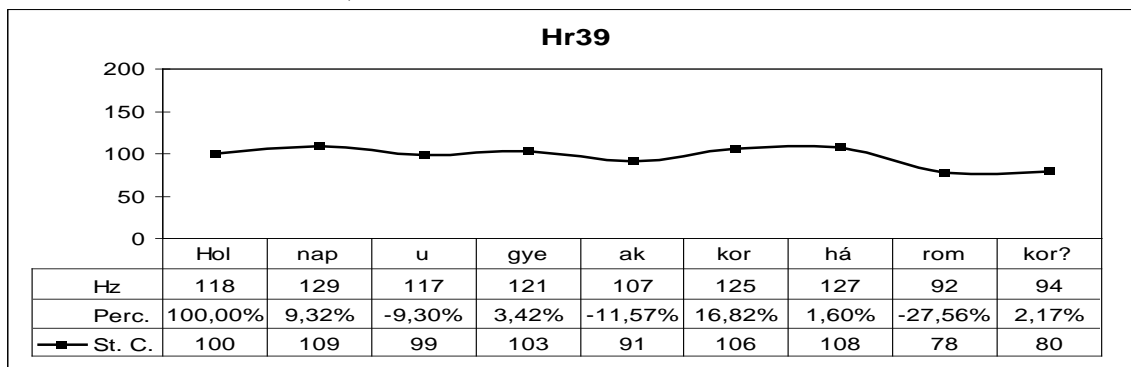
Now we will examine whether intonation has a role to play in utterances that contain a grammatical particle that signals the yes-no questionhood of the sentence.<sup>101</sup> According to Fónagy-Magdics (1967:40), “if the questionhood of the utterance is expressed with the help of morphemes, the question loses its peculiar intonation” (my translation); Olaszy (2002:96) also holds that in questions in which a morphological marker signals the questionhood, the intonation does not play a role in marking it. This is in line with Peshkovskij’s principle: the more a distinction is signalled by grammatical means, the less it is signalled by intonational means; there is a division of labour between intonation and grammar (Peshkovskij (1959)).

There is a type of Hungarian yes-no question which contains the word *ugye* ('Am I right? / Is that so?') at one point of the sentence. According to its position, it causes changes in the ordinary yes-no question intonational contour. Since questionhood here is expressed by morphological means, (*ugye*), the typical Rise-Fall intonation of yes-no questions is not used and is replaced by the default intonation (the Fall, HP1, see (5)).

<sup>101</sup> These questions are referred to as “morphologically marked yes-no questions” by Olaszy-Koutny 2001: 194.

(5)

| Holnap ugye akkor 'háromkor?|  
 tomorrow am-I-right then three-at  
 'Tomorrow at three o'clock then, isn't it?'

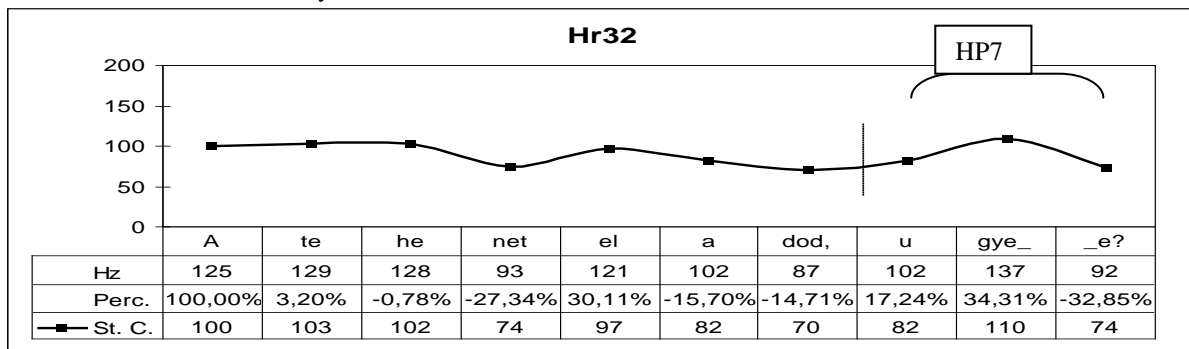


Now let us see what happens when the word *ugye* is situated at different points of the sentence.

When the word *ugye* occupies sentence-initial or sentence-interior position, the pattern used is a HP1, as in (5) above. When the sentence ends with the word *ugye*, it usually goes into a separate Phonic Group, after an optional slight pause, and has a rise-fall (HP7) in it:<sup>102</sup>

(6)

| A 'tehenet 'eladod, | 'ugye?|  
 the cow-acc sell-2sg am-I-right  
 'You will sell the cow, won't you?'



In sum, yes-no questions with the word *ugye* use HP1. When the word *ugye* is initial or medial, it is unaccented and does not interfere with the intonation. But when *ugye* is utterance-final, the HP1 pattern is followed by a separate HP7, which is carried by the word *ugye*.<sup>103</sup>

The yes-no interrogative particle *-e* 'whether', which most often occurs in indirect yes-no questions but may occasionally occur in main clause yes-no questions as well, signals yes-no

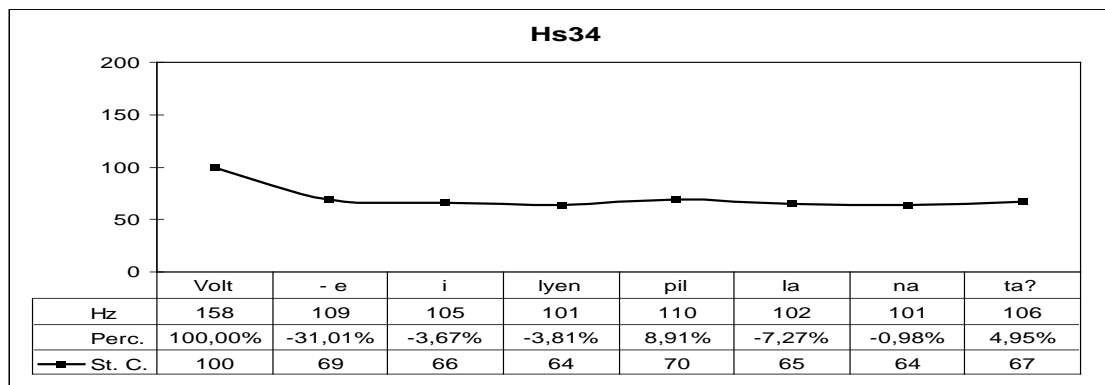
<sup>102</sup> As *ugye* can be replaced by its more formal equivalent *ugyebár*, the HP7 can spread on those three syllables.

<sup>103</sup> The use of HP1 on an utterance-final *ugye* is possible but uncommon. It expresses that the speaker is expecting a confirmation.

questionhood morphologically. Consequently, the rise-fall intonation is not needed and is replaced by the default intonation: the full fall (SP1), as shown in (7):

(7)

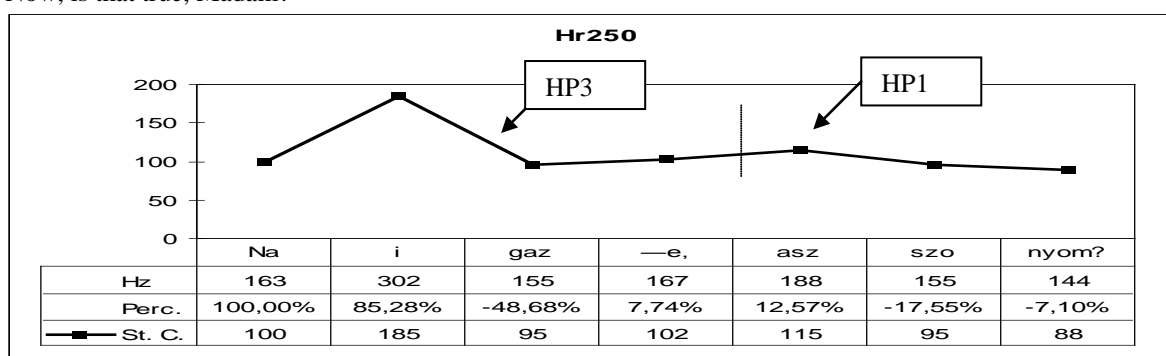
| 'Volt-e ilyen pillanata?  
was-3sg such moment-its  
'Did it have such a moment?'



It seems true that if the sentence has a morphological marker of yes-no question status, then this status is no longer indicated by intonation and takes a fall. Still, it is also possible that a yes-no question containing the particle –e is accompanied a fall-rise (HP3). In such sentences the meaning is enriched by a reproachful attitude, as in (8), so we cannot say that the intonation does not have any role to play.

(8)

| Na 'igaz-e, | 'asszonyom?  
so true-whether madam-my  
'Now, is that true, Madam?'

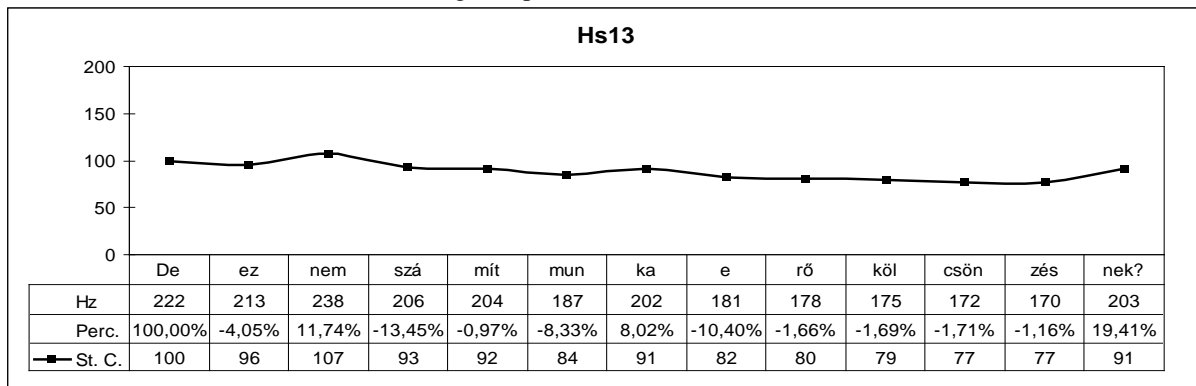


### 6.4.3 Yes-no questions expressing hope with special particles in Hungarian

There is a particular type of sentence which can be regarded as the subclause of an unsaid declarative main clause paraphraseable as *Remélem...* ('I hope ...'). This sentence has the value of a special yes-no question. Its pattern tends to be HP3a – i.e. Fall-Rise with a late rise – instead of HP7. The examples contain the negative particle *nem* 'not' somewhere at the beginning at the sentence (cf. (9)), or, more frequently, start with *csak nem*<sup>104</sup> (literally 'just not'), meaning 'I hope not' (cf. (10)).

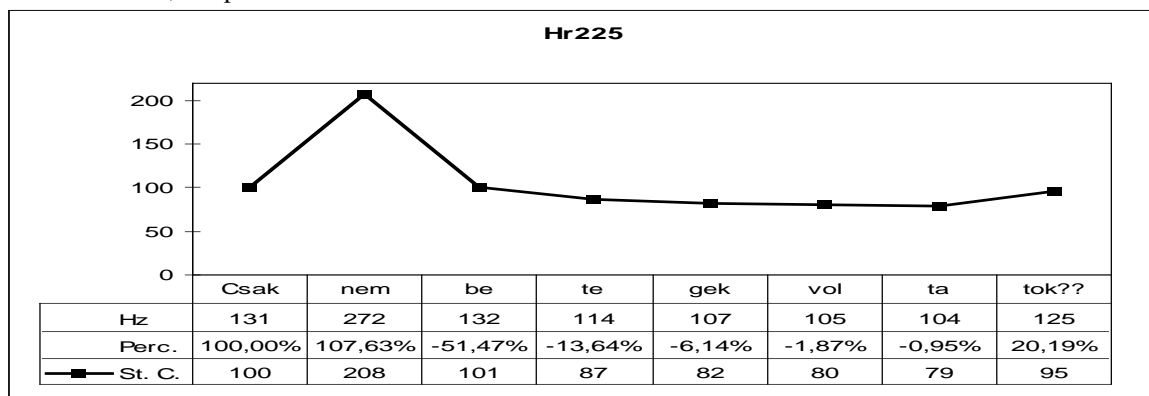
(9)

| De ez 'nem számít munkaerő kölcsönzésnek?|  
but this not count-3sg work-power borrowing-dat  
'But this doesn't count as labour-borrowing, I hope?'



(10)

| Csak 'nem betegek voltatok?|  
just not ill-pl were-2pl  
'You weren't ill, I hope?'



<sup>104</sup> Fónagy-Magdics (1967:47) call this the “suspicious” *csak nem*. These questions are also investigated in Baditzné (in press, b).

Though they are a less frequent type of yes-no questions, their importance lies in the fact that they are the only types of yes-no questions in Hungarian which end in a rise from the penultimate syllable on. This rise, 20% on the average, is well under the 70% that characterizes the rise of the typical Spanish interrogative pattern (SP2).

## 6.5 Summary

After presenting the Hungarian intonation patterns in Chapter 5, in the present chapter I concentrated on the intonation of Hungarian yes-no questions. I examined my Hungarian corpus from the following points of view: (a) which of the three subtypes of HP7 was the most frequent, (b) what percentages characterise the extent of the fall between the penultimate and the last syllable, (c) what percentages characterize the extent of the steepest rise, and (d) what special features can be observed in marked yes-no questions. In ordinary yes-no questions, HP7b was the most frequent, with a rise to the penult of up to 30%, and a fall to the ult of 30 to 50% (cf. 6.3).

It has been confirmed that echo yes-no questions can have copies of the HP7 pattern inside. Yes-no questions with the particle *-e* or *ugye* predominantly have HP1, but in the first case HP3 (a fall-rise) can also appear, with a reproachful overtone. Other lexical devices expressing hope also attract a HP3. Thus, it is a tendency that when a yes-no question is signalled by grammatical devices, it loses its typical yes-no question intonation pattern, and has other intonational solutions (but not necessarily an unmarked, neutral declarative HP1).

In pattern HP7b some peaks are realized one syllable earlier than they should be (cf. (3b)). Whether this is an anomaly or rather a tendency is a problem to be investigated further in future research.



## **Chapter 7 Predictions about the ways Hungarian speakers realize the intonation of Spanish yes-no questions**

### **7.1 Introduction**

While Chapter 5 treated the intonation of Spanish yes-no questions, Chapter 6 examined the intonation of Hungarian yes-no questions. Chapter 7 will deal with the actual comparison of the intonational features that influence the realization of yes-no interrogative patterns in the two languages. This comparison will concentrate on the prelinguistic and linguistic aspects of intonation (cf. 2.2).

At the **prelinguistic** level, I will examine the position of accents in both languages. As Hungarian and Spanish stress- and accent-placing rules are radically different, it is predictable that Hungarians will use their own system when producing Spanish utterances.<sup>105</sup> The two areas examined will be the treatment of Spanish word-final lexical stresses and the distribution of accents in echo yes-no questions.

At the **linguistic level**, I will compare Spanish and Hungarian interrogative intonational patterns, especially those typically used for yes-no questions, together with pitch range differences, and predict which traits Hungarian learners tend to transfer from their mother tongue to Spanish.

Naturally, the Spanish and Hungarian intonational systems may coincide in various points, too, and this can help the acquisition of the target language intonation. These points will also be analysed when interrogative intonational patterns are examined.

### **7.2 Prelinguistic aspects of intonation**

As there are remarkable differences between Hungarian and Spanish stress- and accent-distribution rules, it is expected that Hungarian learners will realize Spanish stress and accentual schemes under the influence of their native language, Hungarian, and this will yield unacceptable or misunderstandable results. After a general outline of the stress-position rules in the two languages, I will concentrate on two areas:

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<sup>105</sup> Just to remind the reader, in this work a stressed syllable (vowel) is called an accent when it represents a tonal contrast (i.e. when it is intonationally relevant), cf. 2.3. When words are used in utterances, it is their stressed syllables that can become accents.

- Spanish word-final stress, when it constitutes the Syntagmatic Accent, is realized in two or three moras. Since Hungarian lexical stress is not word-final, it is predictable that Hungarian learners of Spanish will yield only one mora to word-final lexical stresses in Spanish utterances, not realizing a genuine Final Inflection.

- Another issue related to accent-position can be found in echo yes-no questions. In Hungarian, echo yes-no questions are realized in several Phonic Groups because they have several Syntagmatic Accents and so several Final Inflections (several instances of HP7). In Spanish, these utterances have only one Syntagmatic Accent, and so only one Final Inflection and one Phonic Group.

### 7.2.1 Stress-position rules in words

In Hungarian, the position of word stress is quite predictable: it falls mechanically on the first syllable of the word, e.g. 'táska 'bag', 'iskola 'school', 'iskolaév 'school year', 'iskolatáska 'school satchel'.<sup>106</sup> Stress shifts within words can be due to a high emotional state, or to excessive length of a word, but most characteristically, they are due to a morphological contrast, such as in (1):

(1)

Nem a barátom**mal**, hanem a barátom**hoz** megyek.

not the friend-my-with but the friend-my-to go-1sg

'I am not going **with** (my friend) but **to** my friend ('s)'.<sup>107</sup>

Here the last syllable of a plurisyllabic word receives stress exceptionally; the stress shift serves as an indicator of contrast between the two morphemes: {-val} 'with' and {-hoz} 'to'.<sup>108</sup>

In Spanish, the position of word stress is predictable but is subject to more complex rules. The majority of Spanish words are stressed on their penultimate<sup>109</sup>, or in fewer cases, on their last syllables. Words ending in vowels or /n/, /s/ regularly have their stress on the penultimate syllable, as in 'gato 'cat', 'hablan 'they speak', or 'reyes 'kings'. The rest of the words are stressed on their last syllables, e.g. *Ma'drid*. Words which do not obey these rules have

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<sup>106</sup> The acute accents over certain vowel letters (e.g. *é, á*) in Hungarian orthography indicate length and have nothing to do with stress.

<sup>107</sup> The example is taken from Bóna—Markó (2009:10). Literature on the stressing of Hungarian words and sentences includes Varga (1988, 2002a), Kálmán—Nádasdy (1994), Hunyadi (2002), etc.

<sup>108</sup> The /v/ of {-val} gets assimilated to the /m/ of *barátom* 'my friend'.

<sup>109</sup> That the majority of Spanish words has the stress on the penult was proved to be true by various statistics, cf. Delattre (1965) and Quilis (1983).

“irregular” stressing, which is always signalled by an orthographic stress mark (acute accents) on the vowel letter. Thus, if words ending in a consonant other than /n/ or /s/ are not stressed on their last syllable but elsewhere, the position of the stress must be signalled by an orthographic stress mark, as in *Pérez*. Similarly, if words ending in vowels or /n/ or /s/ are not stressed on their penultimate syllables, they must bear an orthographic stress mark on the letter representing their stressed vowel, e.g. *Canadá* ‘Canada’. And as Spanish stress rules can account for the last and penultimate syllable only, in every case where the stress falls on the third syllable from the end of the word or earlier, this vowel is orthographically marked for stress, as in *célula* ‘cell’.

Special mention must be made here of the stressing of diphthongs. In Spanish, two contiguous vowels either form a hiatus (i.e. go into separate syllables and are given two tonal values) or form a diphthong (i.e. pertain to the same syllable and are given one tonal value unless they form the Syntagmatic Accent). Diphthongs can be constructed either by a semivowel (/j/ and /w/) plus a full vowel (*a, o, u, e, i*), or by a full vowel plus a semivowel. The full vowel behaves as the nucleus of the syllable and the semivowel behaves as a glide, so it does not have a separate tonal value. From an intonational point of view, the glide has a marginal status (cf. 2.3, Figure 2.1).

A semivowel plus full vowel sequence forms a “rising” diphthong, as in *fiel* ‘faithful’, whereas a full vowel plus semivowel sequence is a “falling” diphthong, such as in *autocar* ‘tourist bus’ (cf. Gimson 1989:94-95, 128, 143, 145, Quilis 1993:179-181). When there are two semivowels that constitute the nucleus, which is quite rare, usually the second functions as the syllabic nucleus, as in *cuida* ‘takes care’, in which *i* is the nucleus. Table 7.1 shows the inventory of Spanish diphthongs.

Table 7.1: The inventory of Spanish diphthongs

<b>Rising diphthongs</b> (more prominence on the 2 <sup>nd</sup> element)	<b>Falling diphthongs</b> (more prominence on the 1 <sup>st</sup> element)
/je/ as in <i>fiel</i> (‘faithful’)	/e̞j/ as in <i>rey</i> (‘king’)
/ja/ as in <i>confiar</i> (‘confide’)	/aj/ as in <i>caray</i> (‘tortoise shell’)
/jo/ as in <i>Dios</i> (‘God’)	/oj/ as in <i>hoy</i> (‘today’)
/ju/ as in <i>viuda</i> (‘widow’)	/e̞j/ as in <i>Euro</i> (‘Euro’)
/wi/ as in <i>fui</i> (‘I went’)	/a̞j/ as in <i>causa</i> (‘cause’)
/we/ as in <i>fueron</i> (‘they went’)	/o̞j/ as in <i>bou</i> (‘seine fishing’)
/wa/ as in <i>evaluar</i> (‘evaluate’)	
/wo/ as in <i>cuota</i> (‘quota’)	

When the semivowel receives stress in a vowel cluster, that is, a hiatus is created, the orthographic stress mark must accompany the letters *i* or *u*, as in *María* ‘Mary’, *garúa* ‘kind of rain (in Peru)’, so in this case we are not facing a diphthong.

In standard Hungarian, however, there are no diphthongs at the phonological level, the contiguous vowels can only form a hiatus, cf. Siptár—Törkenczy (2000:16-18).<sup>110</sup> That is why, according to my prediction, Hungarian learners’ realization of Spanish diphthongs will be strongly hindered by the fact that in Hungarian all vowel clusters are hiatuses, and by the fact that Hungarians associate the Spanish letters *i* and *u* within the orthographic representations of diphthongs with the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively. Thus, it is very likely that Hungarians will produce vowel clusters instead of Spanish diphthongs, and this can lead to a wrongly placed accent; for example, the Spanish word *fiel* ‘faithful’ would be erroneously accented '*fiel* [ˈfiel], as in the Hungarian word *siet* ‘hurries’, instead of [fjel].<sup>111</sup>

Such differences may seem negligible at first sight, but, as Cantero (2002:88) observes, it is at the prelinguistic level where dialectal intonation functions. A stress produced at an inappropriate place makes the hearer identify the utterance as strange, foreign, or at least dialectal. This is why we should further examine the problem of stress placement.

In words longer than 2 syllables it is quite rare that Spanish would have the stress on the first syllable, whereas having the stress on the first syllable of a word, however long, is the rule in Hungarian. So it is very likely that Hungarian speakers with their normative stress on the first syllable will do the same in Spanish words, causing anomalously stressed words in a great number of cases, such as in the following example: \**Participamos en el 'Campeonato 'Mundial*. ‘We participated in the World Championship’, instead of *Participamos en el Campeo'nato Mun'dial* [mun'djal].

The incorrect placement of stresses and accents is not simply an accentuation problem. As speech is organized into Rhythmic Groups by the help of accents, inappropriately placed

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<sup>110</sup> For the apparent exception of *auto*, see Nádasdy—Siptár (2001: 173-174).

<sup>111</sup> This will have a negative influence on the intonation of Spanish sentences. The diphthongs can be unstressed, or they can form a Paradigmatic Accent, or a Syntagmatic Accent. According to my predictions, - if the diphthong is in an unstressed syllable or in a Paradigmatic Accent, the Hungarian speaker will give it two tonal values instead of one, as in *ciudad* ‘city’, where the diphthong *iu* should be given only one tonal value (as only Syntagmatic Accents can be given two or more tonal values in Cantero’s framework, cf. 2.3, 2.4.4). - if the diphthong carries a Syntagmatic Accent, it should be given two tonal values, but the Hungarian speaker will realize the stress – and thus, the inflection – on the first vowel (for example the *u* in *bueno* ‘good’) as first vowels in Hungarian words are normatively stressed. This can upset the Spanish intonational pattern if the diphthong in question is opening, as the speaker will tend to give accent to the first component of the diphthong instead of the second one.

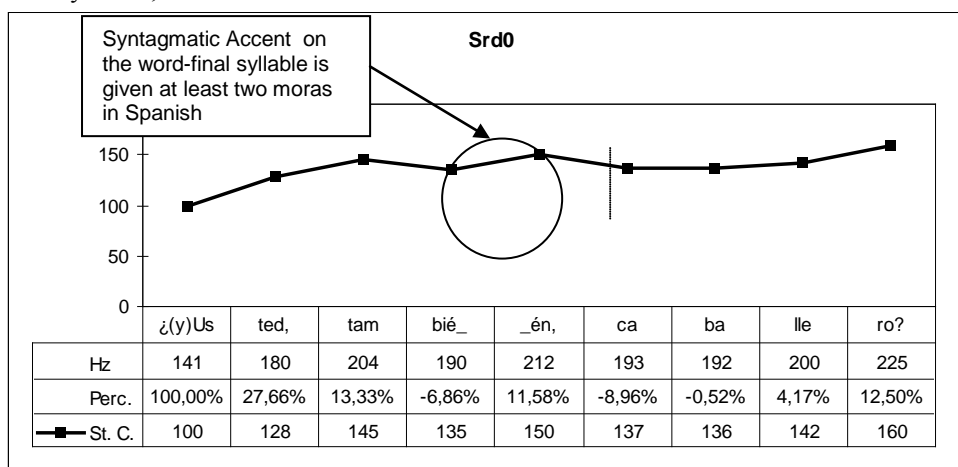
accents will result in inappropriate Rhythmic Groups. This will have a negative effect on speech decoding.

As Cantero (2002:81) observes, the identification of Rhythmic Groups is an essential step in the comprehension of discourse. But the identification of a Rhythmic Group follows from the identification of Paradigmatic Accents. Hungarian speakers may produce erroneously placed accents (thus, unidentifiable Rhythmic Groups) because of the following reasons:

- a) The short pronunciation of every vowel without an orthographic stress mark (as in Hungarian these are inherently short vowels), and not giving more duration to the stressed vowels;
- b) De-diphthongization, i.e. treating the semivowel of a rising diphthong as a full /i/ or /u/, as in 'bueno /'bueno/ instead of /'bweno/ 'good';
- c) Simply transferring the native stress-placing rule to the target language, as in 'termino (correctly spelt *término*, 'deadline') for *ter'mino* 'I finish'. In this last case the improper accentuation even changes the word and can cause severe misunderstanding, rather than just hindering comprehension through distorting Rhythmic Groups (cf. Bóna—Imre 2007).

As there is no word-final stress in Hungarian, I expect that Hungarian learners will not give more than one mora to Spanish word-final lexical stresses when they constitute the Syntagmatic Accent. Thus, it is expected that the Spanish utterance in (2) will be realized by Hungarians without a perceptible Final Inflection on the word *también* in the first Phonic Group.<sup>112</sup>

(2) | ʔ(Y) Us'ted también, | caba'llero?  
 and you-sg-fml too sir  
 'And you too, sir?'



<sup>112</sup> Or, if the diphthong is reanalysed as a hiatus by Hungarians in this case, it will be given two moras, but it is not the more prominent vowel (é) which receives two moras as in the Spanish solution, but the two vowels, i and é, will be given one mora each.

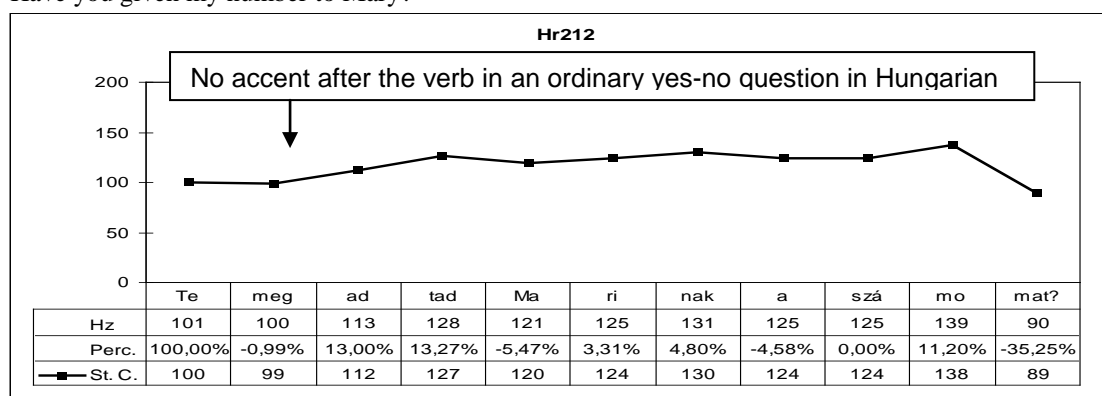
## 7.2.2 Accent position in yes-no questions

So far (cf. 7.2.1) we have seen stress position differences at the word level, but there are also accent position differences in yes-no questions in the two languages.

In Hungarian, the place of the Syntagmatic Accent in an ordinary yes-no question is at the beginning of the comment or predicate.<sup>113</sup> The rest of the comment is “deaccentuated”, i.e. no accents will follow the accent at the beginning of the predicate (cf. Varga 2002a:27, 145, and (3)).<sup>114</sup>

(3)

| Te 'megadtad Marinak a számomat?|  
 you-sg gave-2sg Mary-to the number-my-acc  
 'Have you given my number to Mary?'



When the sentence is an incredulous-repetitive echo yes-no question, that is, emphatic, there are accents following the verb, and these accents will carry copies of the same HP7 which is used in the ordinary yes-no question, (cf. 6.4.1, and (4)).

<sup>113</sup> For the notion of comment (predicate), see É. Kiss (2002:2, 8-9).

<sup>114</sup> Unless the postverbal region contains a positive or negative universal quantifier. Such quantifiers must be accented even postverbally.

'Beszértél 'mindenkivel?  
 talked-2sg everyone-with  
 'Did you talk to everybody?'

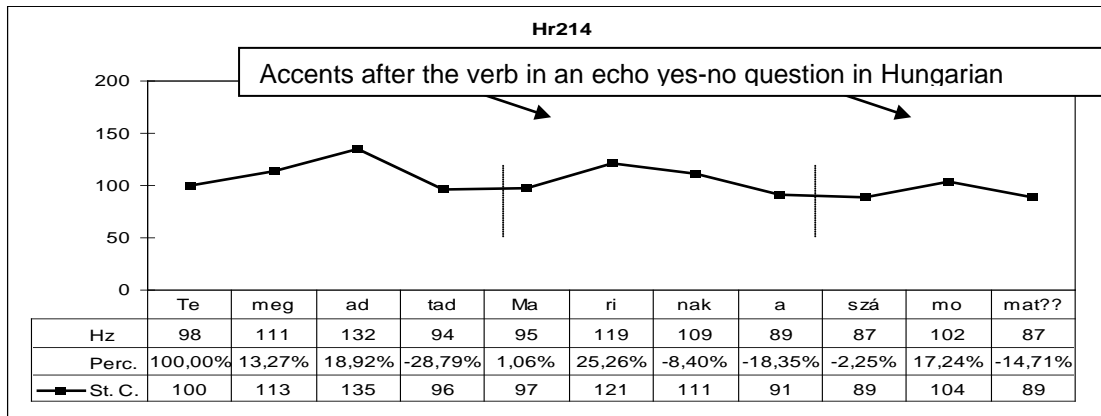
'Nem beszértél 'senkivel?  
 not talked-2sg nobody-with  
 'Didn't you talk to anybody?'

(4)

| Te 'megadtad | 'Marinak a | 'számomat???

you-sg gave-2sg Mary-to the number-my-acc

'Have you given my number to Mary?' (Am I right in assuming this?)



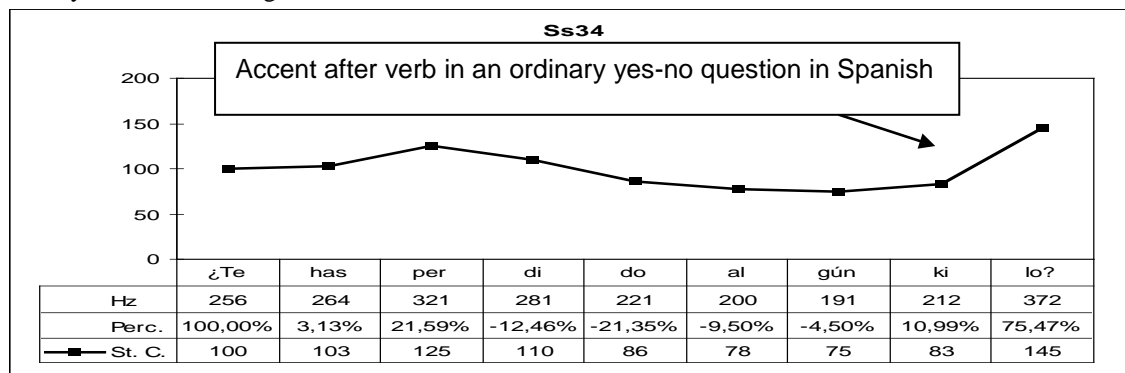
In Spanish, however, the tendency is that the Syntagmatic Accent is on the last lexically stressed syllable of the utterance in ordinary yes-no questions, as in (5):

(5)

| ¿Te has perdido algún 'kilo?|

refl.pron.-2sg have-aux-2sg lost some kilo

'Have you lost some weight?'



This means that while in ordinary Hungarian yes-no questions postverbal elements are not normally accented, in ordinary Spanish yes-no questions the last lexical element (most likely postverbal) has the Syntagmatic Accent. In Spanish, echo yes-no questions do not have more accents (with copied FIs) than ordinary yes-no questions, see 7.3.2.2 below.

### 7.3 Linguistic aspects of intonation

In the following section, I will focus on the linguistic level of intonation. The hypothetically contrasting aspects in the two languages at this level are:

- different pitch range (of both the whole contour and the FI itself)
- different patterns (of FIs and bodies) used for /+interrogative/ tonemes. I will examine in which circumstances Spanish and Hungarian intonational patterns coincide or differ – the latter case is where I expect Hungarian learners of Spanish to make intonational “mistakes” by transferring their own interrogative patterns to Spanish yes-no questions.

### 7.3.1 Pitch range differences in the two languages

This question will be treated from two perspectives: the pitch range of the whole contour and the pitch range of the FI will presumably differ in Spanish and Hungarian. By pitch range I mean the vertical extent (in %) of pitch movement, i.e. the difference between the highest pitch and the lowest pitch within a Standardized Contour or within a part of the Standardized Contour. The question of pitch range differences is identified as a linguistic manifestation of intonation,<sup>115</sup> as in Spanish, for example, an FI rising over 70% indicates a /+interrogative/ toneme, whereas an FI falling under -30% is identified as an /+emphatic/ toneme. Similarly, a wide pitch range for the whole contour is an emphatic feature (cf. 3.3)

Varga (2002a:21) claims that in Hungarian the average pitch range of utterances is not as wide as in English. Thus my hypothesis is that the average pitch range in Spanish is also wider than in Hungarian, and that this holds not only for the whole contour but also for the FI itself. To validate this hypothesis, Hungarian and Spanish corpus-sentences have been measured for two values: the difference of the highest and the lowest relative pitch values of the contour (i.e. the relative pitch range of the whole contour), and the relative percentage of (the biggest) rise/fall of the FI. In the following examples we shall see how these two values are obtained.

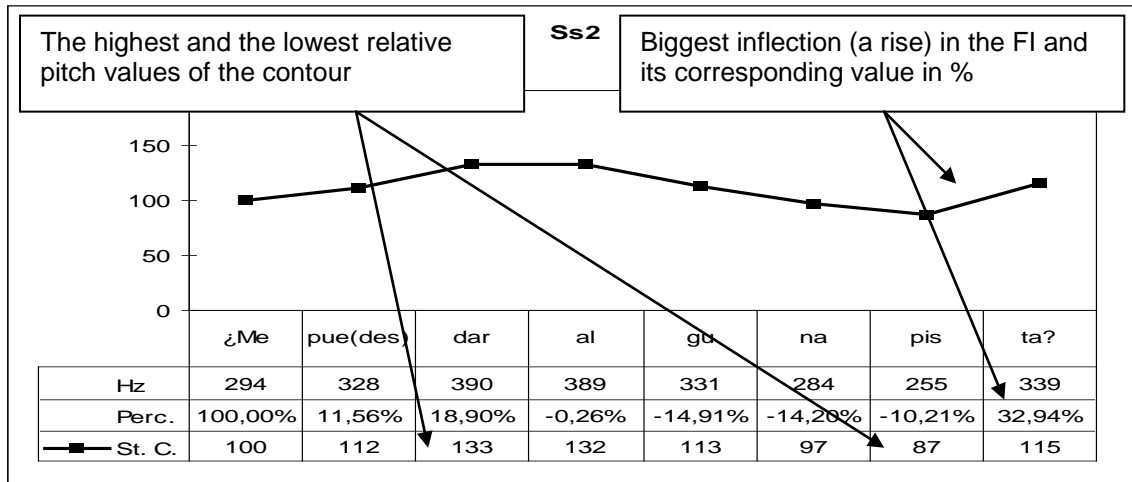
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<sup>115</sup> Whether pitch range is a linguistic aspect of intonation, is a controversial issue today (cf. Prieto 2003:27), but for Cantero and Font-Rotchés it is linguistic.



(6a)

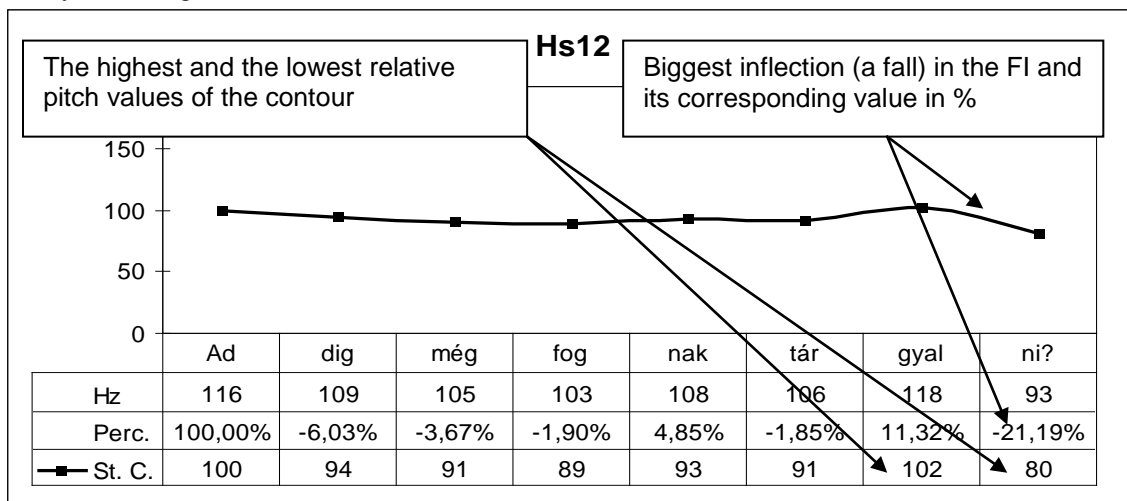
| ¿Me 'puedes dar alguna 'pista?|  
 me can-2sg give some hint  
 'Could you give me any hint?'



In (6a), the lowest relative pitch value within the Standardized Curve is 87, while the highest is 133. The highest value (133) shows an increase of 53% (a rounded value) with respect to the lowest value (87). Thus, the overall pitch range of the contour, in percentages, is 53%. The biggest inflection realized on the FI in this case is a rise of 33% (a rounded value).

(6b)

| Addig még 'fognak tárgyalni?|  
 then-till yet will-3pl negotiate  
 'Will you still negotiate till then?'



In (6b), the lowest relative pitch value is of 80, while the highest is 102. The highest value (102) shows an increase of 28% (a rounded value) with respect to the lowest value (80). Thus, the overall pitch range of the contour, in percentages, is 28%. The biggest inflection realized on the FI in this case is a fall of 21% (a rounded value).

Both utterances have the same number of syllables, and it is easy to see that both pitch range values for Hungarian are much lower than the corresponding Spanish ones.

The average overall pitch range for Hungarian, based on a corpus of 58 utterances (APPENDIX 2: Corpus 2, ordinary and echo yes-no questions), is 59%, whereas this value for Spanish, in a corpus of 66 utterances (APPENDIX 1, Corpus 1, ordinary and echo yes-no questions), is 102%. This means that the average pitch range in Spanish is nearly double the amount measured in Hungarian utterances. In Hungarian, the lowest overall pitch range value measured among all the Standardized Curves was 6%, and the highest, 175%, whereas in Spanish, the lowest overall pitch range value among all the Standardized Curves was 5%, and the highest, 246%. These values were examined separately in ordinary and only echo yes-no questions, but the proportion between the Hungarian and the Spanish values was the same in these respects, too.

Concerning Final Inflection pitch values, in the case of rising FIs, the average Spanish value is 70% as compared to the Hungarian 39%; the difference is less marked in the case of falling FIs, with the Spanish average value being 50% as compared to the Hungarian 35%. The following table sums up the most important data:

Table 7.2: A comparison of pitch values in Spanish and Hungarian yes-no questions

<b>Question types</b>	<b>Examined categories</b>	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Hungarian</b>
ordinary y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	96	56
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	246	175
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	65	35
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	68	39
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	49	33
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	173	71
echo y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	129	66
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	233	116
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	77	37
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	82	37
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	58	37
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	153	53
ordinary + echo y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	102	59
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	246	175
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	67	35
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	71	38
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	51	34
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	173	71

Whether this tendency is observable in the intonation of Hungarian learners' Spanish sentences, too, will be examined in Chapter 8.

Baditzné (2012) also examined the average pitch height in Spanish and in Hungarian yes-no questions. Though N. Tomás (1966) holds that the Spanish average pitch height is lower than in other European languages, Hungarian seems to be even lower, at least in yes-no questions, with 213Hz in the case of Hungarian women as compared to the Spanish value of 297Hz, and 134Hz in the case of Hungarian men as compared to the Spanish value of 177Hz, cf. Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Average pitch height values in Spanish and Hungarian yes-no questions

Question types	Examined categories	Spanish	Hungarian
ordinary y/n questions	Average pitch (men, Hz)	161	137
	Average pitch (women, Hz)	292	198
	Average pitch (men and women, Hz)	239	143
echo y/n questions	Average pitch (men, Hz)	262	132
	Average pitch (women, Hz)	322	226
	Average pitch (men and women, Hz)	300	161
ordinary + echo y/n questions	Average pitch (men, Hz)	177	134
	Average pitch (women, Hz)	297	213
	Average pitch (men and women, Hz)	250	146

In Corpus 3 (containing Spanish sentences realized by Hungarian students), the comparison was not made, as supposedly people under the age of 18 would have higher average pitch height than in a corpus of generally adult speakers (as in the case of Corpus 1 and 2).

### 7.3.2 Different /+interrogative/ patterns

Obviously, questionhood can be defined on various grounds, because an utterance can function as a question as an indirect speech act, or as a direct speech act. Direct speech acts are not context-dependent, so if an utterance is a question as a direct speech act, it should be regarded as such by listeners even if it is deprived of contextual clues. Such utterances are helped by either grammar or intonation (or both) to be recognised as questions by listeners. So genuinely interrogative intonational patterns are used when it is only intonation that is responsible for the decoding of the utterance as a question - that is, where grammar does not signal that the utterance is a question. That is why intonation is not needed to signal the questionhood of question word questions, which normally have /-interrogative/ intonational patterns, and this is also true for yes-no questions which contain a grammatical marker.

Thus, a /+interrogative/ intonational pattern means that the pattern is recognised as a question by listeners independently of the context of the utterance. In Hungarian, there are various interrogative patterns: patterns HP7a-c are non-emphatic, and patterns HP8 and HP9 are emphatic interrogative patterns (cf. 4.3.3). The common features they all share is that they are all characterized by a fall starting from the penultimate syllable of the contour. The fall, according to my research, is bigger than any rise preceding it in the contour (cf. 6.3). Thus, the characteristic part of the /+interrogative/ pattern carried by more than two syllables in Hungarian is ultimately falling (as it falls between the penultimate and the last syllables); what precedes the penultimate syllable may be rising fully or partially, as in HP7a-c, or level, as in HP8, or descending, as in HP9.

In Spanish, however, the most characteristic interrogative patterns, SP2 and SP3, and the recently described SP13 are characterized by a rising FI: the rise must be at least 70% in SP2, over 40% in SP3, and the Body and the FI together, between 20% and 140% in SP13. There are two other interrogative patterns, SP4a-b, which are of a more restricted use. These have a rising-falling FI, so ultimately end in a fall, as the Hungarian yes-no question patterns; but the difference between them and the Hungarian ones is that the rising part is short and starts from the Syntagmatic Accent in Spanish, stretching over one mora, whereas in Hungarian it may stretch over a number of syllables, as in pattern HP7a.<sup>116</sup>

### 7.3.2.1 Ordinary yes-no questions

Genuine yes-no interrogative patterns, which are typical of ordinary yes-no questions that are neutral in their context in both languages, are characterised by a rise that happens at one point of the sentence. But whereas in Spanish the typical yes-no intonation contour ultimately ends in a rise, this is not so in Hungarian: unmarked interrogative patterns carried by more than two syllables end in a fall between the penultimate syllable and the last one, whereas in mono- and disyllabic realisations the final fall is lost or almost lost.

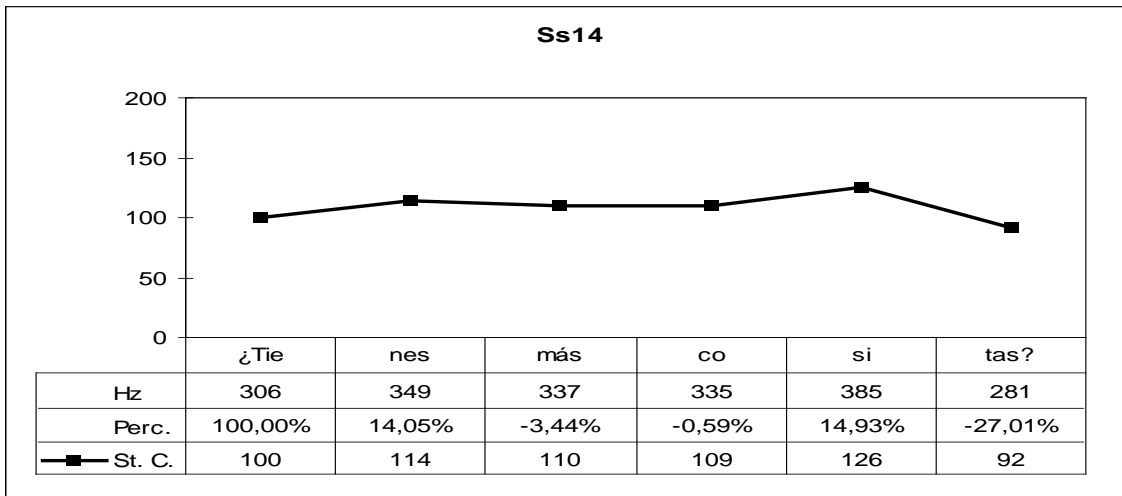
This does not mean that yes-no questions cannot have any other patterns: they might take pattern SP9 (cf. 3.3.2) or pattern SP7 (cf. 3.3.2), as in (7).

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<sup>116</sup> For more differences between SP4 and HP7, see 4.3.3.

(7)

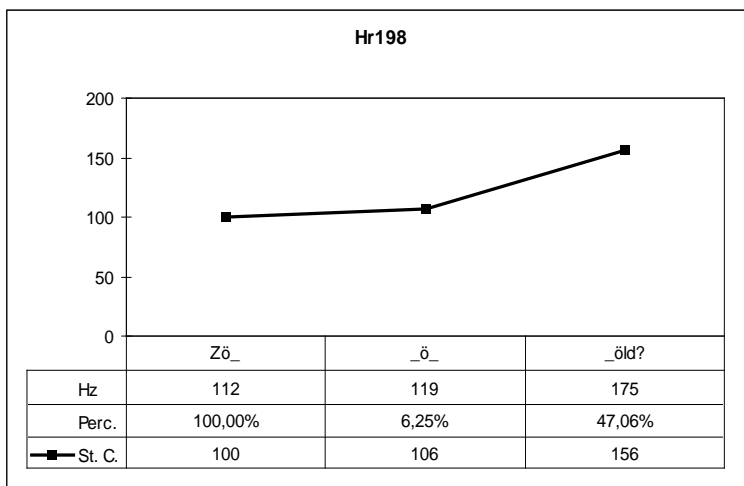
| ¿'Tienes más co'sitas?|  
have-2sg more little-things  
'Do you have any other things?'



In Hungarian, when the rise-fall (HP7) is carried by only one syllable, the fall may not even be perceptible, as in (8):

(8)

| 'Zöld?|  
green  
'Green?'



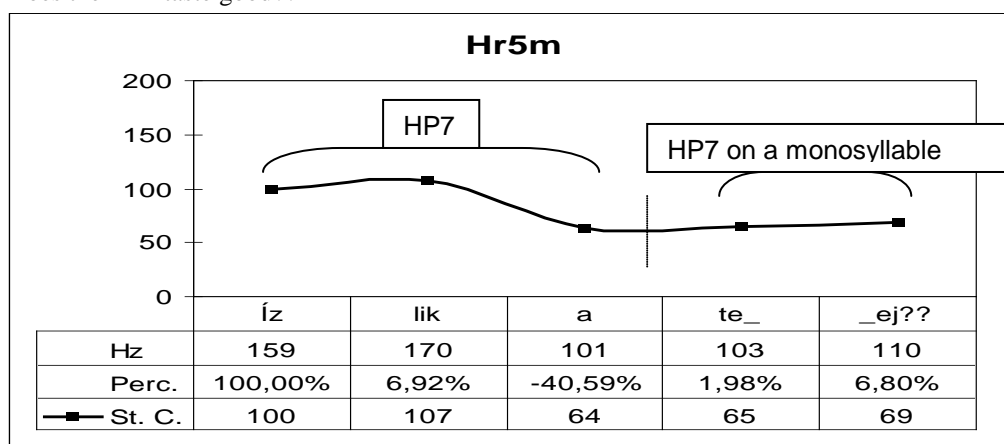
Thus, my predictions are that Hungarian students (a) will realize maximally disyllabic yes-no questions with a rising FI, without a perceptible fall, and (b) trisyllabic and longer yes-no questions with a rising-falling pattern, their native HP7.

### 7.3.2.2 Echo yes-no questions

In echo yes-no questions in Hungarian there are several accents, each initiating a HP7 contour. When this contour spreads on a monosyllabic word, the fall cannot be perceived and the FI will be phonetically realized as rising (cf. also 6.3, 6.4.1):

(9)

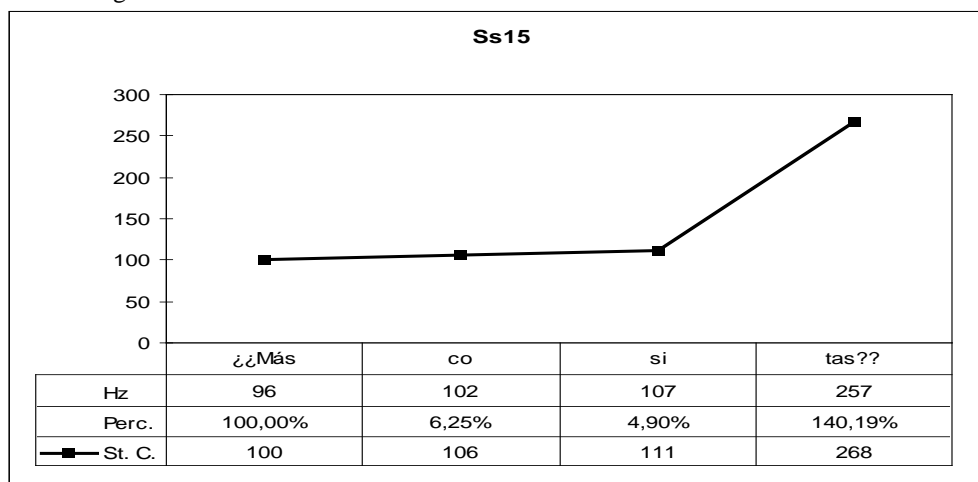
| 'Ízlik a | 'tej??  
 taste-3sg the milk  
 'Does the milk taste good??'



Example (9) is an ‘incredulous/repetitive’ yes-no question (cf. 6.4.1) containing several instances of HP7 in the utterance. In Spanish, however, incredulous/repetitive yes-no questions have only one Phonic Group, see (10):

(10)

| ¿¿'Más co'sitas??  
 more things  
 'More things??'



My prediction is that Hungarians will transfer this peculiar case of emphasis – i.e., the repetition of HP7 – to the intonation of echo Spanish yes-no questions.

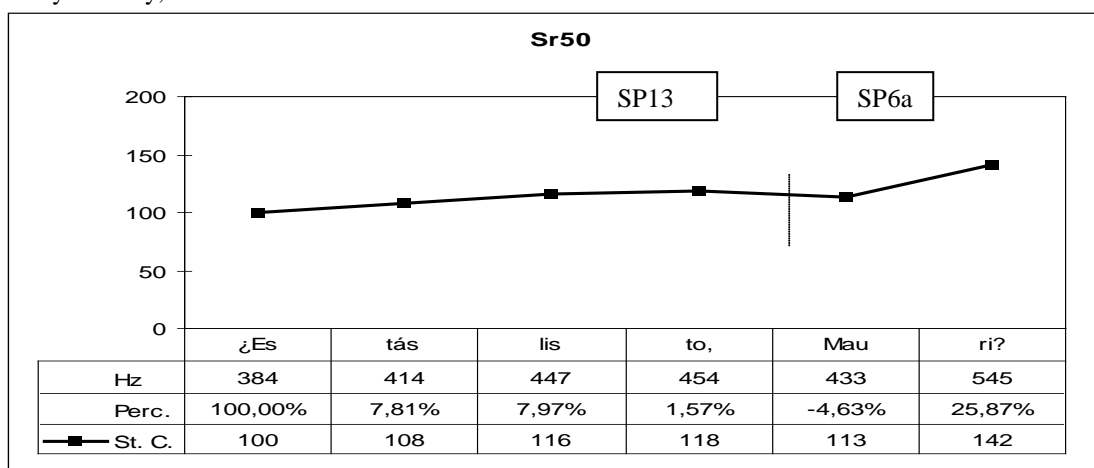
### 7.3.2.3 Yes-no question + vocative sequences

There is in the intonational realizations of yes-no question plus utterance-final vocative sequences in the two languages.

In Spanish, the final vocative receives the typical yes-no question intonation pattern SP2, or a rising pattern with a moderate rise, and the preceding part — the yes-no question — receives a moderately rising contour (SP1, SP6 or SP13, for example), see (11).

(11)

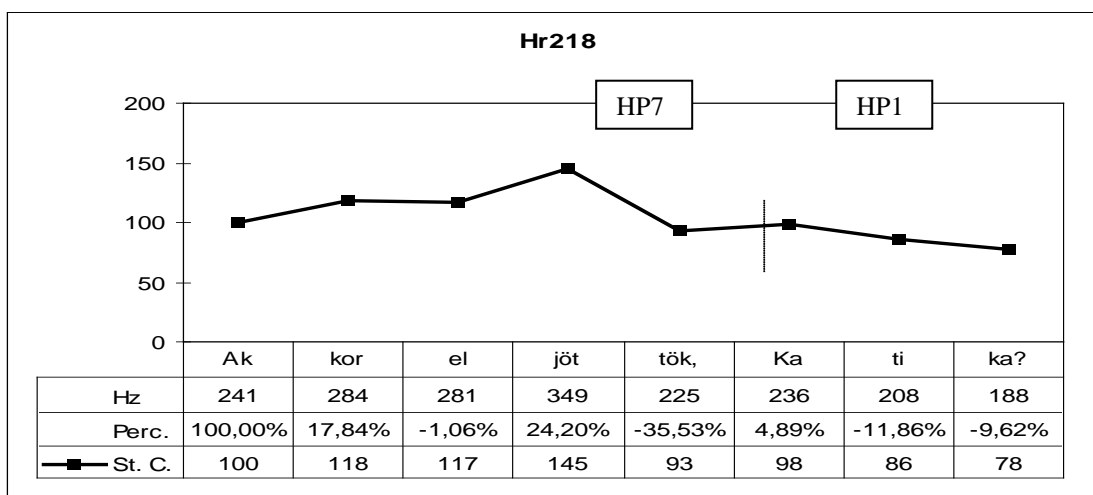
| ¿Estás 'listo, | 'Mauri?  
are-2sg ready Mauri(cio)  
'Are you ready, Mauri?'



In Hungarian, however, the final vocative receives a falling pattern (HP1), and the yes-no question before it gets the question intonational pattern (HP7).

(12)

| Akkor 'eljöttök, | 'Katika?  
then come-2pl Kate-diminutive  
'Then will you come, Katie?'



The application of the intonational pattern used in the other language would lead to ungrammatical solutions in both languages:

(13)



### 7.3.2.4 Hypotheses about the intonational patterns used by Hungarian learners of Spanish in Spanish yes-no questions: a review

To sum up, I expect that Hungarian speakers will use an ultimately falling pattern (with the fall on the last two syllables) when producing an ordinary Spanish yes-no question, with a rise before the falling part which is not as steep as the fall. Hungarian speakers will only produce the typical rising interrogative FIs when they produce a short, maximally disyllabic ordinary yes-no question, or an echo yes-no question with an accent on the last, maximally disyllabic word. A falling pattern for a question in Spanish is not perceived as /+interrogative/, and is not so frequent.

In echo yes-no questions, I expect Hungarian learners of Spanish to produce repeated rising-falling patterns in their Spanish echo yes-no questions.

In yes-no question + vocative sequences, my hypothesis is that Hungarian will produce a rising-falling pattern in the yes-no question and a falling pattern in the vocative.

The following table will summarize the expected coincidences (the shaded parts of the table) and divergences in the use of intonational patterns in Spanish and Hungarian yes-no



questions. (~ means that the two patterns are roughly identical). The coincidences can be looked upon as cases of positive transfer (i.e. facilitation), whereas the divergences as cases of negative transfer (i.e. interference).

Table 7.4: Spanish and Hungarian intonational patterns in yes-no questions

Question types	Spanish pattern	Hungarian pattern
Ordinary yes-no questions	SP2 (Rise)	
	SP3 (Rise)	
	SP6 (Rise)	
	SP13 (Rise)	
	SP10b (Fall-rise)	
	SP4 (Rise-fall)	HP7 ~ SP4, SP7 (Rise-fall) or ~ SP1, SP9 (Fall)
	SP7 (Rise-fall)	
	SP1 (Fall)	
SP9 (Fall)		
Echo yes-no questions	SP2 (Rise)	Repeated HP7 (Rise-fall)
	SP7 (Rise-Fall)	
	SP9 (Fall)	
	SP10b (Fall-rise)	
	SP13 (Rise)	
Yes-no question + vocative sequences	Two rising patterns	HP7 + HP1

## 7.4 Summary

In this chapter we have made predictions about the ways Hungarian speakers realise the intonation of Spanish yes-no questions. These predictions were concerned with the prelinguistic and linguistic aspects of intonation.

At the prelinguistic level, stress- and accent-placing rules were compared in the two languages. As Hungarian and Spanish present different solutions, the transfer of the Hungarian ways to the Spanish sentences may alter the accent pattern of the utterance, which may lead to difficulties in decoding the meaning of the lexical items of the utterance. It is a remarkable difference that while in Hungarian the postverbal elements are de-accentuated in ordinary yes-no questions, in Spanish it is rather the last postverbal lexical stress which receives the main accent. In echo yes-no questions Hungarian presents several Syntagmatic Accents with the same HP7 copied to all of them, whereas in Spanish there is only one Syntagmatic Accent.

At the linguistic level, predictions were made about yes-no interrogative intonation in the two languages. Hungarian and Spanish apply different intonational patterns for ordinary yes-no interrogatives. Additionally, pitch range for the whole contour and pitch range for the FIs

seem to be different in the two languages. The hypothesis is that Hungarians will transfer their own interrogative intonational patterns as well as their more restricted pitch range to Spanish questions. With this transfer, they will change the meaning not at the level of lexical items, but at the level of the whole utterance.

In the next chapter all these predictions will be confronted with the data in Corpus 3 (see APPENDIX 3), which contains Spanish yes-no questions produced by Hungarian learners of Spanish.

## **Chapter 8 Validation of the predictions, and pedagogical implications (An analysis of Corpus 3)**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The comparison between certain Hungarian and Spanish intonational phenomena in Chapter 7 was based on Corpus 1 (read and spontaneous Spanish sentences) and Corpus 2 (read and spontaneous Hungarian sentences). This chapter will focus on Corpus 3, which consists of read and semi-spontaneous Spanish sentences uttered by Hungarian learners of Spanish. It will be examined whether the intonation of these Spanish sentences is nearer to Spanish or Hungarian intonation.

The informants of Corpus 3 were 52 secondary school students, all from Budapest, aged between 14 and 18. They had 3-5 Spanish lessons per week, and non-native Spanish teachers with Hungarian as their mother tongue. Students with non-Hungarian parents were excluded from the analysis, and so were students who had spent more than 2 weeks in any Spanish-speaking country. As Corpus 3 includes two parts, Corpus 3A (read utterances) and Corpus 3B (semi-spontaneous utterances), the two will be analysed, separately.

The points under consideration will be the following:

- at the prelinguistic level: improperly realized Final Inflections due to accent anomalies.
- at the linguistic level: pitch range in both the whole utterance and in the Final Inflection, and the application of typically Hungarian intonational patterns.

At the end of the chapter, as a conclusion, I will highlight the intonational areas which need more attention on the part of a language teacher when familiarizing Hungarian learners with the Spanish language.

### **8.2 Corpus 3: Spanish utterances made by Hungarian learners of Spanish**

#### **8.2.1 Corpus 3A: Spanish sentences read by Hungarians**

The read Spanish corpus contains sentences of a written dialogue taken from a Spanish coursebook, *Gente 1* (Baulenas et al., 1998). The short text could be read silently once before it was read out and recorded<sup>117</sup>, so the students knew what they were saying and their intonation was supposed to be correct. They could not hear each other while reading.

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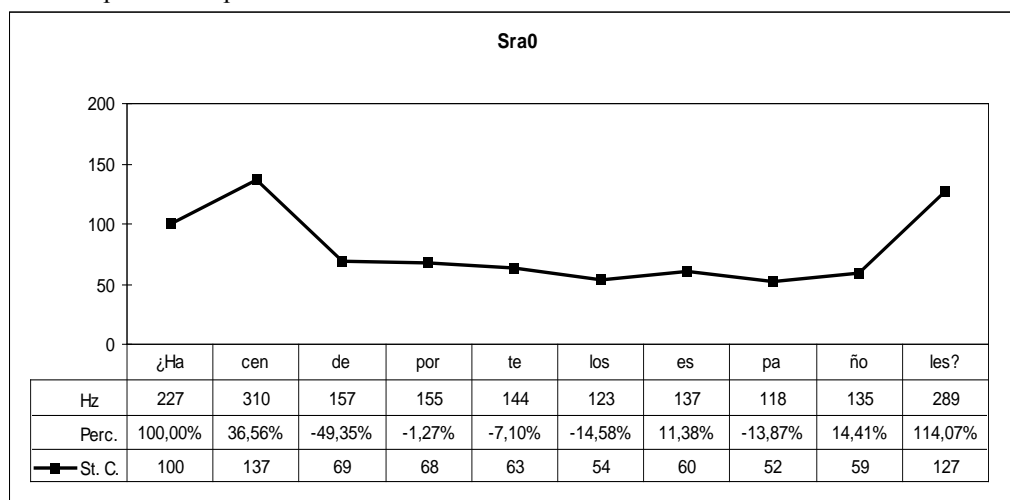
<sup>117</sup> Obviously, they had not heard the text before.

Four yes-no questions of the text were selected and analysed. Their original Spanish textbook realizations, taken from Baulenas et al. (1998), are shown in (1), (2), (3) and (4). They fall into the following categories:

- Sentences “a” and “b” are ordinary yes-no interrogatives, with typical yes-no question intonation (SP2).

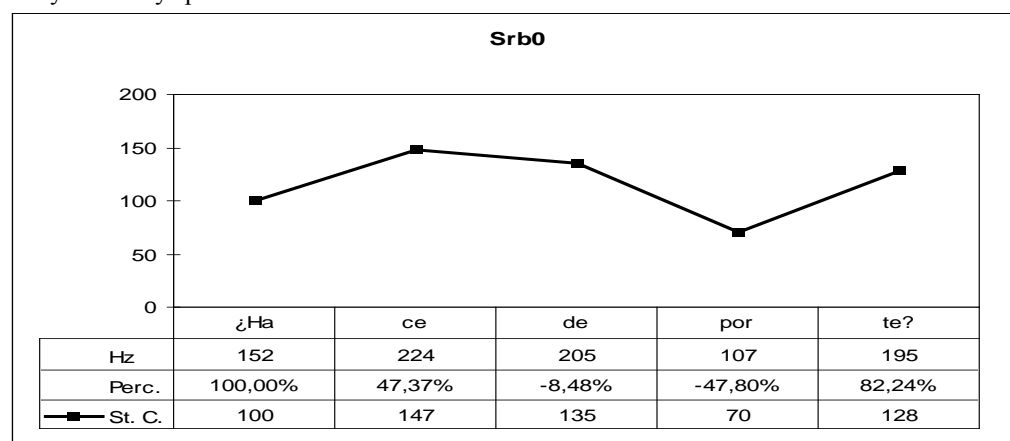
(1) Sentence “a”

| ¿Hacen de'porte los espa'ñoles?|  
do-3pl sport the Spanish  
'Do the Spanish do sports?'



(2) Sentence “b”

| ¿Hace de'porte?|  
do-2sg sport  
'Do you do any sport?'



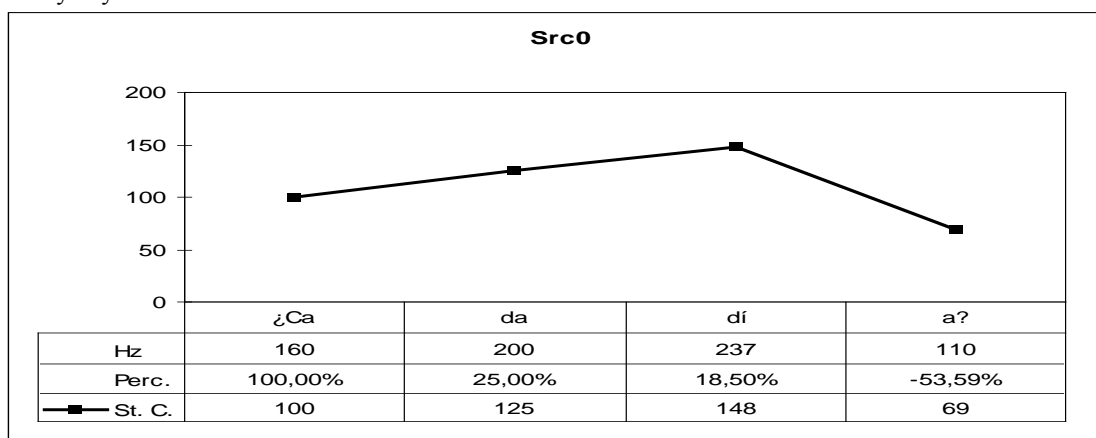
- Sentence “c” expresses surprise, it is an incredulous-repetitive yes-no question with (SP9);  
- Sentence “d” is a yes-no question + vocative sequence, with an SP1 in each Phonic Group, both rising.

### (3) Sentence “c”

| ¿'Cada día?|

Every day

'Every day?'

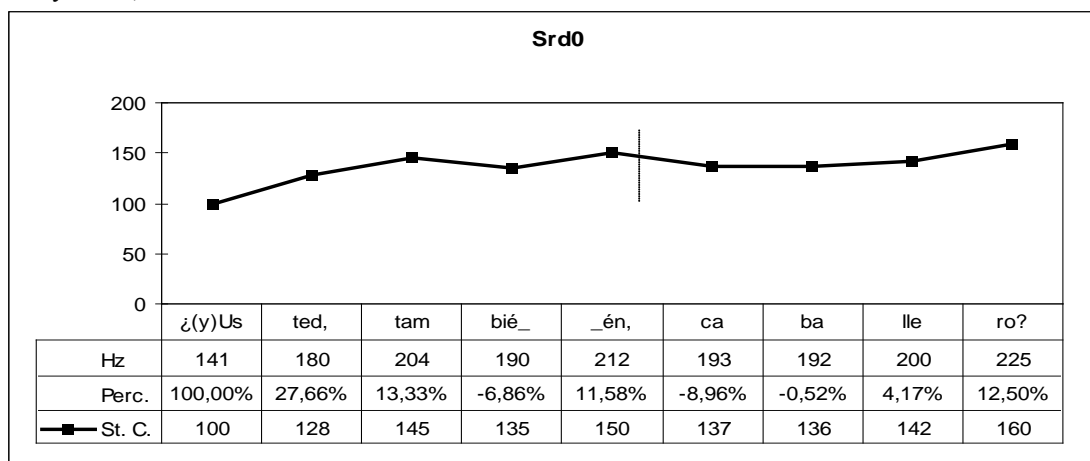


### (4) Sentence “d”

| ¿(Y) Usted también, caballero?|

and you-sg-fml too sir

'And you too, sir?'



Thus, in the read corpus three types of yes-no questions were analyzed: ordinary, echo yes-no questions, and yes-no questions followed by a vocative. Altogether this corpus includes 111 utterances from 30 students: 25 realizations of “a”, 29 realizations of “b” (thus, 54 ordinary yes-no interrogatives), 29 realizations of “c” (echo yes-no questions), and 28 realizations of “d” (yes-no question + vocative combinations).<sup>118</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Even though the students could prepare for the recording, some of them forgot to read the title (sentence “a”), and some utterances were read out so softly that they could not be analyzed properly. So altogether there are 111 sentences instead of 120.

### 8.2.2 Corpus 3B: semi-spontaneous Spanish sentences produced by Hungarians

The semi-spontaneous corpus contains 63 utterances, provided by 22 speakers altogether. The corpus was based on various interviews acted out by students; they did not know that it was their intonation that was being tested, they were told that they were practicing for an oral exam.

The questionnaire induced the speakers to produce a great number of complementary questions as well. These were not analysed as they are not considered to be yes-no questions.<sup>119</sup>

The majority of the semi-spontaneous corpus sentences are ordinary yes-no questions (61); there are two echo yes-no questions as well.

### 8.3 The Spanish intonation of Hungarian learners of Spanish: the prelinguistic level

There is only one point under consideration in this section: erroneous accentuation in the FIs.<sup>120</sup> As the most measurable potential divergence characterizes those words which have the lexical stress on their last syllables and this syllable bears the FI, I will concentrate here on this group exclusively.

According to Cantero, the FI must have more than one mora (cf. 2.4.4). When the FI is realized by words having the lexical stress in the ult, there are no more syllables for the FI to spread over, so the last syllable must lengthen to provide enough “space” for the FI. The lengthened syllable in itself has a tonal contrast, such as *-dad* in (5):

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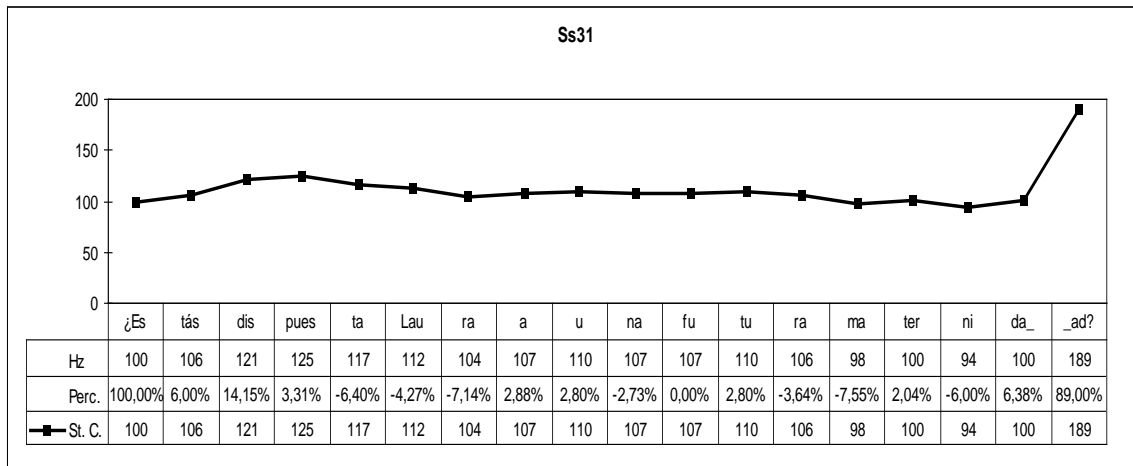
<sup>119</sup> For complementary questions, see footnote 8 in 4.3.2. They may resemble the ordinary yes-no questions in form, but constitute a different category. Interrupted yes-no questions, offering and ‘listing’ questions go into this group. In Hungarian they are normally characterized by rising intonation (as opposed to ordinary yes-no questions with rising-falling intonation, but this rise is a relatively moderate one, with up to 40% of rise generally). The questionnaire included several items, and as the speakers in most cases asked about the items one after the other, as if checking a list, they presumably tended to produce the listing type of complementary questions, with a moderate rise at the end of the sentence (but never reaching 70%).

Another group of excluded questions was the one of interrupted alternative questions, as they do not belong to yes-no questions either.

<sup>120</sup> Another difference is the position of accents (and thus, FIs) in ordinary yes-no questions (cf. 7.2.2). While in the Hungarian solution the FI begins towards the beginning of the sentence, in Spanish it is the end of the sentence, more concretely, the last three (or four) syllables that bear the FI (cf. 2.4.4). Whether Hungarian learners of Spanish transfer this accentuation pattern to their Spanish sentences cannot be examined based on  $F_0$  variations exclusively, as in Hungarian ordinary yes-no questions the most radical inflections are realized from the antepenultimate syllable, even if there is no accent, so the biggest  $F_0$  variation in the utterance is not an objective indicator of accent in these cases.  $F_0$  indicates accent in the case of Hungarian echo yes-no questions, where in Hungarian there are more accents that initiate a HP7 pattern, as opposed to the Spanish version which has only one accent and one FI. Thus, the presence of a HP7 (with rise-fall FI) suggests the presence of an accent. In this latter case we can objectively measure this difference based on the  $F_0$ , see 8.5.2.

(5)

| ¿Estás dis'puesta, Laura, a una futura materni'dad?  
 be-2sg ready Laura to a future maternity  
 'Are you ready, Laura, for a future maternity?'

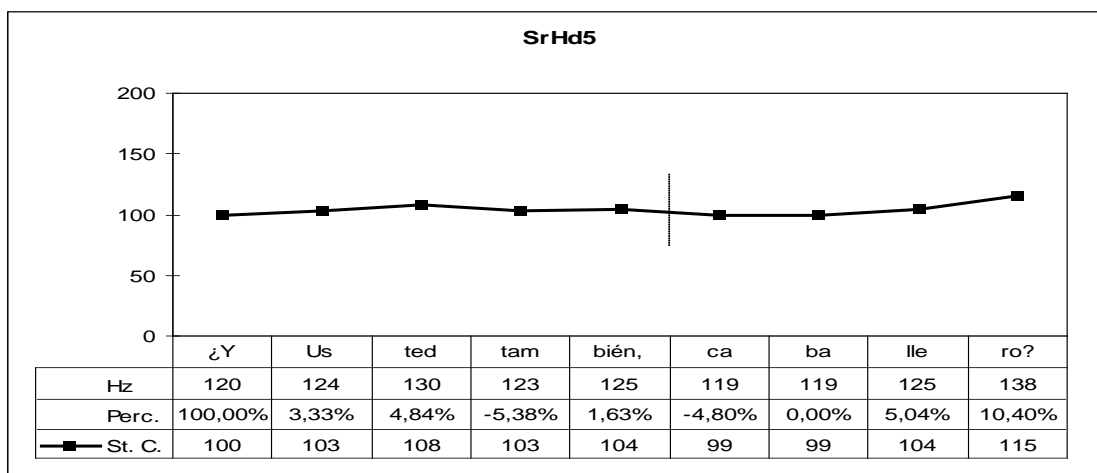


Unlike Spanish, Hungarian lexical stress can never fall on the last syllable of a plurisyllabic word (cf. 7.2.1). This means that it is not likely that Hungarians should give more than one mora to the last, accented syllable of a plurisyllabic word when it carries the FI.

Among the read yes-no questions (Corpus 3A), there is only one sentence, “d”, which has the word *también*, with accent on the last syllable *bién*, which itself is the bearer of the FI. In the original Spanish utterance, (4), this syllable was given a tonal contrast of over 11%. Let us see how many Hungarian students realized the sentence with a tonal contrast of at least 10% or gave the syllable three moras.

Of the 28 utterances produced, the syllable *bién* is given two or three moras in only 6 sentences, i.e. in 21% of the expectable cases. The value of the FI on *bién* ranged from 10% to 38%. In the rest of the realizations of “d”, *bién* is given one mora, with less than 10% of tonal contrast, as in (6):

(6)

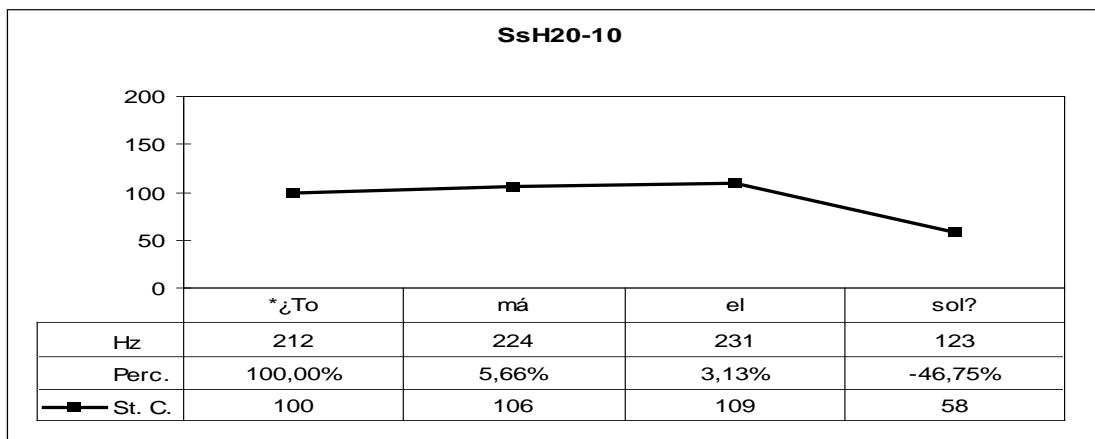


The problem of mora-reduction in the case of final syllable FIs is also present in Corpus 3B (the semi-spontaneous corpus). Among the 63 yes-no questions, there are 20 in which the last syllable is bearing the FI, and should therefore be given more than one mora and represent a significant tonal contrast of more than 10%. In 12 cases (60%) this last syllable was realized correctly, but in 8 cases (40%) we find the anomalous Hungarian solution, with only one mora and no tonal contrast given to the last, accented syllable. This irregular solution is realized in two ways:

- having a considerable downstep to the last syllable, but no tonal contrast within it, as in (7).
- having a flat curve, with no salient inflections at all, as in (8);

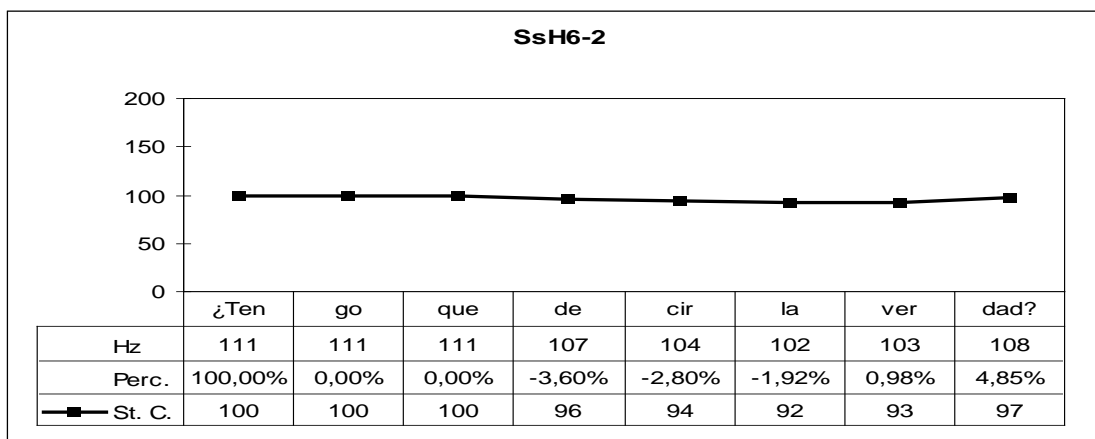
(7)

| ¿\*Tomá el sol?| correctly: ¿Toma el sol?  
 take-3sg the sun  
 'Do you (formal) sunbathe?'



(8)

| ¿'Tengo que decir la ver'dad?|  
 have-1sg that-compl tell the truth  
 'Do I have to tell the truth?'



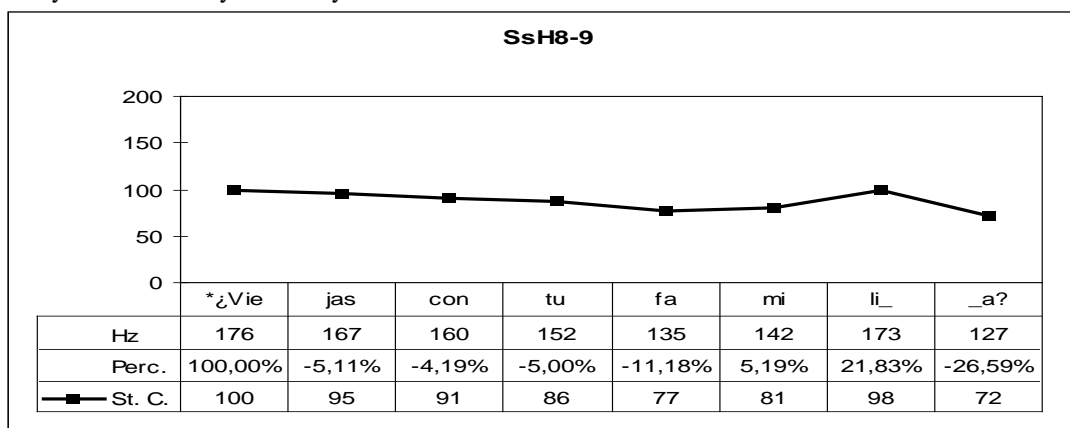


If we consider the treatment of final-syllable FI in both Corpus 3A and 3B, we can see that of the 49 cases that would require two or three moras (and a tonal contrast over 10%) in the last accented syllable, Hungarian students produced that solution in 22 cases, which is a 45%. This means that this is an area which needs more attention in the language-teaching classroom in the future.

As I have predicted, Hungarians sometimes reanalyze diphthongs as hiatuses (cf. 7.2.1). This is observable in the following two examples, (9) and (10), in which they give two separate moras for the two elements of the diphthongs. Note that, however, these solutions are not anomalous in Spanish, as in complex FIs it is possible that the final unstressed syllable bears two separate tonal movements (cf. 2.4.4, (6)), and the transferred Hungarian pattern, HP7, has a complex FI.

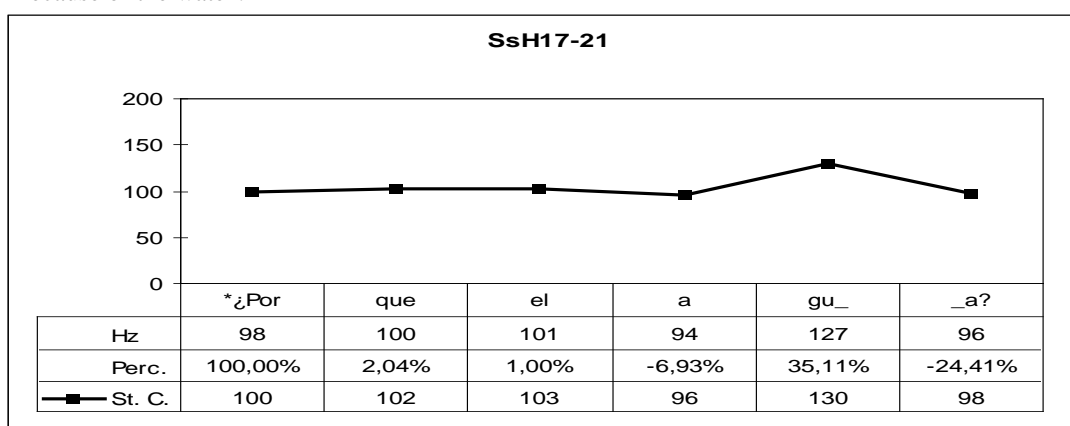
(9)

| ¿\*Vie'jas con tu fa'milia?| correctly: viajas  
 travel-2sg with your family  
 'Do you travel with your family?'



(10)

| ¿\*Porque el 'agua?| correctly: ¿Por el agua?  
 because the water  
 'Because of the water?'



In (9) and (10), though Hungarians transferred their HP7 yes-no interrogative patterns and de-diphthongized the last syllable, the result is an acceptable SP4b, an interrogative pattern, in both cases.

## **8.4 The Spanish intonation of Hungarian learners of Spanish: the linguistic level:**

### **(i) Pitch range**

The following sections will concentrate on two areas that represent considerable differences in Spanish and Hungarian: pitch range (in the whole utterance and in the Final Inflection itself) and the inventory of intonational patterns used in yes-no questions.

#### **8.4.1 Pitch range in the whole utterance**

Based on our hypotheses, Hungarians will produce a narrower pitch range in their utterances: according to the prediction, the average pitch range in the Hungarian sentence is roughly half of the pitch range in the Spanish sentence. As in the case of Corpus 1 and Corpus 2, in Corpus 3, too, we will concentrate on ordinary yes-no questions and echo yes-no questions.

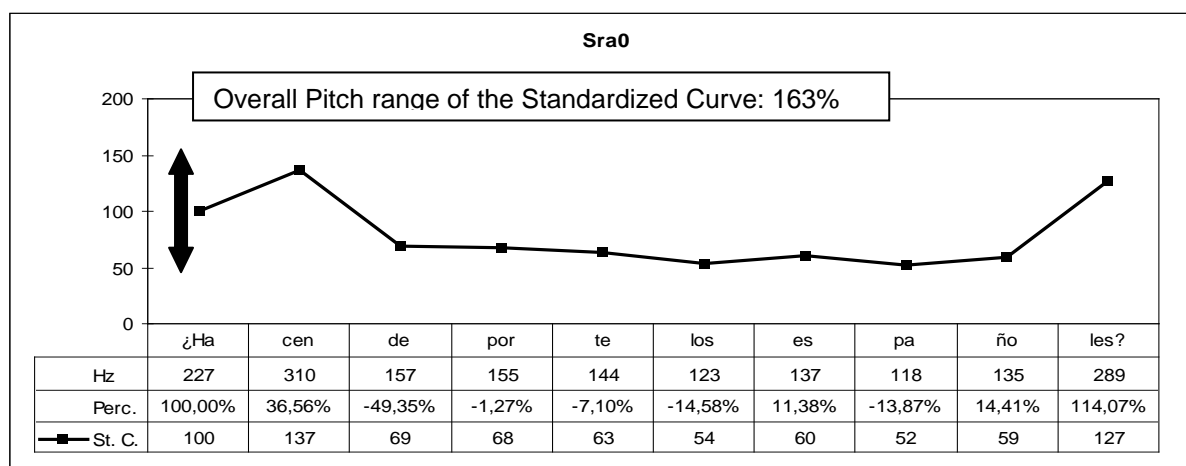
The read sentences (Corpus 3A) contain altogether 83 yes-no questions. Among these, the minimum pitch range value was 5%, and the maximum, 198%. The average was 44%, a very low value compared to the Spanish average value of 102%, cf. 7.3.1, Table 7.2., and also Baditzné 2012.

If we look at the examples (11) and (12), we can see that the pitch range in the whole utterance is considerably wider, i.e. 163% (obtained by calculating the tonal distance between the lowest relative value, 52, and the highest, 137) in the authentic Spanish version (11) than in the Hungarian attempt (12), with 24% (obtained by calculating the tonal distance between the lowest relative value, 83, and the highest, 103); on the method to calculate these values, cf. 7.3.1).<sup>121</sup>

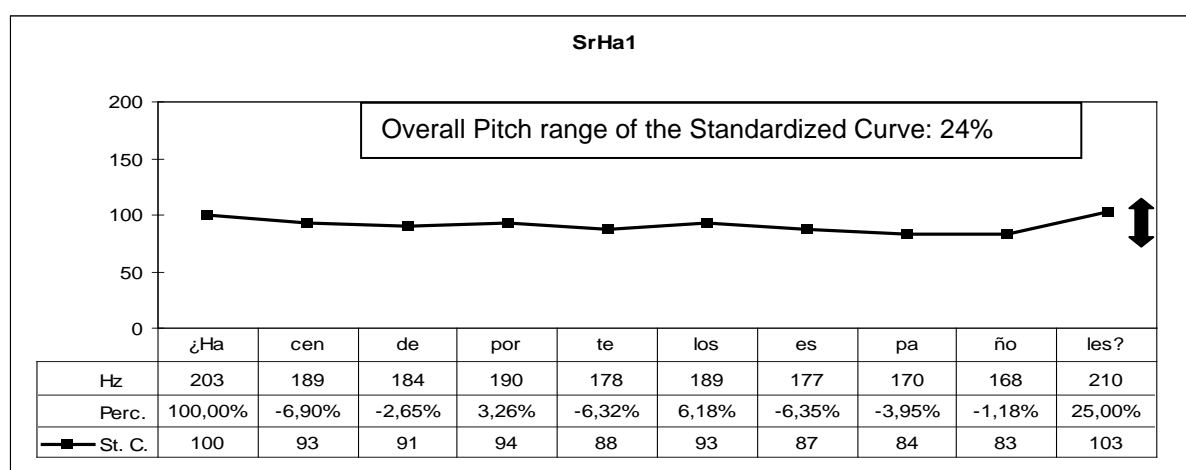
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<sup>121</sup> This remarkable difference between the Spanish and Hungarian values may be due to the fact that the original Spanish version is taken from a course book. In spontaneous speech, Spanish applies narrower pitch range than in model sentences traditionally used for language teaching.

(11)



(12)



In the semi-spontaneous utterances (Corpus 3B) the values roughly correspond to what we have found in Corpus 3A (63 yes-no questions with an average pitch range of 45%, in ordinary yes-no questions 43%, and in echo yes-no questions 61%, but there are only two examples). In Corpora A and B taken together, there are 146 yes-no questions, with an average pitch range of 44% (43% in the case of echo yes-no questions), and this value is undoubtedly lower than the Spanish average.

#### 8.4.2 Pitch range in the most radical inflection of the utterance

I have predicted that the Hungarian learners of Spanish will have lower pitch range values not only in whole utterances, but also in Final Inflections.

After searching for the existing highest inflection pitch range value in the utterances, which was 100% in Corpus 3A and 115% in Corpus 3B (lower than the Spanish 173% in Corpus 1),

I looked at the highest inflection pitch range in every utterance, and then I took an average value for these inflections (also differentiating rising and falling inflections). These data are shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Pitch variation results in the whole utterance and in the biggest inflection of the utterance (rounded values) in Corpus 3A, Corpus 3B, and in Corpus 3 (A + B taken together)

Question types	Examined categories	Corpus		
		3A	3B	3
ordinary y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	43	45	44
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	131	198	198
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	28	33	30
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	32	34	33
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	21	28	24
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	100	115	115
echo y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	41	61	43
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	82	111	111
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	32	60	33
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	39	111	43
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	25	9	24
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	73	111	111
ordinary + echo y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	42	45	44
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	131	198	198
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	29	34	31
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	36	35	35
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	21	27	24
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	100	115	115

We can see that the rising inflection values are always higher than the falling inflection values. Still, if we compare these data with the corresponding Spanish and Hungarian ones (cf. Table 7.2, partly reproduced here for convenience in Table 8.2), we can see that the pitch range values produced by Hungarian students produced utterances with pitch range in the inflections are nearer to their native, Hungarian pitch range. The only exception is the bigger existing inflection in echo yes-no questions: from this aspect, students produced utterances more similar to the Spanish solution. The shaded pairs of columns represent which language were Hungarian students nearer to when producing Spanish yes-no questions, as far as these pitch values are concerned.

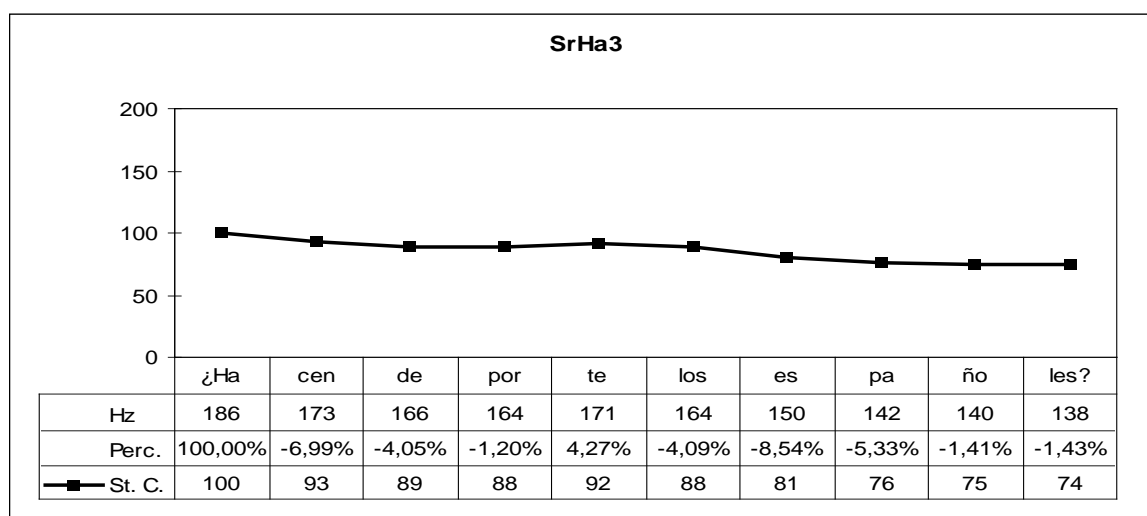
Table 8.2: Pitch variation results (in the whole utterance and in the biggest inflection of the utterance, rounded values) in Corpus 3, contrasted with those values in Corpus 1 and Corpus 2

Question types	Examined categories	Spanish (Corpus1)	Corpus 3	Hungarian (Corpus 2)
ordinary y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	96	44	56
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	246	198	175
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	65	30	35
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	68	33	39
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	49	24	33
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	173	115	71
echo y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	129	43	66
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	233	111	116
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	77	33	37
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	82	43	37
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	58	24	37
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	153	111	53
ordinary + echo y/n questions	Overall pitch range (average) (%)	102	44	59
	Highest pitch range value found among all the contours (%)	246	198	175
	Biggest inflection in the FI (average) (%)	67	31	35
	Biggest rising inflection in the FI (average) (%)	71	35	38
	Biggest falling inflection in the FI (average) (%)	51	24	34
	Biggest inflection in the FI found among all the contours (%)	173	115	71

It is observable that in almost every point under consideration (pitch range for both the biggest inflection and the whole utterance) the values produced by Hungarian learners maximally reach only half of the expected Spanish average.

There is one more point to consider here, namely, that in 30 cases (26% of the total) the biggest inflection ranged between  $-10$  and  $+10\%$  — values which are not even perceived as movements by listeners. An example for this tendency is (13), with a well observable flat curve, too monotonous for a genuine native Spanish yes-no question:

(13)



It is interesting to note that the measured values were closer to the Spanish average values in the (semi-)spontaneous corpus than in the read one (though still considerably lower than expected). All this means that pitch range constitutes an area to develop in language classrooms.

## **8.5 The Spanish intonation of Hungarian learners of Spanish: the linguistic level:**

### **(ii) Intonation patterns**

In the following sections I will examine whether any of the Spanish patterns used for yes-no questions are applied by Hungarian speakers of Spanish. As there is a wide variety of possible yes-no question intonational patterns in Spanish, we will focus on the following aspects:

- which of the intonational patterns used in Spanish yes-no questions yes-no (the /+interrogative/ SP2, SP3, SP4, SP13 or the /-interrogative/ SP1, SP6, SP7, SP9, SP10b, cf. Table 5.1) is used by Hungarian students;
- in what percentage do Hungarian students use Hungarian intonation in their Spanish yes-no questions. This latter point will focus on three questions types (with their peculiar Hungarian solution):
  - ordinary yes-no questions (exclusively HP7 in Hungarian as opposed to any of the Spanish patterns mentioned),
  - echo yes-no questions (repeated HP7 as opposed to a “single” Spanish SP2 or SP7, for example),

- yes-no question + vocative sequences (HP7 + HP1, as opposed to the Spanish solution of two rising patterns, where the first one, accompanying the yes-no question itself, is less steep).

### **8.5.1 Intonational patterns used in ordinary yes-no questions in Corpus 3**

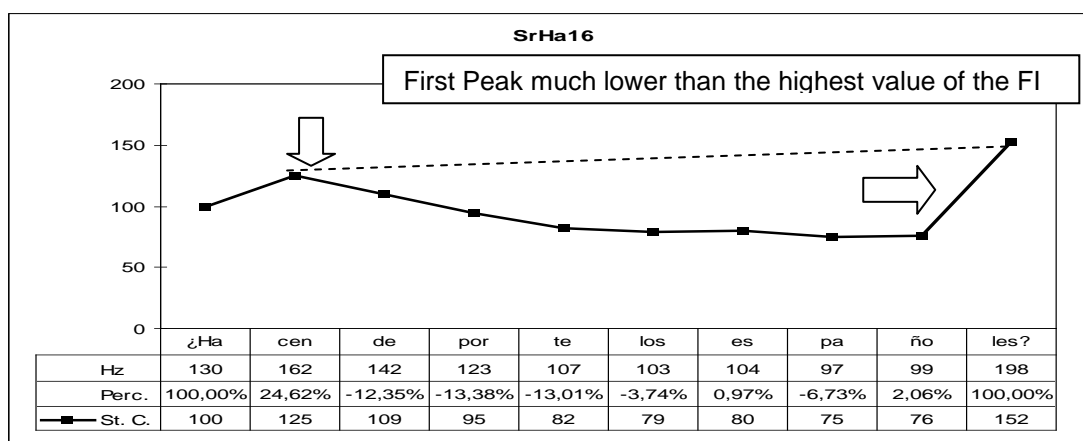
First I will give an overall summary of the patterns used in the whole read corpus, and then I will examine the appearance of those patterns in the three categories investigated:

ordinary-, echo- and yes-no questions followed by a vocative. The last group is only examined in Corpus 3A, as there are no such utterances in Corpus 3B.

In the read corpus (Corpus 3A), the predominant pattern used is SP1. Half of the utterances was produced with this pattern, which is characterized by a fall rather than a moderate rise. The second most significant pattern applied, with a ratio of 26%, is a rising pattern, SP6. In the semi-spontaneous corpus (Corpus 3B), the two most frequent patterns are also SP1 and SP6, but SP6 is the more frequent of the two (34%). In Corpus 3 (Corpus 3A and 3B taken together) the two most frequent patterns are SP1 (38%) and SP6 (30%); that is, Hungarian students produced falling or moderately rising FIs most characteristically. In Spanish (Corpus 1, cf. Table 5.1), SP6 figures in 20% of the corpus, and SP1, only in 5%. This means that Hungarian students make an excessive use of SP1 in their ordinary yes-no questions as compared to native Spanish speakers.

SP2, the most characteristic intonational pattern used for yes-no questions in Corpus 1 (38%, cf. Table 5.1) is hardly present in Corpus 3 (only 7%). In Spanish, we know that normatively the First Peak is at the same height as the endpoint of the FI in SP2 (cf. 5.3), but in my Corpus 1 its most characteristic position was a bit lower than the endpoint of the FI. If we focus on the realization of SP2 in Corpus 3 (i.e. by Hungarian learners), we notice that the First Peak is never realized as high as or higher than the endpoint of the FI, but is usually much lower (for example, see (14)). Thus, in Corpus 3 (and most visibly in Corpus 3) it is the endpoint of the FI which is the highest point of a realized SP2.

(14)



Further analysis shows that in 48% of Corpus 3 the students produced a perceivably rising FI (that is, with a value of the rise over 15%). This proportion in the Spanish corpus is 71% (cf. Table 5.2).

Tables 8.3 and 8.4 sum up all these data about pattern distribution and FI characteristics in the ordinary yes-no questions. It is an interesting difference between the read and the (semi-)spontaneous corpus that in the latter students used more rising patterns than in the read one.

Table 8.3: The distribution of intonational patterns in ordinary yes-no questions (Corpus 3)

Patterns	SP1	SP2	SP3	SP4b	SP6	SP7	SP9	SP13
Corpus 3A (54 questions)	25 (46%)	4 (7%)	3 (6%)	0 (0%)	14 (26%)	5 (9%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)
Corpus 3B (61 questions)	16 (26%)	4 (7%)	7 (11%)	2 (3%)	19 (31%)	7 (11%)	3 (5%)	3 (5%)
Corpus 3 (115 questions)	41 (36%)	8 (7%)	10 (9%)	2 (2%)	33 (29%)	12 (10%)	4 (4%)	5 (4%)

Table 8.4: The characteristics of the FIs in the patterns applied in ordinary yes-no questions (Corpus 3)

The characteristics of the end of the patterns applied	Corpus 3A (out of 54 questions)	Corpus 3B (out of 61 questions)	Corpus 3 (out of 115 questions)
Patterns ultimately falling	17 (31%)	13 (21%)	30 (26%)
Patterns ultimately falling or ending in a low rise (below 15%)	30 (55%)	30 (49%)	60 (52%)
Patterns with a rise over 15%	24 (44%)	31 (51%)	55 (48%)
Patterns ultimately rising	37 (69%)	48 (79%)	85 (74%)

As for the Hungarian intonational patterns applied for ordinary yes-no questions in Corpus 3, there are three whose presence can be felt in the utterances: HP1, HP7 and HP8.<sup>122</sup> Only the

<sup>122</sup> HP8 was not expected as it is an emphatic /+interrogative/ pattern, cf. 4.3.3.



occurrence of HP7 was predictable (cf. 7.3.2.1), but my analysis suggests the presence of HP1 as well, though it is less common.

The transfer of HP7 to a Spanish yes-no question is not viewed as negative transfer, because SP4 or SP7 (the patterns equivalent to HP7) is used in the 14% of ordinary yes-no interrogatives in Corpus 1. It would be anomalous if Hungarians used HP7 in every Spanish yes-no question, as in Spanish it is one of the less frequent patterns; that is why I consider the use of HP7 in a Spanish yes-no question atypical, but not anomalous. Furthermore, in chunks shorter than three syllables, ordinary Hungarian yes-no questions realize HP7 patterns as a rise (cf. 4.3.3, 6.3), so in those cases the transfer of a rising HP7 could even be considered as positive transfer (as Spanish ordinary yes-no questions typically stand with rising FIs).

I consider a pattern an instance of HP1 when there is a bigger drop (a fall over -15%) between the first and the second syllables, or between the second and the third syllables,<sup>123</sup> what corresponds to the Spanish FI of the end of the utterance is between -15 and +15% (that is, not perceptible, the most marked movement being the fall from the second to the third syllable). And I consider a pattern an HP7 if it has a rise up to the penult (the starting point of the rise may vary, cf. 4.3.3) and then a fall from the penult to the ult.

The following table shows the proportion of possible Hungarian patterns found in Corpus 3.

Table 8.5: The presence of Hungarian intonational patterns in ordinary yes-no questions (Corpus 3)<sup>124</sup>

Occurrences of patterns		Corpus 3
HP1 (out of 115 questions)		4 (3 %)
HP7	rise-fall HP7 on at least trisyllabic Syntagmatic Accents (out of 109 questions)	15 (15%)
	rising HP7 on mono- and disyllabic Syntagmatic Accents (out of 6 questions)	5 (83%)
HP8	(out of 115 questions)	1 (1%)

We can note that the presence of Hungarian patterns is not strong in Corpus 3. HP7 does appear, but is not as frequent as it might have been expected. Its proportion is higher in mono- and disyllabic FIs, which can be viewed as positive transfer because of its rising nature. As for the frequency of HP7 subtypes, Hungarian students used HP7b in the 87%, and HP7a in the 13% of the HP7 patterns longer than three syllables.<sup>125</sup>

As a summary of the intonational patterns found in ordinary Spanish yes-no questions produced by Hungarian learners of Spanish, we can make the following conclusions:

<sup>123</sup> This latter case is less typical in Hungarian though existent, cf. Appendix 1., Hr30 or Hr34.

<sup>124</sup> When examining the presence of HP7, a pattern which needs at least 3 syllables to get fully realized (cf. 6.3), in Corpus 3 utterances with only trisyllabic and longer FIs were scanned, thus only 111 instead of 115 sentences were taken into consideration. Interrogatives with mono- and disyllabic FIs were analysed separately.

<sup>125</sup> Note that we need at least four syllables to decide which HP7 subpattern is used, cf. 4.3.3.

- though in Spanish the most typical intonational patterns accompanying ordinary yes-no questions are SP2 and SP3, the presence of these is scarce in Corpus 3. When Hungarian speakers use an SP2, it is never realized with a “normative” First Peak as high as the endpoint of the final rise, but much lower. The predominant pattern used is SP1, which is almost non-existent in ordinary Spanish yes-no interrogatives; it is followed in frequency by SP6, a possible but less common ordinary yes-no interrogative pattern in Spanish.
- the majority of Spanish yes-no interrogatives are characterized by a final rise; this is, somewhat surprisingly, also true for Corpus 3, though the value of the final rise in Spanish is higher (in Spanish, there is a final rise over 15% in more than 70% of the cases, but in Hungarian, in less than a half of the cases only).
- Hungarian students tend to apply the predicted ordinary Hungarian yes-no question pattern to their Spanish sentences relatively rarely; HP7, especially HP7b appeared in less than the 20% of Corpus 3. This may well reflect the Spanish proportion of patterns with similar melodic characteristics (SP4 and SP7). The transfer of HP7 to maximally disyllabic chunks can be seen as positive transfer, as its rising FI coincides with the typical rising FI of ordinary Spanish yes-no questions. In read sentences, though minimally, Hungarian HP1 was also present.

### 8.5.2 Intonational patterns used in echo yes-no questions in Corpus 3

Echo yes-no questions present a characteristic intonational pattern in Hungarian: if there are more than one accentable syllables in the sentence, each one of them will initiate an HP7 FI. This solution would be absolutely anomalous if transferred to Spanish yes-no questions, as in Spanish there is only one FI in these cases, with one of the characteristic Spanish intonational patterns used for yes-no questions, cf. 5.4.1. According to my hypothesis, Hungarian learners of Spanish will be influenced by their native Hungarian habit of repeating HP7 patterns in echo yes-no questions in Spanish.

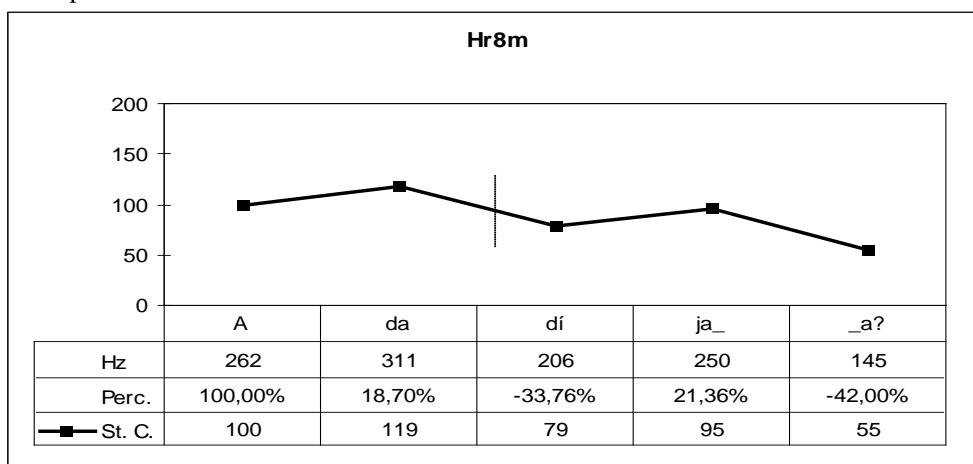
It is Corpus 3A, i.e. read Spanish yes-no interrogatives, which contains a number of echo yes-no questions. We have 29 utterances of *¿Cada día?*, used as an echo yes-no question. If our hypothesis is verified, it will be realized the same way as the Hungarian echo interrogative, *Ada díja?*, ‘Ada’s prize?’. (The sound sequences of the two utterances roughly coincide: the first voiceless consonant [k] in Spanish has no intonational role, cf. Figure 2.1).

In (15), we can see that the Hungarian echo yes-no question *Ada díja?* is realized with two subsequent HP7 patterns, the first starting from the accented syllable *A*, and the second, from

the accented syllable *dí*-. Since the first HP7 pattern is extended over a disyllabic word, its phonetic realization is characteristically a rise only, but in echo yes-no questions it can be fully realized as a rise-fall, cf. 4.3.3, 6.3, 6.4.1. In (16), we have a typical rendering of a Spanish echo yes-no question by Hungarian learners: we can see that the intonation, as we have predicted, is identical to the native Hungarian one.<sup>126</sup>

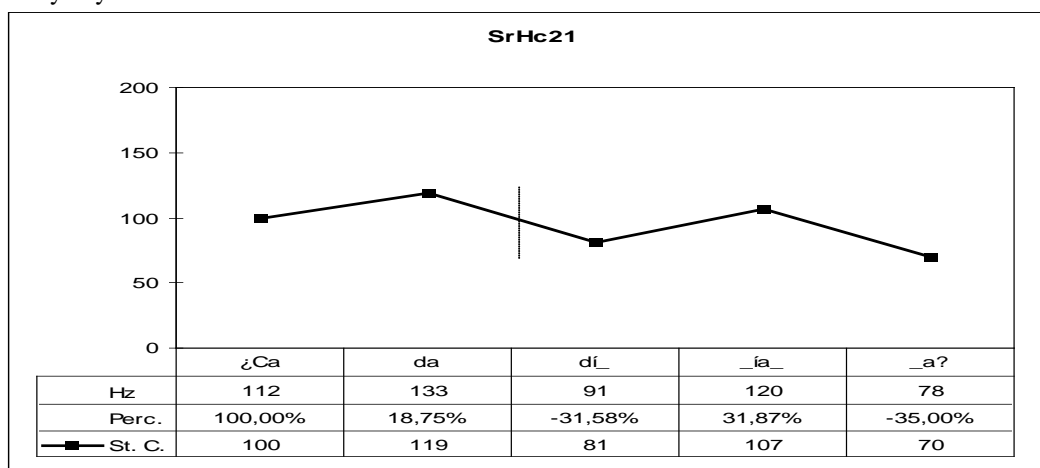
(15)

| 'Ada | 'díja?? |  
 Ada (fem. name) prize-his/her  
 'Ada's prize??'



(16)

| ' Cada | 'día?? |  
 every day  
 'Every day??'



<sup>126</sup> In Hungarian, if more disyllabic words are in a yes-no question, the last one is given a fuller rise-fall movement, the preceding ones tend to realize only the rise.

In Corpus 3A, the great majority of the utterances is realized like (16). In Corpus 3B, there are only two echo yes-no questions (one with an SP1 and another with an SP2), thus, I have simply added to the ones in Corpus 3A and given them no separate representation. Table 8.4 shows two things: the occurrences of Spanish patterns in echo yes-no questions in Corpus 3 and the number of times the students transferred their native repeated HP7 to the Spanish sentences.

Table 8.6: The distribution of intonational patterns and the transfer of Hungarian patterns in echo yes-no questions (Corpus 3A)

SP1	SP2	SP4 (=HP7)	SP6	SP10b
2 (6%)	2 (6%)	25 (81%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

We can see that in the case of echo yes-no questions, Hungarian students use their native repeated HP7 pattern overwhelmingly. It is interesting to note that even speakers who realize SP2 or SP3 in their ordinary yes-no questions, use repeated HP7 when producing emphatic sentences. This suggests that when there is a stronger emotion or emphasis on the part of the speaker, it is more likely that (s)he will transfer his/her own native intonational traits to the target language product. Therefore, language teachers should make a strong effort to reduce the effect of this negative transfer.

### 8.5.3 Intonational patterns used in yes-no question + vocative sequences

#### in Corpus 3

As we have seen, the two languages apply radically different patterns for yes-no question + vocative sequences. As a simplified generalization, we could say that whereas in Spanish the pattern accompanying the interrogative and the one spreading over the vocative both tend to be rising (especially the second one), in Hungarian the first pattern is rising-falling (thus, ultimately falling) and the one with the vocative is falling, too (cf. 7.2.3).

As we have 28 yes-no question + vocative sequences in Corpus 3A but none in Corpus 3B, we examine the data in Corpus 3A. Table 8.7 gives the proportion of each of the following five combinations: Fall + Fall, Rise + Rise, Rise + Fall, Fall + Rise, Level + Rise. As for the transfer of a typical Hungarian combination (HP7 + HP1), there was not any occurrence.

The table also shows how many utterances reflect the peculiar Spanish structure (two rising FIs, the second one being bigger).

Table 8.7: The characteristics of patterns used in yes-no question + vocative sequences (Corpus 3A)

Fall + fall	Rise + rise	Rise + fall	Fall + rise	Level + rise
2 (7%)	16 (57%)	2 (7%)	7 (25%)	1 (4%)

Within the Rise + Rise sequence (percentages are calculated from the total number (28) of utterances):

First rise bigger	Second rise bigger
3 (14%)	13 (36%)

We can see that, contrary to our predictions, negative transfer does not play an important role in the realization of Spanish yes-no question + vocative sequences by Hungarian learners.

## 8.6 Summary and pedagogical implications

In this chapter we have checked the validity of the hypotheses set up in Chapter 7 about the ways Hungarian students realize the intonation and accentuation of Spanish yes-no interrogatives.

Among the **prelinguistic** aspects, we have found that, since Hungarian word-final syllables in plurisyllabic words cannot be accented, Hungarian students do not give more than one mora to accented word-final syllables in Spanish, whereas such syllables should be given more than one mora to accommodate the FI. This difference yielded negative transfer in 45% of the cases, which is a considerable percentage, and obviously needs special attention in language teaching.

As for **the linguistic aspects of intonation**, we have found the following:

First, the predicted transfer of low pitch range in both the whole utterance and at the Final Inflection turned out to be valid: Hungarian students realized a pitch range which was always approximately half of the expected Spanish value. This area of pronunciation should also be given more emphasis in language classrooms.

Second, I have also investigated the transfer of Hungarian patterns in three yes-no question types: ordinary yes-no questions, echo yes-no questions, and yes-no question + vocative sequences.

In ordinary yes-no questions it was expected that Hungarian students would transfer their normative yes-no question pattern, HP7, to Spanish interrogatives as well. The presence of HP7 in Corpus 3 was not very high, 14%. This pattern is similar to SP4 or SP7, both possible patterns in Spanish ordinary yes-no questions, but their presence in Spanish is not high either (17%, roughly the same proportion as shown in Corpus 3). This means that the interference of

HP7 is not a problem that seriously threatens communication and does not have to be specially and urgently dealt with by the language teaching profession. Moreover, when HP7 is transferred to maximally disyllabic FIs in yes-no questions, its realization phonetically coincides with the most typical rising Spanish yes-no question intonational patterns. There was another Hungarian pattern, HP1, transferred to Corpus 3, and its presence is totally anomalous among Spanish yes-no interrogatives. Still, it figured in Corpus 3 in only a very low proportion. As for the use of genuine Spanish interrogative patterns, Hungarian students used less rising patterns than Spanish speakers do.

In echo yes-no questions, Hungarian students transferred their native “repeated HP7 sequences” to their Spanish utterances in a very high proportion. Since in Spanish there are no multiple FIs in echo yes-no interrogatives, this constitutes a common Hungarian mistake, and needs special pedagogical attention.

In yes-no question + vocative sequences, Hungarians use a rise-fall (HP7) for the interrogative and a fall (HP1) for the vocative, while in Spanish both patterns tend to rise, the second one more remarkably. Thus, negative transfer can be predicted in these sequences, resulting in anomalous intonational solutions. However, Hungarian students did not realize the sequence with their native intonation, but rather in the Spanish way. This means that this area needs no special attention on the part of a language teacher.

The areas which need more practice are:

- avoidance of mora-reduction in word-final accents;
- widening the pitch range in the utterance and in the FI itself;
- the use of typical Spanish yes-no question intonational patterns such as SP2 or SP3, for instance, instead of SP1;
- avoidance of multiple HP7 patterns in echo yes-no questions.

There are various issues that could not be handled in this work because of space limitations. They include the following two questions:

- Do Hungarians transfer their low register to their Spanish sentences?
- Do Hungarians transfer any of their Hungarian patterns into Spanish yes-no questions with grammatical markers?

In my view, these suggested questions could constitute research topics for the future. Concerning the results of the thesis, larger semi-spontaneous or spontaneous Spanish corpora by Hungarian learners of Spanish would cast light on even more interesting phenomena, but even the data in Corpus 3 will provide me several investigation topics in the future.

## APPENDIX 1

### Corpus 1: the Spanish Corpus

This corpus consists of 76 Spanish sentences, all representing the Standard Castilian dialect. The number of informants is 20 (9 male and 11 female), and the corpus can be divided into two parts: a read and a spontaneous one. The **read sentences** are taken from Spanish coursebooks (thus, supposedly represent “normative” intonation) or from tv sketches that are not read but certainly rehearsed and learnt, so cannot be called spontaneous. The **spontaneous** part of the corpus is taken from tv programmes.

#### The read corpus comes from:

- the following textbooks (audio material):

Álvarez Martínez, M. Á. — Canales, A. B. — Torrens Álvarez, M. J. — Alarcón Pérez, C. (2005): *Vuela 1*, Universidad de Alcalá, Editorial Anaya.  
Baulenas, N. — Peris, M. (2004): *Gente 2*. Barcelona: Difusión.

- tv programmes:

“Escenas de matrimonio” from the programme “Noche de Fiesta”: (rehearsed sketches, thus, semi-spontaneous, but treated as read here, as they are not improvised). In the corpus these sources are referred to by capital letters.

- A: “Atracción fatal” ([http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FB-xXocK\\_wQ&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FB-xXocK_wQ&feature=related), 11 Aug 2010)  
B: “Cita a ciegas” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5OUNd941l-I&feature=related>, 11 Aug 2010)  
C: “Hablando se entiende la gente” ([http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_1TJ4nJatnY&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_1TJ4nJatnY&feature=related), 11 Aug 2010)  
D: “La tía Herminia” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=45XmhBvOCXI&feature=related>, 11 Aug 2010)  
E: “Rupert te necesito” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBJBQbIA0ak>, 11 Aug 2010)  
F: “Pepa y Avelino 28” ([http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTk8Z\\_OzbvM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTk8Z_OzbvM), 11 Aug 2010 )  
G: “Pepa y Avelino 6” ([http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oR1ZUavt\\_lw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oR1ZUavt_lw), 11 Aug 2010)  
H: “Pepa y Avelino: Pepa llega de las rebajas” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0OTng4B-Hh0&feature=related>, 11 Aug 2010)

**The spontaneous corpus comes from the following tv programmes (all these sources are referred to by capital letters):**

- I: Diario de Patricia: Parejita feliz, (Antena 3, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69z4ZlqnVag>, 11 Aug 2010)  
J: Diario de Patricia: Manoli no quiere novios (Antena 3, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1hXki06YGY>, 11 Aug 2010)  
K: “Gana Ahora” with Marisa Sandoval (La sexta, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eiNj5X\\_zthM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eiNj5X_zthM), 11 Aug 2010)

- L: Interview with Ana Belén, “Tal cual la contamos”, (Antena 3, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pia8laFgUdc>, 11 Aug 2010)
- M: Interview with Laura Sánchez in “Tal Cual”, (Antena 3)
- N: Interview with Rosario Mohedano in “Tal Cual”, (Antena 3, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Vw8A8sVdiU>, 11 Aug 2010)
- O: Nuria Bermúdez interviewed by children, in “Tal Cual”, (Antena 3 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HNEr9tZWI40>, 11 Aug 2010)
- P: Sé lo que hicisteis, (La sexta, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YYT1TFLMZzQ>, 11 Aug 2010)
- Q: Sé lo que hicisteis, (La sexta, 30 July 2009)

The corpus will be divided into the following sentence-types:

1. Ordinary yes-no questions
2. Marked yes-no questions
  - a. Incredulous/repetitive echo yes-no questions
  - b. Clarifying/exclamative echo yes-no questions
  - c. Yes-no questions with a grammatical particle or special grammatical structure
3. Yes-no question + vocative sequences

This classification is necessary for the intonational comparison because these categories of sentences are accompanied by special intonational patterns either in Spanish or in Hungarian.

#### List of symbols and abbreviations

' x:	accent on the syllable which the sign precedes
* (before example):	ungrammatical
:	boundary between two adjacent Phonic Groups in the diagram
_:	(between tautosyllabic vowel letters): segment represented in two moras
:	Phonic Group boundary in the text
<b>acc.:</b>	accusative
<b>compl.:</b>	complementizer
<b>COND:</b>	conditional
<b>dat.:</b>	dative
<b>fem:</b>	feminine
<b>fut:</b>	future tense
<b>Hz:</b>	absolute pitch values obtained in Hertz
<b>Perc.:</b>	Percentages of rise / fall
<b>pl.:</b>	plural
<b>refl.:</b>	reflexive pronoun
<b>sg.:</b>	singular
<b>Sr:</b>	Spanish sentence read aloud
<b>Ss:</b>	spontaneous Spanish sentence
<b>St. C.:</b>	Pitch values of the Standardized Curve
<b>subj:</b>	subjunctive

Notes in connection with the diagrams:

- a) The curves represent the Standardized Curves (St. C.).
- b) The Pattern represent the intonational pattern.
- c) The Pitch range of the utterance is relative, based on the St. C. (rounded value).
- d) the Average pitch (Hz) is an absolute height in Hz (rounded value).

Note on Spanish orthography:



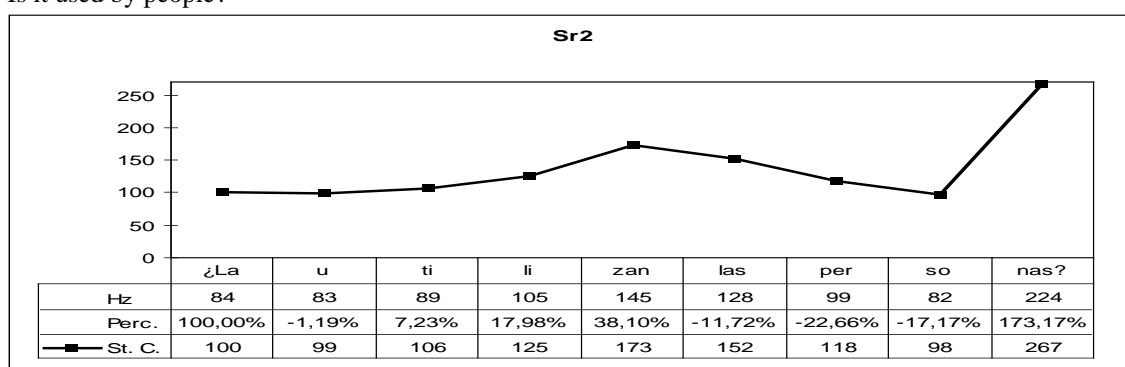
Acute accents on certain vowel letters usually indicate word-stress, but in a few cases they serve to distinguish monosyllabic homophones (*sí* ~ *si*) or question words from homophonous relative pronouns (*dónde* ~ *donde* 'where').

Note on the assignment of pattern types:

Monosyllables were represented with three values, but if the inflection was unidirectional, the difference between the first and the last values was measured to calculate the percentage of the FI (which in most cases is enough to decide the pattern type). In cases where this number alone, or where the lack of First Peak would yield two solutions (for example SP3 and SP6, or SP2 and SP13, or SP4 and SP9), it was always the pattern with smaller number I have chosen.

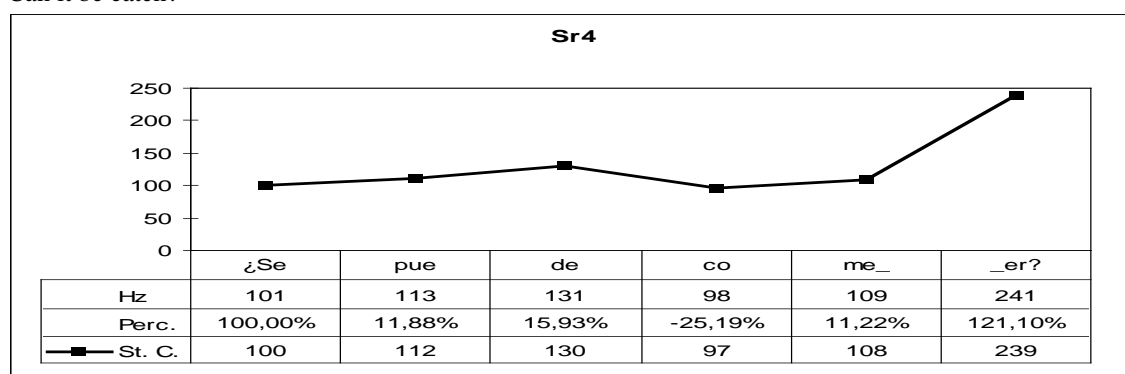
## 1. Ordinary yes-no questions

| ¿La uti'lizan las per'sonas?|  
 that-fem-acc. use-3pl the persons  
 'Is it used by people?'



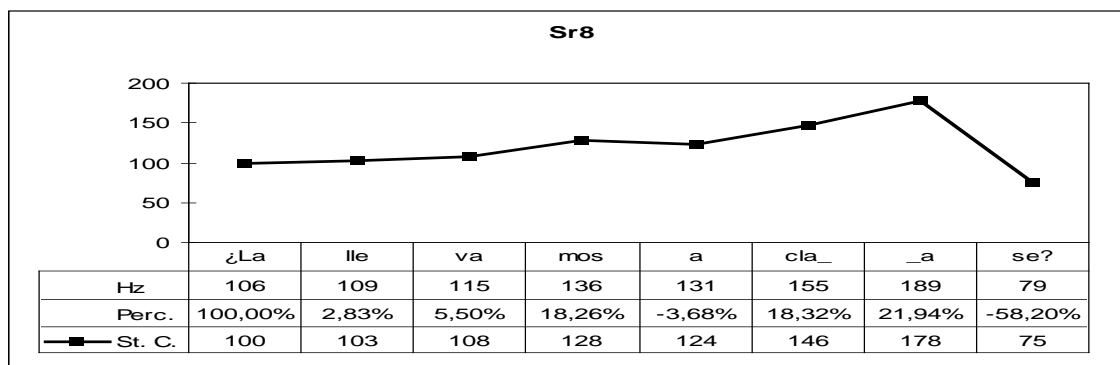
Code, gender, source	Sr2, male, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to right
Pitch range	172
Average pitch (Hz)	115

| ¿Se 'puede co'mer?|  
 refl.-3sg can-3sg eat  
 'Can it be eaten?'



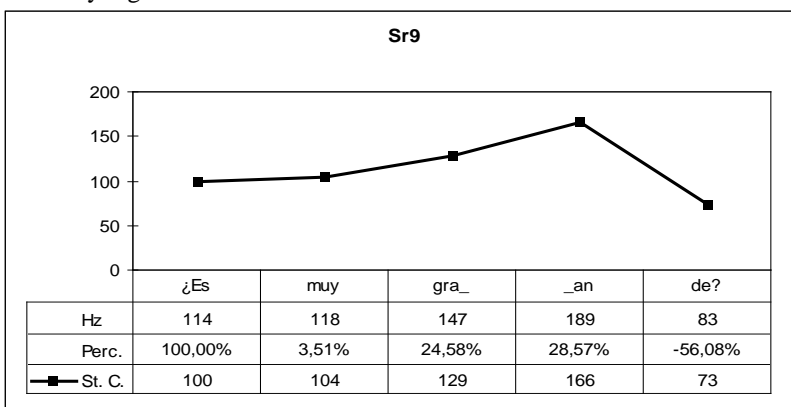
Code, gender, source	Sr4, male, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	146
Average pitch (Hz)	132

| ¿La lle'vamos a 'clase?|  
 that-fem-acc. take-1pl to class  
 'Do we take it to the lesson?'



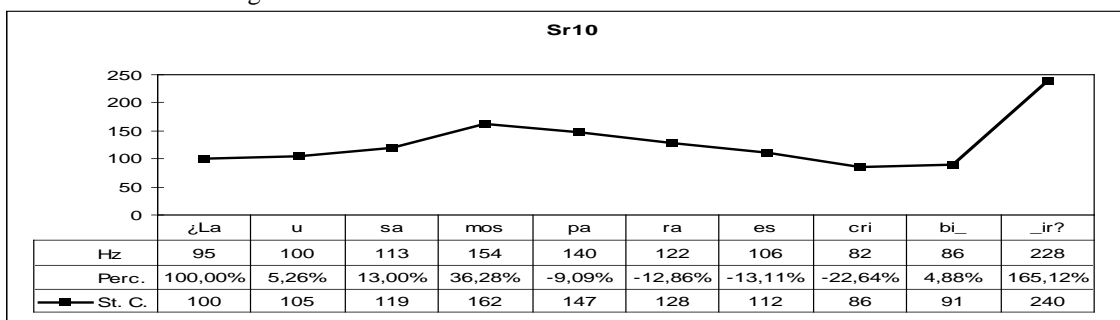
Code, gender, source	Sr8, male, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP4a (with Rising Body)
Pitch range	137
Average pitch (Hz)	128

| ¿Es muy 'grande?|  
 is very big  
 'Is it very big?'



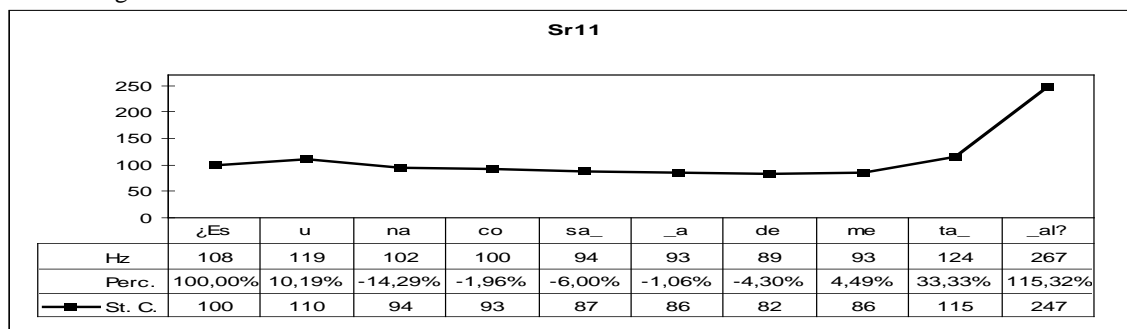
Code, gender, source	Ss29, male, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP4a (with rising Body)
Pitch range	127
Average pitch (Hz)	130

| ¿La u'samos para escri'bir?|  
 that-fem-acc. use-1pl for write  
 'Do we use it for writing?'



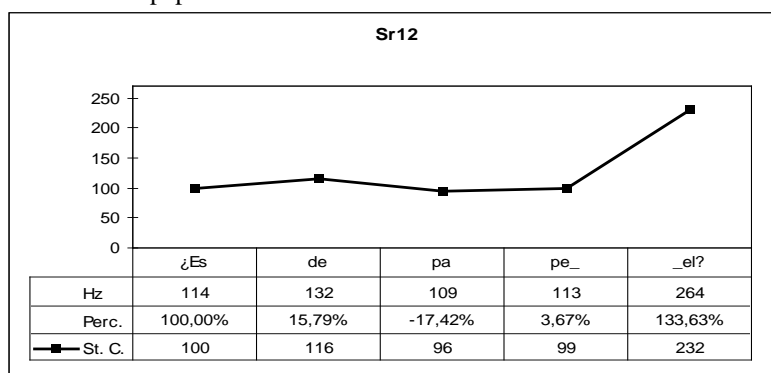
Code, gender, source	Sr10, male,, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	179
Average pitch (Hz)	123

| ¿Es 'una cosa de me'tal?|  
 is a thing of metal  
 'Is it a thing made of metal?'



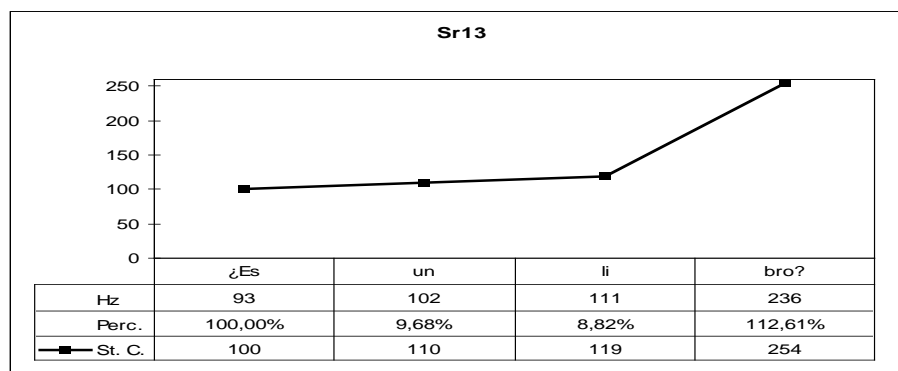
Code, gender, source	Sr11, male, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	201
Average pitch (Hz)	119

| ¿Es de pa'pel?|  
 is of paper  
 'Is it made of paper?'



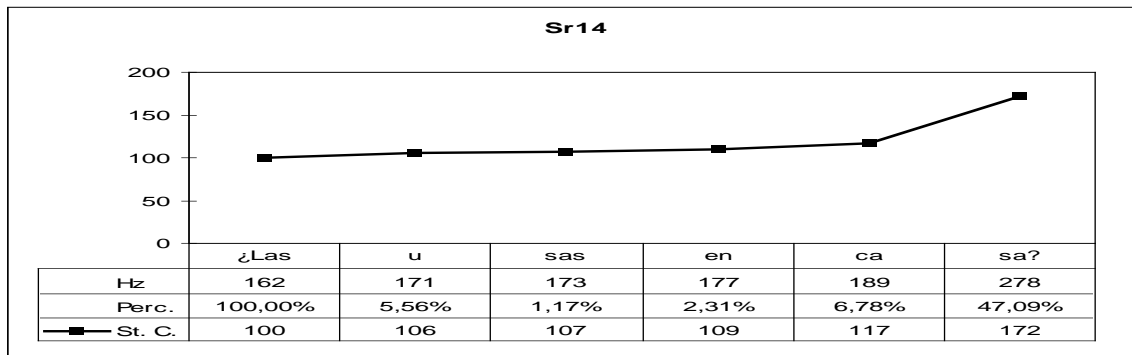
Code, gender, source	Sr12, male, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the left
Pitch range	142
Average pitch (Hz)	146

| ¿Es un 'libro?|  
 is a book  
 'Is it a book?'



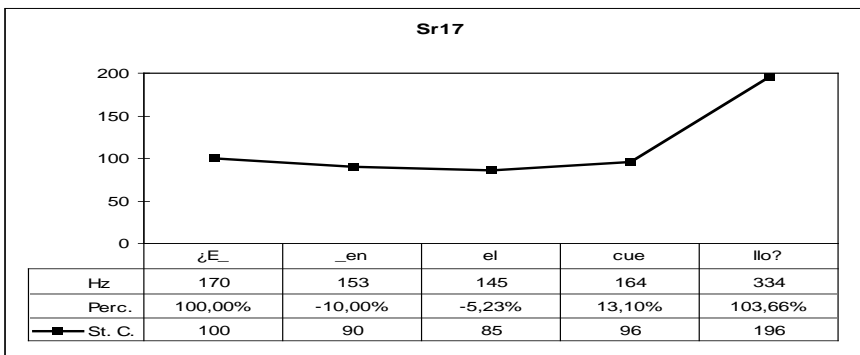
Code, gender, source	Sr13, male, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	154
Average pitch (Hz)	136

| ¿Las 'usas en 'casa?|  
 them use-2sg at home  
 'Do you use them at home?'



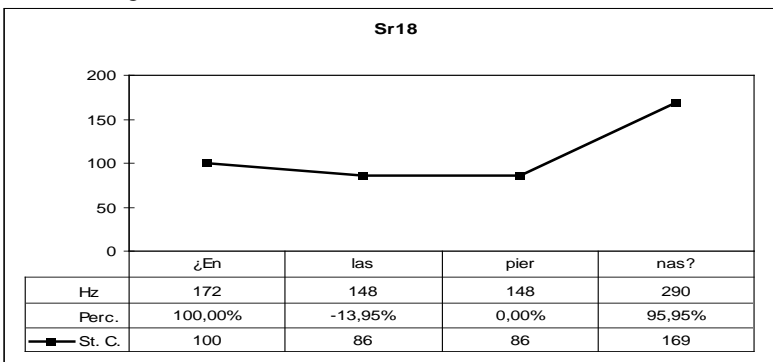
Code, gender, source	Sr14, female, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP13
Pitch range	72
Average pitch (Hz)	192

| ¿En el cue'llo?|  
 on the neck  
 'Around one's neck?'



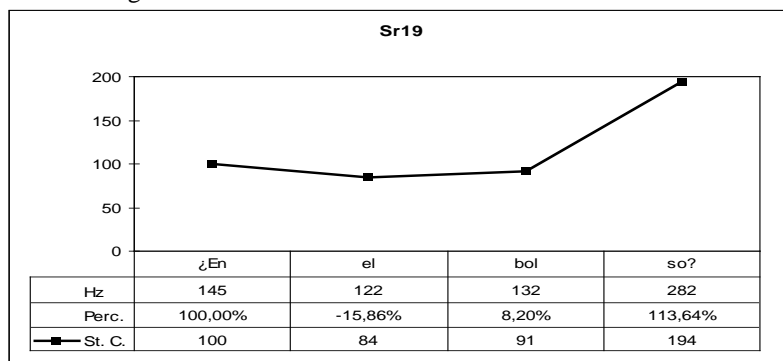
Code, gender, source	Sr17, female, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	131
Average pitch (Hz)	193

| ¿En las 'piernas?|  
 on the legs  
 'On one's legs?'



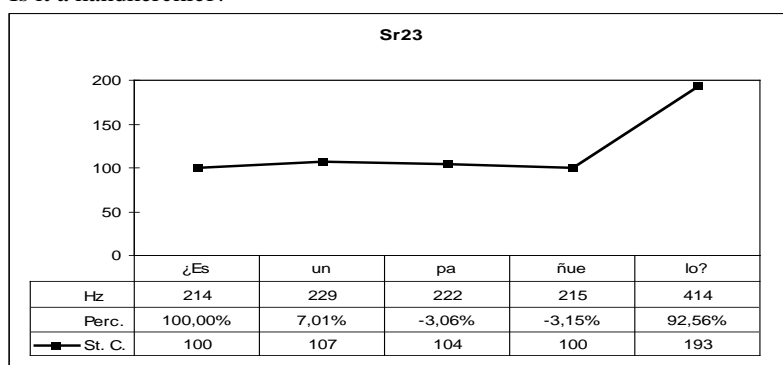
Code, gender, source	Sr18, female, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	97
Average pitch (Hz)	190

| ¿En el 'bolso?|  
 in the bag  
 'In one's bag?'



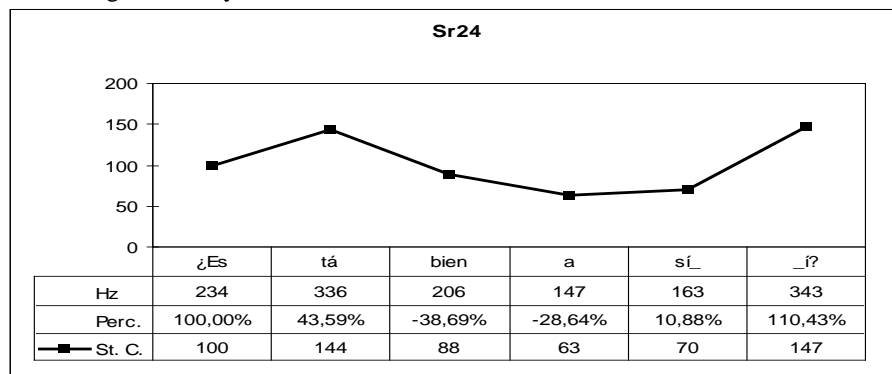
Code, gender, source	Sr19, female, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	131
Average pitch (Hz)	170

| ¿Es un pa'ñuelo?|  
 is a handkerchief  
 'Is it a handkerchief?'



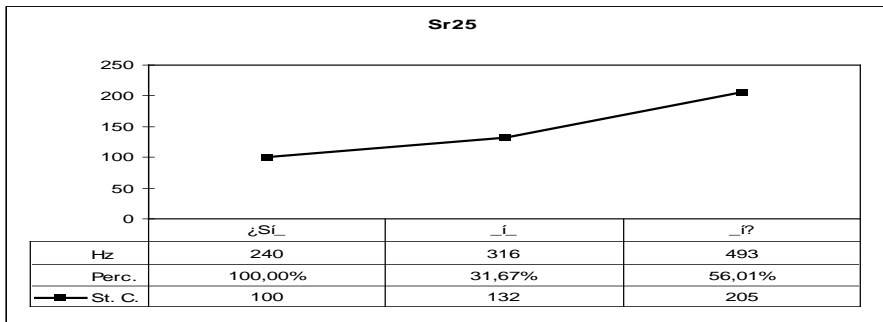
Code, gender, source	Sr23, female, Gente 2, Unit 5 / 7.
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	93
Average pitch (Hz)	219

| ¿Está bien a'sí?|  
 is well so  
 'Is it all right this way?'



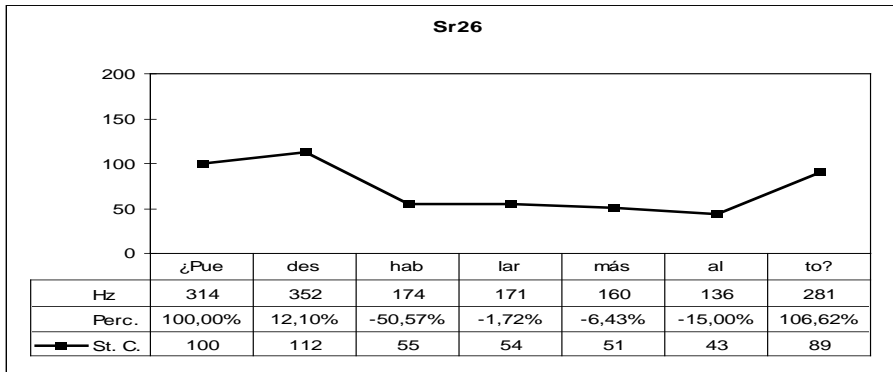
Code, gender, source	Sr24, female, Vuela 1, Unit 2, exercise 12
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	110
Average pitch (Hz)	238

| ¿'Sí?|  
 'Yes?'



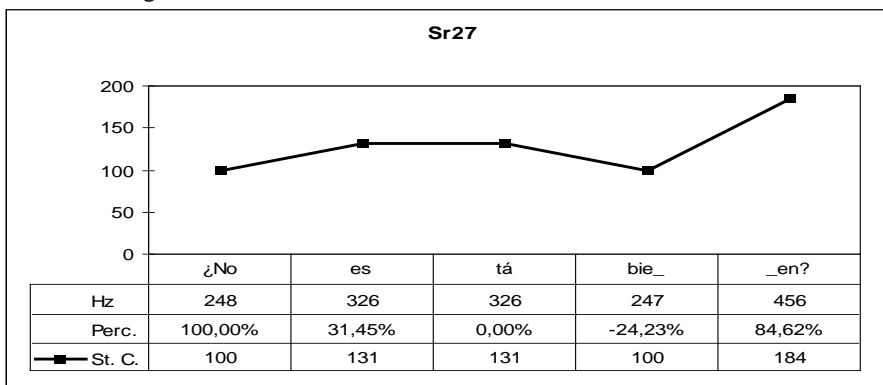
Code, gender, source	Sr25, female, Vuela 1, Unit 2, exercise 12
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	105
Average pitch (Hz)	350

| ¿'Puedes hablar más 'alto?|  
 can-2sg speak more loud  
 'Can you speak louder?'



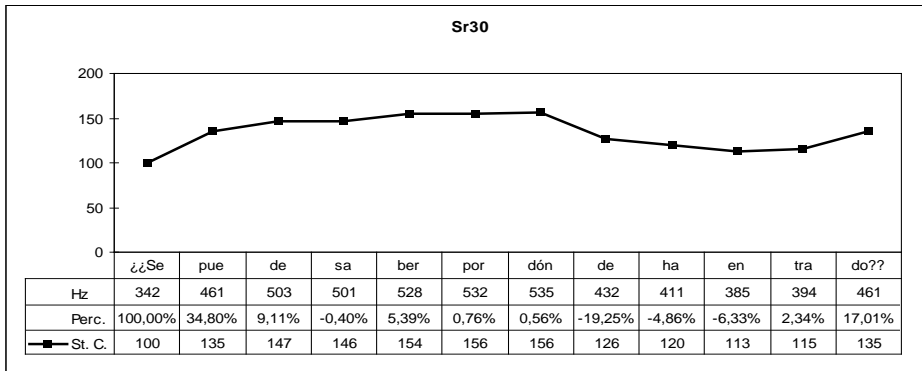
Code, gender, source	Sr26, female, Unit 2, exercise 12
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	161
Average pitch (Hz)	227

| ¿No está 'bien?|  
 not is well  
 'Is it not all right?'



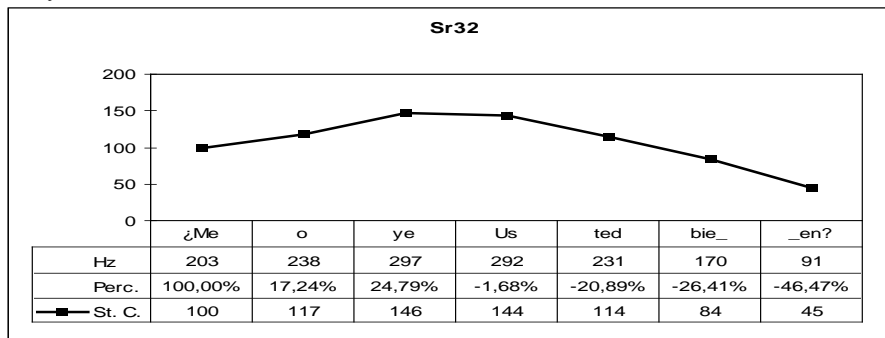
Code, gender, source	Sr27, female, Vuela 1, Unit 2, exercise 12
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	84
Average pitch (Hz)	320

| ¿¿Se 'puede saber por dónde ha en'trado??|  
 refl.-3sg can-3sg know across where have-3sg entered  
 'Can you tell me where you have entered?'



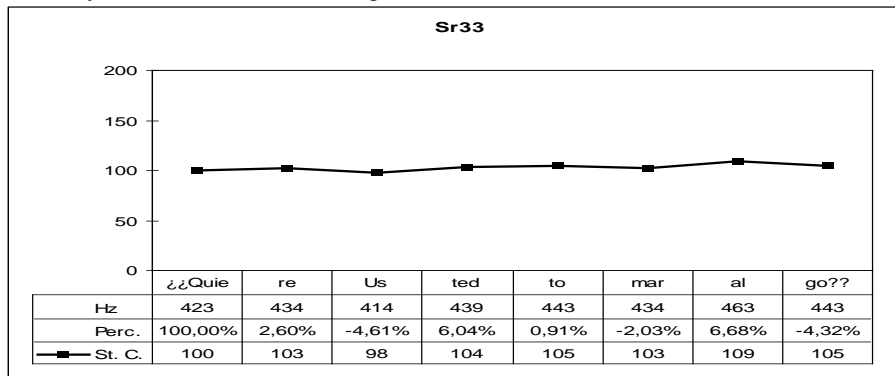
Code, gender, source	Sr30, female, C
Pattern	SP6b
Pitch range	56
Average pitch (Hz)	457

| ¿Me 'oye Usted 'bien?|  
 me-acc hear-3sg you-formal-sg well  
 'Do you hear me well?'



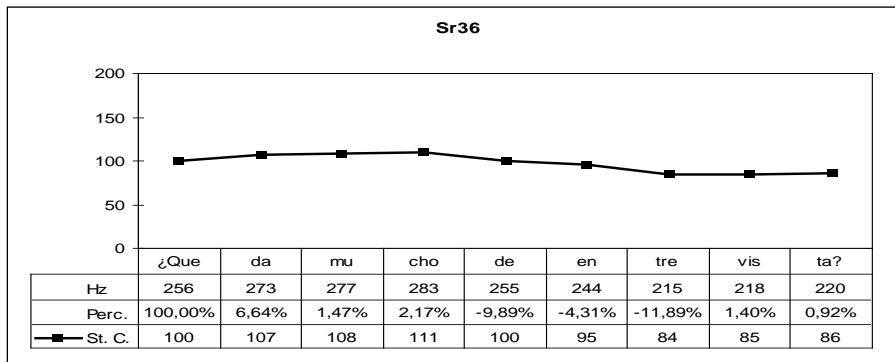
Code, gender, source	Sr32, male, C
Pattern	SP9, First peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	224
Average pitch (Hz)	217

| ¿'Quiere Usted tomar 'algo?|  
 want-3sg you-formal-sg take something  
 'Would you like to drink something?'



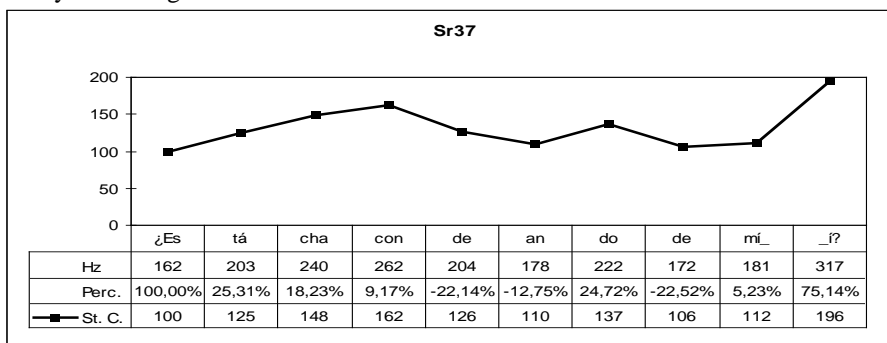
Code, gender, source	Sr33, female, C
Pattern	SP1
Pitch range	7
Average pitch (Hz)	436

| ¿'Queda mucho de entre'vista?|  
 remain-3sg a lot from interview  
 'Will the interview go on for long?'



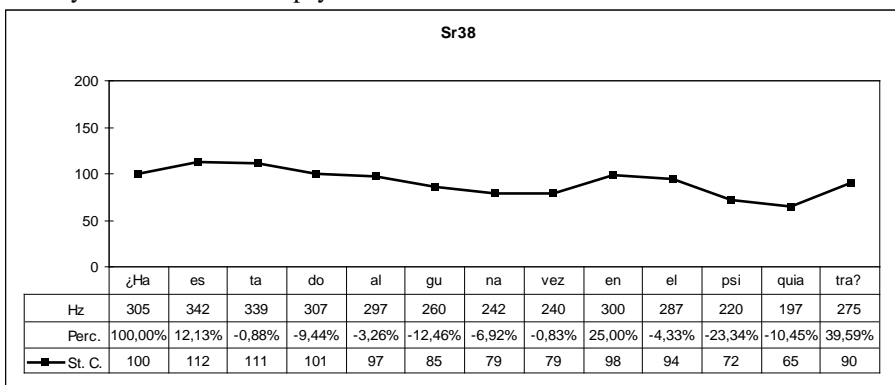
Code, gender, source	Sr36, male, C
Pattern	SP1, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	32
Average pitch (Hz)	249

| \*¿Está chacondeando de mí?| correctly: cachondeando  
 is making fun of me  
 'Are you making fun of me?'



Code, gender, source	Sr37, male, C
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	96
Average pitch (Hz)	214

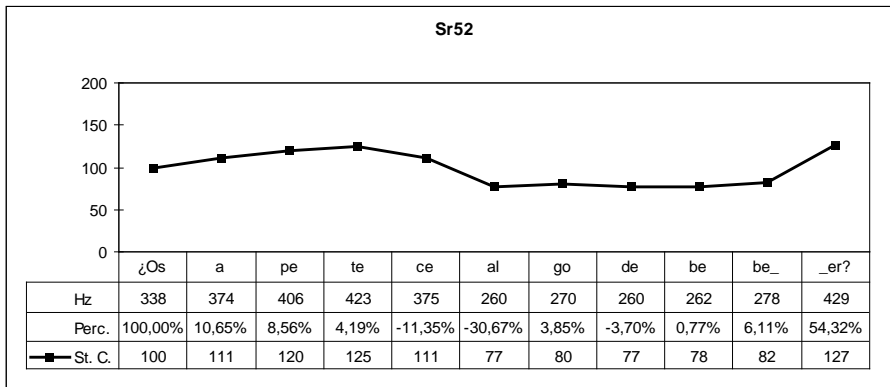
| ¿Ha es'tado alguna vez en el psi'quiatra?|  
 have-2sg been some time in the psychiatrist  
 'Have you ever been to the psychiatrist?'



Code, gender, source	Sr38, female, C
Pattern	SP6b, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	56
Average pitch (Hz)	262

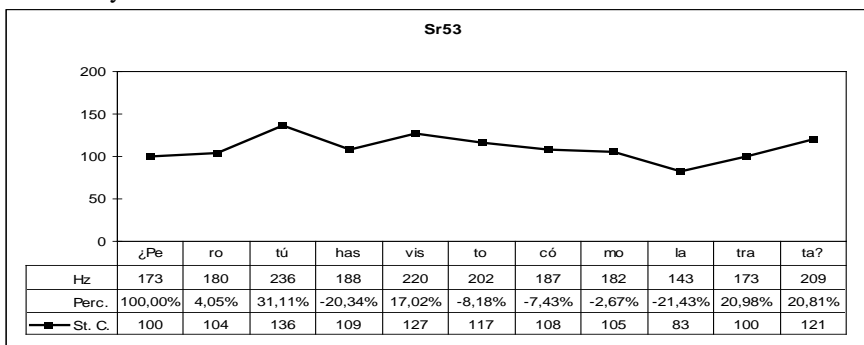


| ¿Os ape'tece algo de be'ber?  
 you-pl-dat feel like-3sg something of drink  
 'Would you like to drink something?'



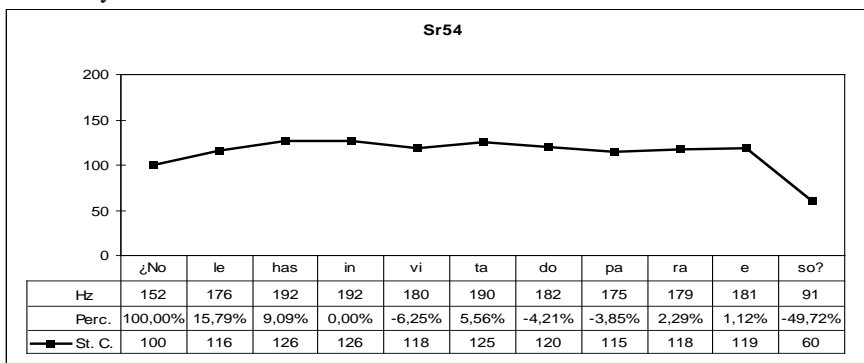
Code, gender, source	Sr52, female, E
Pattern	SP3
Pitch range	65
Average pitch (Hz)	286

| ¿Pero tú has visto cómo la 'trata?  
 but you-sg have-2sg seen how her-acc treats  
 'But have you seen how he treats her?'



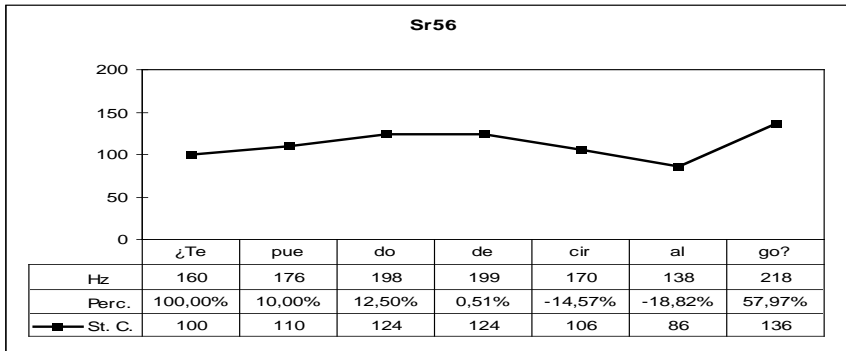
Code, gender, source	Sr53, male speaker from "Noche de fiesta" sketch, E
Pattern	SP6a
Pitch range	64
Average pitch (Hz)	190

| ¿No le has invi'tado para 'eso?  
 not him have-2sg invited for that  
 'Haven't you invited him for that?'



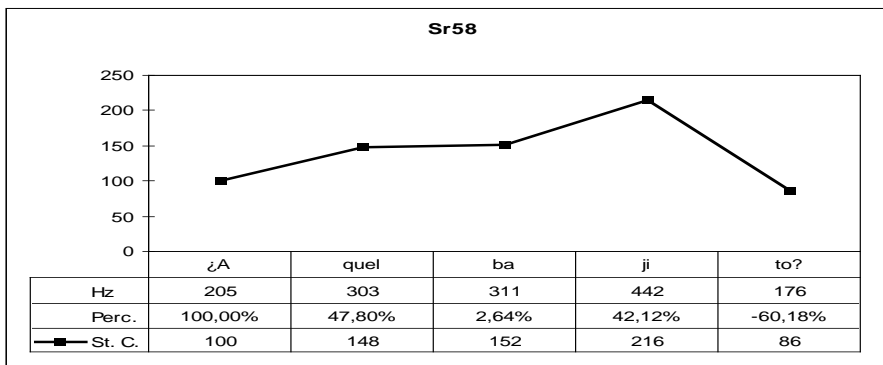
Code, gender, source	Sr54, male, E
Pattern	SP9
Pitch range	110
Average pitch (Hz)	172

| ¿Te 'puedo decir 'algo?|  
 you-sg.-dat can-1sg say something  
 'Can I tell you something?'



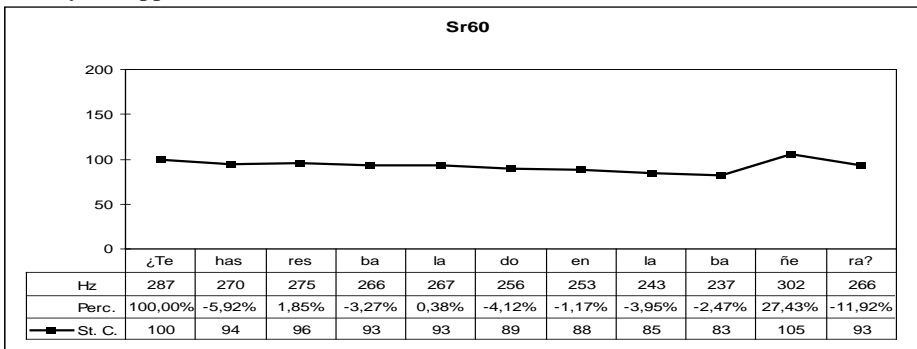
Code, gender, source	Sr56, male, E
Pattern	SP3
Pitch range	58
Average pitch (Hz)	180

| ¿A'quel ba'jito?|  
 that short-diminutive  
 'That short man?'



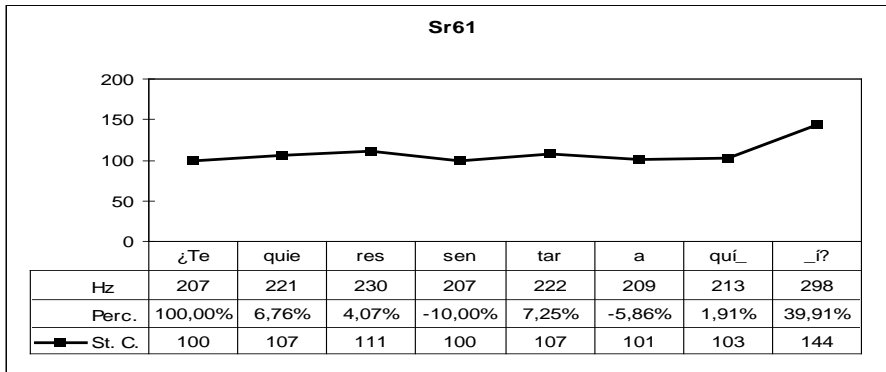
Code, gender, source	Sr58, female, H
Pattern	SP7
Pitch range	151
Average pitch (Hz)	287

| ¿Te has resbalado en la ba'ñera?|  
 you-refl.-2sg have-2sg slipped in the bath  
 'Have you slipped in the bath?'



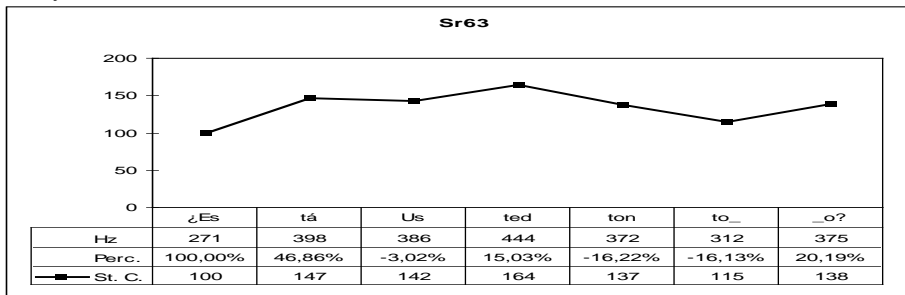
Code, gender, source	Sr60, female, H
Pattern	SP7 (First Peak shifted to left)
Pitch range	27
Average pitch (Hz)	266

| ¿Te 'quieres sentar aquí?|  
 you-refl.-2sg like-2sg sit here  
 'Would you like to sit down here? (=Sit down here, please.)'



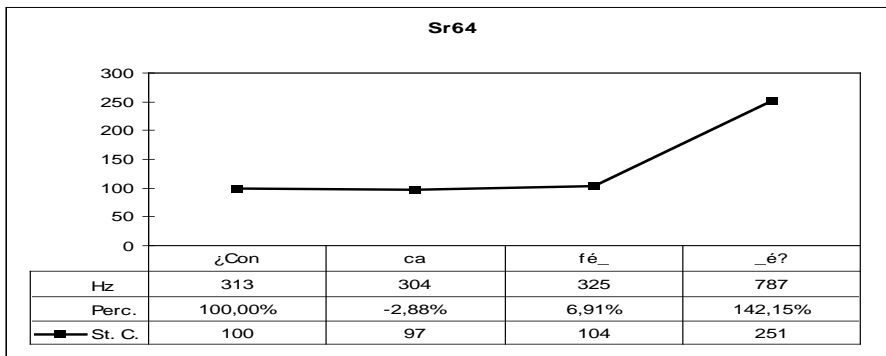
Code, gender, source	Sr61, male, H
Pattern	SP3
Pitch range	44
Average pitch (Hz)	200

| ¿¿Está Usted 'tonto??|  
 is you-sg-formal silly  
 'Are you an idiot?'



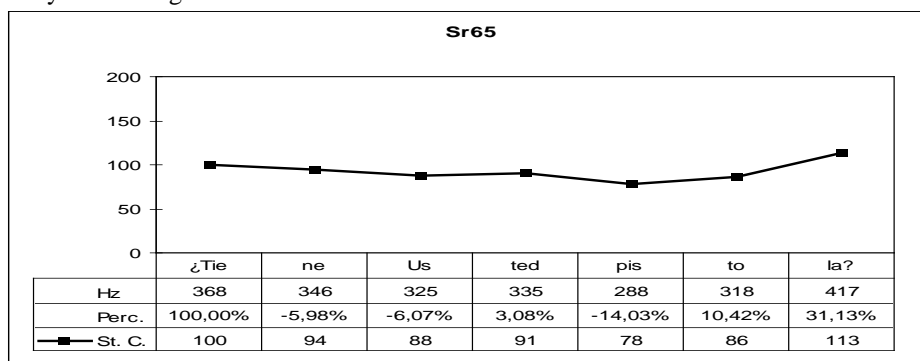
Code, gender, source	Sr63, female speaker from "Noche de fiesta" sketch, D
Pattern	SP10b (First Peak on the first stress, with atypical spreading of the FI on the unstressed post-tonic syllable and no re-setting)
Pitch range	64
Average pitch (Hz)	365

| ¿Con café?|  
 with coffee  
 'With coffee?'



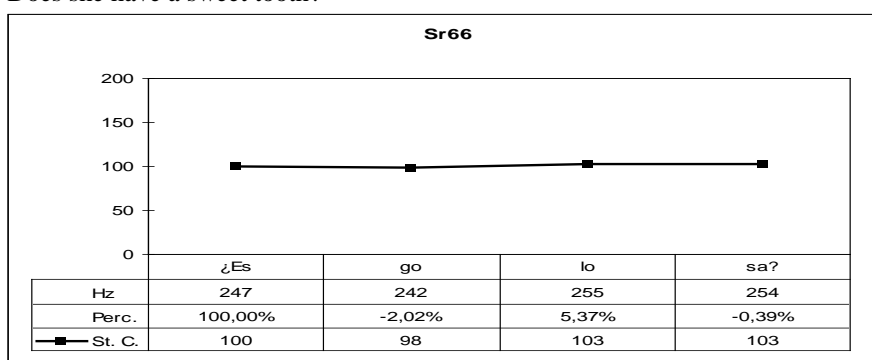
Code, gender, source	Sr64, female, D
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	159
Average pitch (Hz)	351

| ¿'Tiene Usted pis'tola?|  
 have-3sg you-sg-formal pistol  
 'Do you have a gun?'



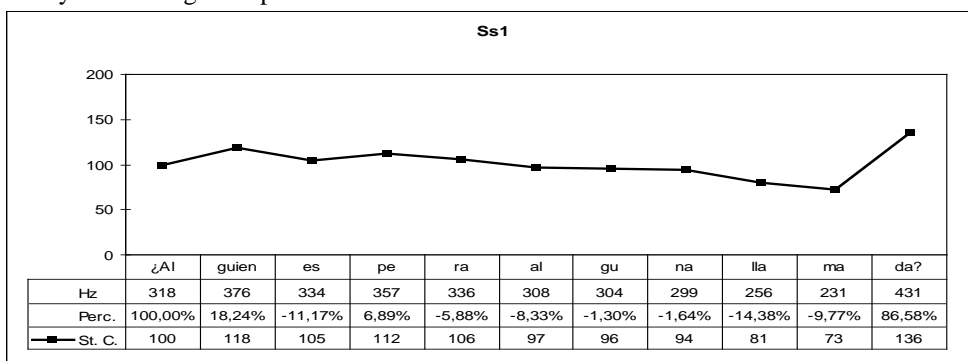
Code, gender, source	Sr65, female, D
Pattern	SP6a
Pitch range	41
Average pitch (Hz)	342

| ¿Es go'losa?|  
 is sweet-toothed-fem  
 'Does she have a sweet tooth?'



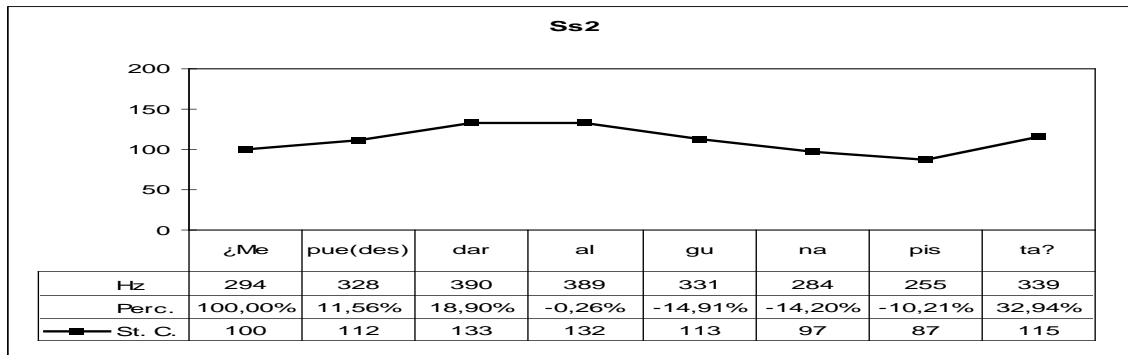
Code, gender, source	Sr66, male, D
Pattern	SP1
Pitch range	5
Average pitch (Hz)	250

| ¿'Alguien espera alguna lla'mada?|  
 someone wait-3sg some call  
 'Is anyone waiting for a phone call?'



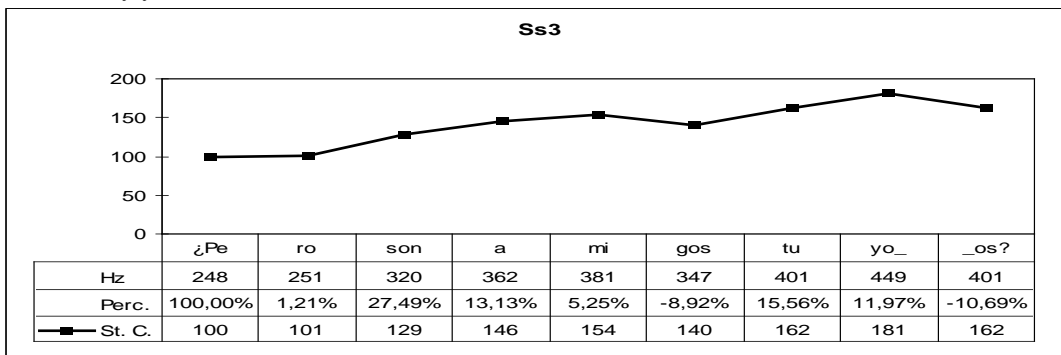
Code, gender, source	Ss1, female, J
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	86
Average pitch (Hz)	323

| ¿Me 'puedes dar alguna 'pista?|  
 me can-2sg give some hint  
 'Could you give me any hint?'



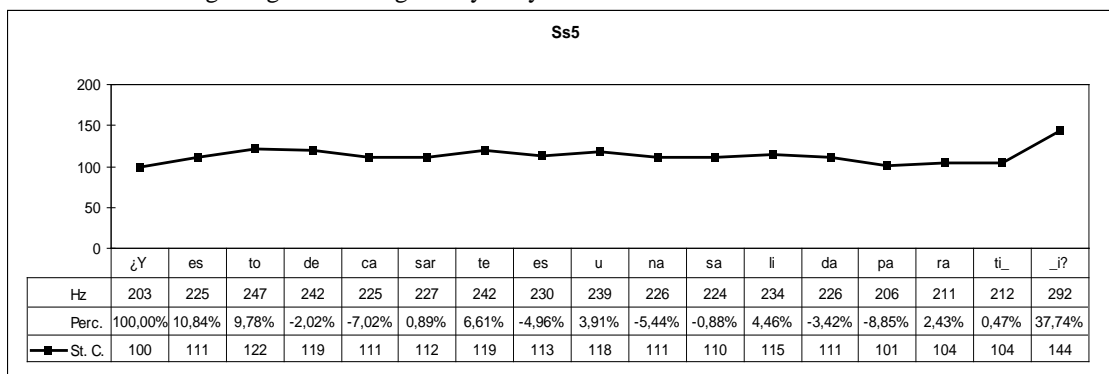
Code, gender, source	Ss2, female, J
Pattern	SP6b, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	53
Average pitch (Hz)	326

| ¿Pero son a'migos 'tuyos?|  
 but be-3pl friends yours  
 'But are they your friends?'



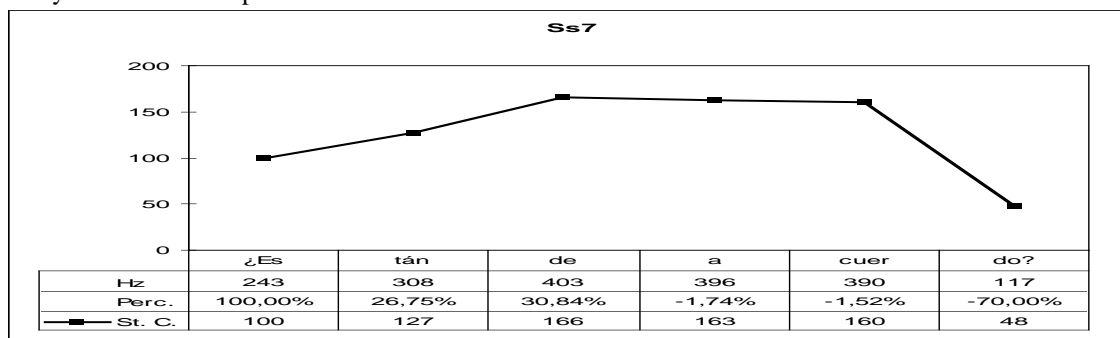
Code, gender, source	Ss3, female, I
Pattern	SP4a
Pitch range	81
Average pitch (Hz)	351

| ¿Y esto de ca'sarte es una salida para 'ti?|  
 and this of getting-married-2sg is a way-out for you  
 'And is the idea of getting married a getaway for you?'



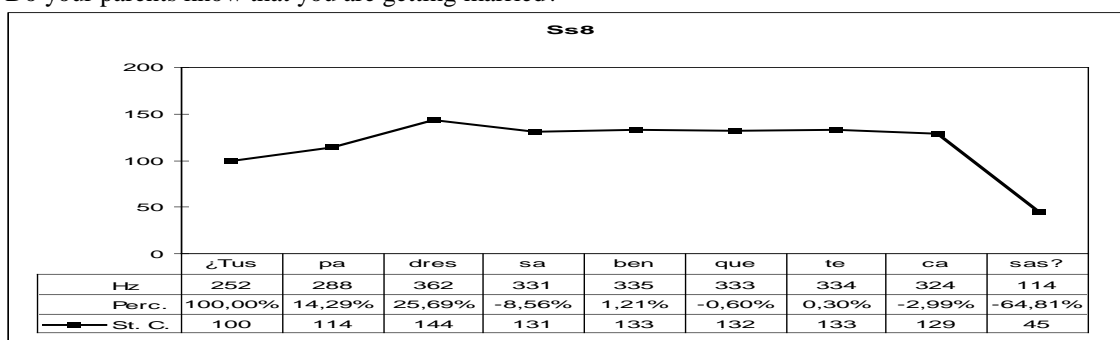
Code, gender, source	Ss5, female, I
Pattern	SP6b
Pitch range	44
Average pitch (Hz)	230

| ¿Están de a'uerdo?|  
 is of accord  
 'Are you of the same opinion?'



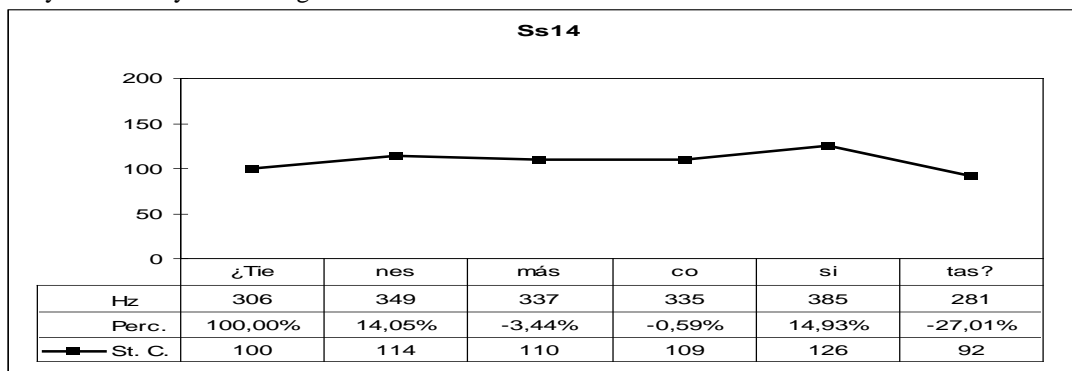
Code, gender, source	Ss7, female, I
Pattern	SP9, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	246
Average pitch (Hz)	310

| ¿Tus 'padres saben que te 'casas?|  
 your-pl parents know-3pl that get-married-2sg  
 'Do your parents know that you are getting married?'



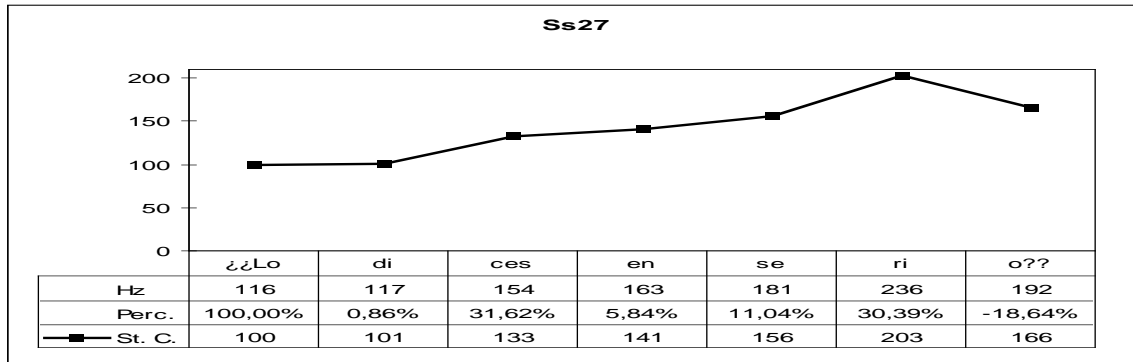
Code, gender, source	Ss8, female, I
Pattern	SP9, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	220
Average pitch (Hz)	297

| ¿'Tienes más co'sitas?|  
 have-2sg more little-things  
 'Do you have any other things?'



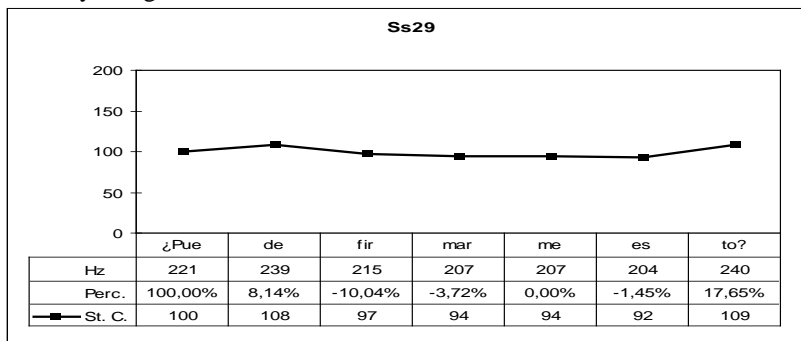
Code, gender, source	Ss14, female, P
Pattern	SP7
Pitch range	37
Average pitch (Hz)	332

| ¿¿Lo 'dices en 'serio??  
 that say-2sg in serious  
 'Are you saying it seriously?'



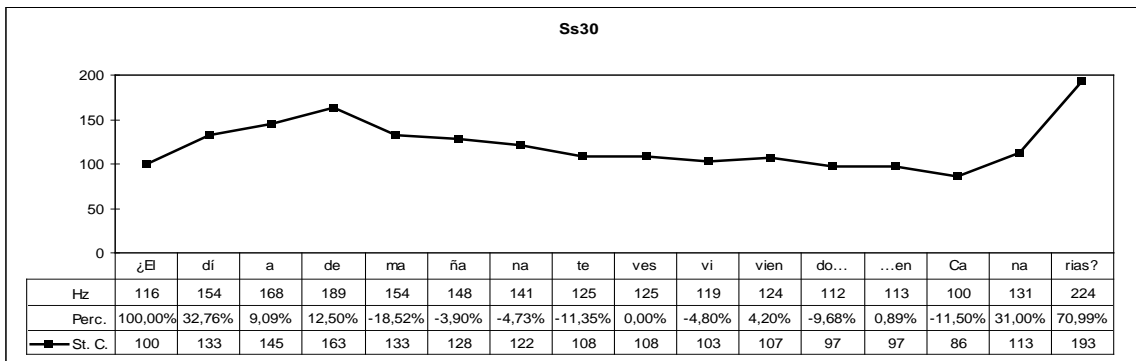
Code, gender, source	Ss27, male, Q
Pattern	SP4a, Rising Body
Pitch range	103
Average pitch (Hz)	166

| ¿ 'Puede firmarme 'esto?  
 can-3sg sign-to me this  
 'Could you sign this for me?'



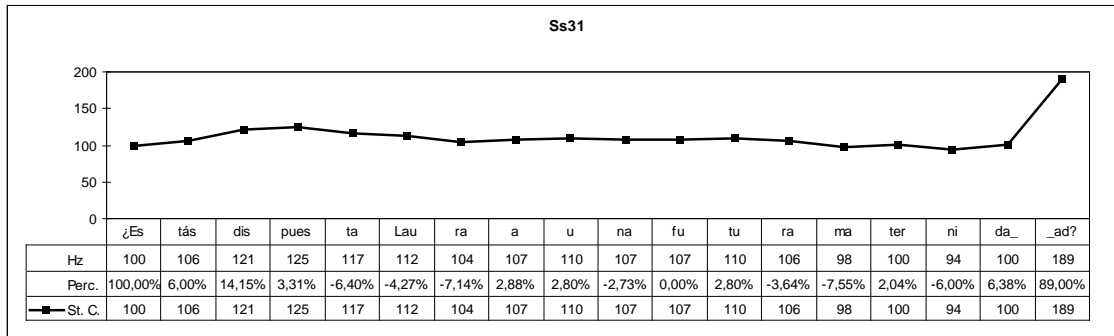
Code, gender, source	Ss29, male, Q
Pattern	SP6b
Pitch range	18
Average pitch (Hz)	189

| ¿El día de mañana te ves viviendo ... en Ca'narias?  
 the day of tomorrow you-sg.-acc. see-2sg. living in Canary Islands  
 'Do you see yourself living in Canary Islands tomorrow?'



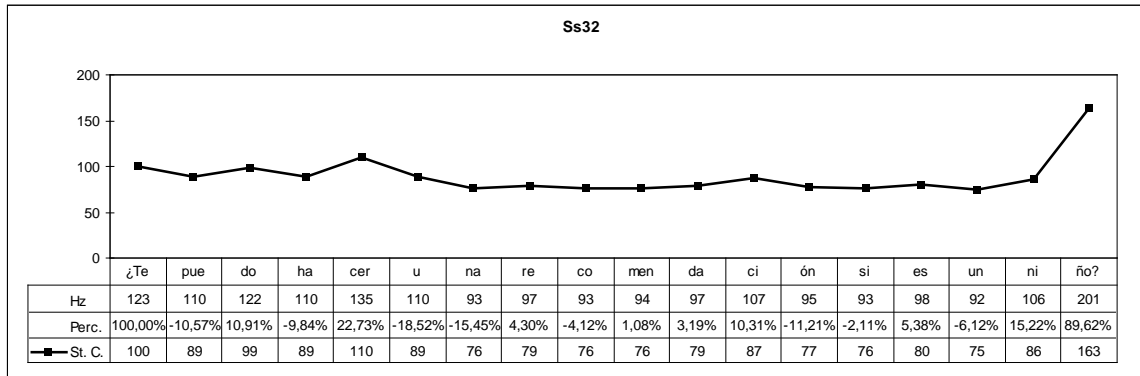
Code, gender, source	Ss30, male, M
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	124
Average pitch (Hz)	140

| ¿Estás dis'puesta, Laura, a una futura materni'dad?|  
 be-2sg ready Laura to a future maternity  
 'Are you ready, Laura, for a future maternity?'



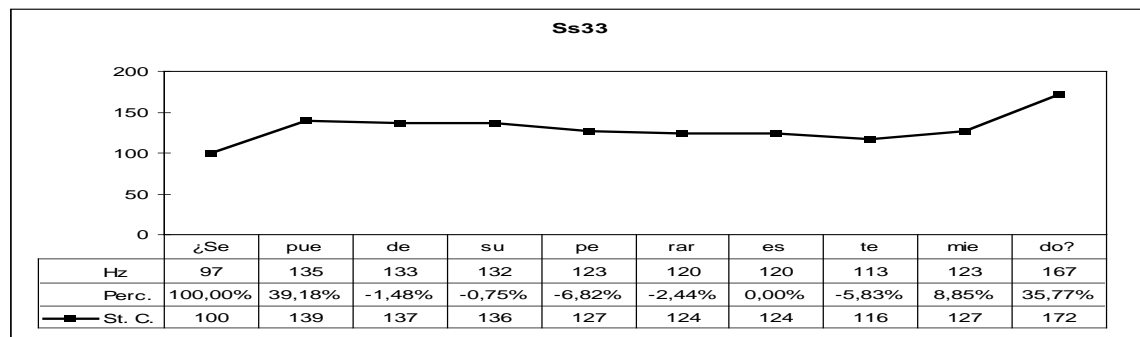
Code, gender, source	Ss31, male, M
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	101
Average pitch (Hz)	112

| ¿Te puedo ha'cer una recomendación si es un 'niño?|  
 you-sg.-dat can-1sg make a recommendation if is a boy  
 'Can I make a recommendation if the baby turns out to be a boy?'



Code, gender, source	Ss32, male, M
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	117
Average pitch (Hz)	110

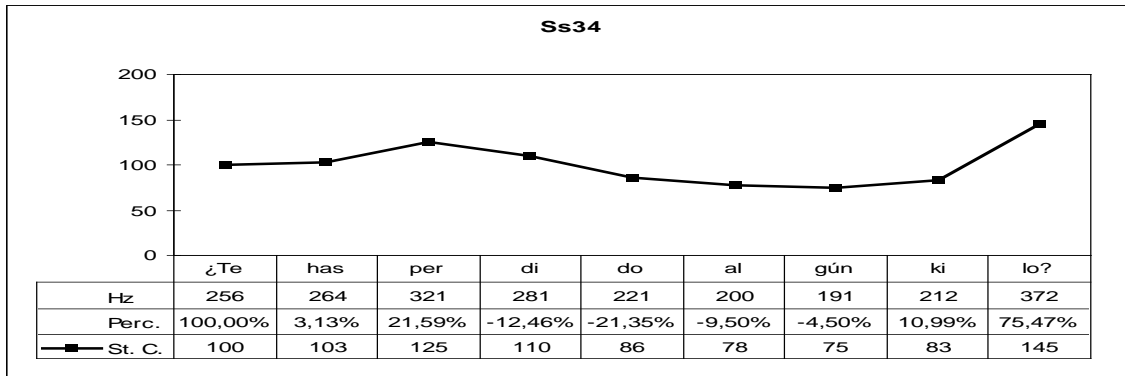
| ¿Se 'puede superar este 'miedo?|  
 refl.pron-3sg can-3sg beat this fear  
 'Can this fear be beaten?'



Code, gender, source	Ss33, male, L
Pattern	SP6a
Pitch range	72
Average pitch (Hz)	126

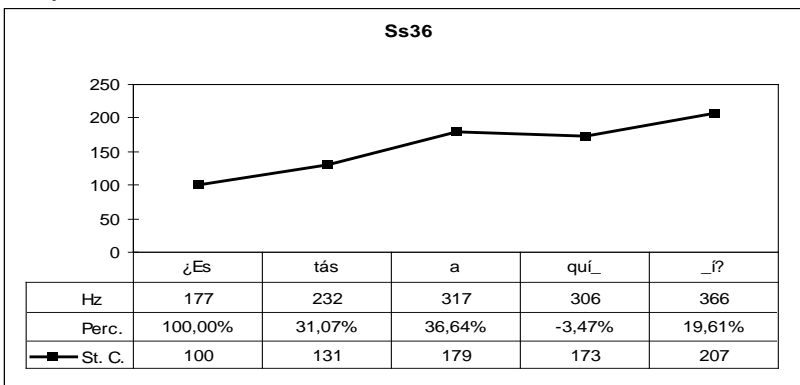


| ¿Te has per'dido algún 'kilo?|  
 refl.pron.-2sg have-aux-2sg lost some kilo  
 'Have you lost some weight?'



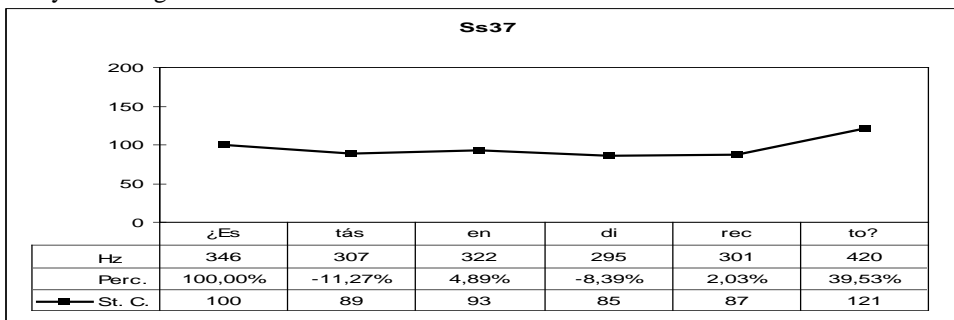
Code, gender, source	Ss34, female, N
Pattern	SP2, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	93
Average pitch (Hz)	224

| ¿Estás aquí?|  
 be-2sg here  
 'Are you here?'



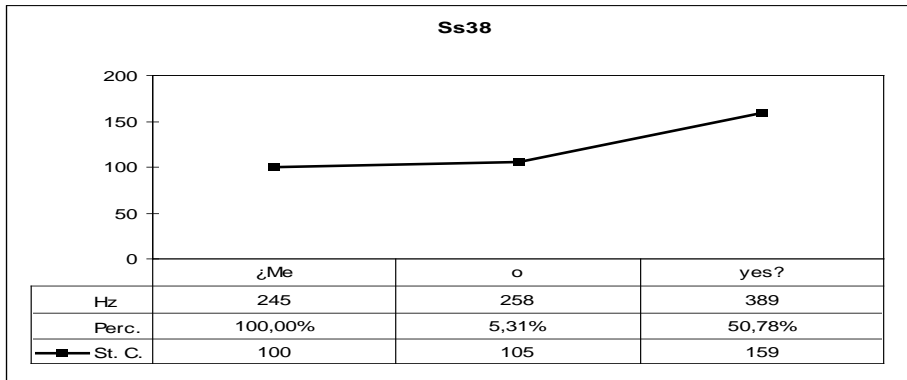
Code, gender, source	Ss36, female, K
Pattern	SP13
Pitch range	107
Average pitch (Hz)	280

| ¿Estás en di'recto?|  
 be-2sg on direct  
 'Are you through?'



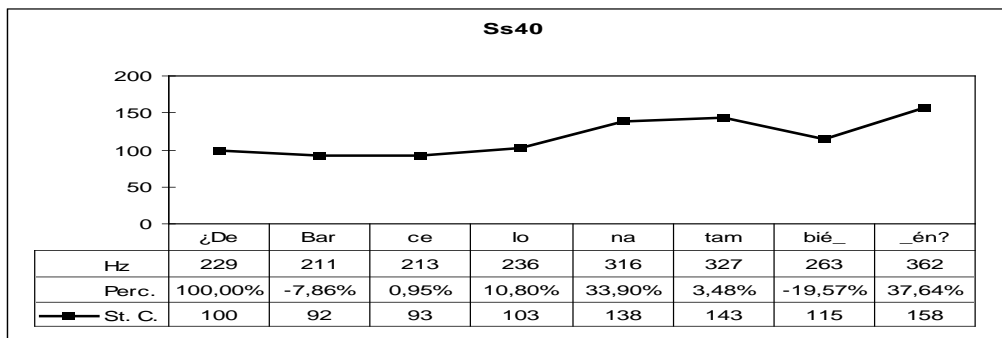
Code, gender, source	Ss37, female speaker from K
Pattern	SP6b
Pitch range	42
Average pitch (Hz)	332

| ¿Me 'oyes?|  
me hear-2sg  
'Do you hear me?'



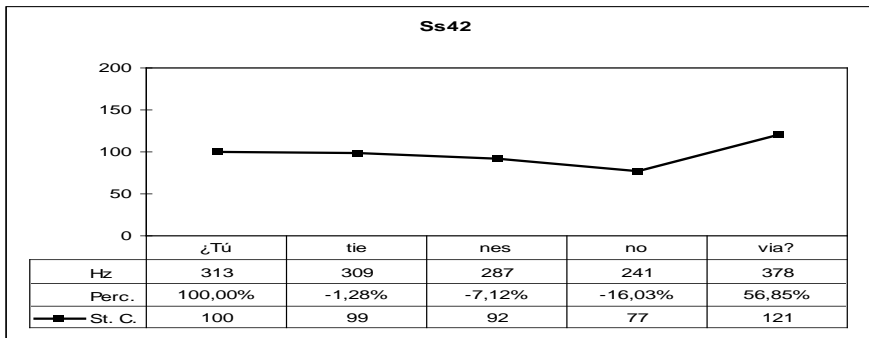
Code, gender, source	Ss38, female, K
Pattern	SP3
Pitch range	59
Average pitch (Hz)	297

| ¿De Barce'lona también?|  
from Barcelona too  
'From Barcelona, too?'



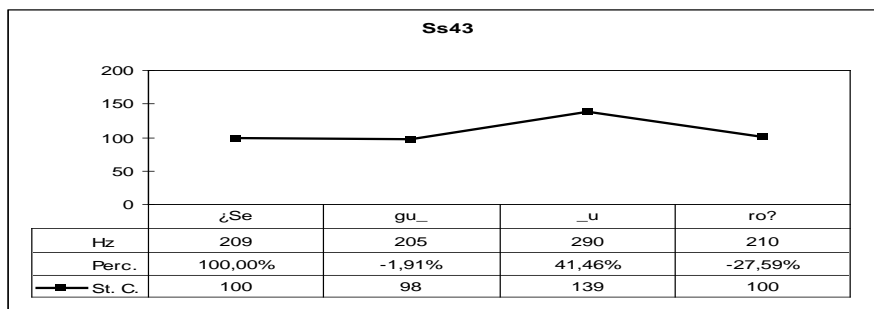
Code, gender, source	Ss40, female, K
Pattern	SP6b
Pitch range	72
Average pitch (Hz)	270

| ¿Tú tienes 'novia?|  
you have-2sg girlfriend  
'Do you have a girlfriend?'



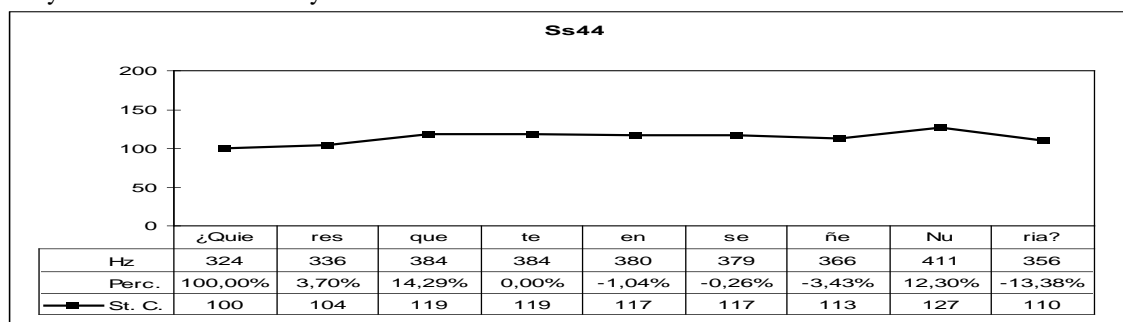
Code, gender, source	Ss42, female, O
Pattern	SP6a
Pitch range	57
Average pitch (Hz)	306

|¿Se'guro?|  
 sure  
 'Sure?'



Code, gender, source	Ss43, female, O
Pattern	SP4a
Pitch range	42
Average pitch (Hz)	229

|¿ 'Quieres que te enseñe 'Nuria?|  
 Want-2sg that-comp1 you-acc teach-3sg-subj Nuria  
 'Do you want Nuria to teach you?'

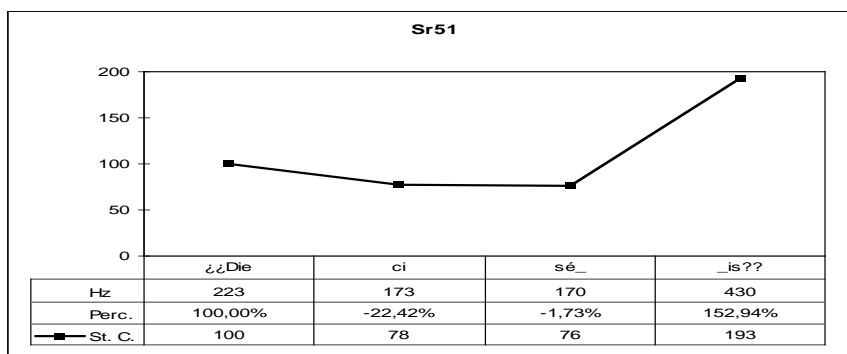


Code, gender, source	Ss44, female, O
Pattern	SP7, First Peak shifted to the right
Pitch range	27
Average pitch (Hz)	369

## 2. Echo yes-no questions

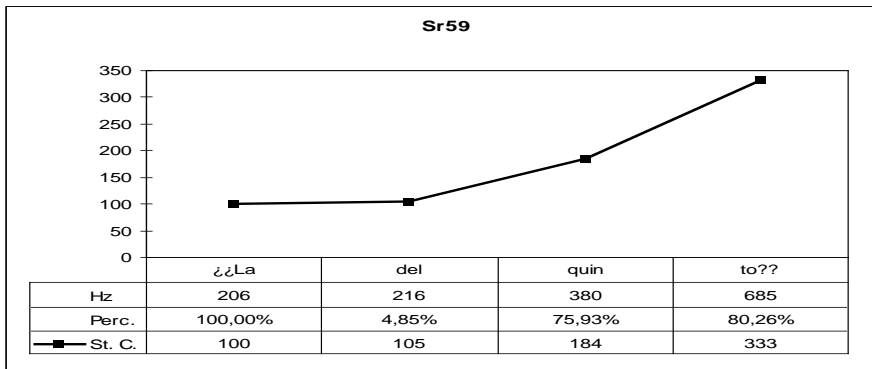
### a. Incredulous-repetitive echo yes-no questions

|¿¿Dieciséis??|  
 'Sixteen??'



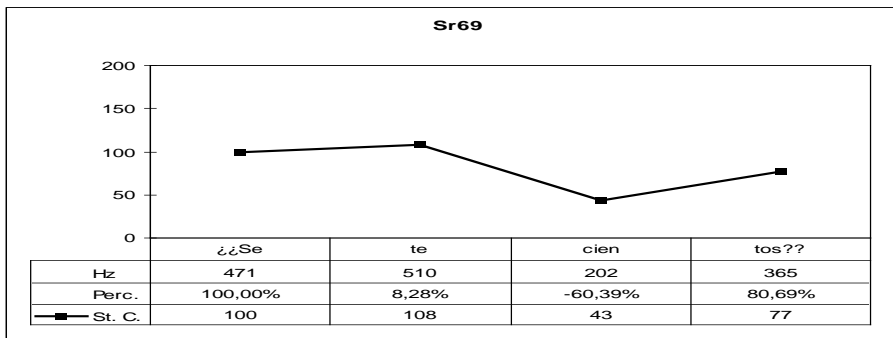
Code, gender, source	Sr51, male, E
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	154
Average pitch (Hz)	249

| ¿¿La del 'quinto??|  
 the from fifth  
 'The one from the fifth floor??'



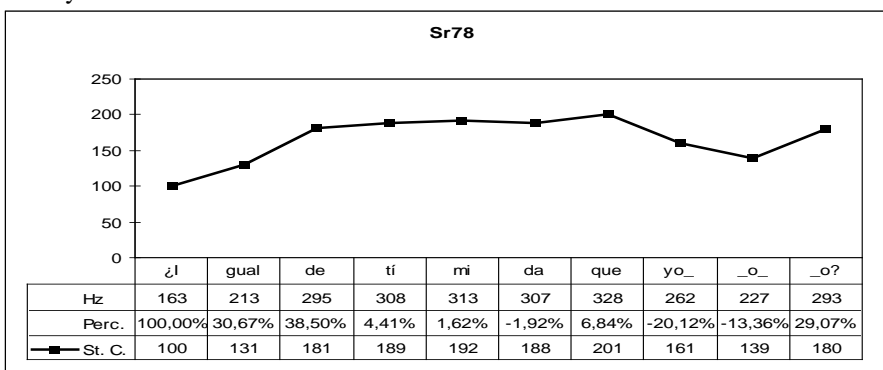
Code, gender, source	Sr59, female, H
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	233
Average pitch (Hz)	372

| ¿¿Sete'cientos??|  
 'Seven hundred??'



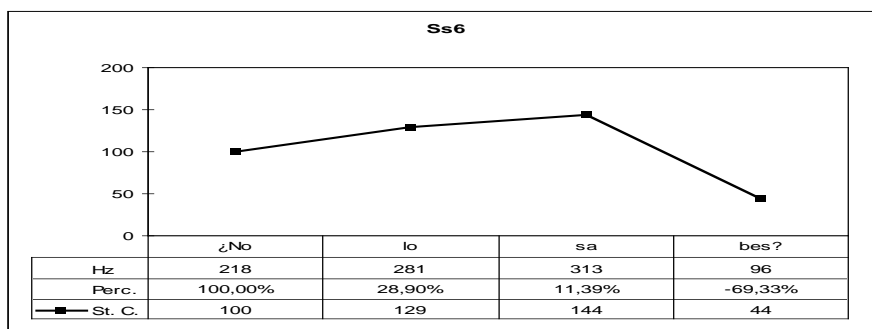
Code, gender, source	Sr69, male speaker from "Noche de fiesta" sketch, F
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	151
Average pitch (Hz)	387

| ¿¿I'gual de tímida que 'yo??|  
 same of shy that me  
 'As shy as I??'



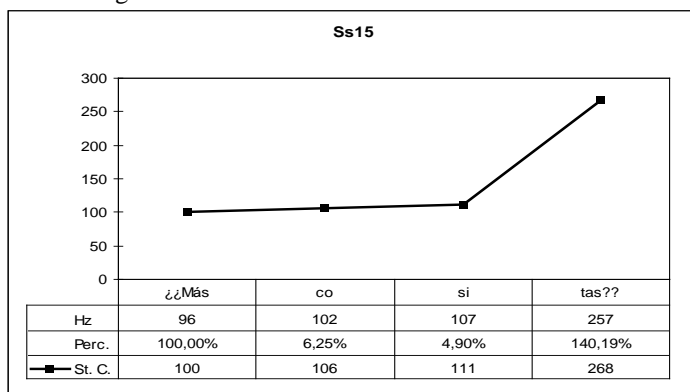
Code, gender, source	Sr78, male, B
Pattern	SP10b
Pitch range	101
Average pitch (Hz)	271

| ¿¿No lo 'sabes??  
 not that know-2pl  
 'You do not know it?'



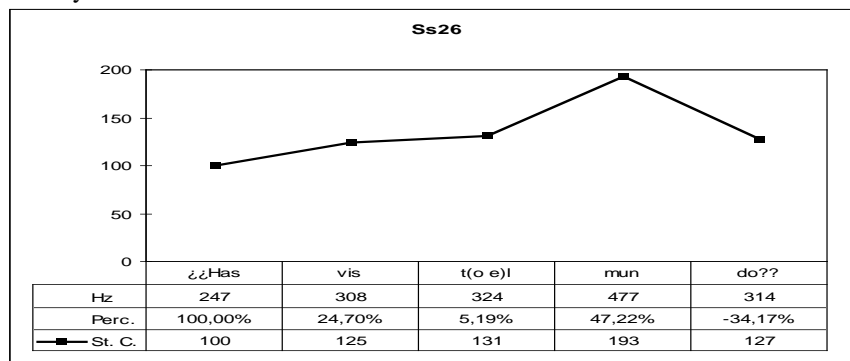
Code, gender, source	Ss6, female speaker from I
Pattern	SP9
Pitch range	227
Average pitch (Hz)	227

| ¿¿'Más co'sitas??  
 more things  
 'More things?'



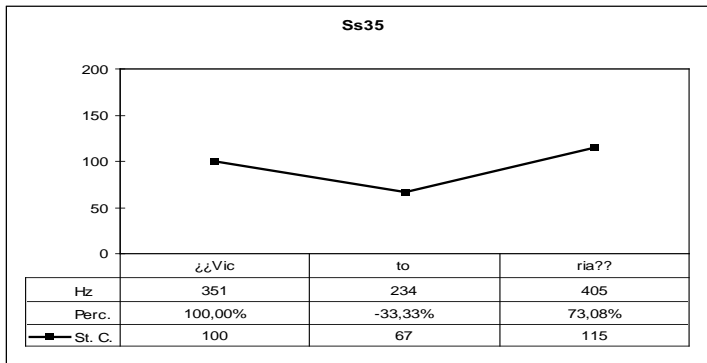
Code, gender, source	Ss15, male, P
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	168
Average pitch (Hz)	141

| ¿¿Has 'visto el 'mundo??  
 have-2g seen the world  
 'Have you seen the world?'



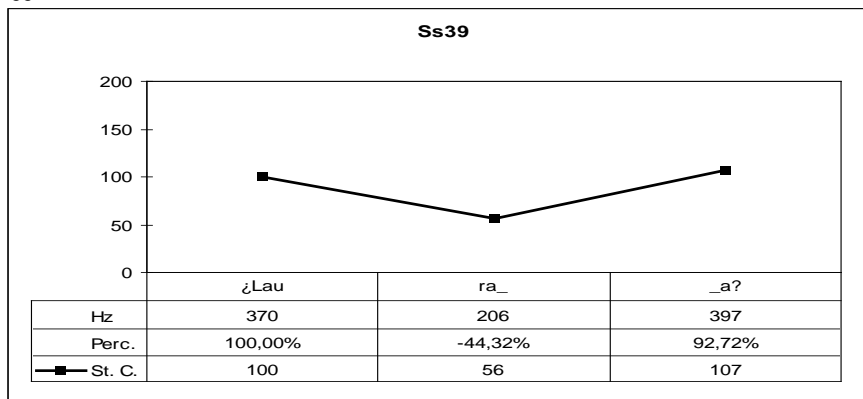
Code, gender, source	Ss26, female, Q
Pattern	SP7
Pitch range	93
Average pitch (Hz)	334

| ıı'Vic'toria??|



Code, gender, source	Ss35, female, K
Pattern	SP2
Pitch range	72
Average pitch (Hz)	330

| ıı'Laura??|

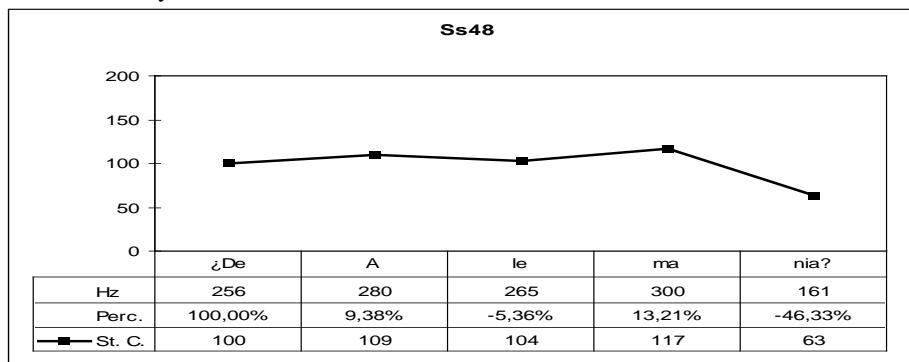


Code, gender, source	Ss39, female, K
Pattern	SP10b
Pitch range	91
Average pitch (Hz)	324

| ıı'De Ale'mania??|

from Germany

'From Germany??'

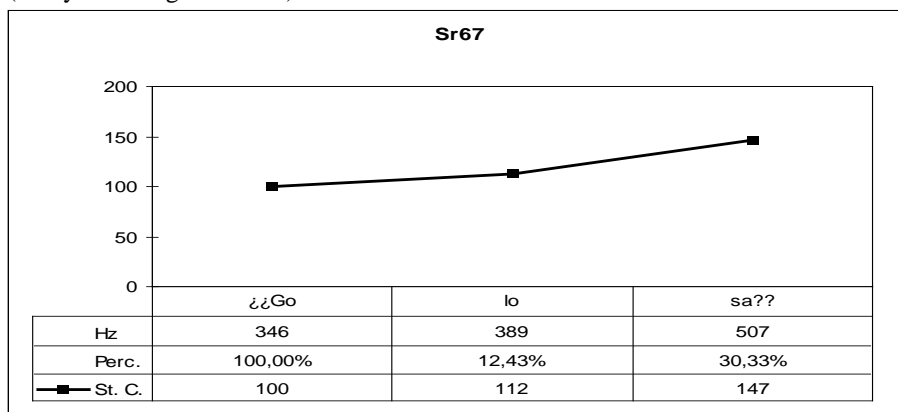


Code, gender, source	Ss48, female, O
Pattern	SP7
Pitch range	86
Average pitch (Hz)	252

## b. Clarifying / exclamative echo yes-no questions

| ¿¿Go'losa??|

'(Are you asking if she has) a sweet-tooth?'. Antecedent: 'Does she have a sweet tooth?'



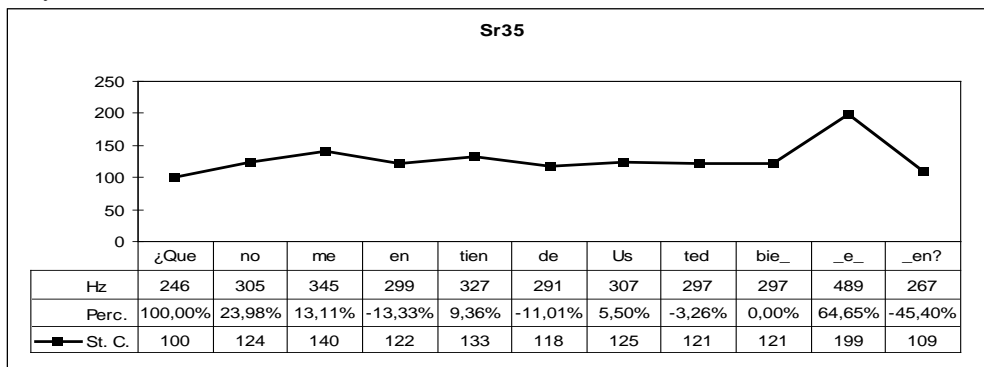
Code, gender, source	Sr67, female, D
Pattern	SP13
Pitch range	47
Average pitch (Hz)	414

## c. Yes-no questions with a grammatical particle or special grammatical structure (bold type in the transcription and the glosses)

| ¿**Que** no me en'tiende Usted bien?|

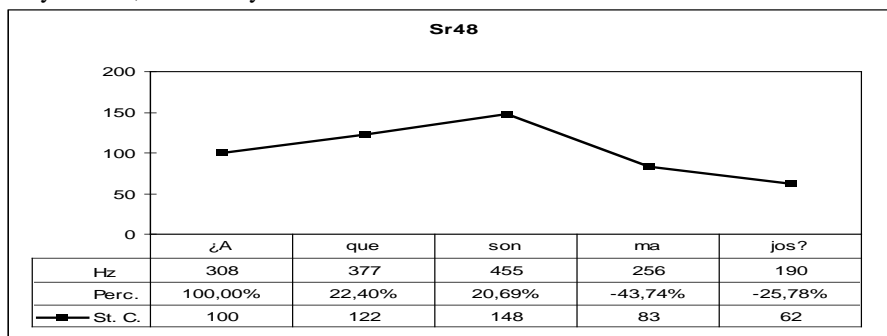
**that-compl.** not me-acc understand-3sg you-formal-sg well

'So you don't understand me well?'



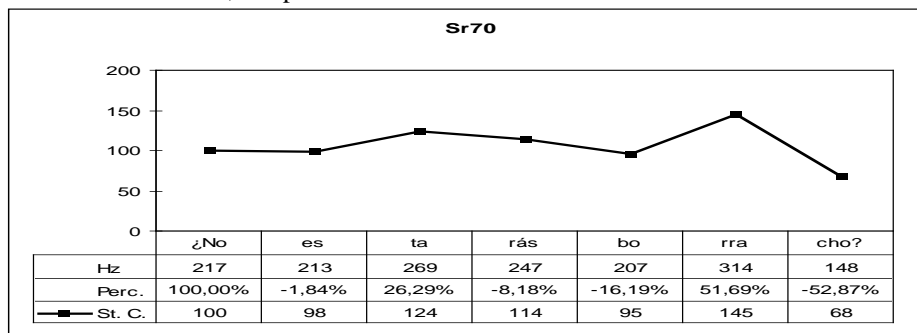
Code, gender, source	Sr35, male, D
Pattern	SP4a
Pitch range	99
Average pitch (Hz)	315

| ¿A que son 'majos?|  
**to that-compl. are-pl nice-pl**  
 They're nice, aren't they?



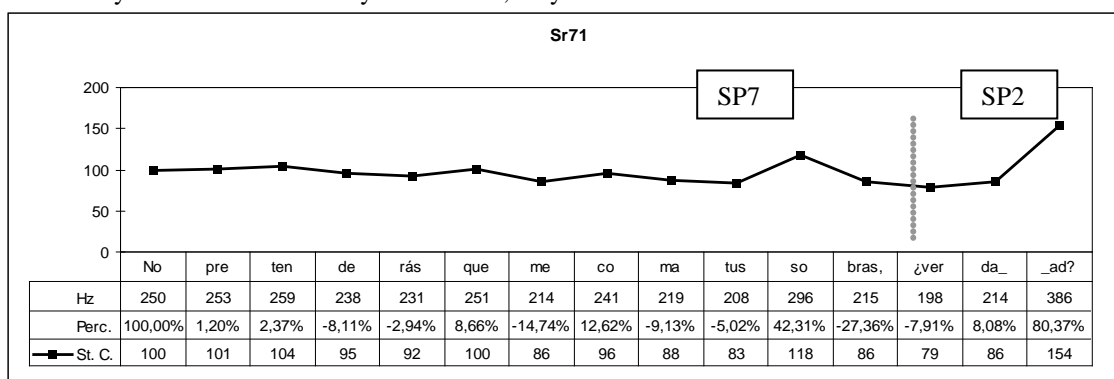
Code, gender, source	Sr48, female, D
Pattern	SP1
Pitch range	139
Average pitch (Hz)	317

| ¿No estarás bo'rracho?|  
 not be-fut-2sg drunken  
 'You are not drunken, I hope?'



Code, gender, source	Sr70, female, F
Pattern	SP7, First Peak shifted to the left
Pitch range	113
Average pitch (Hz)	231

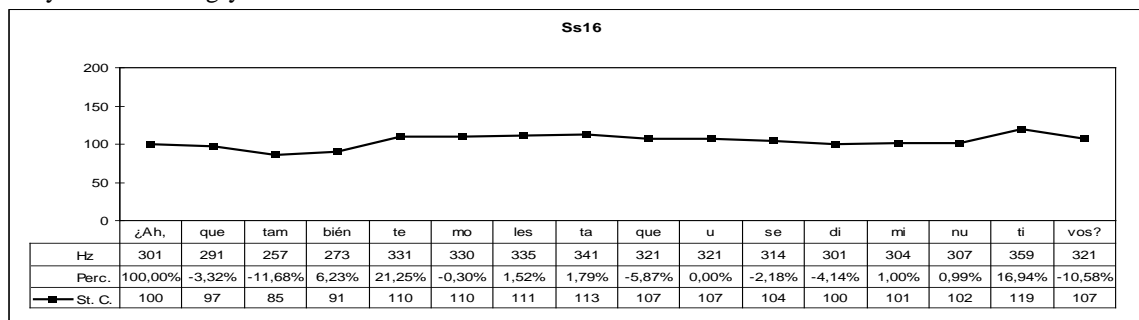
| No pretenderás que coma tus 'sobras, | ¿ver'dad?|  
 not try-fut-2sg that-compl eat-subj-1sg residues **true**  
 'You surely don't want me to eat your residues, do you?'



Code, gender, source	Sr71, female, G
Pattern	SP7 + SP2
Pitch range	(in the second pattern) 95
Average pitch (Hz)	(in the second pattern) 266

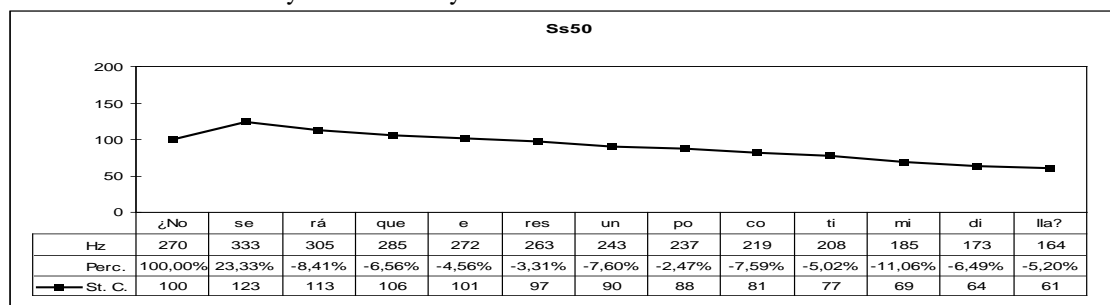


| ¿Ah, **que** también te molesta que use diminutivos?|  
 ah **that**-compl. also you-acc disturb-3sg that use-subj-1sg diminutives  
 'So you are also angry if I use diminutives?'



Code, gender, source	Ss16, female, P
Pattern	SP7
Pitch range	40
Average pitch (Hz)	293

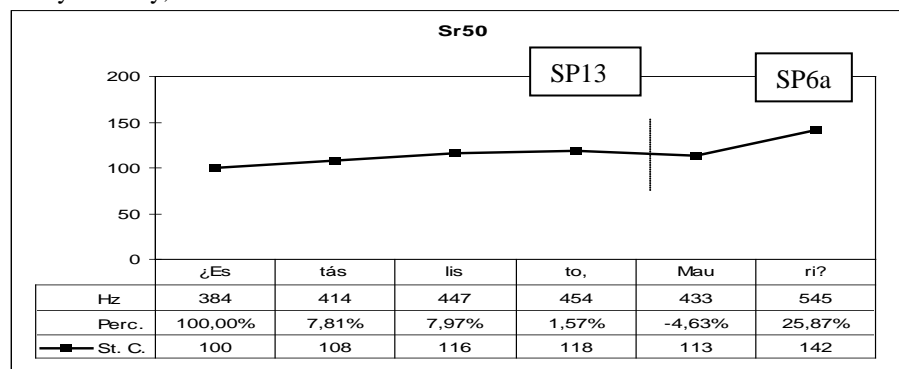
| ¿No será que eres un poco timi'dilla?|  
 not be-fut-3sg that are-2sg a bit shy-diminutive-fem  
 'Cannot it be the case that you are a bit shy?'



Code, gender, source	Ss50, female speaker from J
Pattern	SP1, First Peak shifted to the left
Pitch range	102
Average pitch (Hz)	243

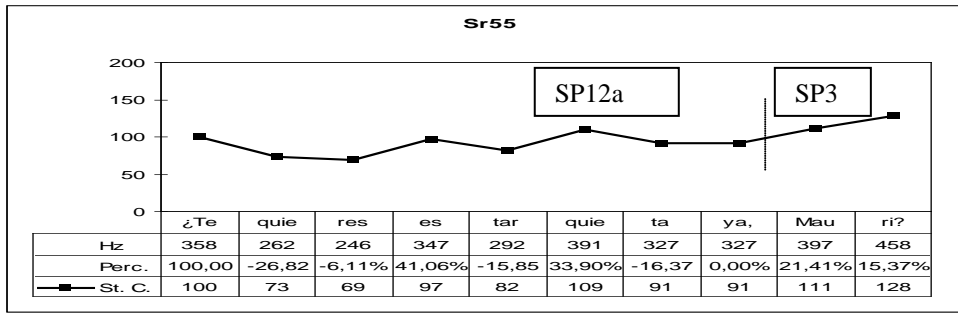
### 3. Yes-no question + vocative sequences

| ¿Estás 'listo, | 'Mauri?|  
 are-2sg ready Mauri(cio)  
 'Are you ready, Mauri?'



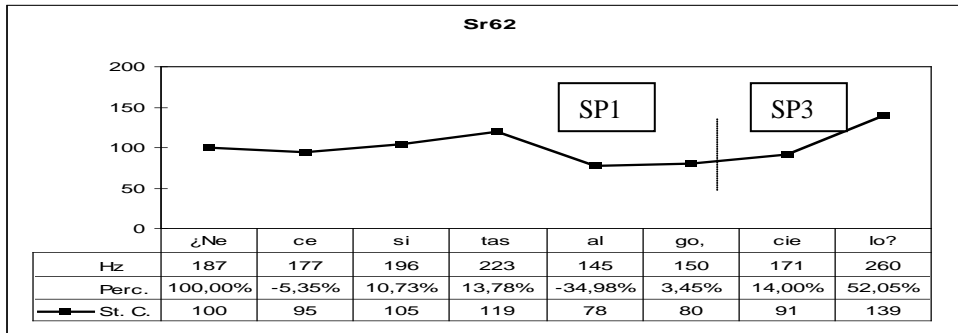
Code, gender, source	Sr50, female speaker from "Noche de fiesta" sketch, E
Pattern	SP13 + SP6a
Pitch range	(in the second pattern) 26
Average pitch (Hz)	(in the second pattern) 489

| ¿Te 'quieres estar quieta ya, | 'Mauri? |  
 you-2sg want-2sg be calm already Mauri(cio)  
 'Would you stay calm, Mauri? (stay calm, Mauri!)



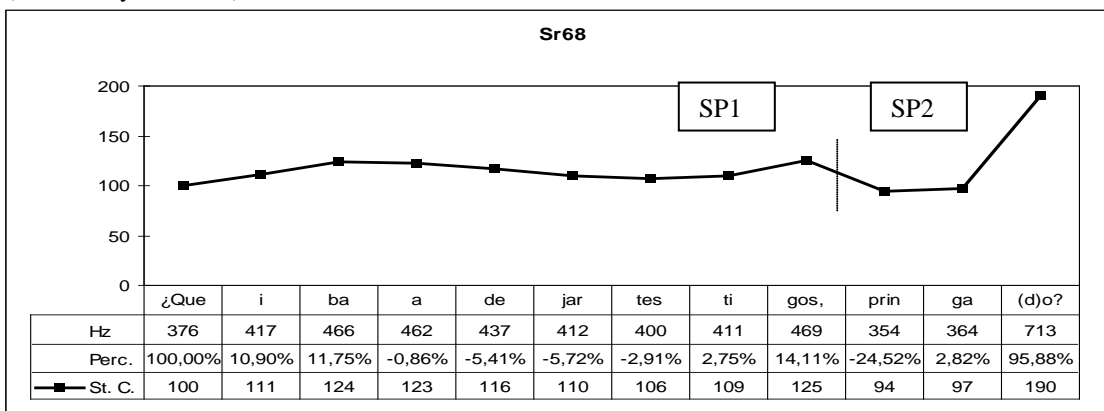
Code, gender, source	Sr55, female, E
Pattern	SP12a + SP6
Pitch range	(in the second pattern) 15
Average pitch (Hz)	(in the second pattern) 428

| ¿Nece'sitas 'algo, | 'cielo? |  
 need-2sg something heaven  
 'Do you need something, darling?'



Code, gender, source	Sr62, male speaker from "Noche de fiesta" sketch, H
Pattern	SP1 (First Peak shifted to the right) + SP3
Pitch range	(in the second pattern) 53
Average pitch (Hz)	(in the second pattern) 216

| ¿Que i'ba a dejar tes'tigos, | prin'ga(d)o? |  
 that-compl. was-1sg to leave witnesses wet  
 '(What did you think?) That I would leave witnesses, idiot?'



Code, gender, source	Sr68, female speaker from "Noche de fiesta" sketch, D
Pattern	SP1 (First Peak shifted to the right) + SP2
Pitch range	(in the second pattern) 102
Average pitch (Hz)	(in the second pattern) 477

## APPENDIX 2

### Corpus 2: The Hungarian corpus

The corpus (containing 69 yes-no questions) is divisible into two parts: spontaneous and read utterances.

The **spontaneous corpus** comes from the following tv and radio programmes (all sources are referred to by a capital letter):

A: Balázs Show [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FuWBIL\\_pZVE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FuWBIL_pZVE)

B: Balázs Show <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Z33IF5SAW8&feature=related>

C: Balázs Show

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WBvzF2LsMs4&p=356B7CBADF5FA032&playnext=1&index=6>

D: Barbara Show <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eW1hpYLEfkl>

E: Mokka (Dr. Csernus Imre a Mokka-ban) [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bz\\_WybPtIjA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bz_WybPtIjA)

F: "Info Rádío" (recordings from 2009)

The spontaneous corpus was provided by 19 speakers, 13 male and 6 female speakers.

The **read corpus** comes from my private recordings (signalled G) and was provided by 5 speakers (3 male and 2 female).

**Altogether** the corpus includes 24 speakers.

The corpus consists of the following question types:

1. Ordinary yes-no questions
2. Marked yes-no questions
  - a. Incredulous-repetitive echo yes-no questions
  - b. Clarifying-exclamative yes-no questions
  - c. Yes-no questions with special lexical elements or grammatical particles
3. Yes-no questions followed by a vocative

#### List of symbols and abbreviations

,...:	unfinished sentence
??:	emphatic question
— (between tautosyllabic vowel letters):	shows that the vowel is in a bimoraic or trimoraic syllable
:	Phonic Group (IP) boundary in the text
:	boundary between adjacent Phonic Groups in the diagram
a,b,c (at the end of the code):	If an utterance was too long it was cut into parts a,b,c.
acc.:	accusative
compl.:	complementizer
COND:	conditional
Hr:	Hungarian sentence read out loud
Hs:	spontaneous Hungarian sentence
Hz:	absolute pitch values obtained in Hertz
m (at the end of the code):	a marked version of the sentence with the code
Perc.:	Percentages of rise / fall
pl.:	plural
sg.:	singular
St. C.:	Pitch values of the Standardized Curve
'x:	accent on the syllable which the mark precedes

Notes in connection with the diagrams:

- The curves represent the Standardized Curves (St. C.).
- The Pattern represent the intonational pattern.
- The Pitch range of the utterance is relative, based on the St. C. (rounded value).
- the Average pitch (Hz) is an absolute height in Hz (rounded value).

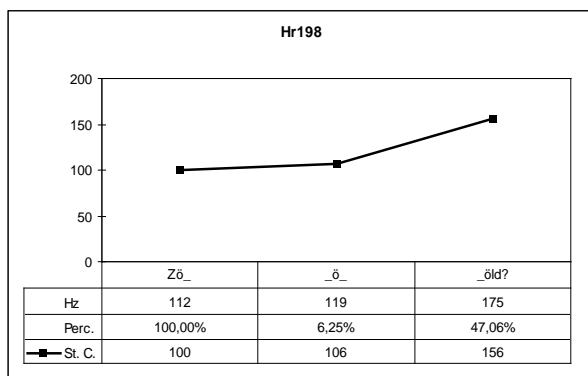
Note on Hungarian orthography:

Acute accents on certain Hungarian vowel letters (e.g. *á, é*, etc.) indicate vowel length and not stress.

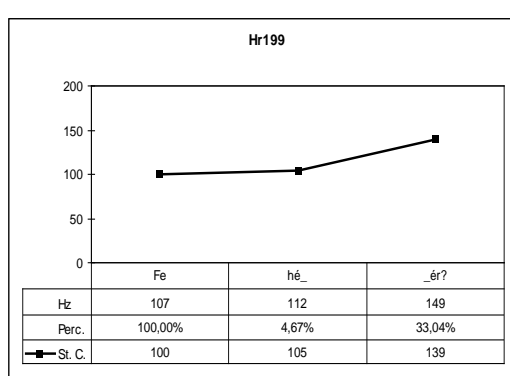
## Question types

### 1. Ordinary yes-no questions

| 'Zöld?|  
'Green?'

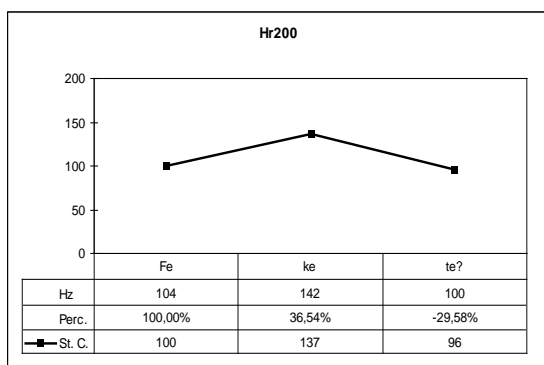


| 'Fehér?|  
'White?'

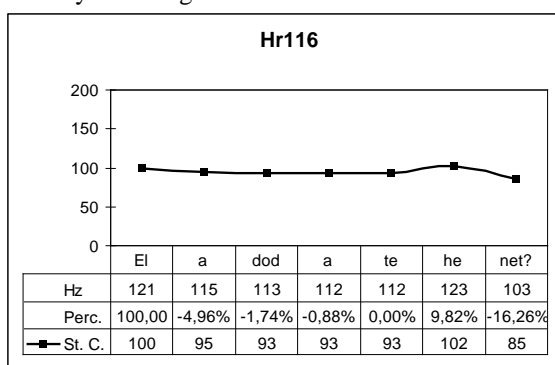


Code, gender, source	Hr198, male, G	Hr199, male, G
Pattern	HP7	HP7
Pitch range	56	39
Average Pitch (Hz)	135	123

| 'Fekete?|  
'Black?'

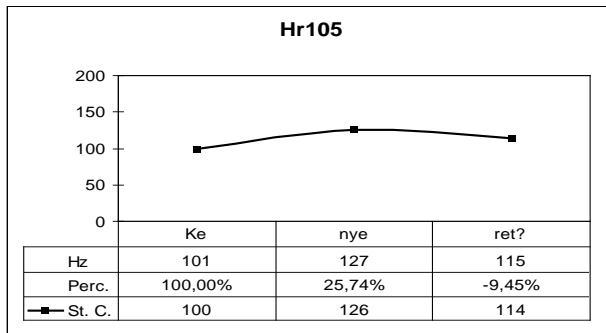


| 'Eladod a tehenet?|  
sell-2sg the cow-acc  
'Are you selling the cow?'



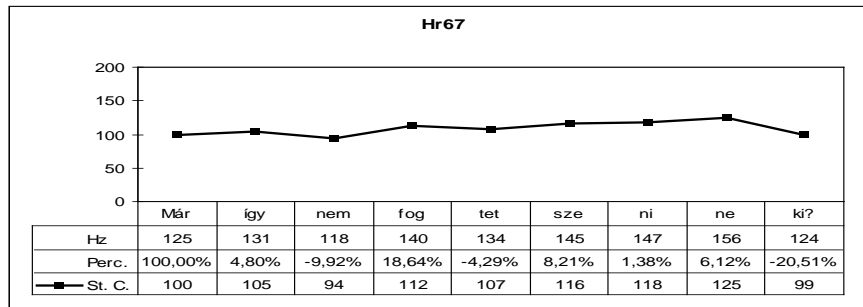
Code, gender, source	Hr200, male, G	Hr116, male, G
Pattern	HP7	HP7b
Pitch range	43	20
Average Pitch (Hz)	115	114

| 'Kenyeret?|  
bread-acc  
'Bread (acc.)?'



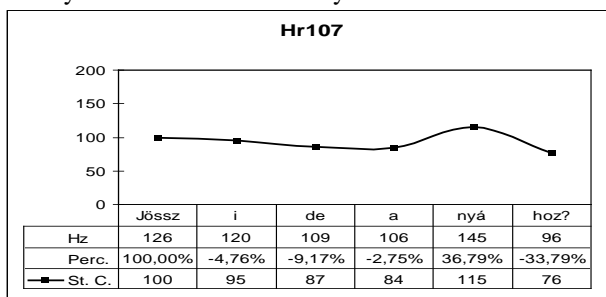
Code, gender, source	Hr105, male, G
Pattern	HP7
Pitch range	26
Average Pitch (Hz)	114

| Már így 'nem fog tetszeni neki?|  
already so not will-3sg be-nice her-dat  
'(S)he won't like it this way?'



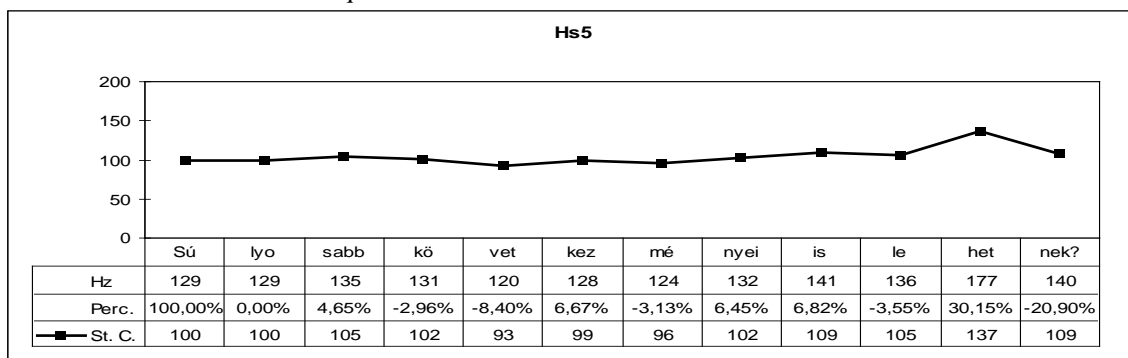
Code, gender, source	Hr67, male
Pattern	HP7
Pitch range	33
Average Pitch (Hz)	136

| 'Jössz ide anyához?|  
come-sg2 here mum-to  
'Will you come here to Mummy?'



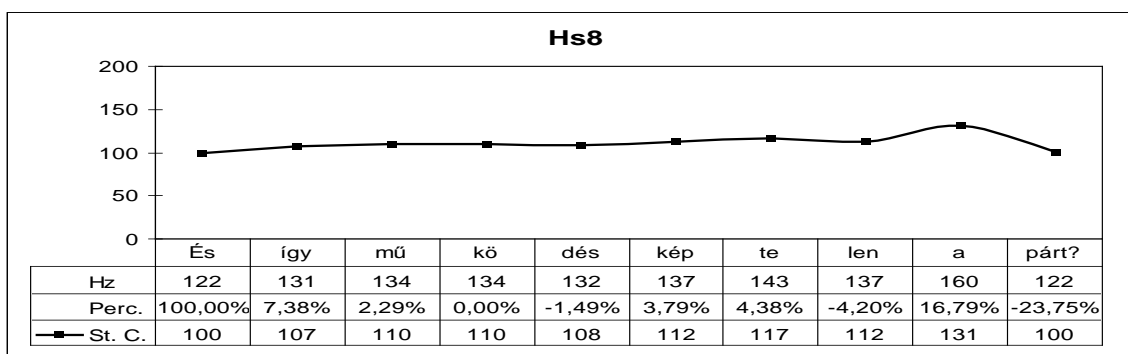
Code, gender, source	Hr107, male,
Pattern	HP7c
Pitch range	32
Average Pitch (Hz)	117

| 'Súlyosabb következményei is lehetnek?|  
 more-serious consequences too can-be-3pl  
 'Can it have more serious consequences?'



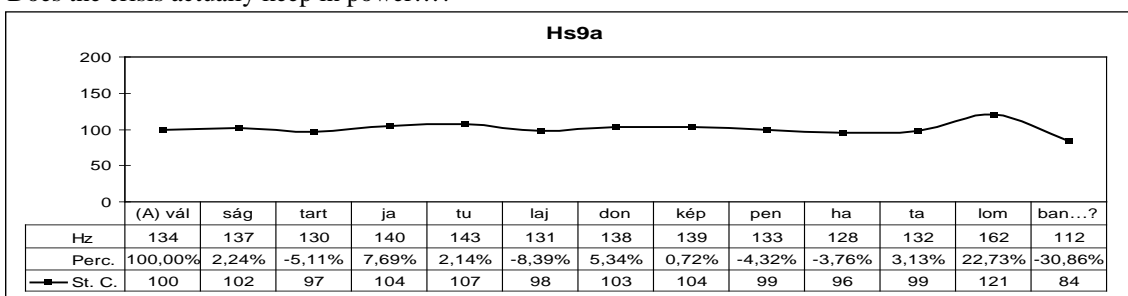
Code, gender, source	Hs5, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	47
Average Pitch (Hz)	135

|És így 'működésképtelen a párt?|  
 and so inoperative the party  
 'And so is the party inoperative?'



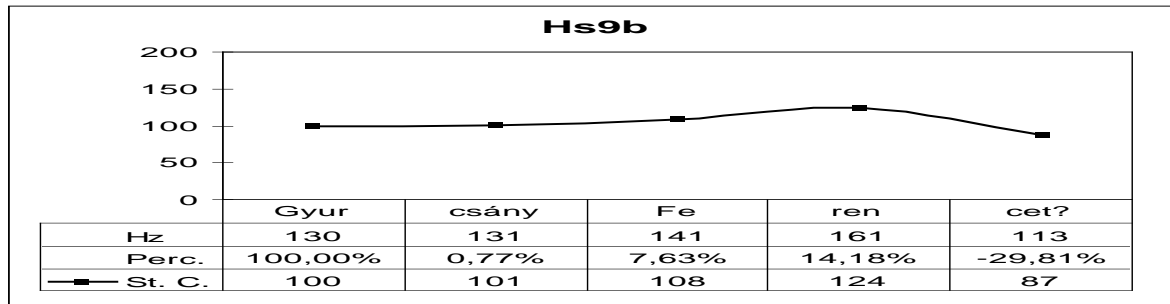
Code, gender, source	Hs8, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	31
Average Pitch (Hz)	135

| (A) 'válság tartja tulajdonképpen hatalomban|...  
 (the) crisis keep-3sg in-fact power-in  
 'Does the crisis actually keep in power...?'



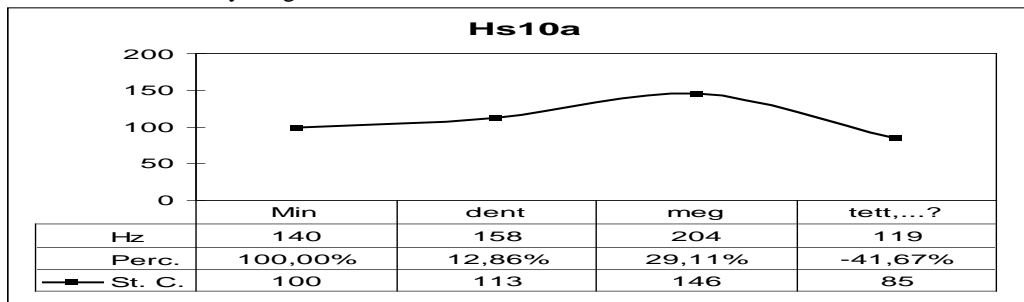
Code, gender, source	Hs9a, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	44
Average Pitch (Hz)	133

... 'Gyurcsány Ferencet?|  
 Gyurcsány Ferenc-acc  
 '...Ferenc Gyurcsány (acc)?'



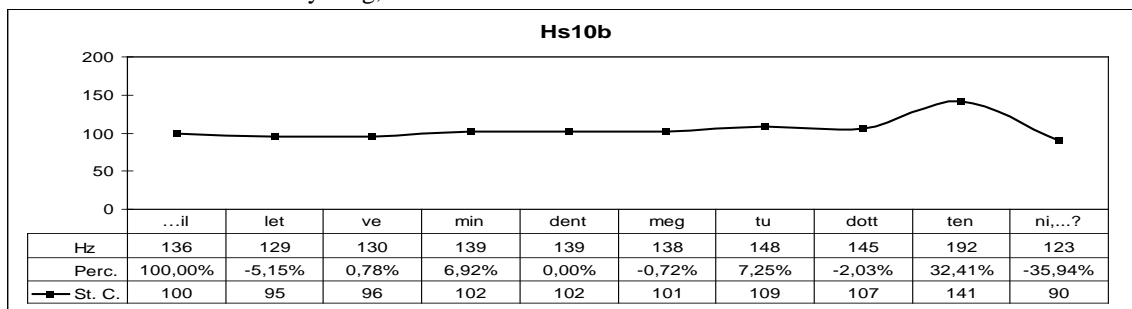
Code, gender, source	Hs9b, male, F
Pattern	HP7a
Pitch range	43
Average Pitch (Hz)	135

| 'Mindent megtett|,...  
 everything-acc did-3sg  
 'Did it/he/she do everything...?'



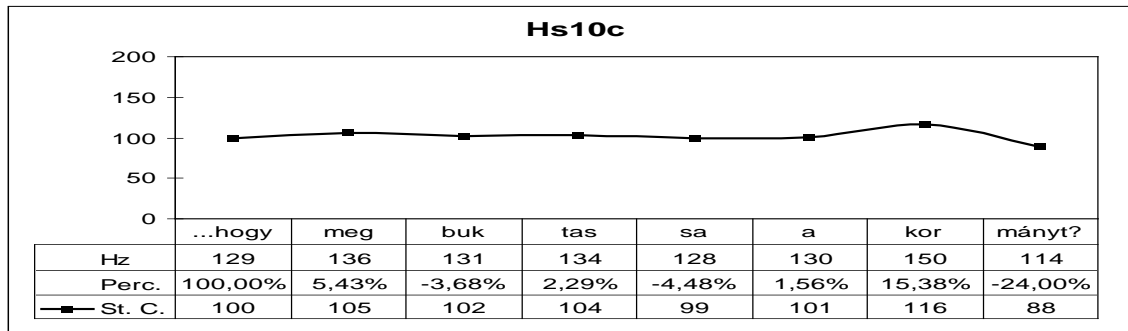
Code, gender, source	Hs10a, male, F
Pattern	HP7a
Pitch range	72
Average Pitch (Hz)	155

...| illetve 'mindent meg tudott tenni...?|  
 that-is everything-acc could-3sg do  
 '...or could it/he/she do everything...?'



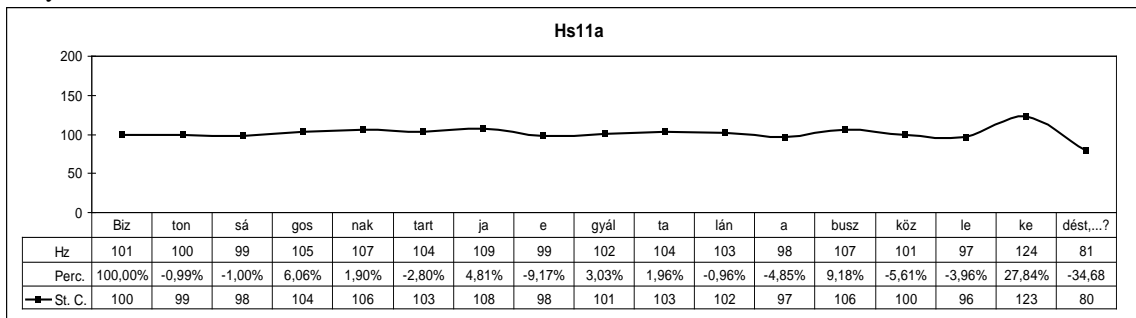
Code, gender, source	Hs10b, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	57
Average Pitch (Hz)	142

|... hogy 'megbuktassa a kormányt?|  
 that-compl overthrow-3sg-imp the government-acc  
 '...to overthrow the government?'



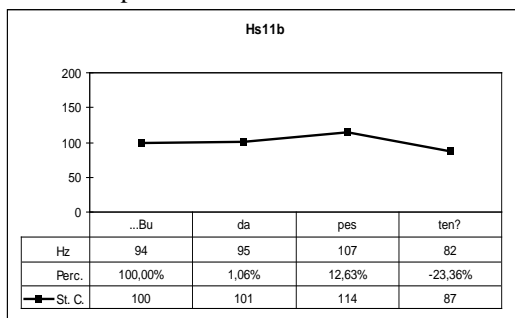
Code, gender, source	Hs10c, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	32
Average Pitch (Hz)	131

| 'Biztonságosnak tartja egyáltalán a buszközlekedést|...  
 safe-dat consider-3sg at-all the bus-services-acc  
 'Do you think bus services are safe at all...?'

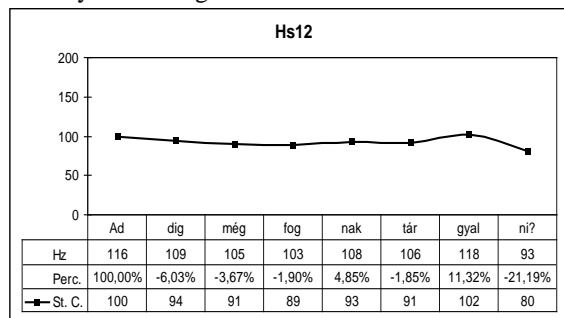


Code, gender, source	Hs11a, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	54
Average Pitch (Hz)	103

...|'Budapesten?|  
 Budapest-in  
 '...in Budapest?'



| Addig még 'fognak tárgyalni?|  
 then-till yet will-3pl negotiate  
 'Will you still negotiate till then?'



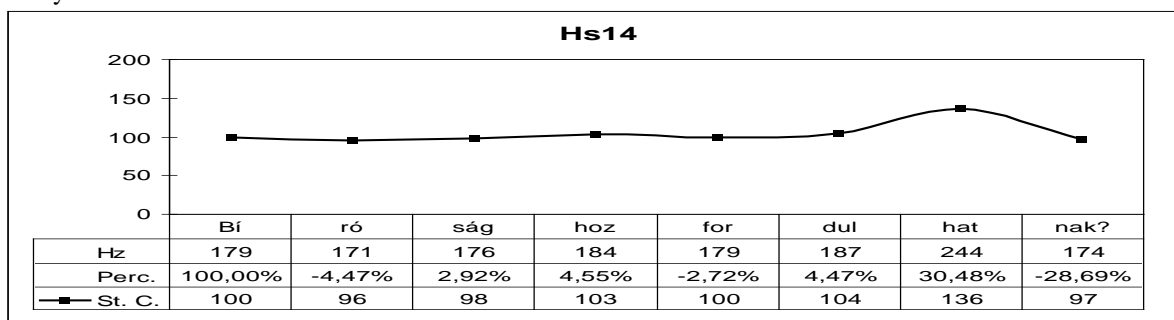
Code, gender, source	Hs11b, male, F	Hs12, male, F
Pattern	HP7b	HP7b
Pitch range	31	28
Average Pitch (Hz)	95	107



| 'Bírósághoz fordulhatnak?'

court-to turn-can-3pl

'Can you turn to law court?'

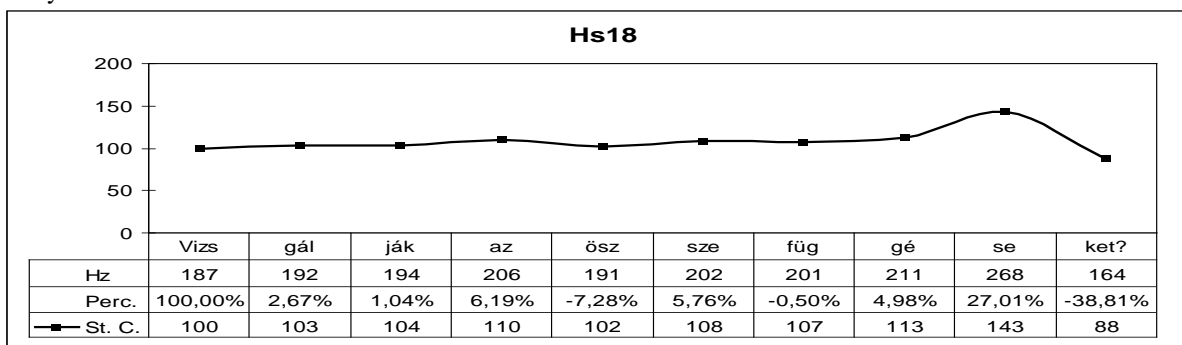


Code, gender, source	Hs14, female, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	42
Average Pitch (Hz)	186

| 'Vizsgálják az összefüggéseket?'

examine-3pl the connections-acc

'Do you examine the connections?'

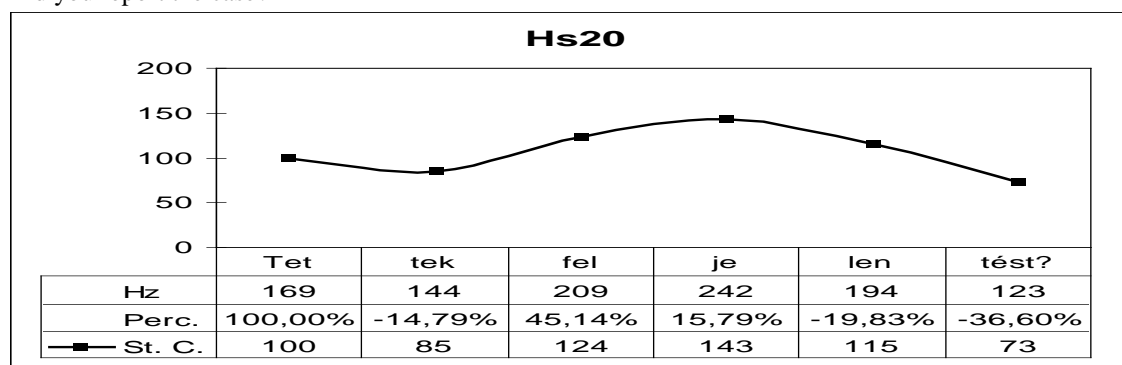


Code, gender, source	Hs18, female, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	63
Average Pitch (Hz)	185

| 'Tettek feljelentést?'

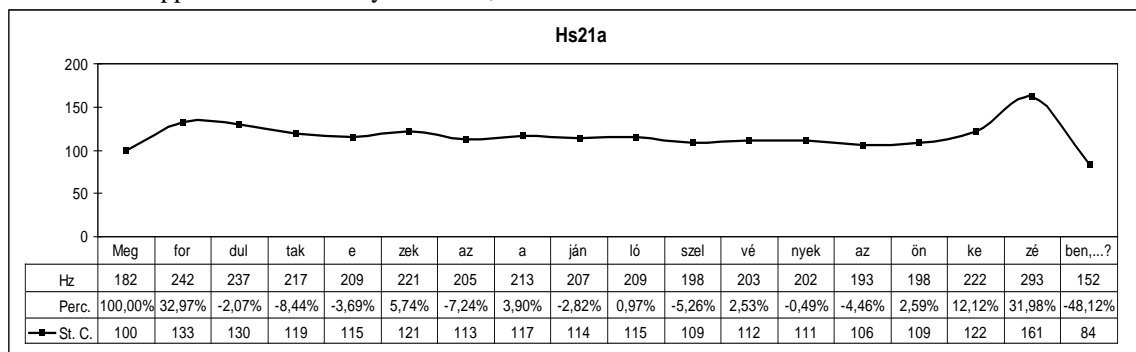
did-3pl report-acc

'Did you report the case?'



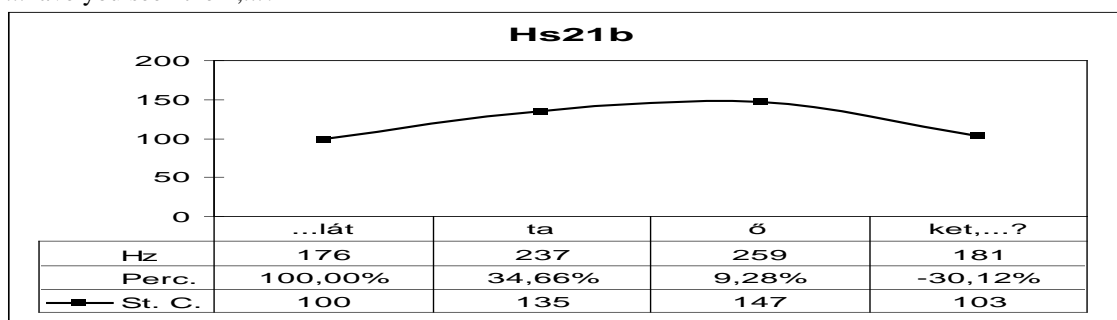
Code, gender, source	Hs20, male, F
Pattern	Anomalous HP7a (Peak shifted to the left)
Pitch range	96
Average Pitch (Hz)	180

| 'Megfordultak ezek az ajánlószelvények az ön kezében|...  
 turned-3pl these the support-notes the your hand-in  
 'Have these support notes been in your hands,...?'



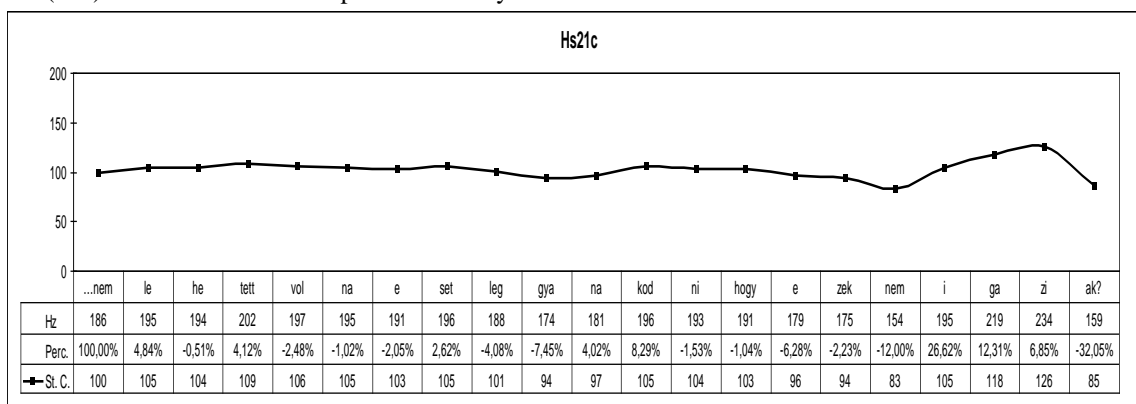
Code, gender, source	Hs21a, male, F
Pattern	Hybrid of HP7b + HP7c
Pitch range	92
Average Pitch (Hz)	211

...| 'látta őket|...  
 saw-3sg them  
 '...have you seen them,...?'



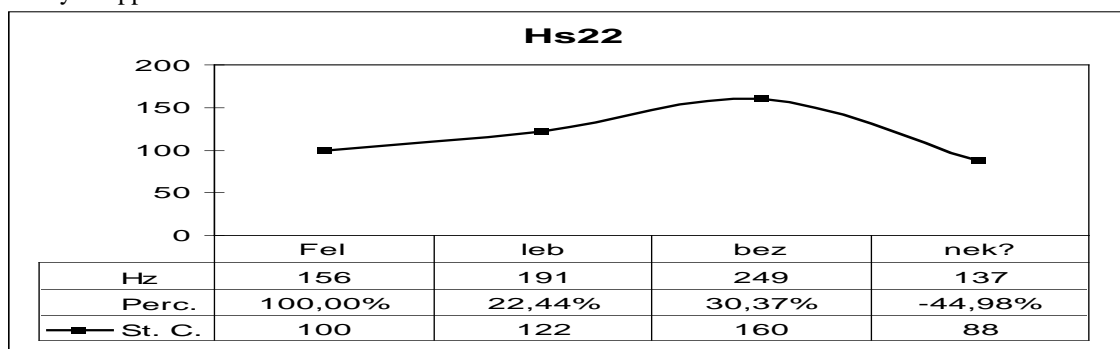
Code, gender, source	Hs21b, male, F
Pattern	HP7a
Pitch range	47
Average Pitch (Hz)	213

...| (és) 'nem lehetett volna esetleg 'gyanakodni, hogy ezek 'nem igaziak?|  
 not could-be COND perhaps suspect that these not real-pl  
 '... (and) couldn't one have suspected that they were not the real ones?'



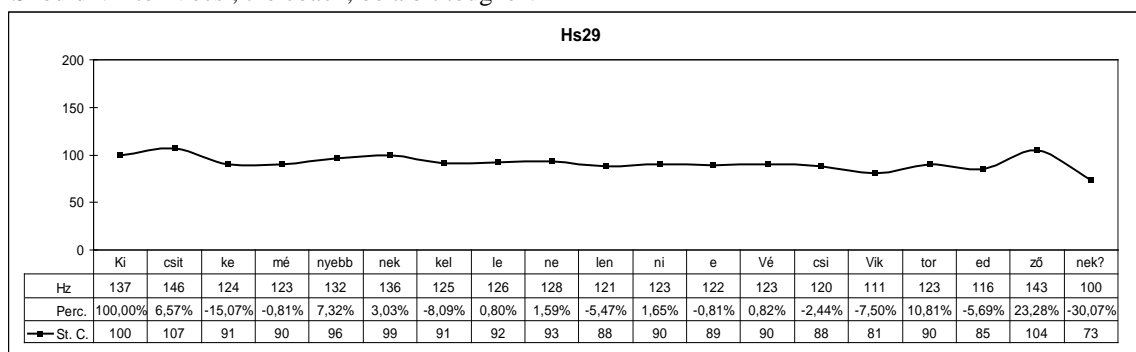
Code, gender, source	Hs21c, male, F
Pattern	HP7a (preceded by a descending Body)
Pitch range	52
Average Pitch (Hz)	190

| 'Fellebbeznek?|  
 appeal-3pl  
 'Will you appeal?'



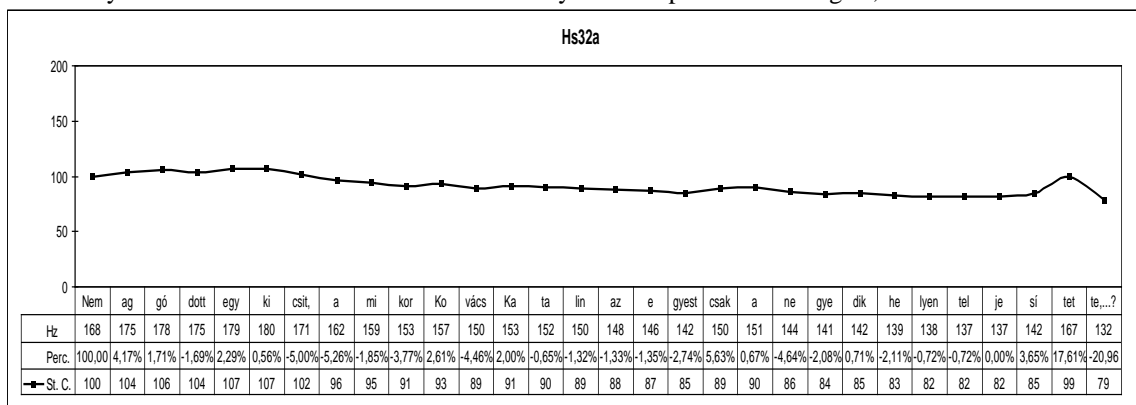
Code, gender, source	Hs22, male, F
Pattern	HP7a
Pitch range	82
Average Pitch (Hz)	183

| Kicsit 'keményebbnek kellene lennie Vécsi Viktor edzőnek?|  
 a-bit-acc tougher-dat should-3sg be Vécsi Viktor coach-dat  
 'Should Viktor Vécsi, the coach, be a bit tougher?'



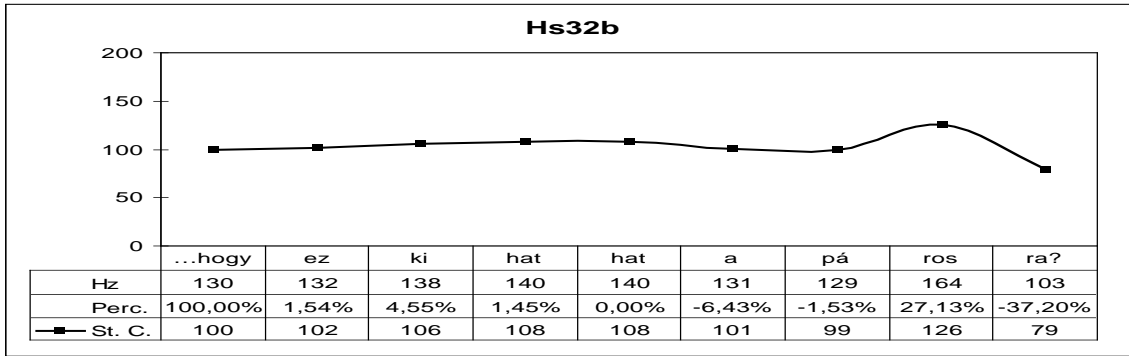
Code, gender, source	Hs29, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	47
Average Pitch (Hz)	125

| 'Nem aggódott egy kicsit, amikor Kovács Katalin az egyest csak a 'negyedik helyen teljesítette,|...  
 not worried-3sg a little-acc when Kovács Katalin the singles-acc only the fourth place-in fulfilled-3sg  
 'Weren't you worried when Katalin Kovács had only a fourth place in the singles,...?'



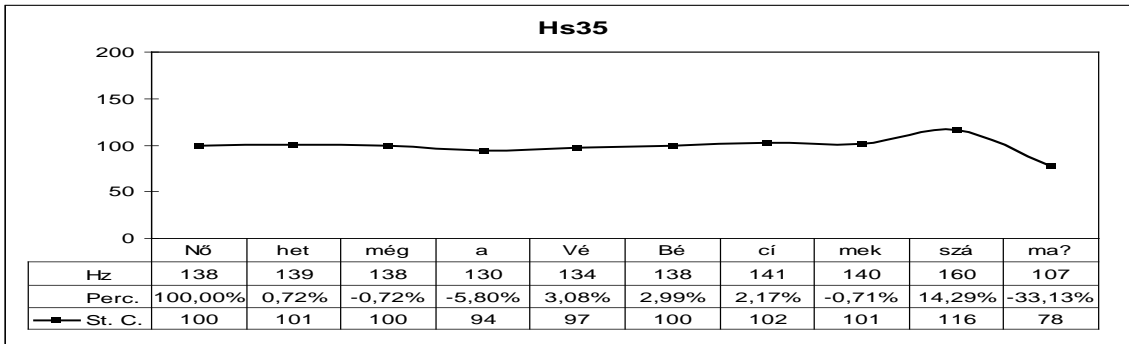
Code, gender, source	Hs32a, male, F
Pattern	HP7b (preceded by a descending Body)
Pitch range	36
Average Pitch (Hz)	153

...| hogy ez kihathat a 'párosra?|  
 that-compl this affect-can-3sg the doubles-to  
 '...that it might affect the doubles?'



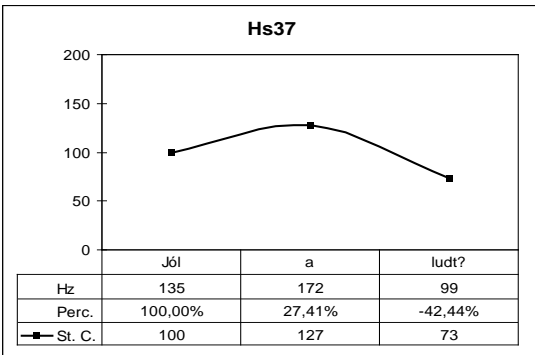
Code, gender, source	Hs32b, male, F
Pattern	HP7 (preceded by a descending Body)
Pitch range	47
Average Pitch (Hz)	134

| 'Nőhet még a vb-cívek száma?|  
 grow-can-3sg yet the World-Championship-medals number  
 'Can the number of World Championship medals grow?'



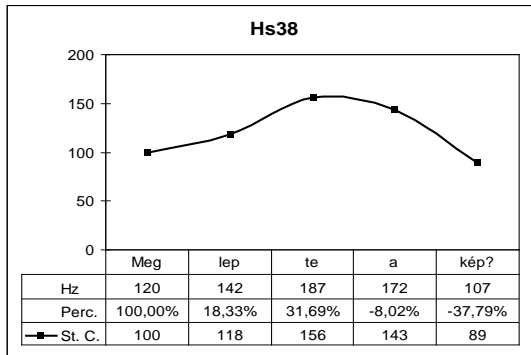
Code, gender, source	Hs35, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	49
Average Pitch (Hz)	137

| 'Jól aludt?|  
 well slept-3sg  
 'Did you sleep well?'



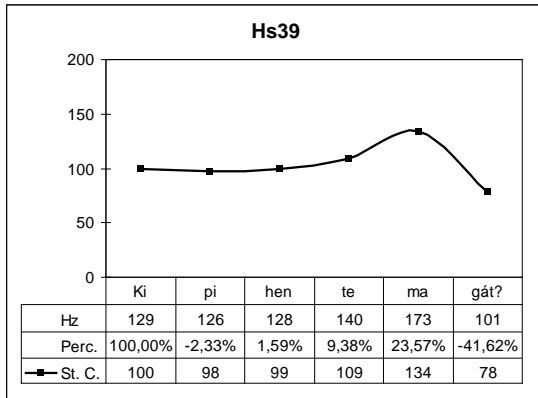
Code, gender, source	Hs37, male, F
Pattern	HP7b
Pitch range	74
Average Pitch (Hz)	135

| 'Meglepte a kép?|  
 surprised-3sg the picture  
 'Were you surprised by the image?'

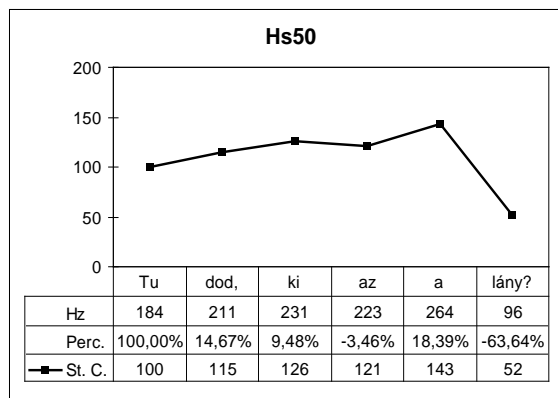


Code, gender, source	Hs38, male, F
Pattern	Anomalous HP7a (Peak shifted to the left)
Pitch range	76
Average Pitch (Hz)	146

| 'Kipihente magát?]  
 rested-3sg himself/herself-acc  
 'Did you have a good rest?'

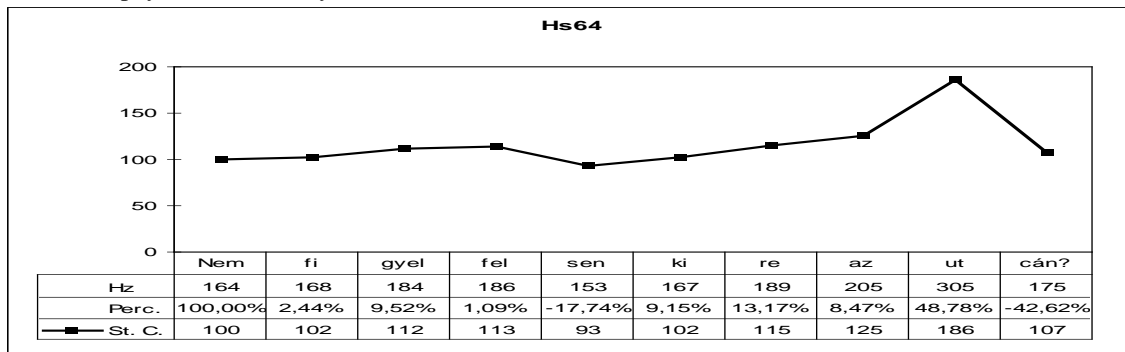


| 'Tudod, ki az a lány?]  
 know-2sg who that the girl  
 'Do you know who that girl is?'



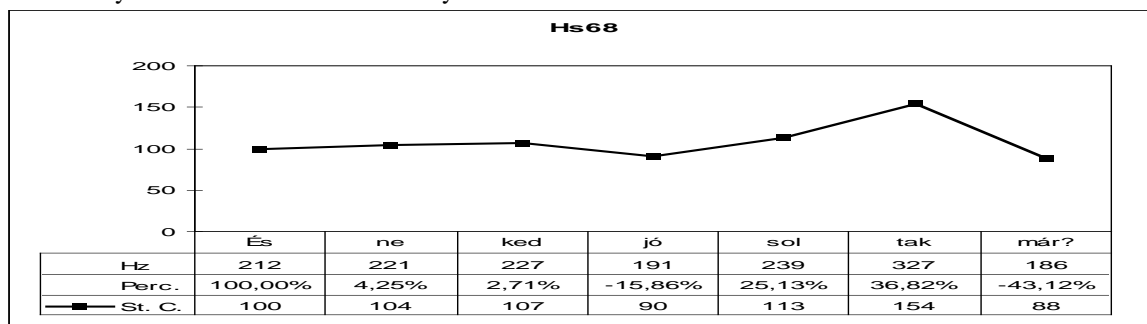
Code, gender, source	Hs39, male, F	Hs50, male, B
Pattern	HP7b	hybrid of HP7a and HP7b
Pitch range	72	175
Average Pitch (Hz)	133	202

| 'Nem figyel fel 'senkire az utcán?]  
 not pay-attention-3sg nobody-to the street-in  
 'You don't pay attention to anyone in the street?'



Code, gender, source	Hs64, female, E
Pattern	HP7a (preceded by a descending Body)
Pitch range	100
Average Pitch (Hz)	190

| 'És neked 'jósoltak már?]  
 and you-dat told-the-fortune-3pl already  
 'And have you been told the future already?'

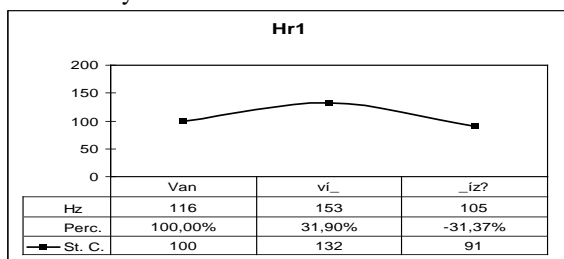


Code, gender, source	Hs68, female, D
Pattern	HP7a
Pitch range	75
Average Pitch (Hz)	229

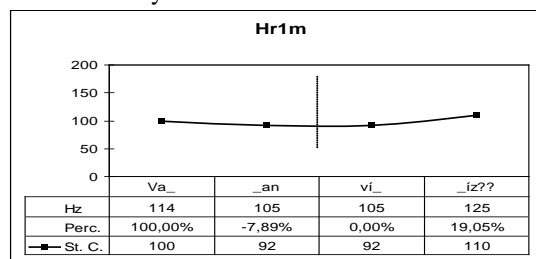
## 2. Marked yes-no questions

### a. Incredulous-repetitive echo yes-no questions (in case of read sentences, ordinary yes-no questions are shown together with their incredulous-repetitive echo counterparts)

| 'Van víz?|  
is water  
'Is there any water?'

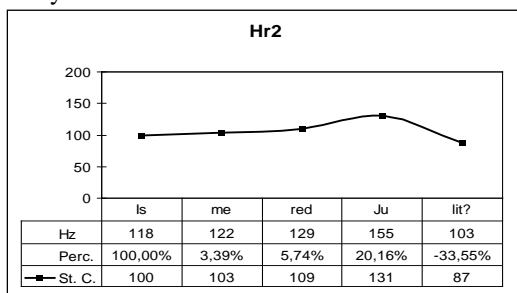


| 'Van | 'víz??|  
is water  
'Is there really some water?'

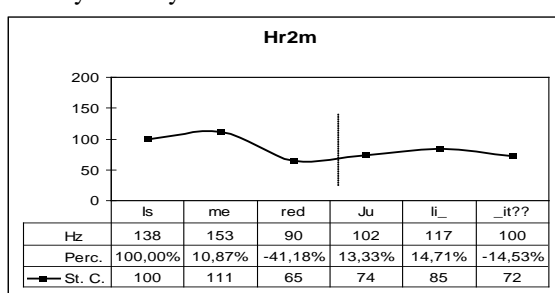


Code, gender, source	Hr1, male, G	Hr1m, male, G
Pattern	HP7	repeated HP7
Pitch range	45	20
Average Pitch (Hz)	125	112

| 'Ismered Julit?|  
know-sg2 Juli-acc  
'Do you know Julia?'

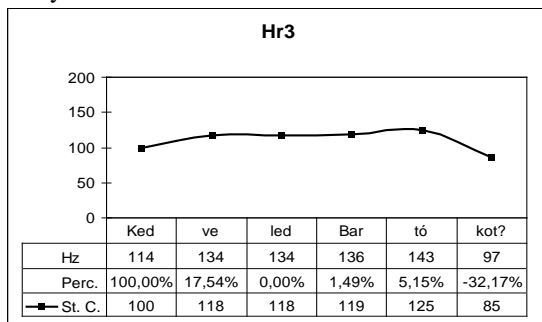


| 'Ismered | 'Julit??|  
know-sg2 Juli-acc  
'Do you really know Julia??'

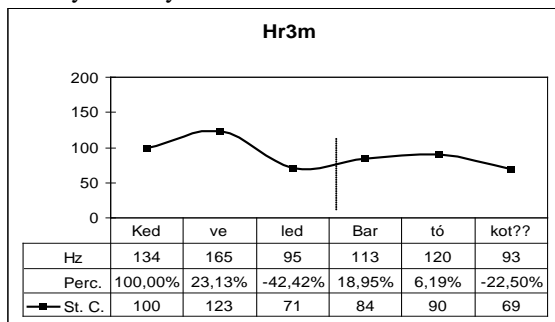


Code, gender, source	Hr2, male, G	Hr2m, male, G
Pattern	HP7b	Repeated HP7
Pitch range	55	54
Average Pitch (Hz)	125	117

| 'Kedveled Bartókot?|  
like-2sg Bartók-acc  
'Do you like Bartók?'

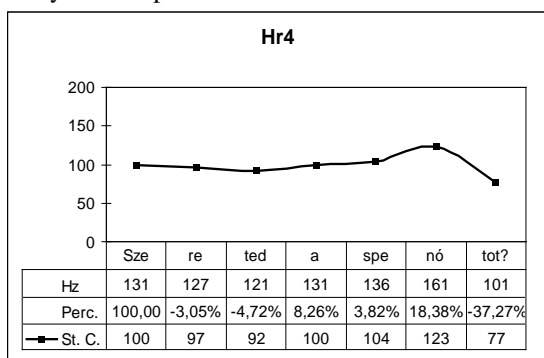


| 'Kedveled | 'Bartókot??|  
like-2sg Bartók-acc  
'Do you really like Bartók??'

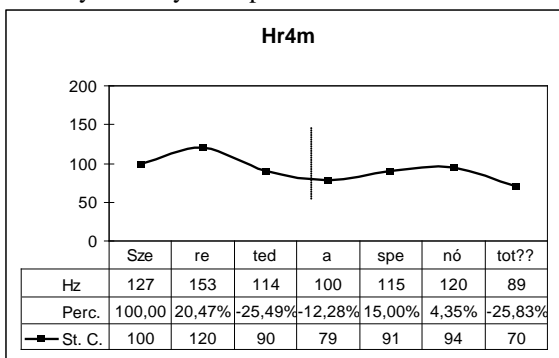


Code, gender, source	Hr3, male, G	Hr3m, male, G
Pattern	HP7c	Repeated HP7
Pitch range	47	78
Average Pitch (Hz)	126	120

| 'Szereted a spenótot?|  
like-2sg the spinach-acc  
'Do you like spinach?'

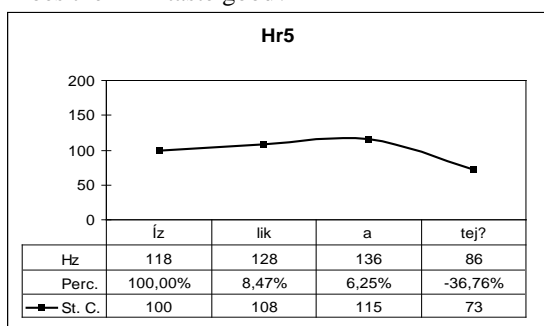


| 'Szereted | a 'spenótot??|  
like-2sg the spinach-acc  
'Do you really like spinach?'

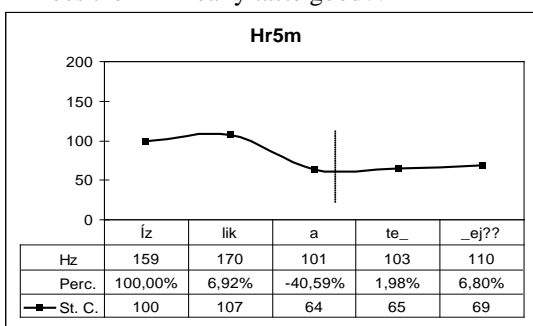


Code, gender, source	Hr4, male, G	Hr4m, male, G
Pattern	HP7b	HP7 + HP7a
Pitch range	60	71
Average Pitch (Hz)	113	117

| 'Ízlik a tej?|  
taste-3sg the milk  
'Does the milk taste good?'

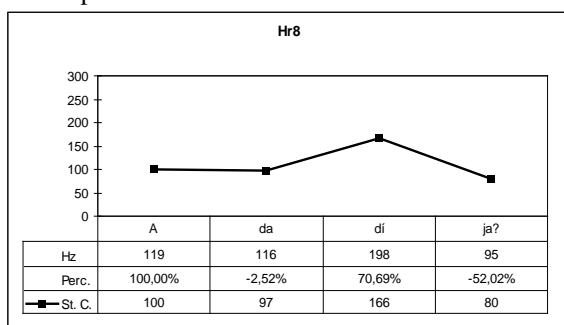


| 'Ízlik a | 'tej??|  
taste-3sg the milk  
'Does the milk really taste good?'

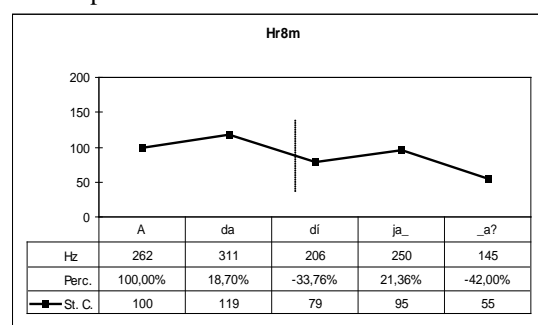


Code, gender, source	Hr5, male, G	Hr5m, male, G
Pattern	HP7a	Repeated HP7
Pitch range	58	67
Average Pitch (Hz)	117	128

| 'Ada d'ja?|  
Ada (fem. name) prize-his/her  
'Ada's prize?'

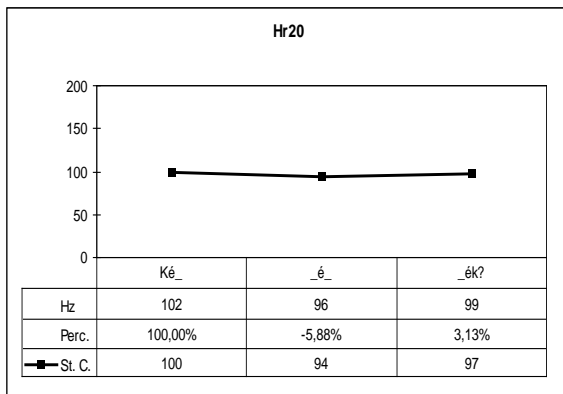


| 'Ada | 'd'ja??|  
Ada (fem. name) prize-his/her  
'Ada's prize??'

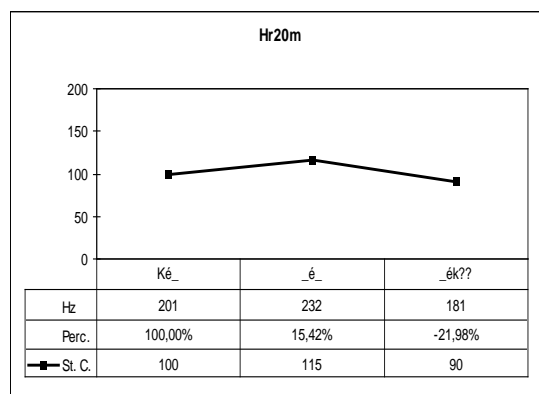


Code, gender, source	Hr8, male, G	Hr8m, female, G
Pattern	HP7b	Repeated HP7
Pitch range	108	116
Average Pitch (Hz)	132	235

| 'Kék?|  
'Blue?'

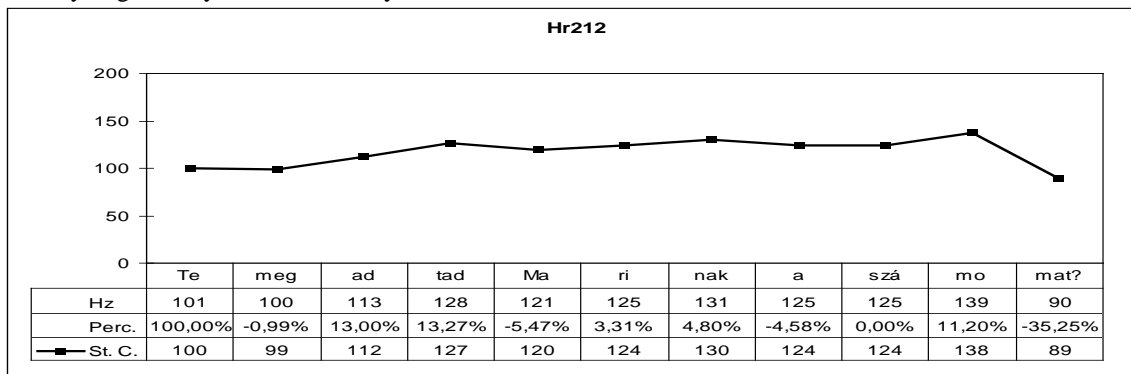


| 'Kék??|  
'Blue??'



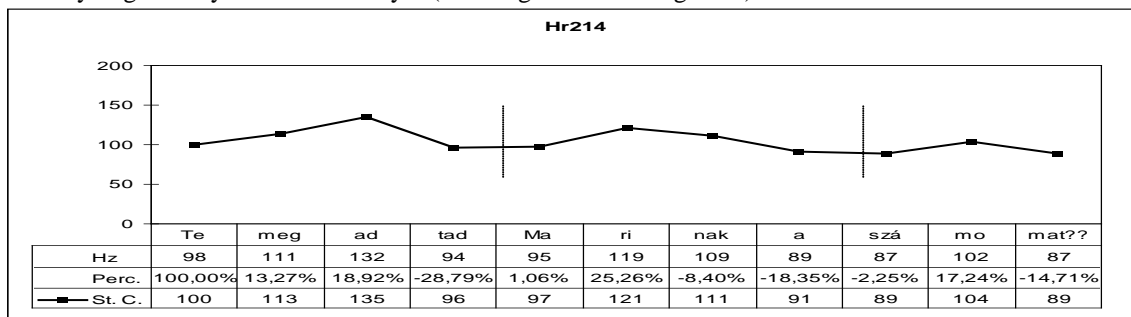
Code, gender, source	Hr20, male, G	Hr20m, male, G
Pattern	HP7	HP7
Pitch range	6	28
Average Pitch (Hz)	99	204

| Te 'megadtad Marinak a számomat?|  
you-sg gave-2sg Mary-to the number-my-acc  
'Have you given my number to Mary?'



Code, gender, source	Hr212, male, G
Pattern	Hybrid of HP7a + HP7b
Pich variation	55
Average Pitch (Hz)	118

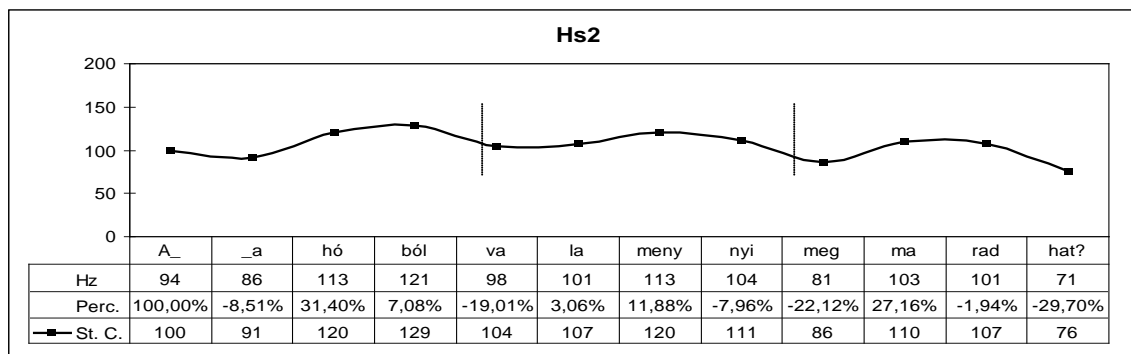
| Te 'megadtad | 'Marinak a | 'számomat???'|  
you-sg gave-2sg Mary-to the number-my-acc  
'Have you given my number to Mary?' (Am I right in assuming this?)



Code, gender, source	Hr214, male, G
Pattern	HP7a + HP7a + HP7 (the second pattern is anomalous: peak shifted to the left)
Pich variation	52
Average Pitch (Hz)	102

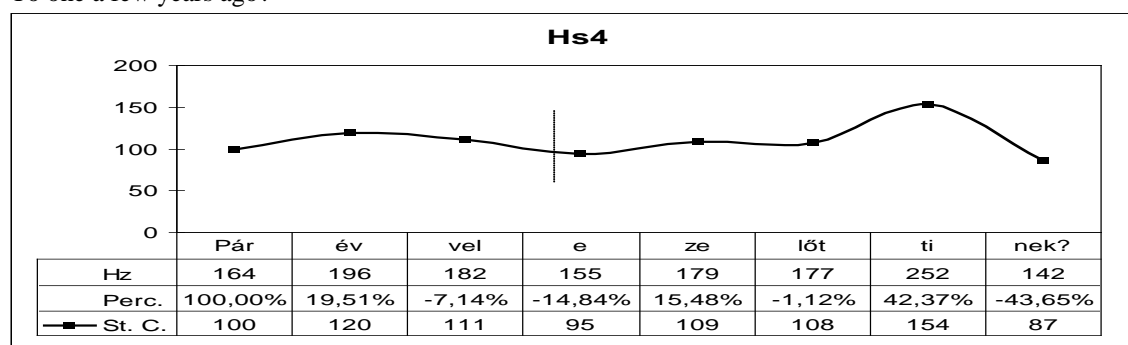


|A 'hóból | 'valamennyi | 'megmaradhat?|  
the snow-from some can-remain-3sg  
‘Can some of the snow remain?’



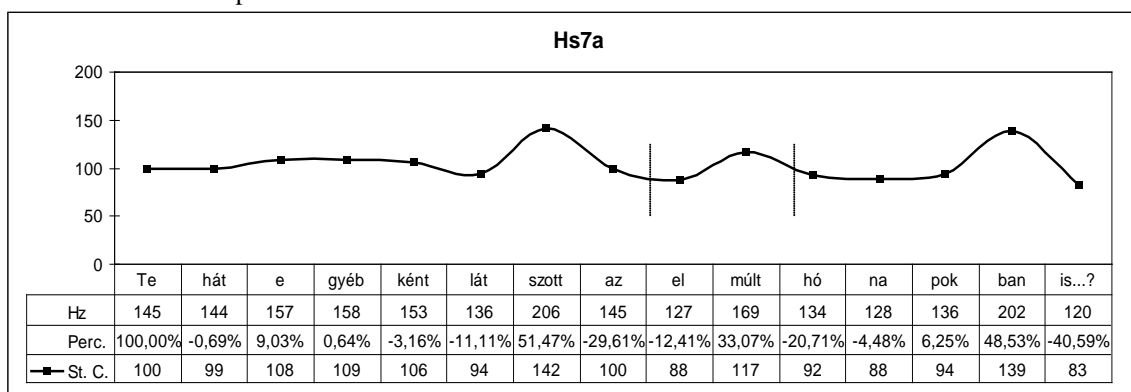
Code, gender, source	Hs2, male, F
Pattern	HP7 + HP7b + HP7c (the third pattern is anomalous: peak shifted to the left)
Pitch range	70
Average Pitch (Hz)	99

| 'Pár évvel | 'ezelőttinek?|  
some years-with this-before-to-of  
‘To one a few years ago?’



Code, gender, source	Hs4, female, F
Pattern	HP7 + HP7b
Pitch range	77
Average Pitch (Hz)	180

| Tehát egyébként 'látszott az | 'elmúlt | 'hónapokban is|...  
so by-the-way seemed-3sg the past months-in too  
‘So it was seen in the previous months as well...?’

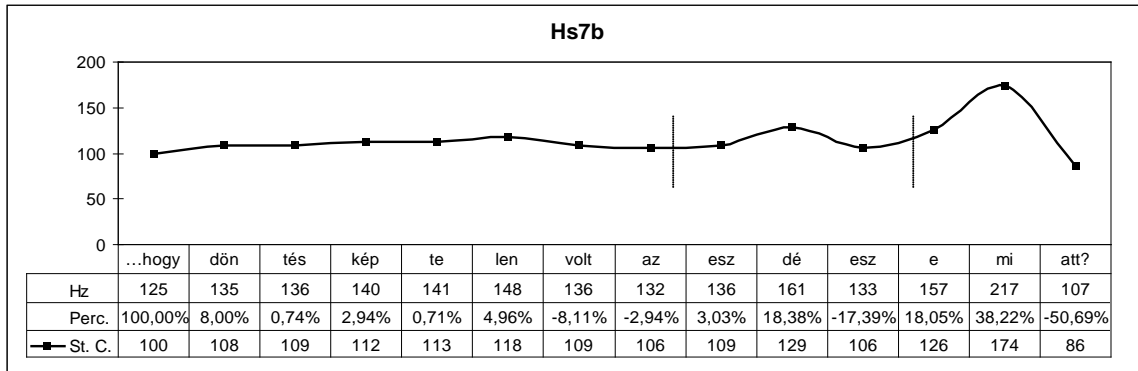


Code, gender, source	Hs7a, male, F
Pattern	HP7b + HP7 + HP7b
Pitch range	67
Average Pitch (Hz)	151

...| hogy 'döntésképtelen volt | az 'EszDéEsz | 'emiatt?

That-compl unable-to-decide was-3sg the SzDSz this-because-of

'... that the SzDSz was unable to decide because of that?', where SzDSz = Association of Free Democrats

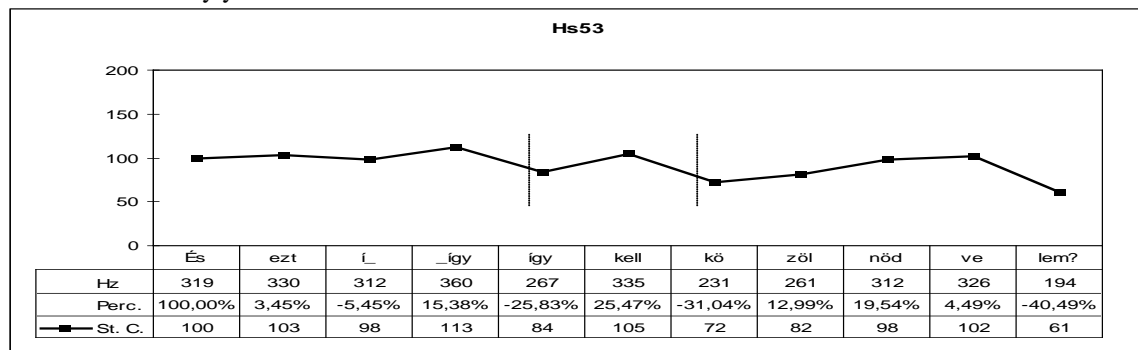


Code, gender, source	Hs7b, male, F
Pattern	Repeated HP7b, with the last one having the largest range
Pitch range	102
Average Pitch (Hz)	143

| És ezt 'így | 'így kell | 'közölnöd velem??

and this-acc so so must communicate-2sg me-with

'And is this the way you have to tell me this?'

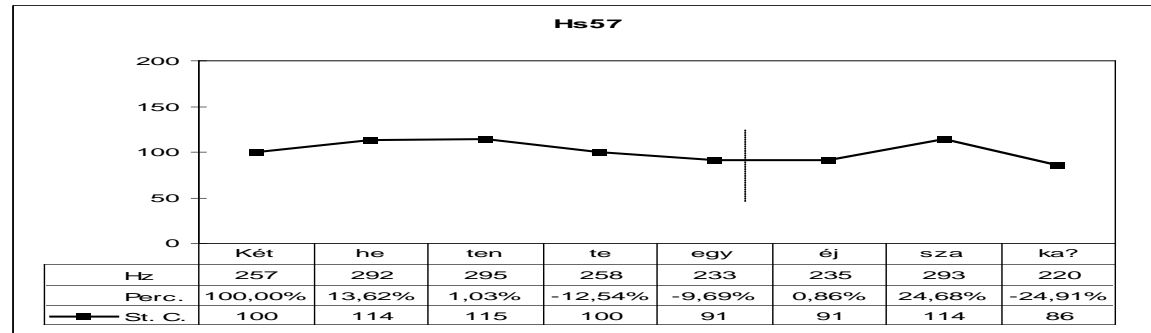


Code, gender, source	Hs53, female, A
Pattern	HP7 + HP7 + HP7a
Pitch range	85
Average Pitch (Hz)	295

| 'Kéthetente | egy 'éjszaka??

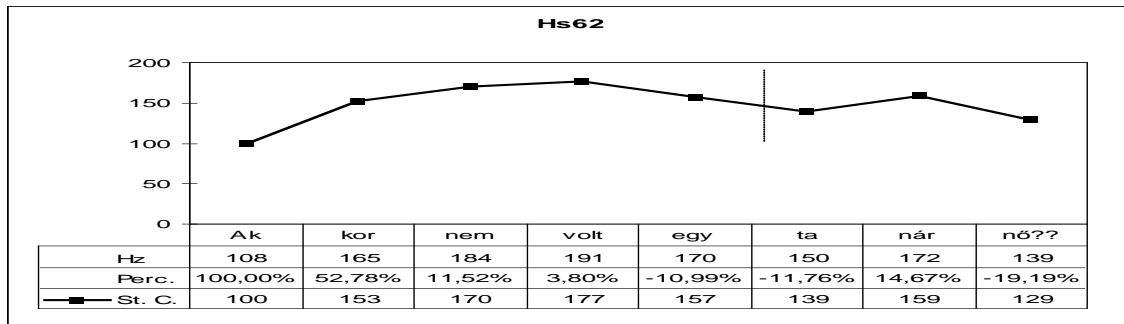
two-weekly one night

'A night every two weeks??'



Code, gender, source	Hs57, female, C
Pattern	Hp7a + HP7b
Pitch range	34
Average Pitch (Hz)	260

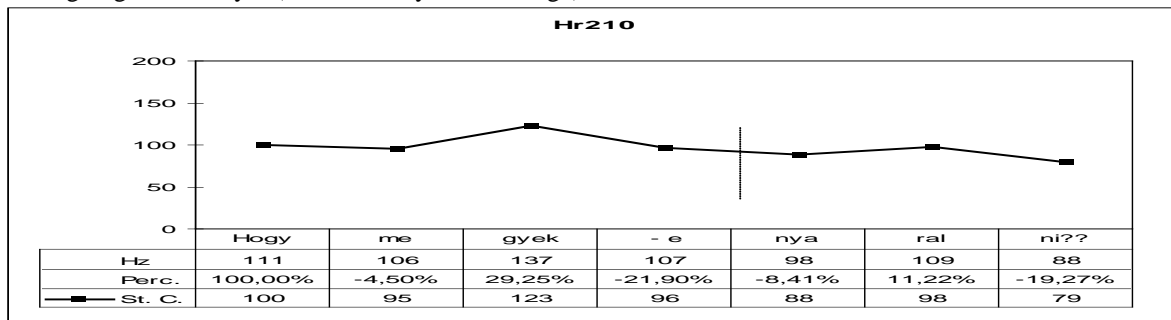
| Akkor 'nem volt egy | 'tanárnő??|  
 then not was-3sg a teacher-fem  
 Then was there no female teacher??



Code, gender, source	Hs62, female, E
Pattern	Hp7a + HP7
Pitch range	77
Average Pitch (Hz)	160

### b. Clarifying-exclamative echo yes-no questions

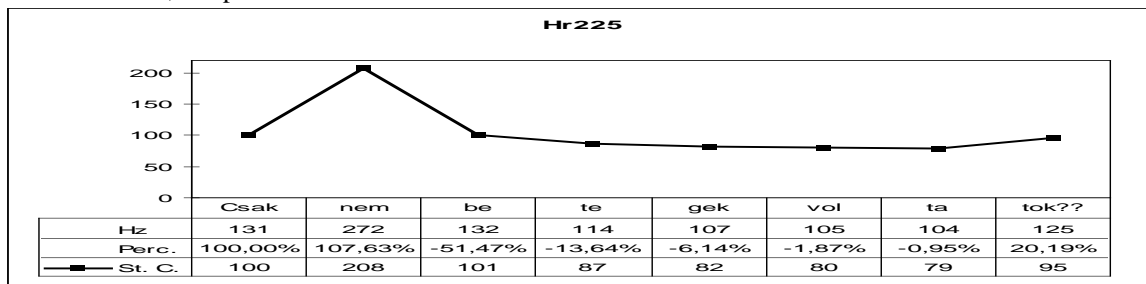
| Hogy 'megyek-e | 'nyaralni?|  
 that-compl go-1sg-whether have-a-holiday  
 'Am I going on holiday?' (Is that what you're asking?)



Code, gender, source	Hr210, male, G
Pattern	Repeated HP7
Pitch range	56
Average Pitch (Hz)	108

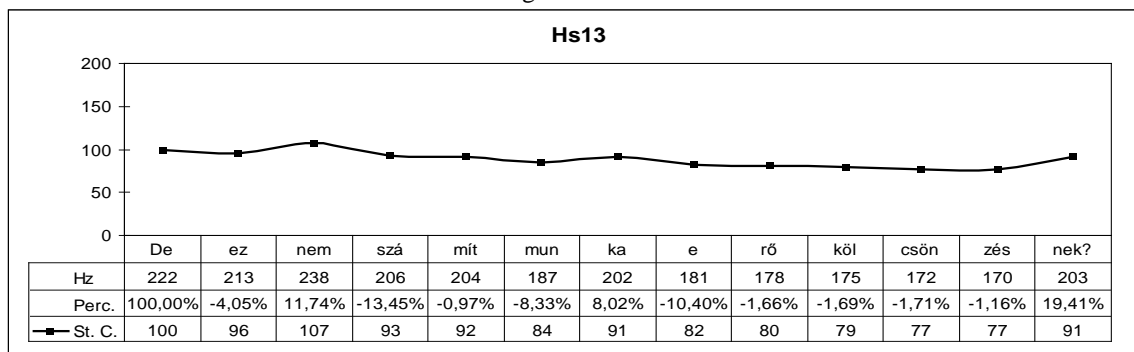
### c. Yes-no questions with a grammatical particle or special grammatical structure (bold type in the transcription and the glosses)

| **Csak 'nem** betegek voltak?|  
 just not ill-pl were-2pl  
 'You weren't ill, I hope?'



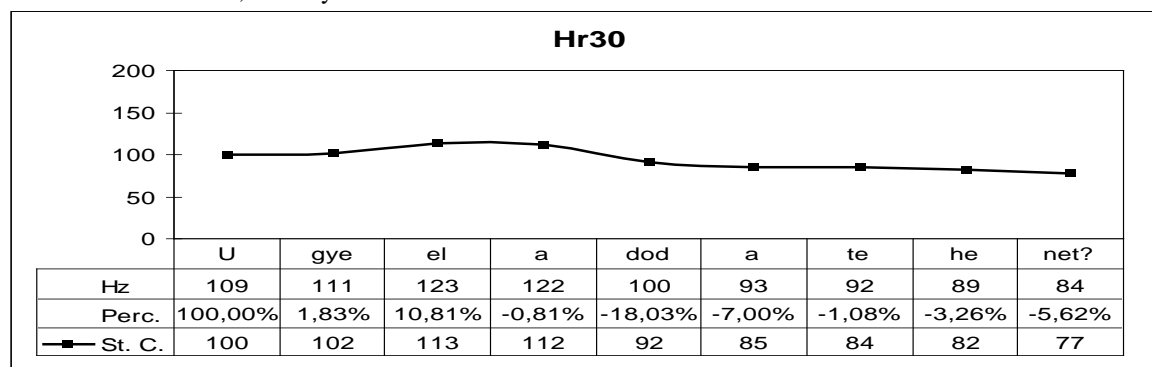
Code, gender, source	Hr225, male, G
Pattern	HP3a
Pitch range	163
Average Pitch (Hz)	136

| De ez 'nem számít munkaerő kölcsönzésnek?]  
**but this not** count-3sg work-power borrowing-dat  
 'But is this not considered to be labour-borrowing?'



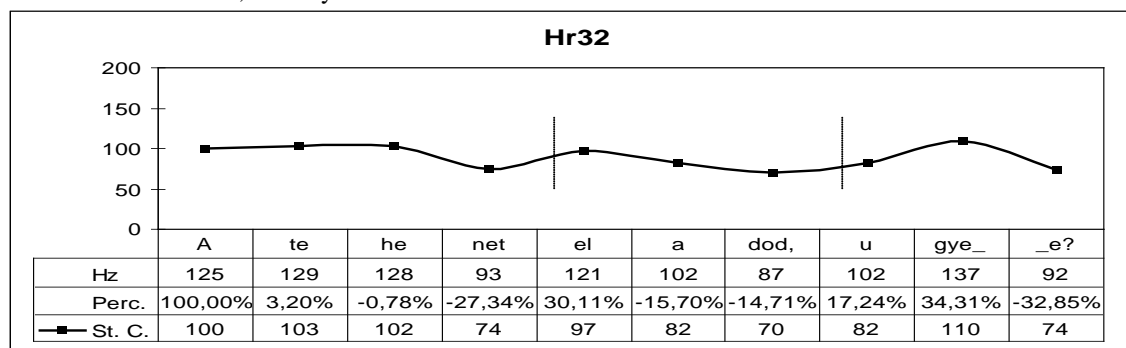
Code, gender, source	Hs13, female, F
Pattern	HP3a
Pitch range	39
Average Pitch (Hz)	196

| Ugye 'eladod a tehenet?]  
**am-I-right** sell-2sg the cow-acc  
 'You will sell the cow, won't you?'



Code, gender, source	Hr30, male, G
Pattern	HP1 (anomalous, because the big drop is between the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and the 3 <sup>rd</sup> syllables)
Pitch range	47
Average Pitch (Hz)	103

| A 'tehenet | 'eladod, | 'ugye?]  
 the cow-acc sell-2sg **am-I-right**  
 'You will sell the cow, won't you?'

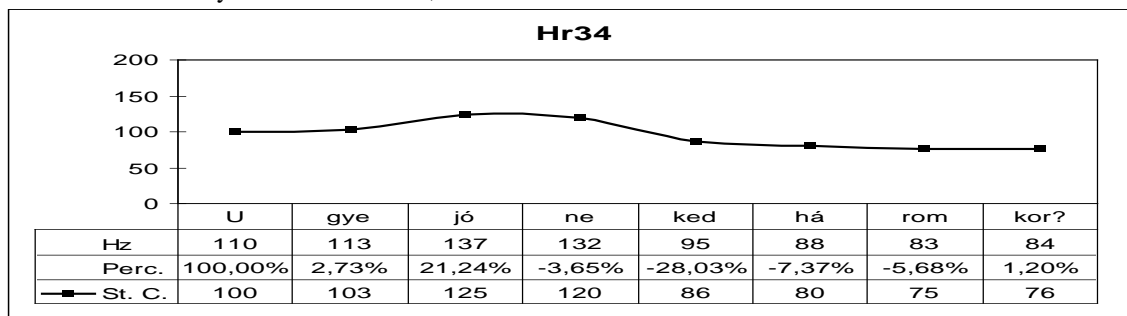


Code, gender, source	Hr32, male, G
Pattern	HP9 + flattened HP1 + HP7b
Pitch range	(in the third pattern) 49
Average Pitch (Hz)	(in the third pattern) 110

| Ugye 'jó neked háromkor?]

**am-I-right** good you-2sg-dat three-at

'It is convenient for you at three o'clock, isn't it?'

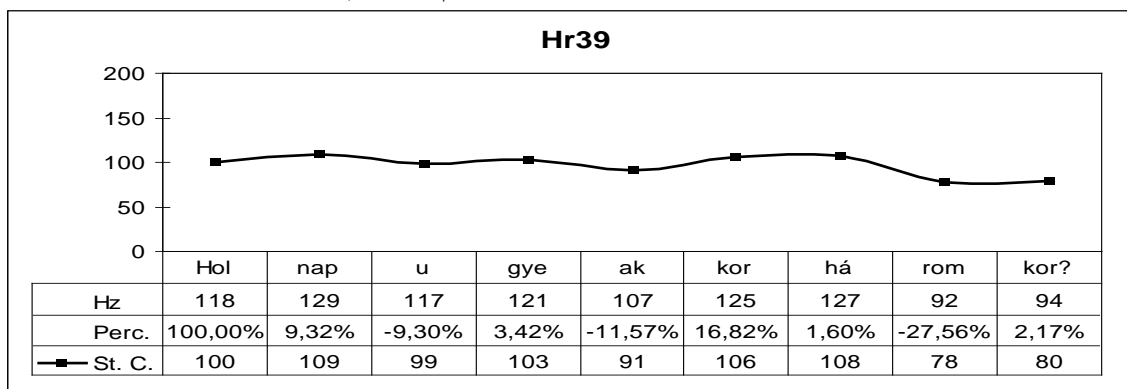


Code, gender, source	Hr34, male, G
Pattern	HP1 (anomalous, as the big drop is between the 2 <sup>nd</sup> and the 3 <sup>rd</sup> syllables)
Pitch range	67
Average Pitch (Hz)	105

| Holnap **ugye** akkor 'háromkor?]

tomorrow **am-I-right** then three-at

'Tomorrow at three o'clock then, isn't it?'

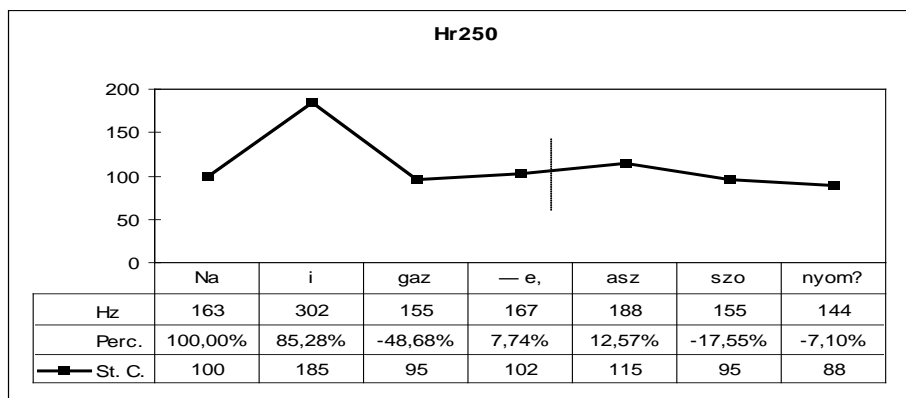


Code, gender, source	Hr39, male, G
Pattern	HP1
Pitch range	36
Average Pitch (Hz)	114

|Na 'igaz-e, | 'asszonyom?]

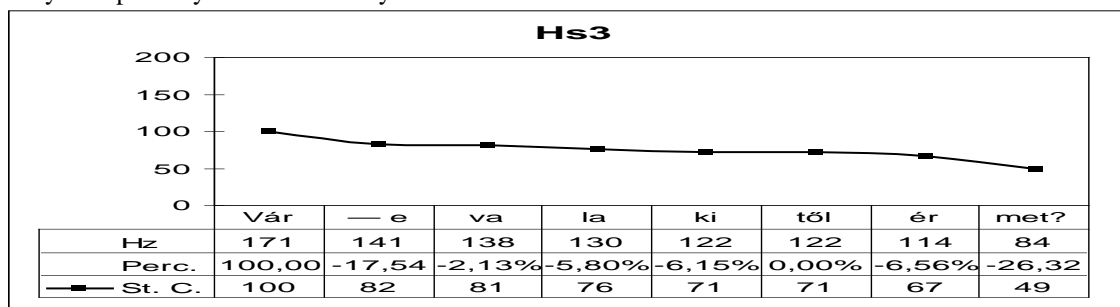
so true-**whether** madam-my

'Now, is that true, Madam?'



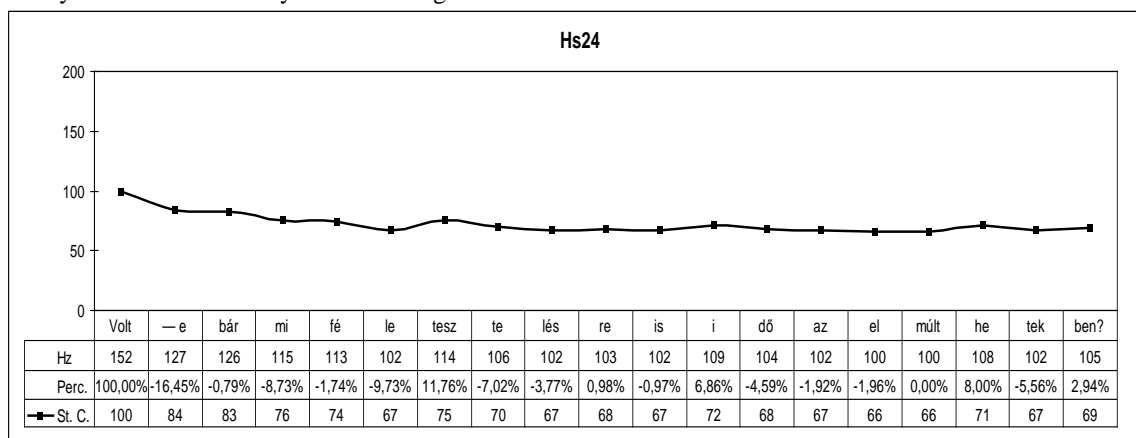
Code, gender, source	Hr250, female
Pattern	HP3 + HP1
Pitch range	95(in the first pattern)
Average Pitch (Hz)	197 (in the first pattern)

| 'Vár-e valakitől 'érmet?]  
 expect-3sg-**whether** somebody-from medal-acc  
 'Do you expect any medals from anyone?'



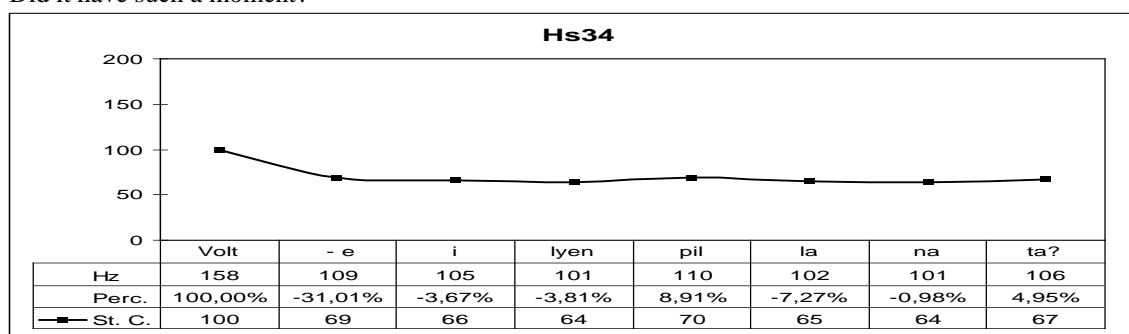
Code, gender, source	Hs3, male, F
Pattern	HP1 (preceded by a descendent Body)
Pitch range	104
Average Pitch (Hz)	128

| 'Volt-e bármiféle 'tesztelésre is idő az elmúlt hetekben?]  
 was-3sg-**whether** any-kind-of testing too time the past weeks-in  
 'Did you have time for any sort of testing in the last few weeks?'



Code, gender, source	Hs24, male, F
Pattern	HP1 (preceded by a half-falling Body)
Pitch range	52
Average Pitch (Hz)	110

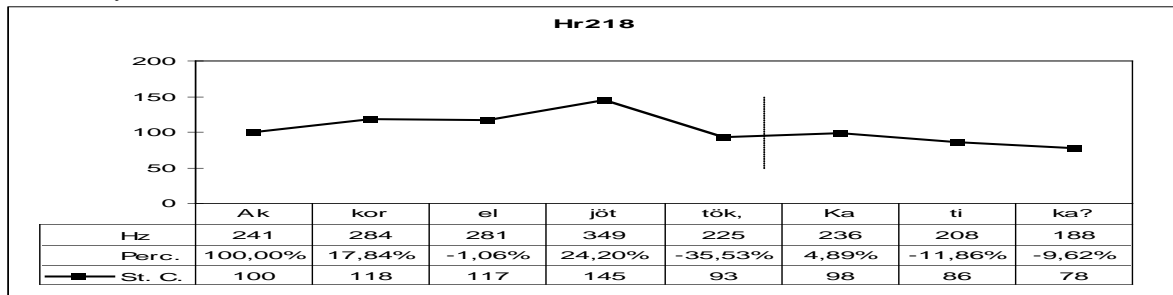
| 'Volt-e ilyen pillanata?]  
 was-3sg-**whether** such moment-its  
 'Did it have such a moment?'



Code, gender, source	Hs34, male, F
Pattern	HP1
Pitch range	56
Average Pitch (Hz)	112

### 3. Yes-no question + vocative sequences

| Akkor 'eljöttök, | 'Katika?  
 then come-2pl Kate-diminutive  
 'Then will you come, Katie?'



Code, gender, source	Hr218, female, G
Pattern	HP7 + HP1
Pitch range	(in the first pattern) 56
Average Pitch (Hz)	(in the first pattern) 276

## APPENDIX 3

### Corpus 3: Spanish sentences by Hungarian learners of Spanish

Corpus 3 contains Spanish sentences produced by 30 Hungarian learners of Spanish (who have been learning Spanish for one year). It consists of two parts: in Corpus 3A the sentences are read, in Corpus 3B, they are semi-spontaneous.

The symbols, abbreviations and graphics are the same as for Appendix 1-2. The average pitch height is not measured, as the students, because of their age, have higher average pitch height in this corpus anyway than the informants of the previous corpora.

#### Corpus 3A: Spanish sentences read by Hungarian learners of Spanish

This corpus was provided by sentences from a dialogue in a Spanish coursebook, *Gente 1* (Baulenas et al., 2004, Unit 17/2.). The short text could be read once before reading it out loud, so the students supposedly knew what they were saying.

The text contained 5 yes-no questions, of which only the 4 non-monosyllabic ones were analysed. Here I reproduce the text, with the analysed yes-no questions in boxes:

TITLE: -¿**Hacen deporte los españoles?**? ‘Do the Spanish do sports?’

SPEAKER A: -¿Usted, señora, **hace deporte?**? ‘You (formal), madam, do you do any sport?’

SPEAKER B: -Sí, sí. Hago natación. Media hora cada día. ‘Yes, yes. I swim. Half an hour every day.’

SPEAKER A: -¿**Cada día?**? ‘Every day?’

SPEAKER B: -Sí, sí. Y algunos días dos veces: mañana y tarde. ‘Yes, yes. And sometimes twice: in the morning and in the afternoon.’

SPEAKER A: -¿**Y usted también, caballero?**? ‘And you sir, too?’

SPEAKER C: -Yo, también. Pero sólo los fines de semana, ¿eh?. Todos los fines de semana salgo en bici, con los amigos. Hacemos un promedio de 35 ó 40 kilómetros. ‘Me too. But only at weekends, you know. Every weekend I ride a bike with my friends. We do an average of 30 or 40 kilometres.’

SPEAKER A: -¿Y entre semana? ¿Algo más? ‘And at weekdays? Something else?’

SPEAKER C: -No, la verdad es que no tengo tiempo. ‘No, to tell the truth I don’t have time.’

The analysed sentences fell into the following categories:

-utterances “a” and “b” are ordinary yes-no interrogatives, with ordinary yes-no question intonation (SP2).

-utterance “c” is an incredulous-repetitive yes-no question, with SP9;



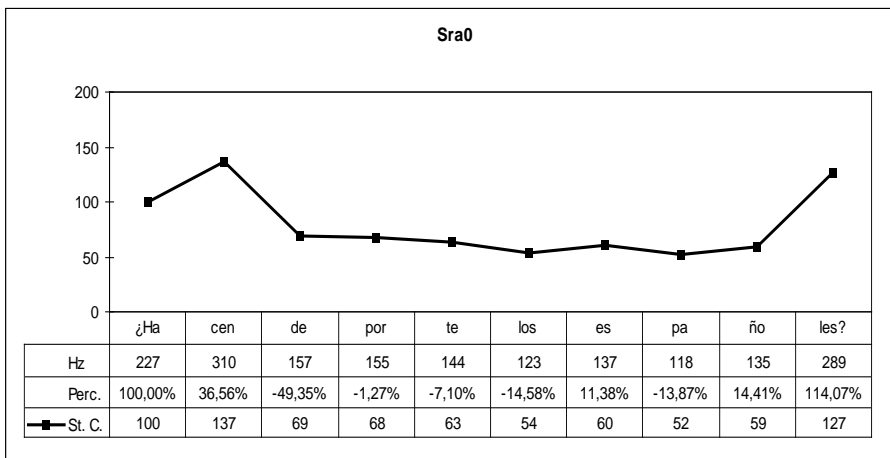
-utterance “d” is a yes-no question + vocative sequence, with two SP1 patterns, a rising FI in both parts.

**The original sentences read by Spanish speakers, from Gente 1 (Unit 17 / 2).**

Explanation of the codes:

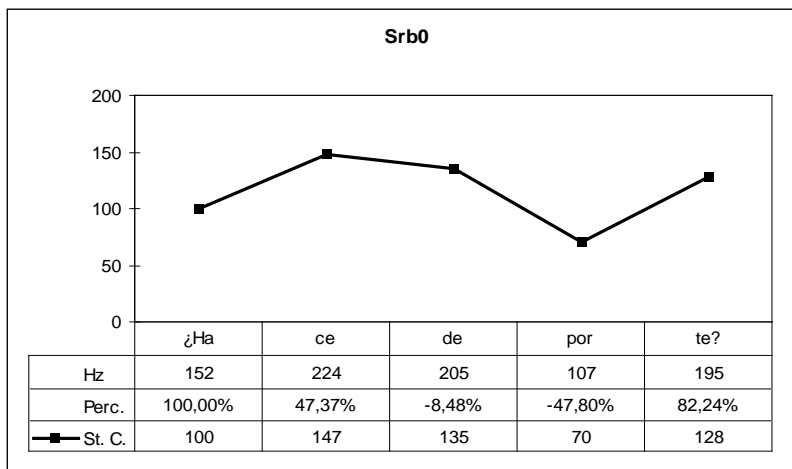
- Sr: Spanish read;
- a,b,c,d: Sentence a,b,c,d;
- 0: original sentences, read by a Spanish speaker

| ¿'Hacen deporte los espa'ñoles?|  
do-3pl sport the Spanish  
'Do the Spanish do sports?'



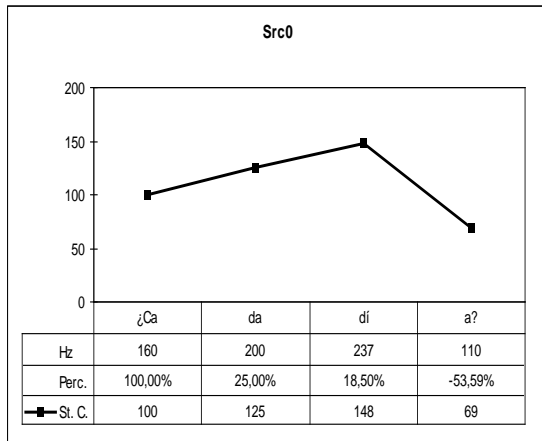
Code	Sra0
Pattern	SP2
Pitch Range	163

| ¿'Hace de'porte?|  
do-2sg sport  
'Do you do any sport?'

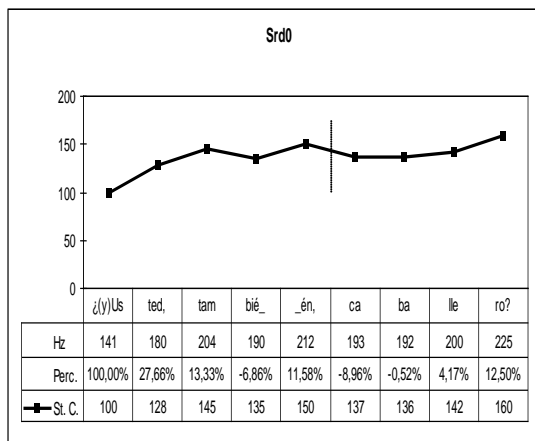


Code	Srb0
Pattern	SP2
Pitch Range	110

| ¿'Cada día?  
Every day  
'Every day?'



| ¿(Y) Us'ted tam'bién, | caba'llero?  
and you-sg-fml too sir  
'And you too, sir?'



Code	Src0	Srd0
Pattern	SP9	SP1 + SP1
Pitch Range	81	(only first pattern): 50

### Renditions by by Hungarian learners of Spanish

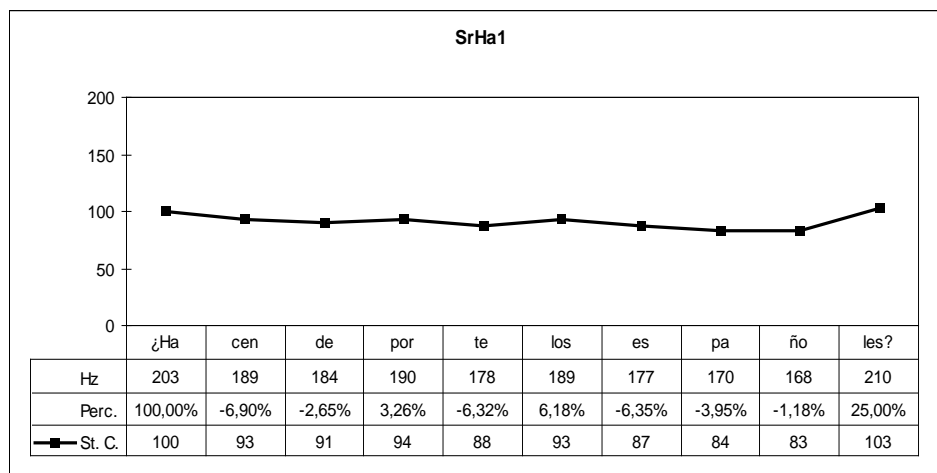
The following section contains 111 Spanish sentences read by 30 Hungarian learners of Spanish, aged 14-16, who have been learning Spanish for less than one year.

Explanation of the codes:

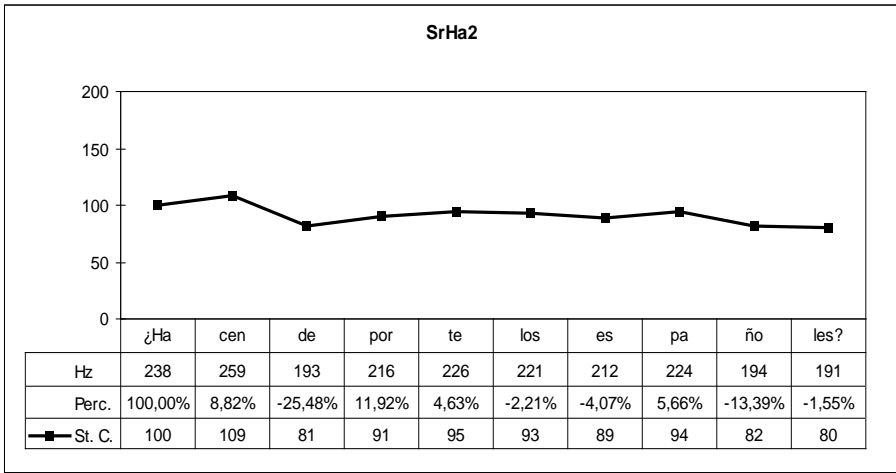
SrH: Spanish sentence read by a Hungarian speaker

A,b,c,d: sentence a,b,c,d

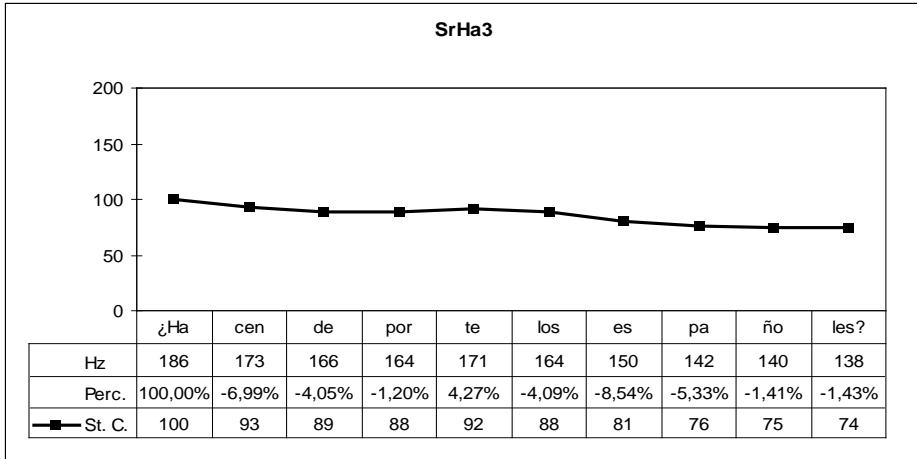
1-30: speaker 1-30



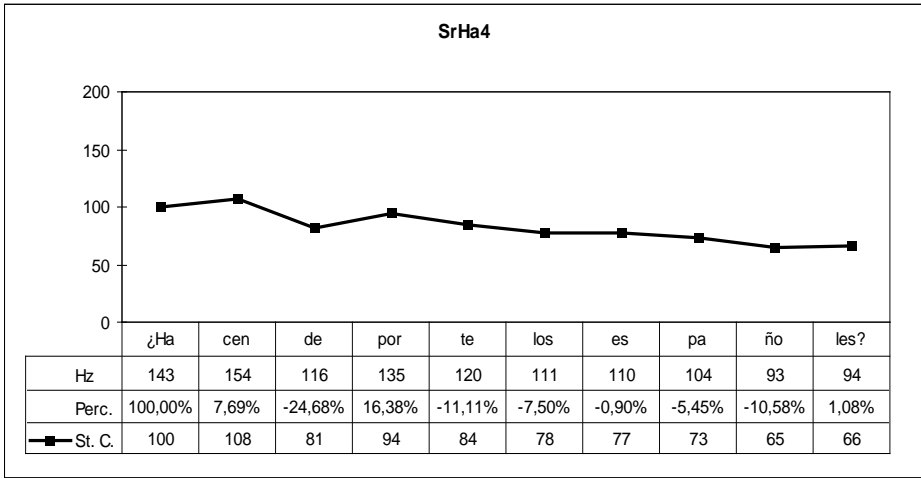
Code	SrHa1, male
Pattern	SP6a
Pitch Range	24



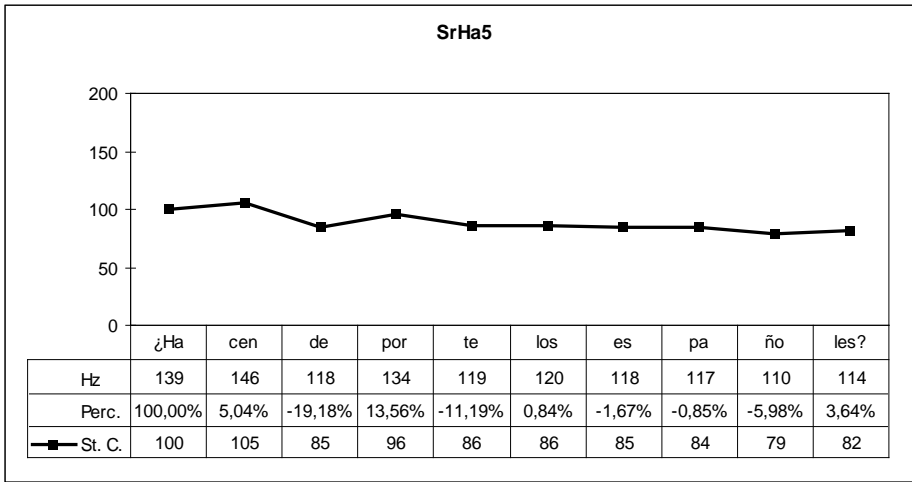
Code                      SrHa2, female  
 Pattern                 SP1, possibly HP1  
 Pitch Range            36



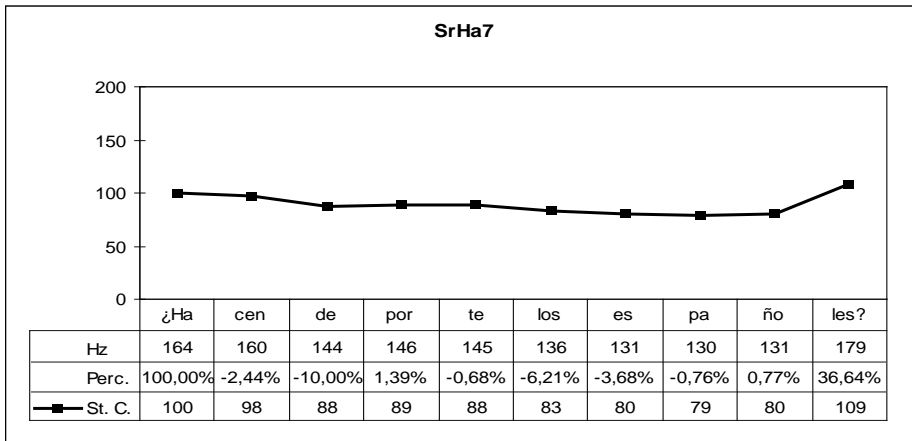
Code                      SrHa3, female  
 Pattern                 SP1  
 Pitch Range            26



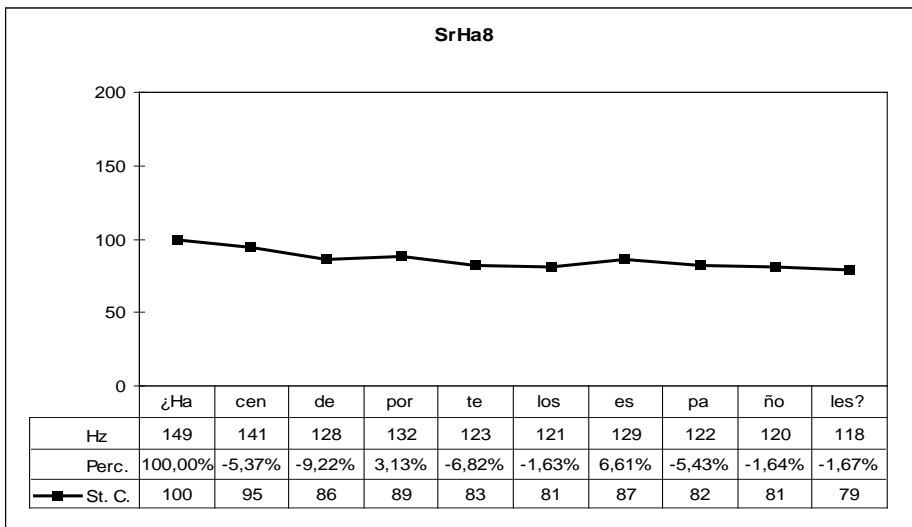
Code                      SrHa4, male  
 Pattern                 SP1, possibly HP1  
 Pitch Range            66



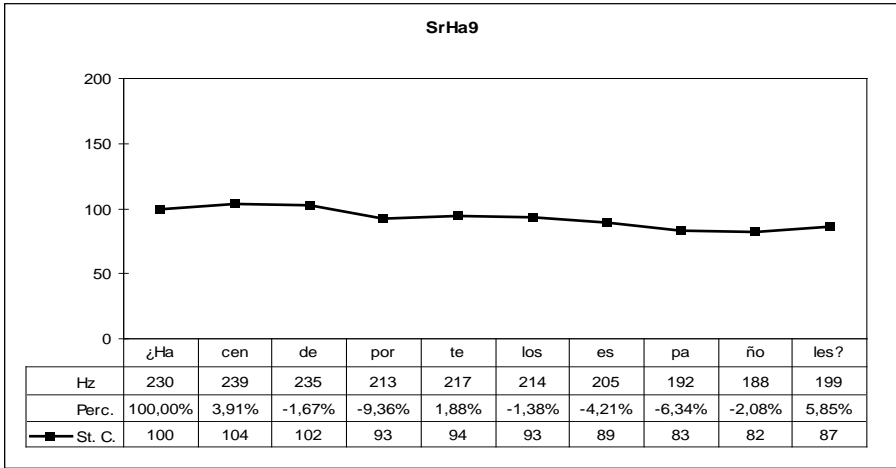
Code                      SrHa5, male  
 Pattern                  SP1, possibly HP1  
 Pitch Range             33



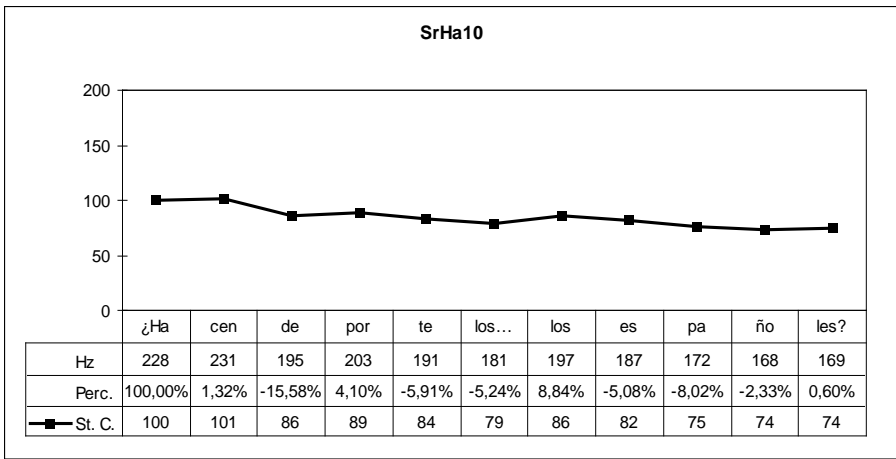
Code                      SrHa7, male  
 Pattern                  SP6a  
 Pitch Range             38



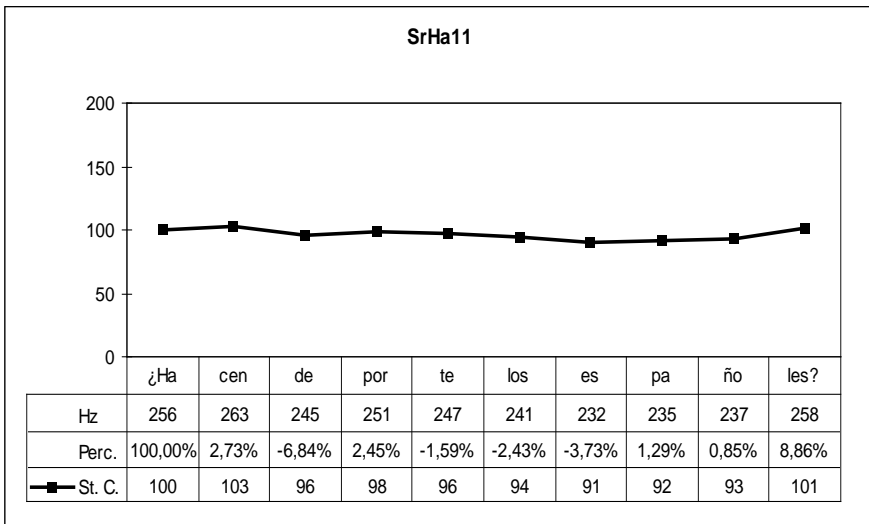
Code                      SrHa8, male  
 Pattern                  SP1  
 Pitch Range             27



Code SrHa9, female  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 23



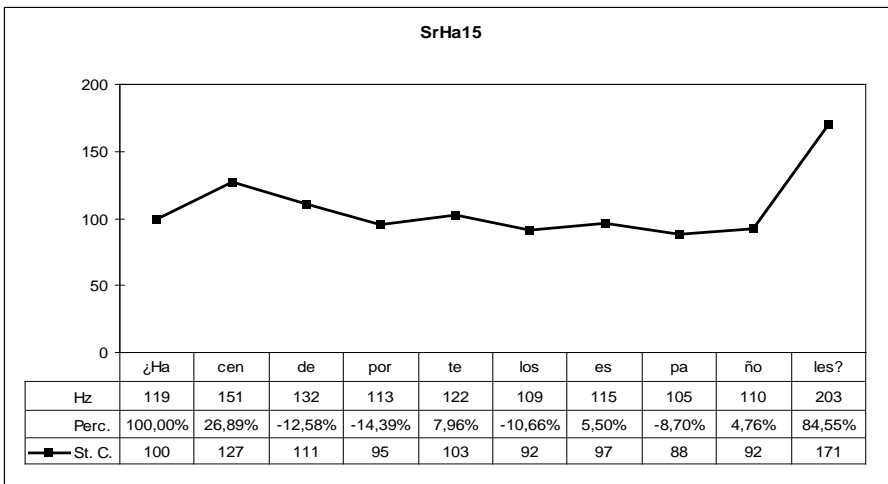
Code SrHa10, female  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 36



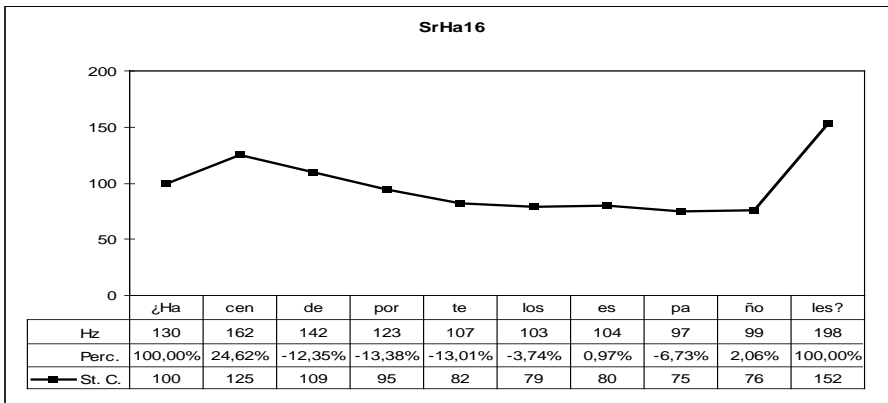
Code SrHa11, female  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 13



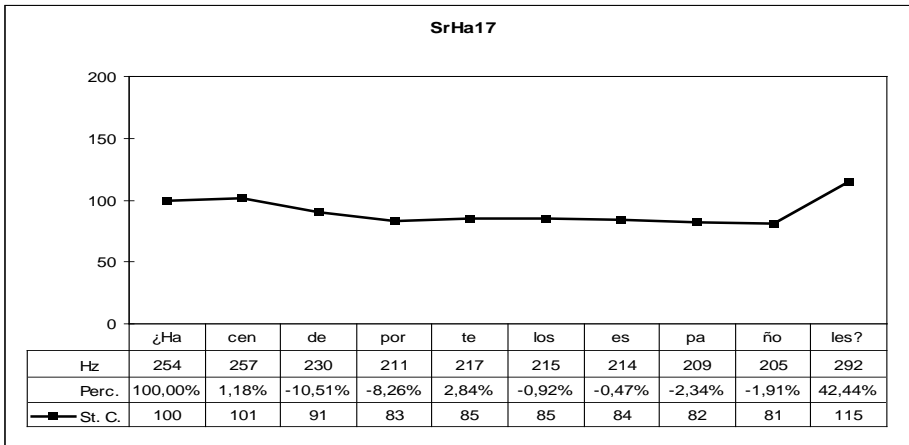
Code SrHa13, male  
 Pattern SP6b  
 Pitch Range 52



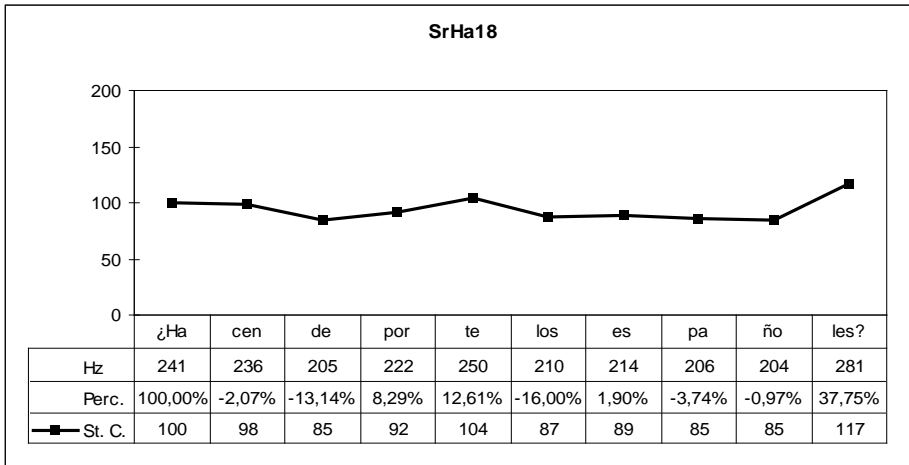
Code SrHa15, male  
 Pattern SP2 (First Peak lower than the endpoint of the FI)  
 Pitch Range 94



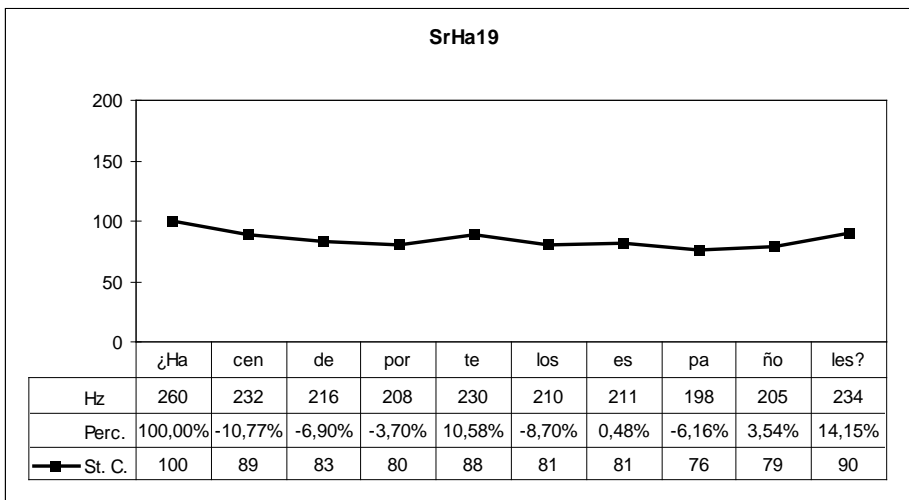
Code SrHa16, male  
 Pattern SP2 (First Peak lower than the endpoint of the FI)  
 Pitch Range 103



Code                    SrHa17, female  
 Pattern                SP3  
 Pitch Range          42



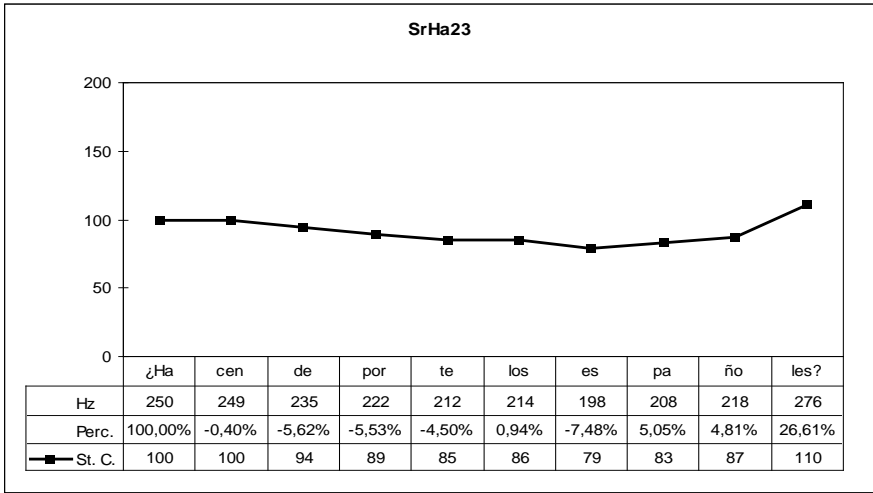
Code                    SrHa18, female  
 Pattern                SP6a  
 Pitch Range          38



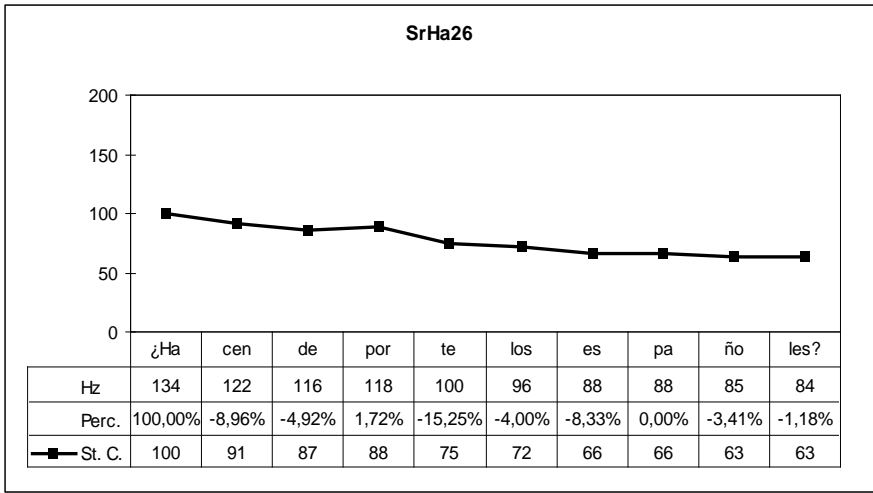
Code                    SrHa19, female  
 Pattern                SP1  
 Pitch Range          23



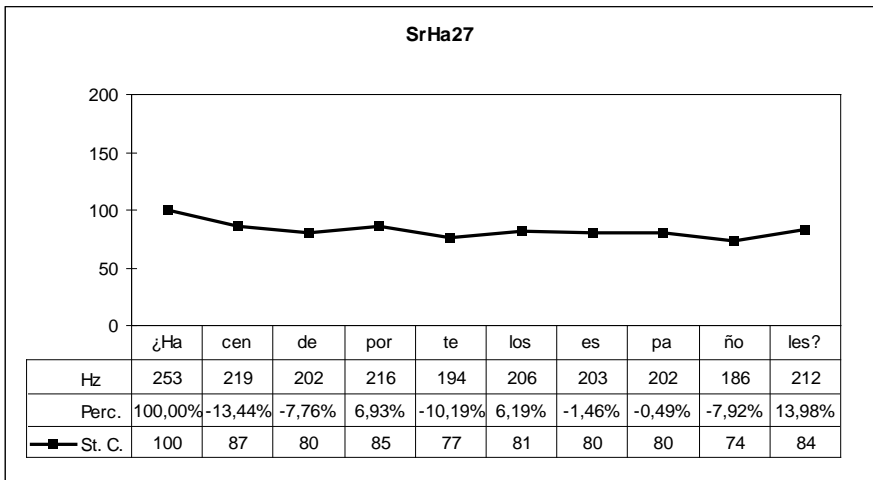




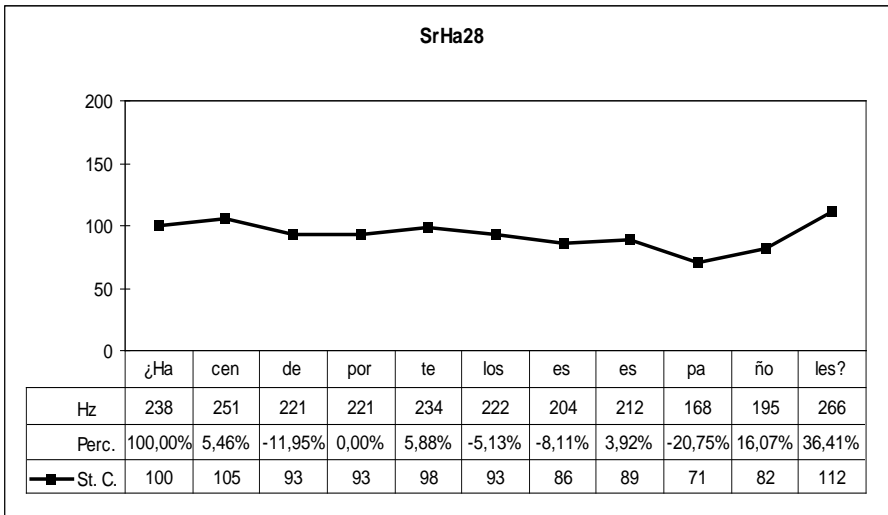
Code                   SrHa23, female  
 Pattern                SP6a  
 Pitch Range          33



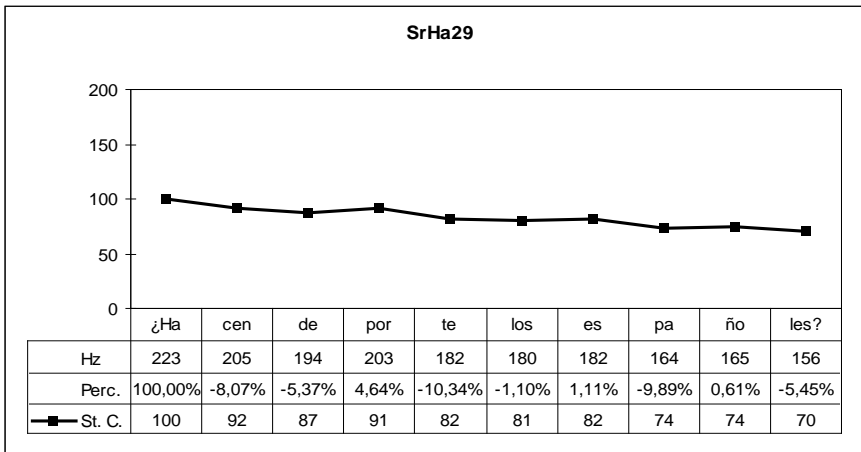
Code                   SrHa26, male  
 Pattern                SP1  
 Pitch Range          59



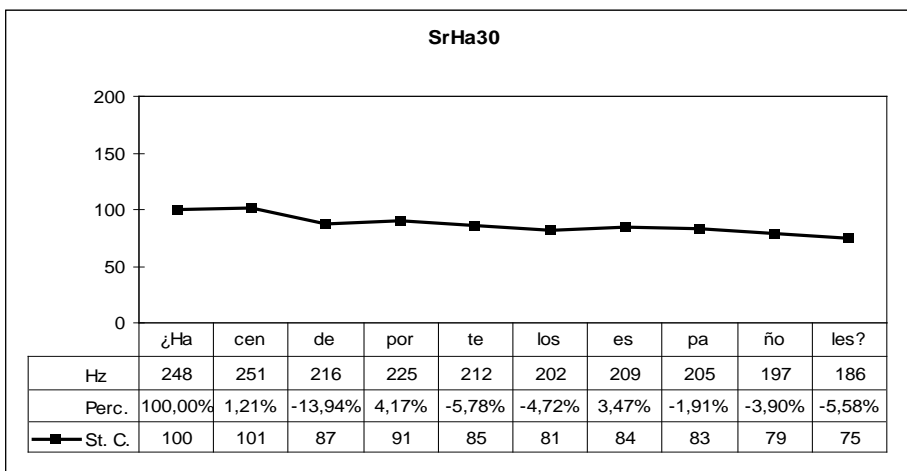
Code                   SrHa27, female  
 Pattern                SP1, possibly HP1  
 Pitch Range          35



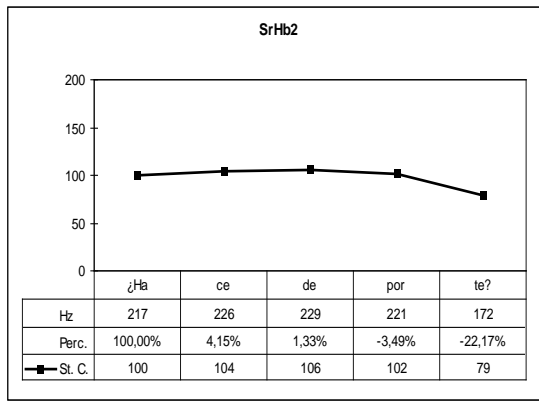
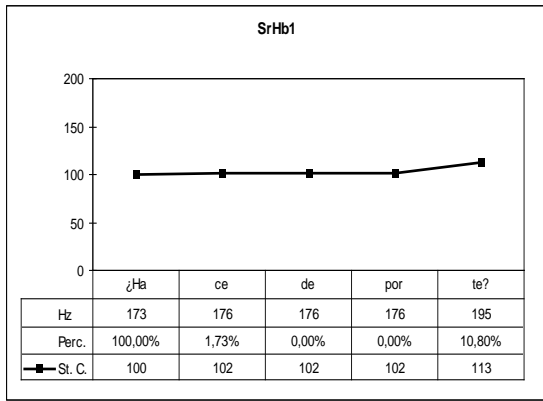
Code SrHa28, female  
 Pattern SP6b  
 Pitch Range 58



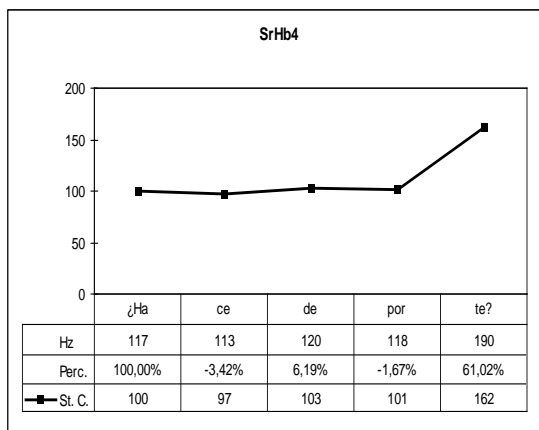
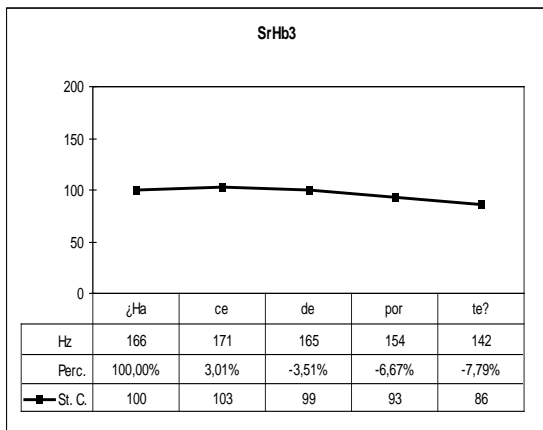
Code SrHa29, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 43



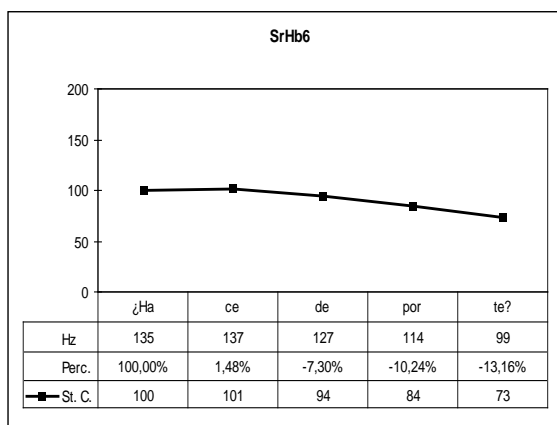
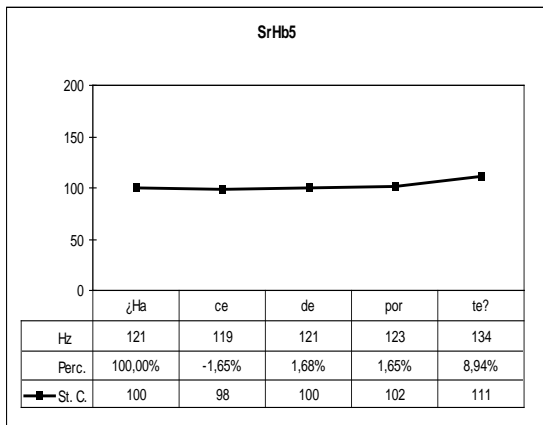
Code SrHa30, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 35



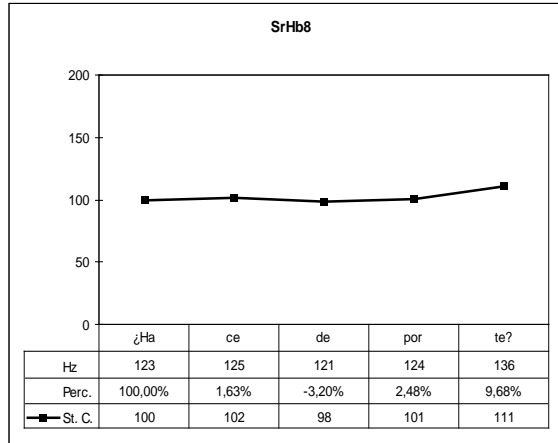
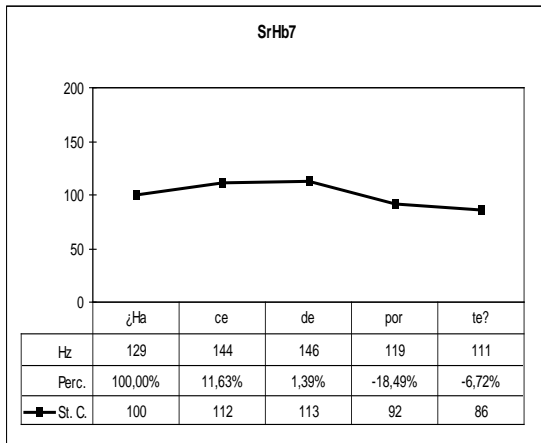
Code	SrHb1, male	SrHb2, female
Pattern	SP1	SP1, possible HP8
Pitch Range	13	34



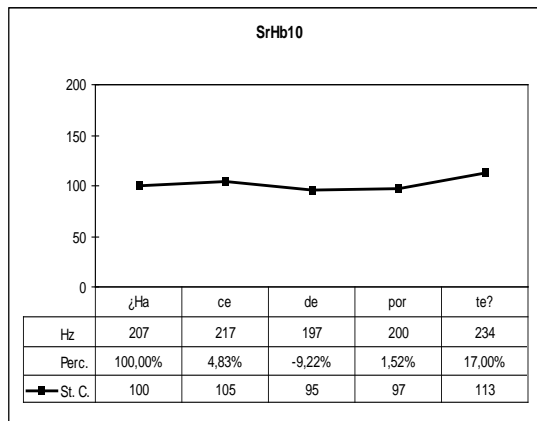
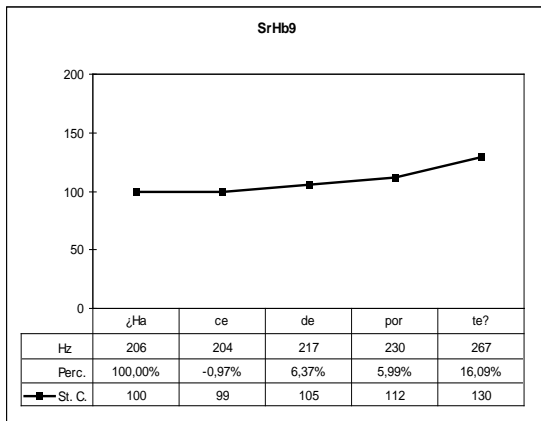
Code	SrHb3, female	SrHb4, male
Pattern	SP1	SP6a
Pitch Range	16	67



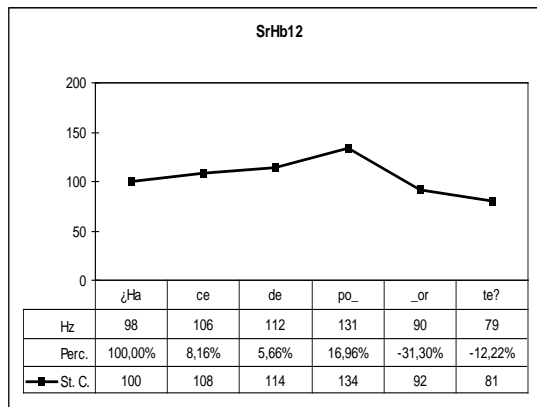
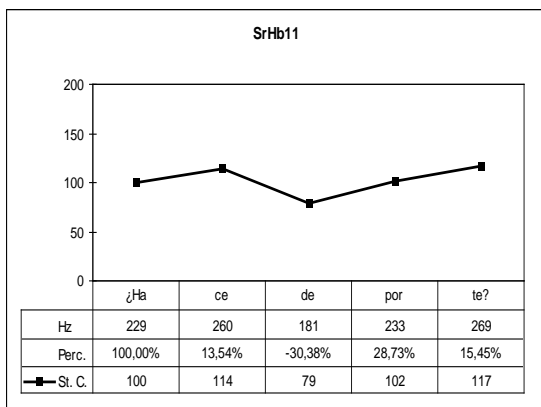
Code	SrHb5, male	SrHb6, male
Pattern	SP1	SP1
Pitch Range	13	34



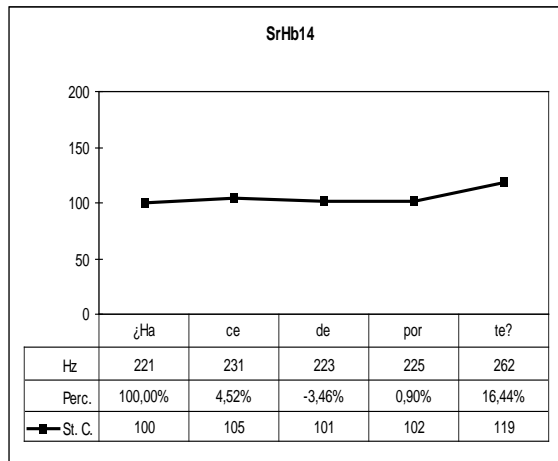
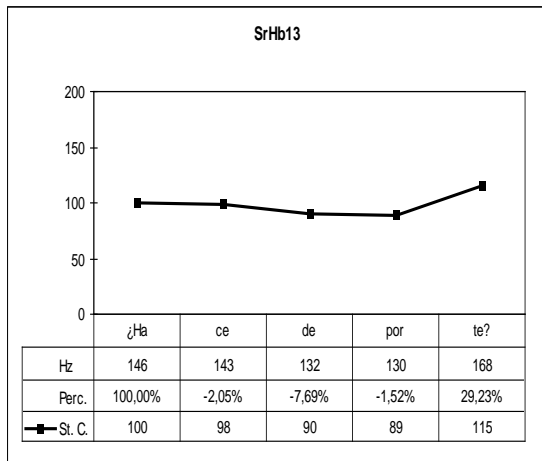
Code	SrHb7, male	SrHb8, male
Pattern	SP1	SP1
Pitch Range	31	13



Code	SrHb9, female	SrHb10, female
Pattern	SP6a	SP6b
Pitch Range	31	19

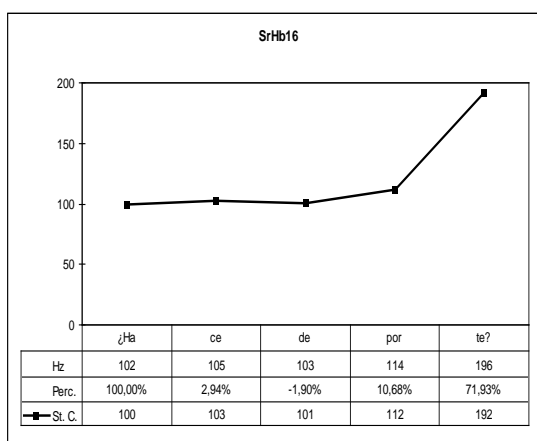
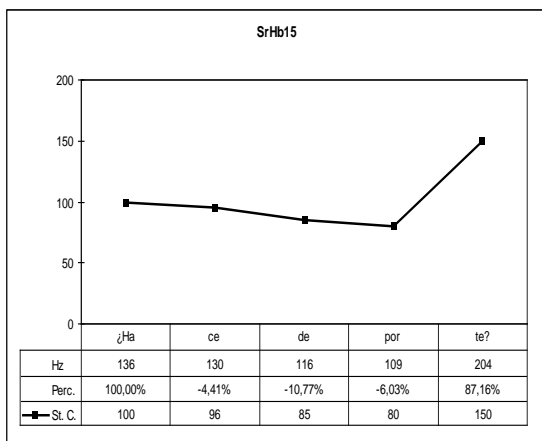


Code	SrHb11, female	SrHb12, male
Pattern	SP6b	SP1, possibly HP7b
Pitch Range	48	65



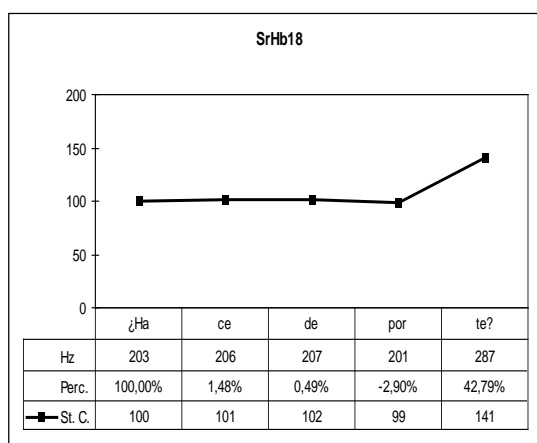
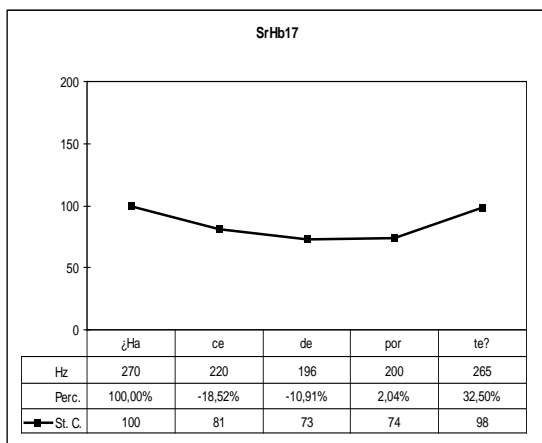
Code SrHb13, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 29

SrHb14, female  
 SP6b  
 17



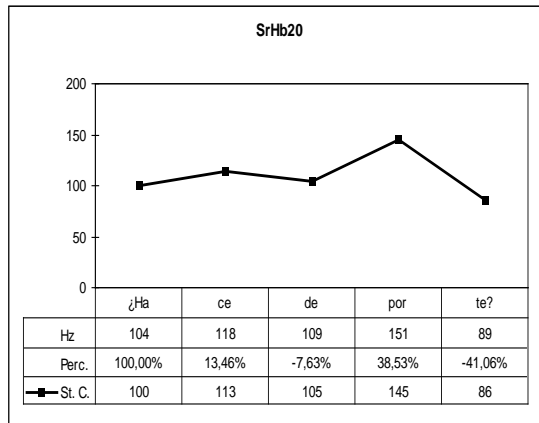
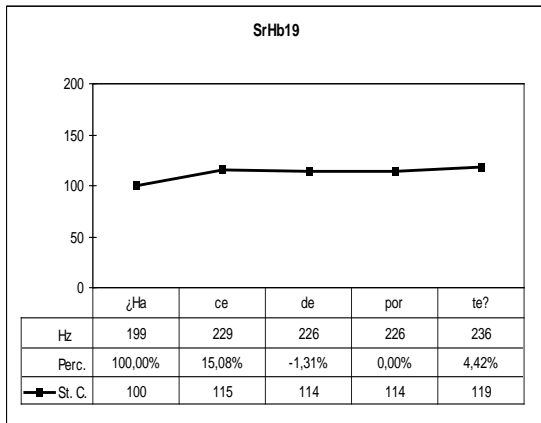
Code SrHb15, male  
 Pattern SP2 (First Peak lower than the endpoint of the FI)  
 Pitch Range 88

SrHb16, male  
 SP2 (First Peak lower than the endpoint of the FI)  
 92



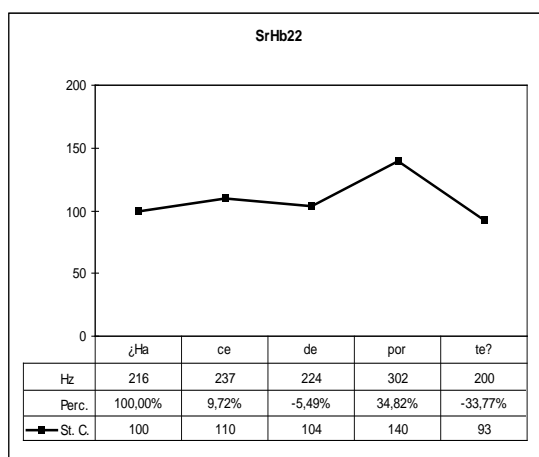
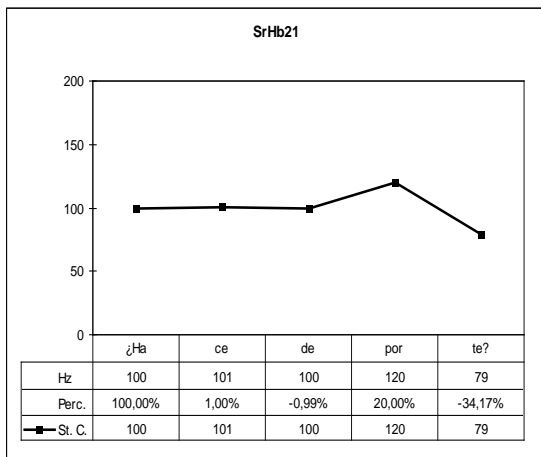
Code SrHb17, female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 37

SrHb18, female  
 SP3  
 42



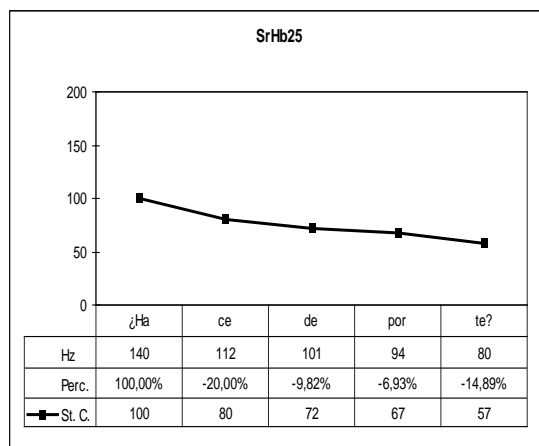
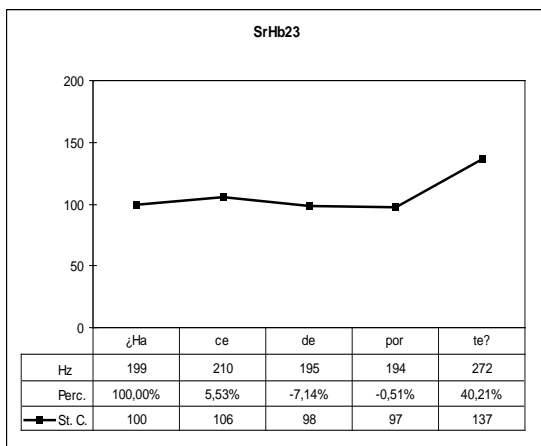
Code SrHb19, female  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 19

SrHb20, male  
 SP7, possibly HP7 from *deporte*  
 69



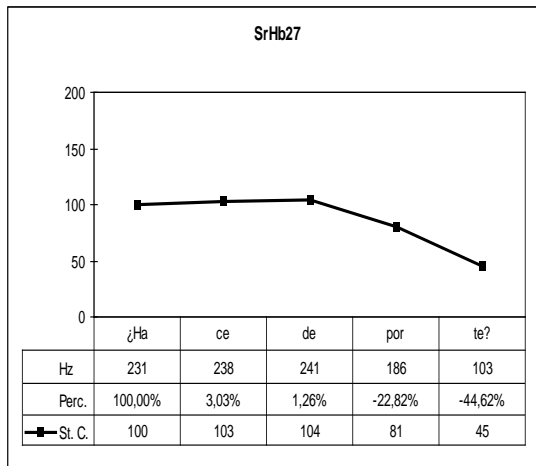
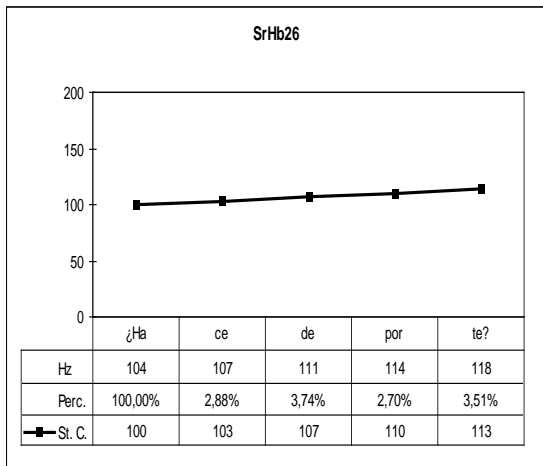
Code SrHb21, male  
 Pattern SP7, possible HP7  
 Pitch Range 52

SrHb22, female  
 SP7, possibly HP7 from *deporte*  
 51

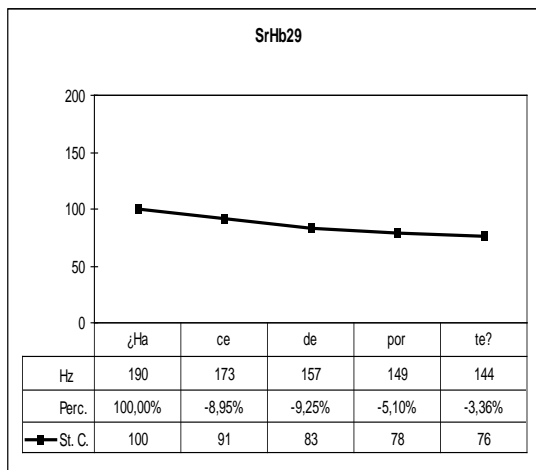
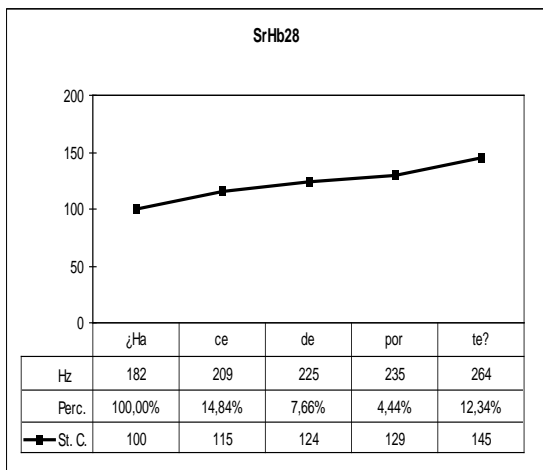


Code SrHb23, female  
 Pattern SP3  
 Pitch Range 41

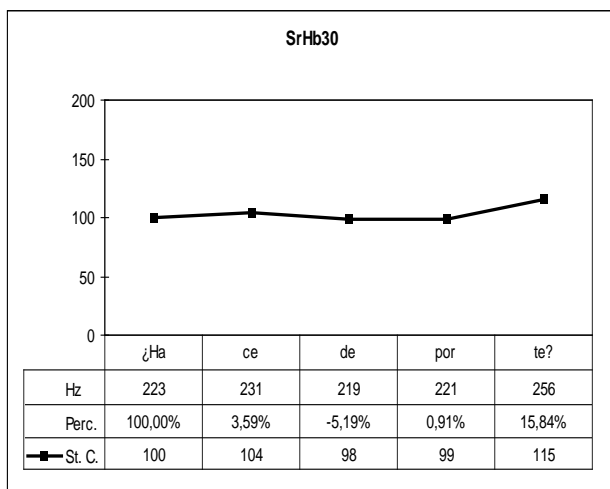
SrHb25, male  
 SP1, possible HP1  
 75



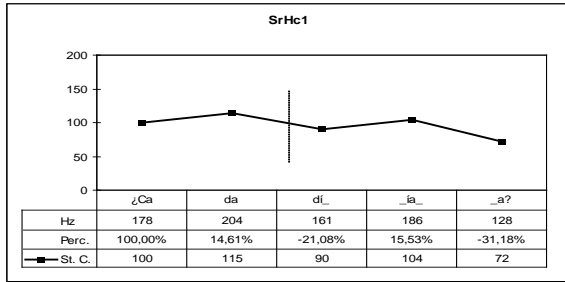
Code	SrHb26, male	SrHb27, female
Pattern	SP1 + Rising Body	SP9
Pitch Range	13	131



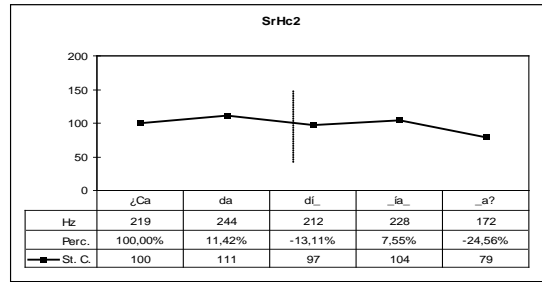
Code	SrHb28, female	SrHb29, male
Pattern	SP13	SP1
Pitch Range	45	32



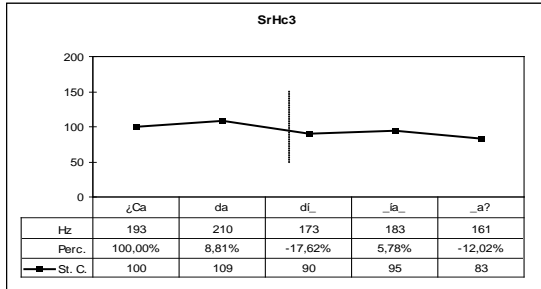
Code	SrHb30, male
Pattern	SP6b
Pitch Range	17



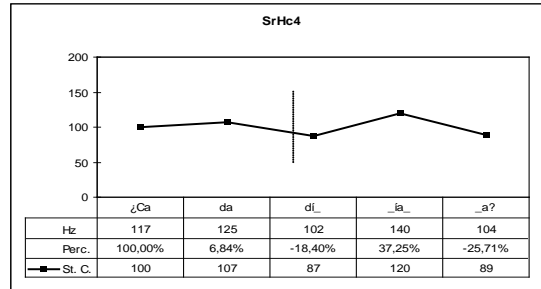
Code SrHc1, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 60



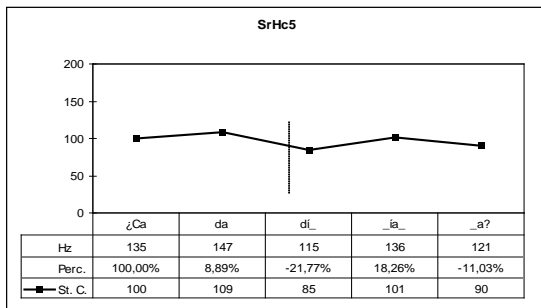
Code SrHc2, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 41



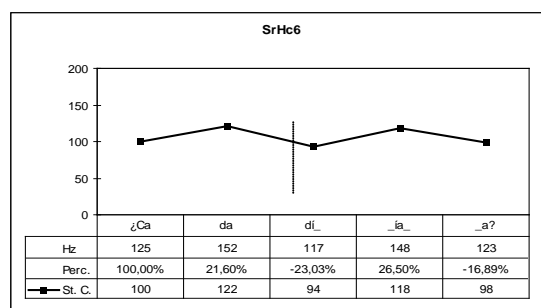
Code SrHc3, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 31



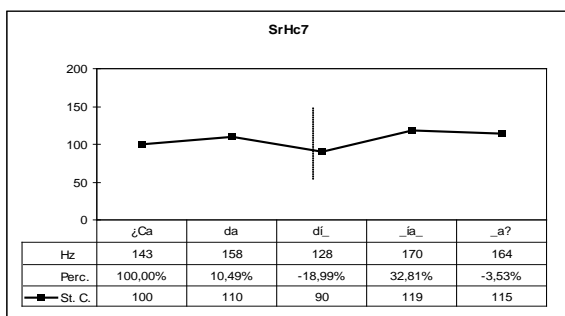
Code SrHc4, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 38



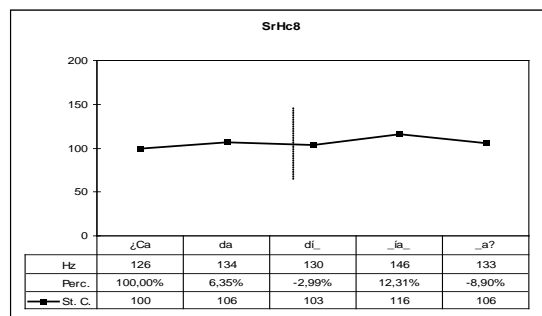
Code SrHc5, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 28



Code SrHc6, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 30

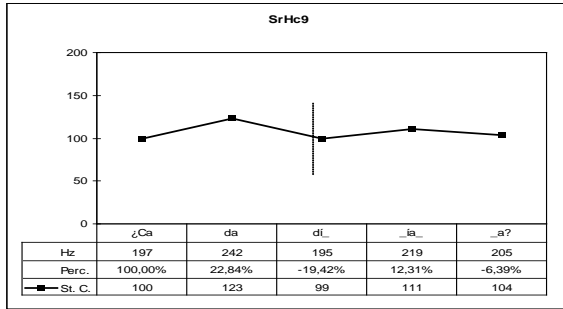


Code SrHc7, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 32

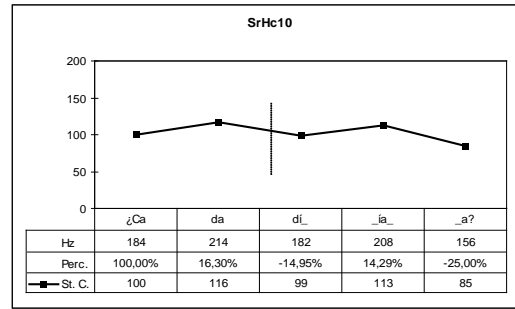


Code SrHc8, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 16

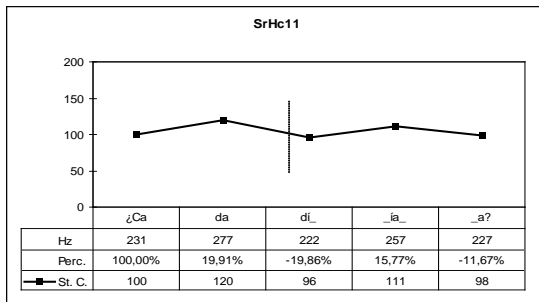




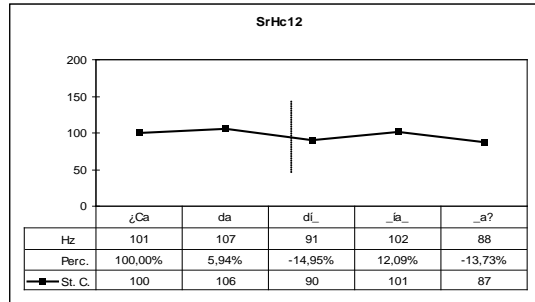
Code SrHc9, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 24



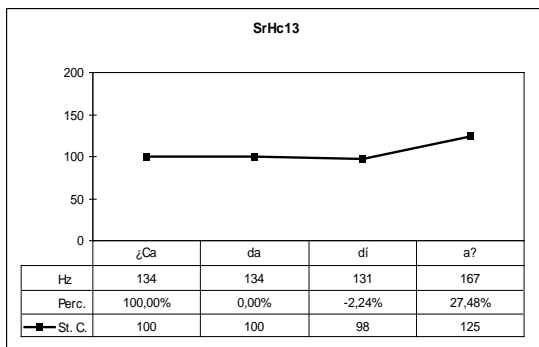
Code SrHc10, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 36



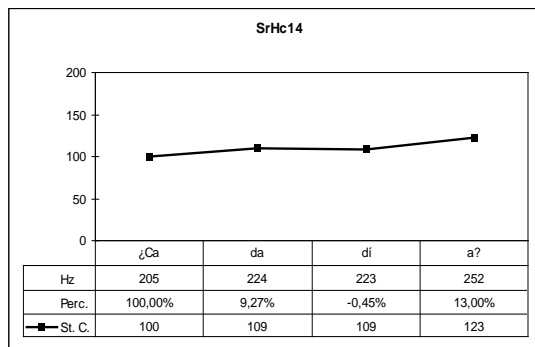
Code SrHc11, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 25



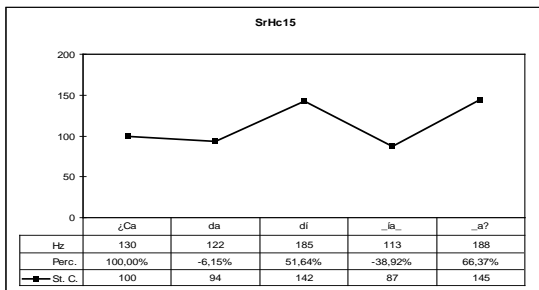
Code SrHc12, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 22



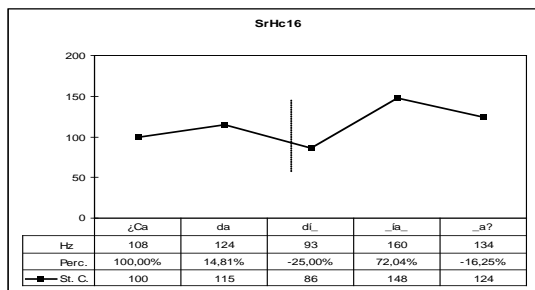
Code SrHc13, male  
 Pattern SP6  
 Pitch Range 28



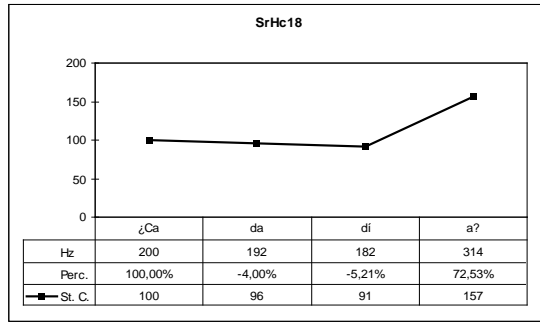
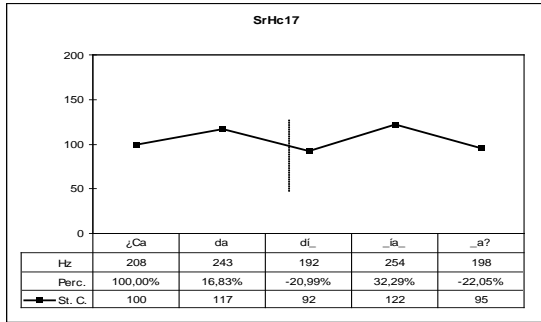
Code SrHc14, female  
 Pattern SP13  
 Pitch Range 23



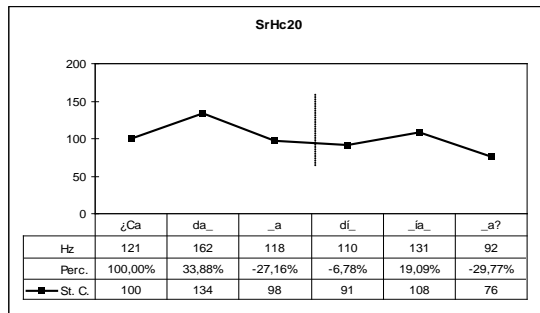
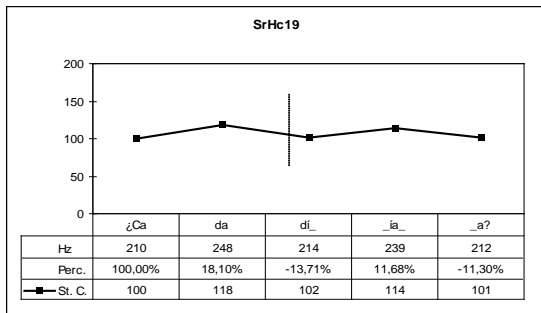
Code SrHc15, male  
 Pattern SP10b  
 Pitch Range 67



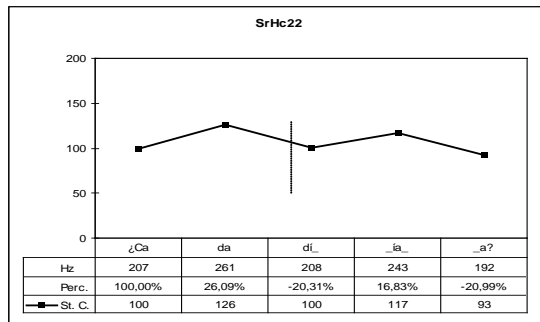
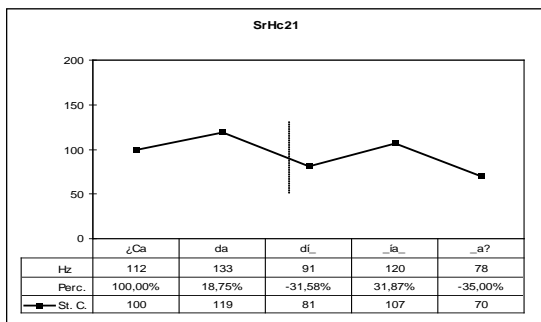
Code SrHc16, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 72



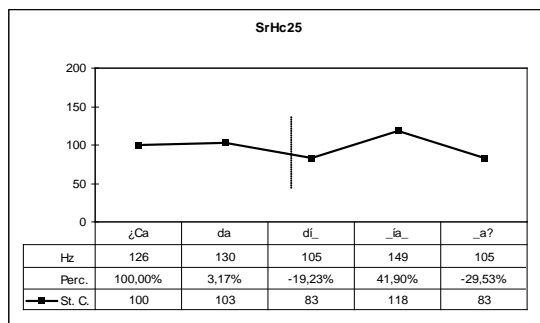
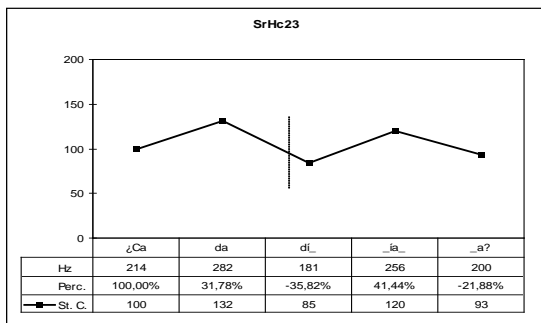
Code SrHc17, female SrHc18, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated SP2  
 Pitch Range 28 72



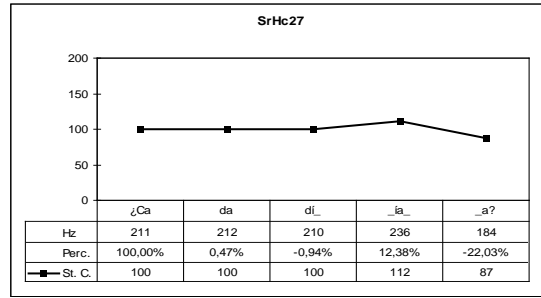
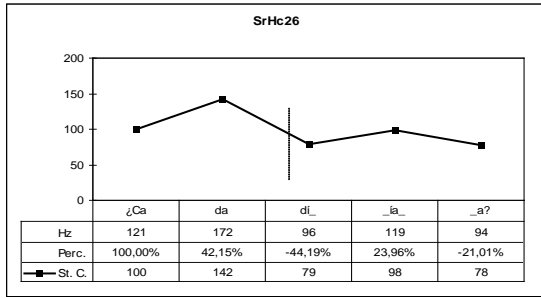
Code SrHc19, female SrHc20, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 18 76



Code SrHc21, male SrHc22, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 70 34

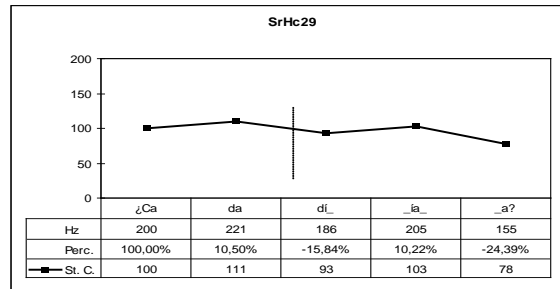
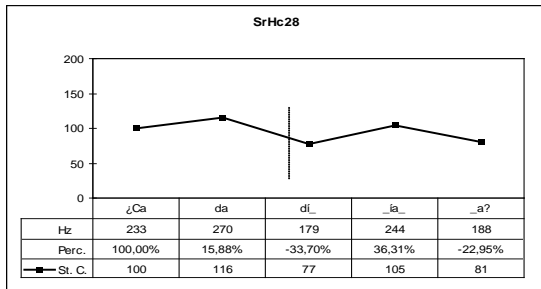


Code SrHc23, female SrHc25, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 55 42



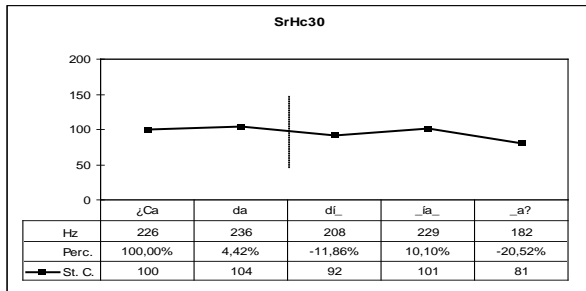
Code SrHc26, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 82

SrHc27, female  
 SP4b, possibly HP7b  
 29

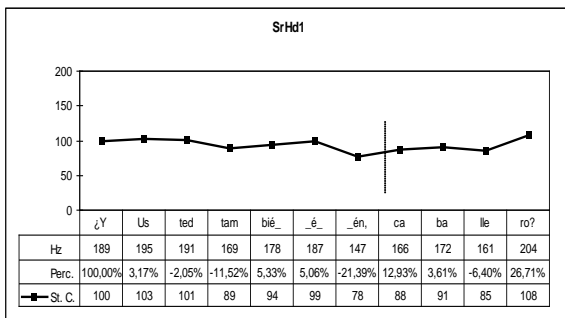


Code SrHc28, female  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 51

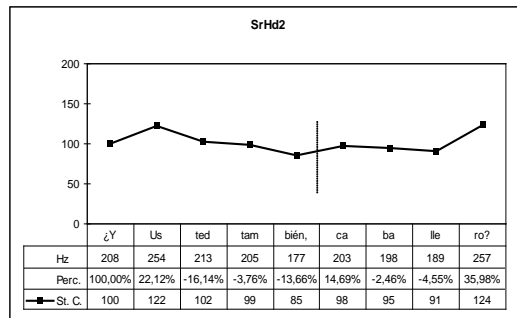
SrHc29, male  
 SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 42



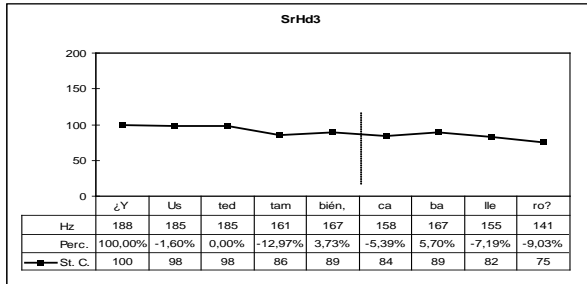
Code SrHc30, male  
 Pattern SP4, possibly HP7, repeated  
 Pitch Range 28



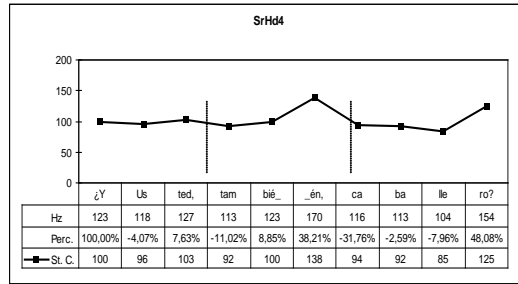
Code SrHd1, male  
 Pattern SP4b + SP6 (possibly HP7a + SP6)  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 32



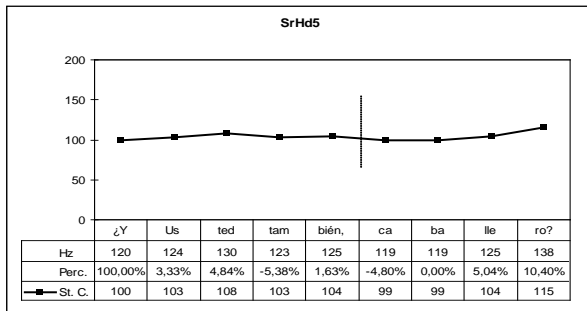
SrHd2, female  
 SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP6  
 (only first pattern) 43



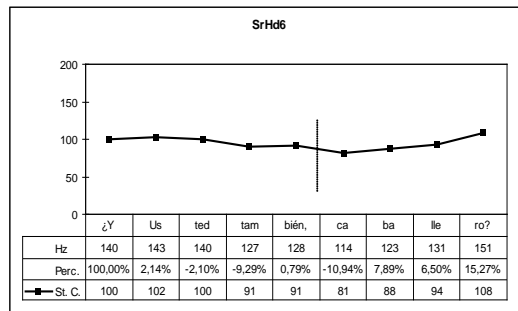
Code SrHd3, female  
 Pattern SP1(last syllable only one mora)  
 + SP1  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 16



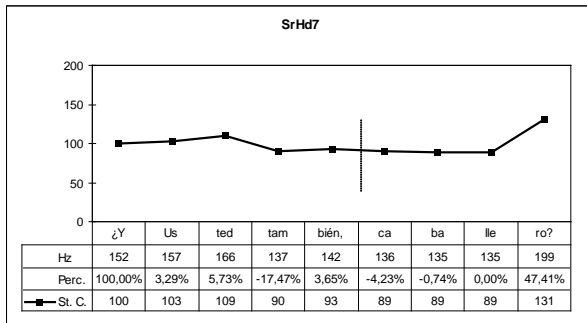
Code SrHd4, male  
 Pattern SP1 + SP6a + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only second pattern) 50



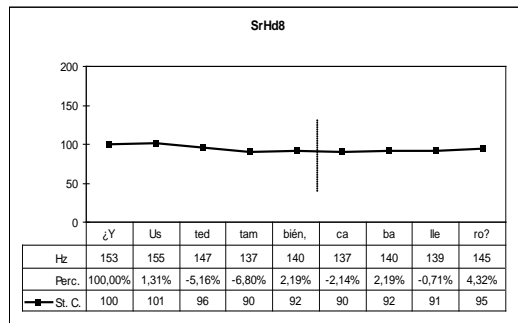
Code SrHd5, male  
 Pattern SP1(last syllable only one mora)  
 + SP1  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 8



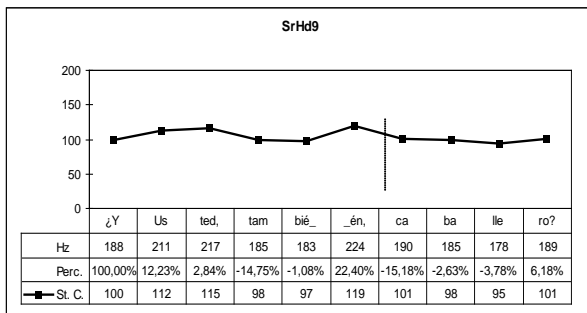
Code SrHd6, male  
 Pattern SP1(last syllable only one mora) + SP13  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 12



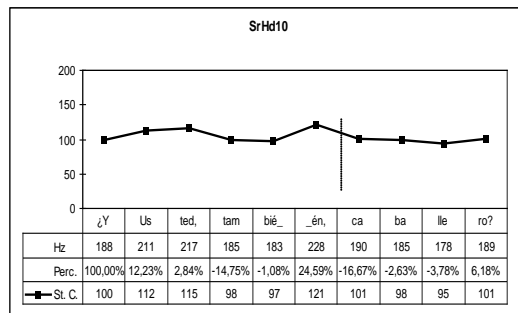
Code SrHd7, male  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora)  
 + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 21



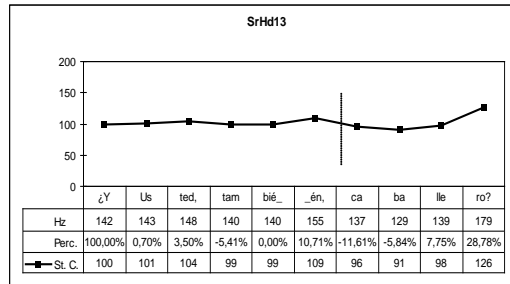
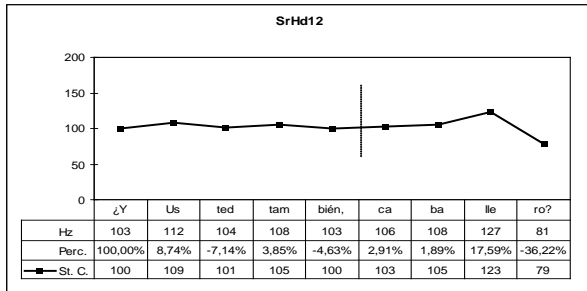
Code SrHd8, male  
 Pattern SP1(last syllable only one mora) + SP1  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 12



Code SrHd9, female  
 Pattern SP6a + SP6  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 23

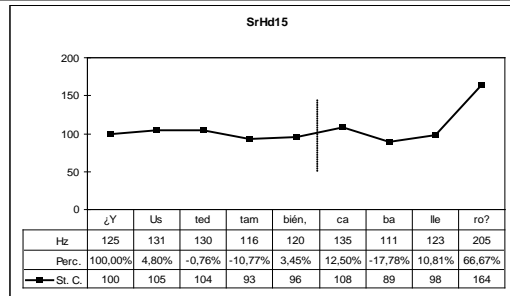
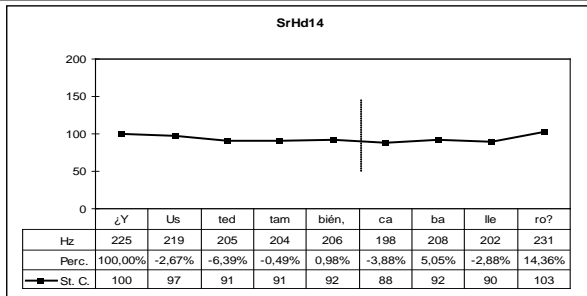


Code SrHd10, female  
 Pattern SP6a + SP1  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 25



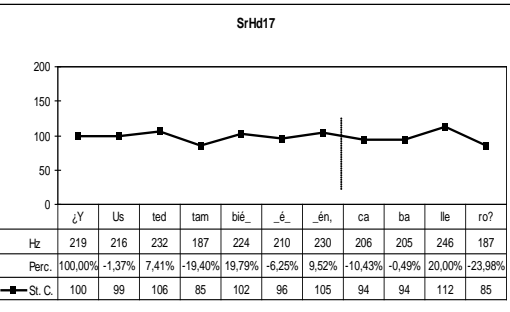
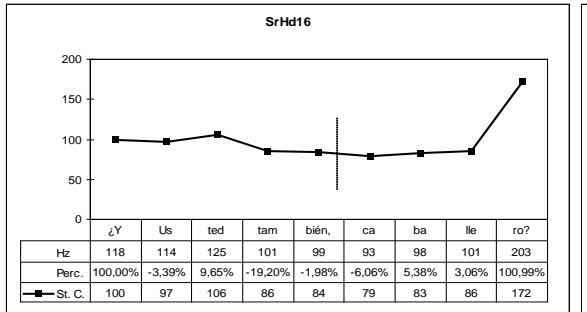
Code SrHd12, male  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP7 (=HP7b)  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 9

SrHd13, male  
 SP1 + SP6  
 (only first pattern) 10



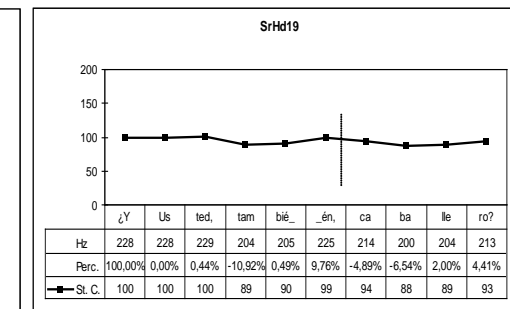
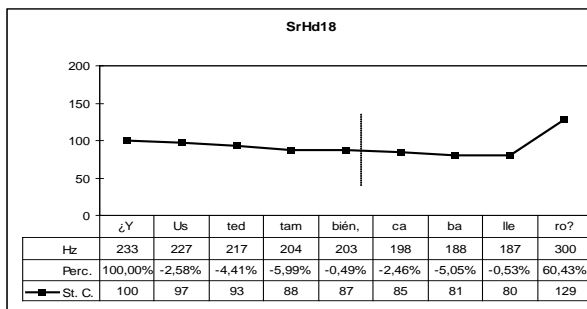
Code SrHd14, female  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP1  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 10

SrHd15, male  
 SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP3  
 (only first pattern) 13



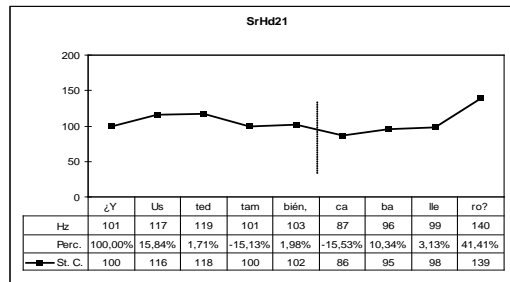
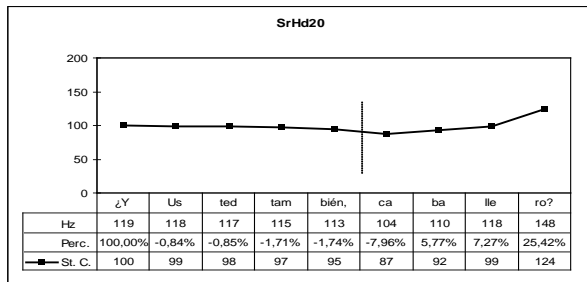
Code SrHd16, male  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP2  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 26

SrHd17, female  
 SP10b + SP7 (=HP7b)  
 (only first pattern) 25

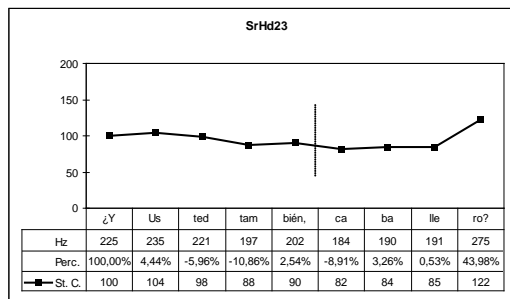
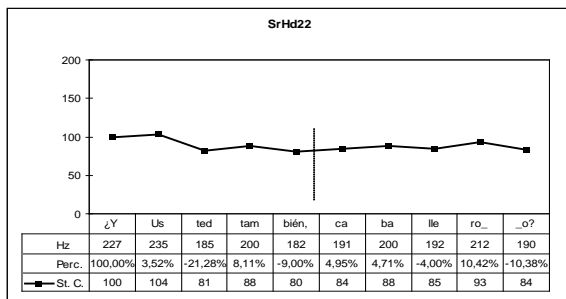


Code SrHd18, female  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 15

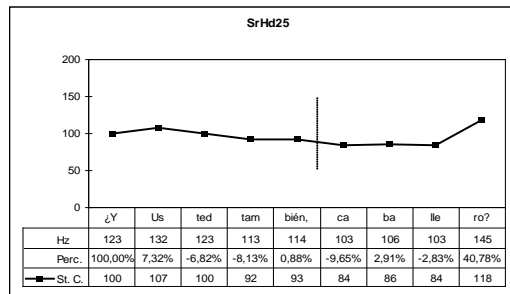
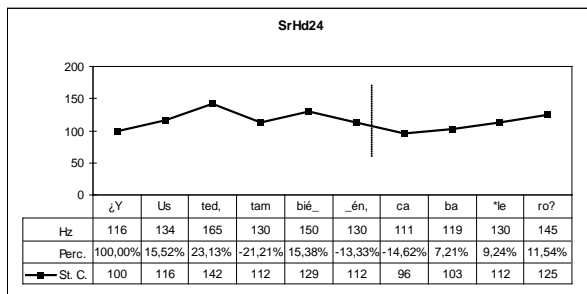
SrHd19, female  
 SP1 + SP1  
 (only first pattern) 11



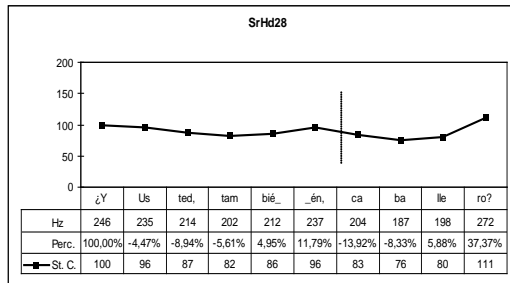
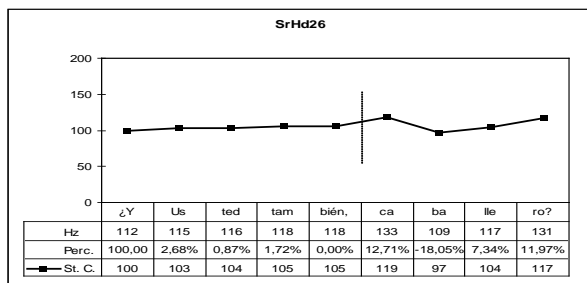
Code SrHd20, male SrHd21, male  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP6 SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 5 (only first pattern) 18



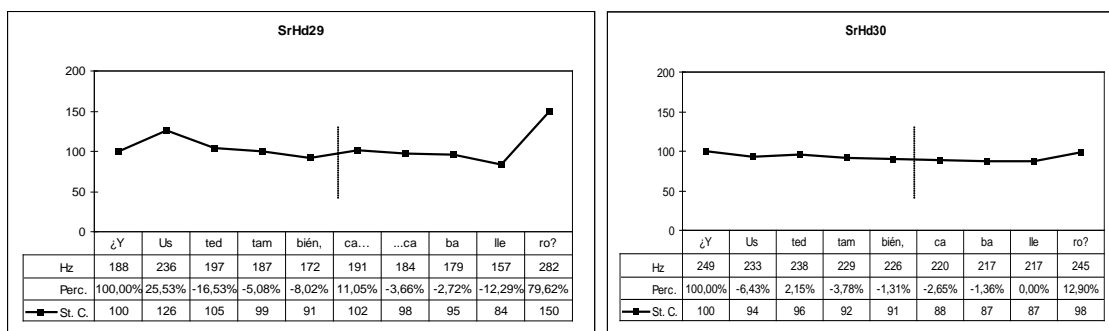
Code SrHd22, female SrHd23, female  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP4 SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 30 (only first pattern) 18



Code SrHd24, male SrHd25, male  
 Pattern SP1, possibly HP7 + SP1 SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 42 (only first pattern) 15



Code SrHd26, male SrHd28, female  
 Pattern SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP1 SP1 + SP6  
 Pitch Range (only first pattern) 5 (only first pattern) 22



Code	SrHd29, female	SrHd30, male
Pattern	SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP2	SP1 (last syllable only one mora) + SP1
Pitch Range	(only first pattern) 38	(only first pattern) 10

### Corpus 3B: Semi-spontaneous Spanish sentences produced by Hungarian learners

The following section contains 64 semi-spontaneous Spanish sentences, uttered by 21 Hungarian learners of Spanish, aged 17-18, who have been learning Spanish for three years.

The students were unaware of the exact purpose of the recording, they were only told that it was a practice for a special exam in which two students were evaluated at the same time. The material of the study was provided by an interview; one of the students had to collect data on the travelling customs of the other.

The questionnaire on which the interview was based is reproduced here:

<b>Datos personales ‘personal details’</b>	
Sexo ‘sex’:	hombre ‘masculine’    mujer ‘feminine’
Edad ‘Age’:	....
Escuelas ‘schools’:	primaria ‘primary school’    secundaria ‘secondary school’    superior ‘superior’
Profesión ‘occupation’:	.....
<b>Preferencias ‘preferences’</b>	
	✓ = sí ‘yes’      ✗ = no ‘no’
Viajar al extranjero	‘travelling abroad’
Viajar con su familia	‘travelling with his/her family’
Participar en viajes organizados	‘participating in organized journeys’
Llevar dinero en euros	‘taking money in euros’
Tener seguro de viajes	‘having travel insurance’
Comprar regalos para los amigos	‘buying gifts for the friends’
Escribir postales a la gente en casa	‘writing postcards to the people at home’
Tomar el sol	‘sunbathing’
Visitar museos	‘visiting museums’
Probar la comida típica	‘trying the country’s typical dishes’

The interviewed students had to ask the “reporter” student whether the questionnaire was anonymous; whether (s)he had to tell the truth, and whether (s)he got a present at the end.

### Symbols

The same as for the read Spanish sentences (Corpus 3A), except for:

SsH: Spanish (semi-)spontaneous sentences uttered by Hungarians

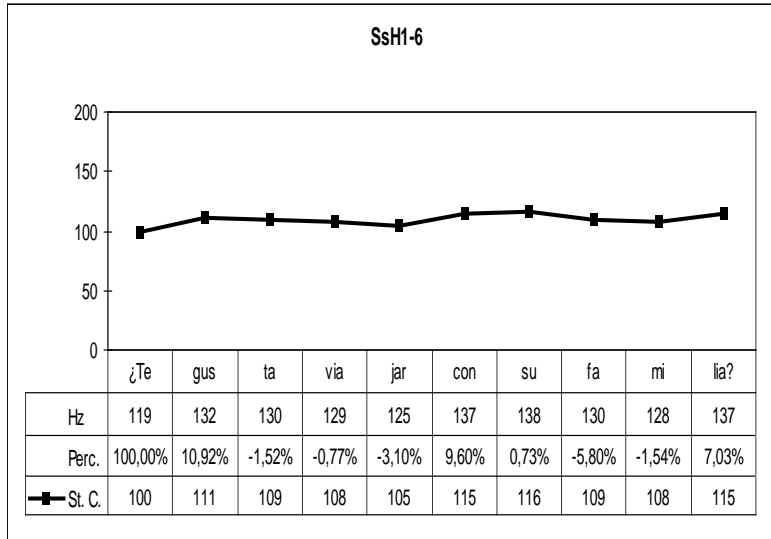
First number: the number of the speaker; second number: the number of the speaker's sentence.

## 1. Ordinary yes-no questions

| ¿Te 'gusta viajar con tu fa'milia?|

you-sg-dat like-3sg travel with your family

'Do you like traveling with your family?'

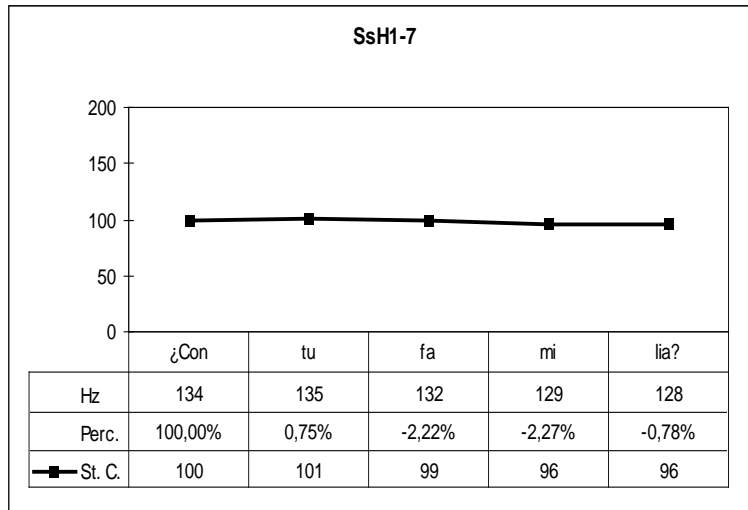


Code SsH1-6, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 16

| ¿Con tu fa'milia?|

with your family

'With your family?'

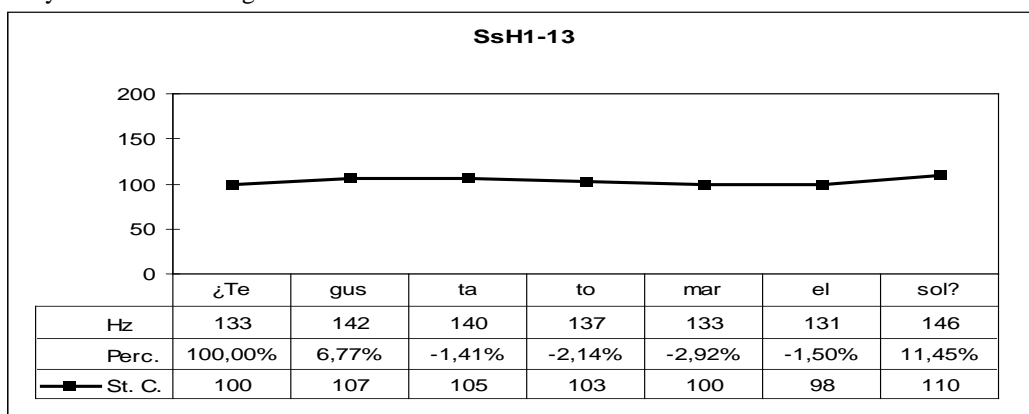


Code SsH1-7, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 5

| ¿Te 'gusta tomar el sol?|

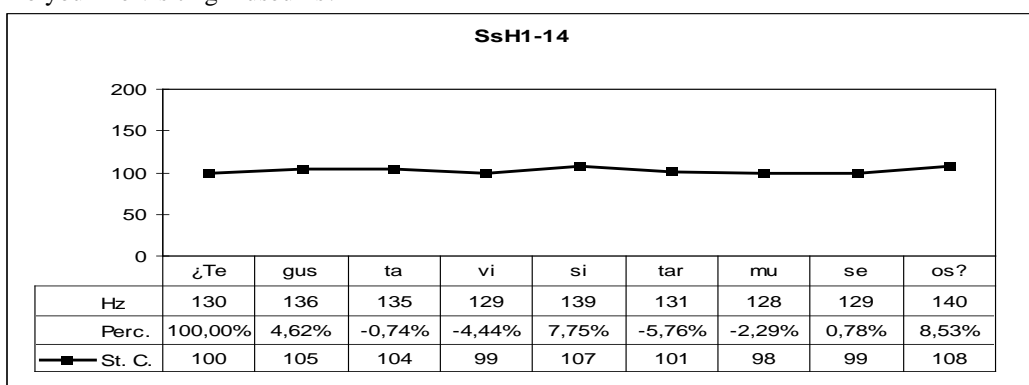


you-dat-sg. like-3sg take the sun  
 'Do you like sunbathing?'



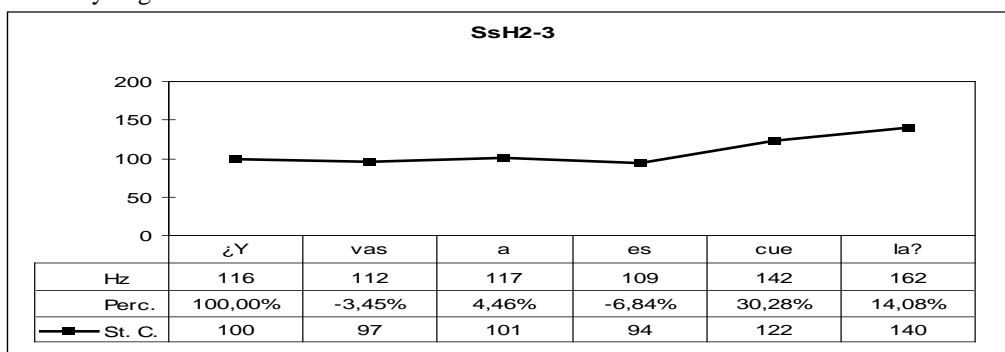
Code SsH1-13, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 12

|¿Te 'gusta visitar mu'seos?|  
 you-dat-sg like-3sg visit museums  
 'Do you like visiting museums?'



Code SsH1-14, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 10

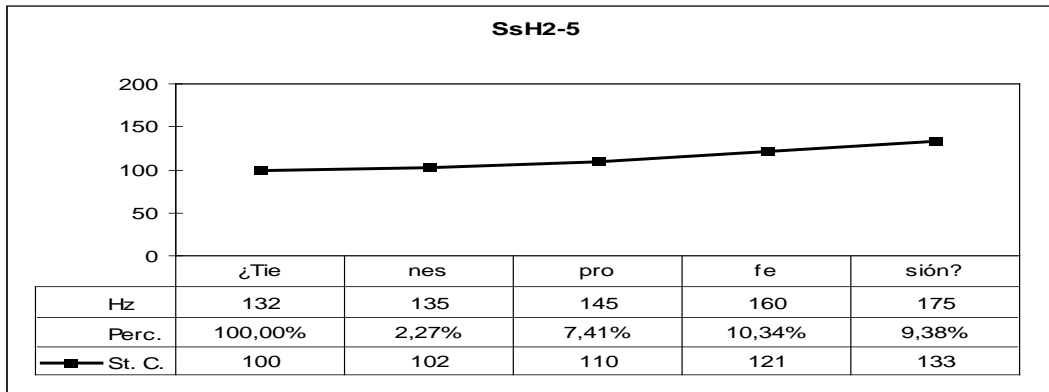
|¿Y vas a es'cuela?|  
 and go-2sg to school  
 'And do you go to school?'



Code SsH2-3, male  
 Pattern SP1 (anomalous as Synt. Accent high)  
 Pitch Range 49

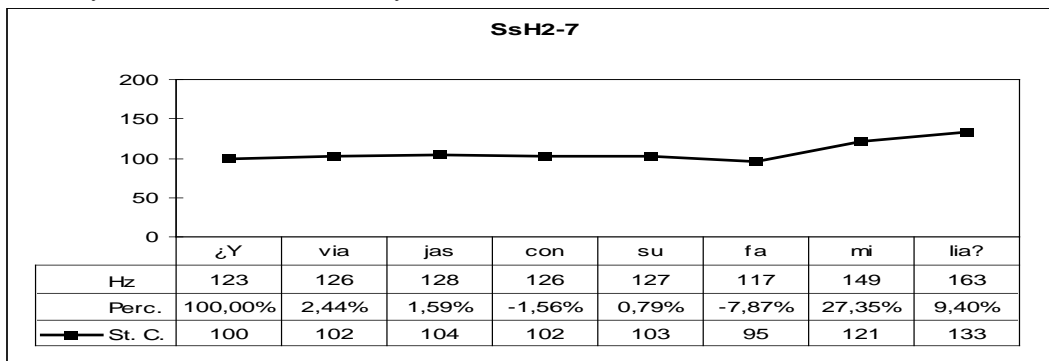
|¿'Tienes profe'sión?|  
 have-2sg profession

'Do you have a profession?'



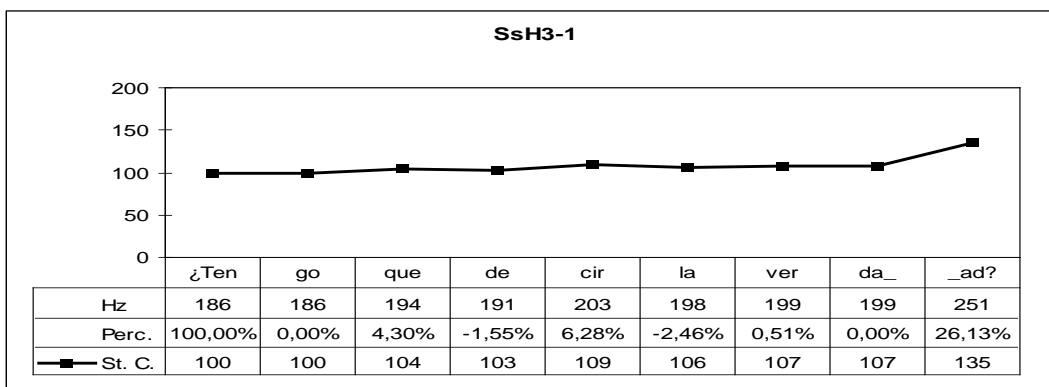
Code SsH2-5, male  
 Pattern SP13  
 Pitch Range 33

| ¿Y 'viajas con su fa'milia?|  
 and travel-2sg with his/her family  
 'And do you travel with his/her family?'



Code SsH2-7, male  
 Pattern SP1 (anomalous, with high Syntagmatic Accent)  
 Pitch Range 33

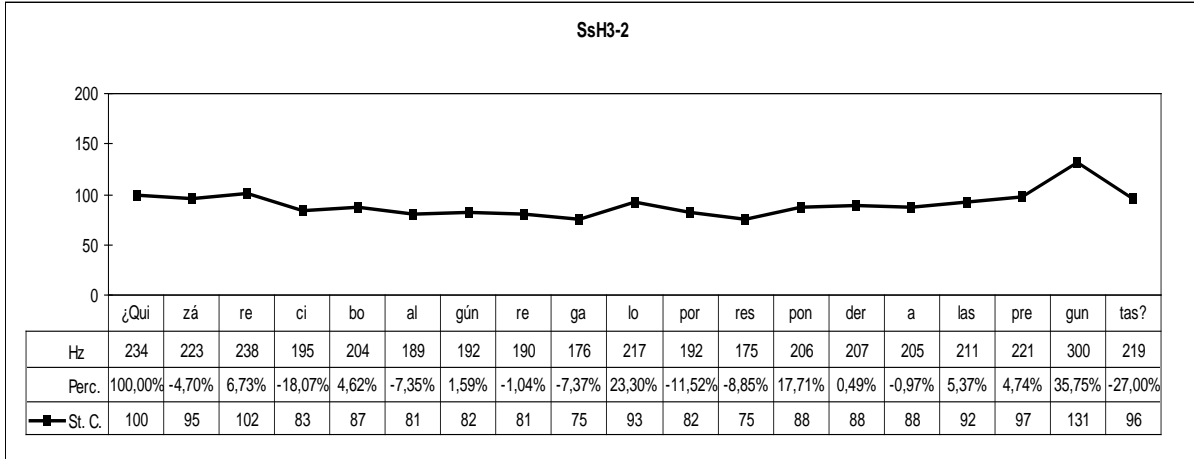
| ¿'Tengo que decir la ver'dad?|  
 have-1sg that-compl tell the truth  
 'Do I have to tell the truth?'



Code SsH3-1, female  
 Pattern SP13  
 Pitch Range 35

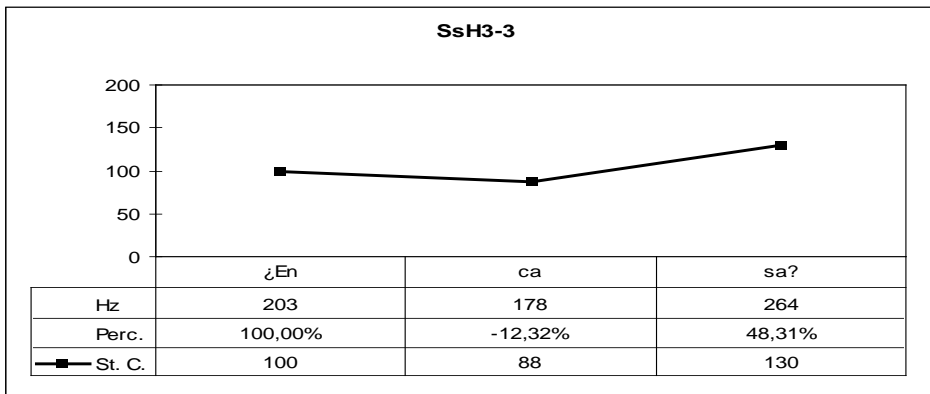
| ¿Quizá re'cibo algún regalo por responder a las pre'guntas?|  
 maybe receive-1sg some present for answer to the questions

'And I might receive some present for answering the questions?'



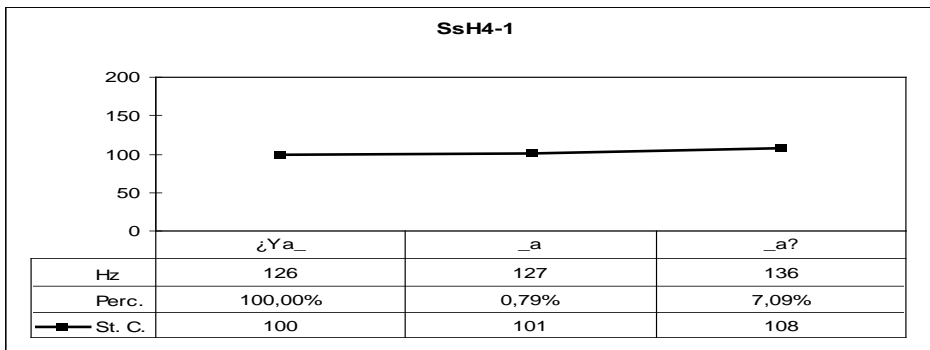
Code SsH3-2, female  
 Pattern SP7, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 75

| ¿En 'casa?|  
 in home  
 'At home?'



Code SsH3-3, female  
 Pattern SP3  
 Pitch Range 47

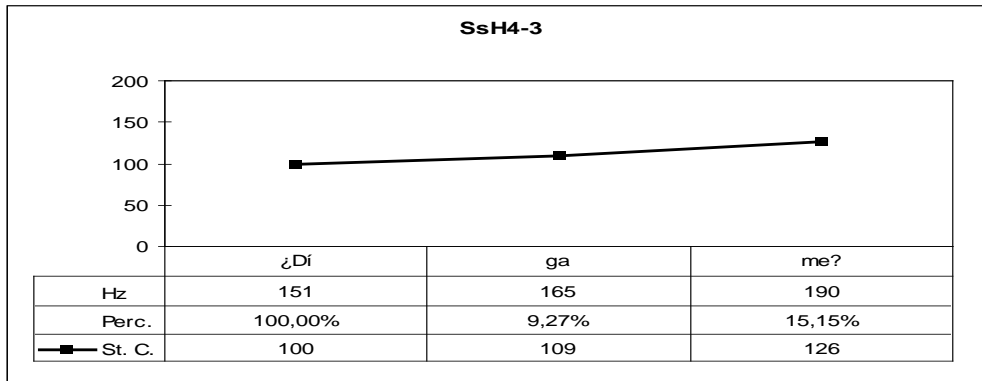
| ¿Ya?|  
 'Already?'



Code SsH4-1, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 8

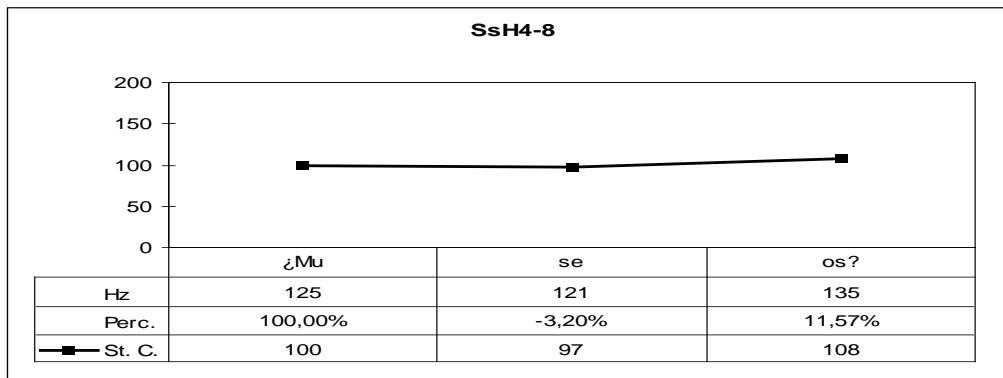
| ¿Dígame?|  
 Tell-2sg-subj-me-dat

'Hallo?'



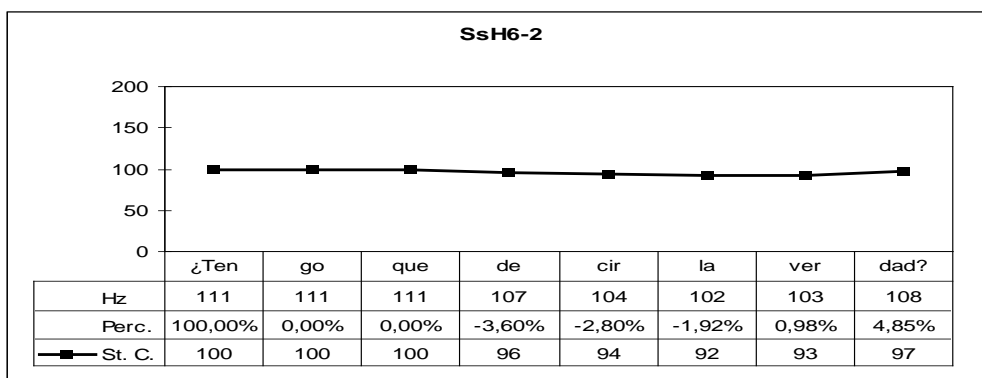
Code SsH4-3, male  
 Pattern SP13  
 Pitch Range 26

| ¿Mu'seos?|  
 'Museums?'



Code SsH4-8, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 11

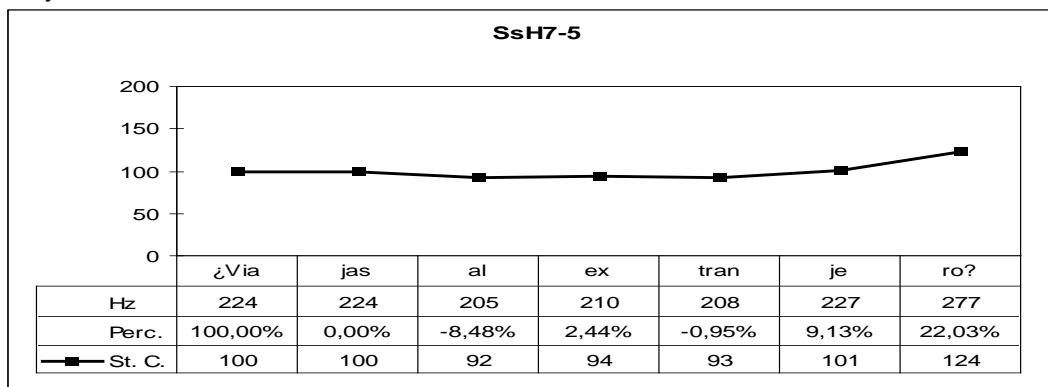
| ¿'Tengo que decir la ver'dad?|  
 have-1sg that-compl tell the truth  
 'Do I have to tell the truth?'



Code SsH6-2, male  
 Pattern SP1, last syllable not given two moras  
 Pitch Range 9

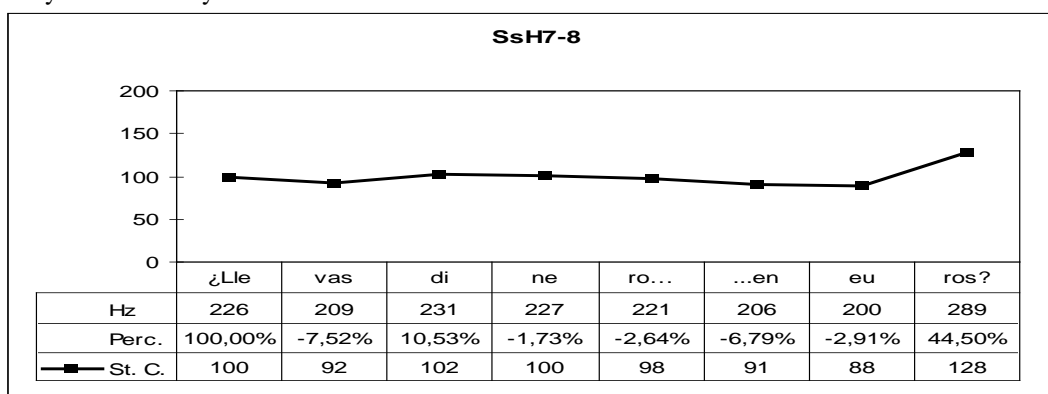
| ¿'Viajas al extran'jero?|  
 travel-2sg to-the abroad

'Do you travel abroad?'



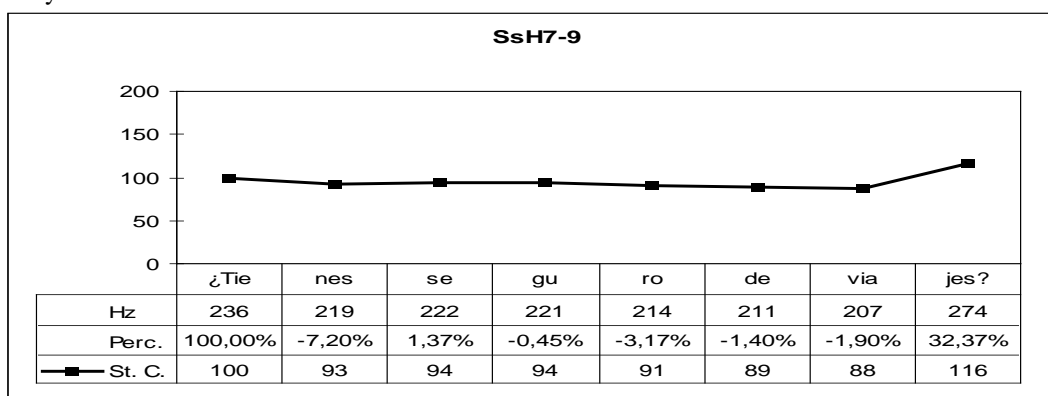
Code SsH7-5, female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 33

| ¿ 'Llevas dinero... en 'euros?|  
 take-2sg money in euros  
 'Do you take money in euros?'



Code SsH7-8, female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 45

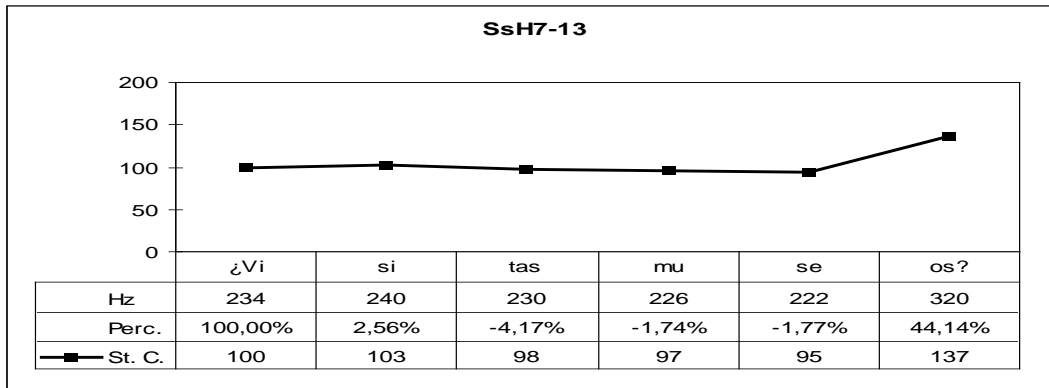
| ¿ 'Tienes seguro de 'viajes?|  
 have-2sg insurance of journeys  
 'Do you have travel insurance?'



Code SsH7-9, female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 32

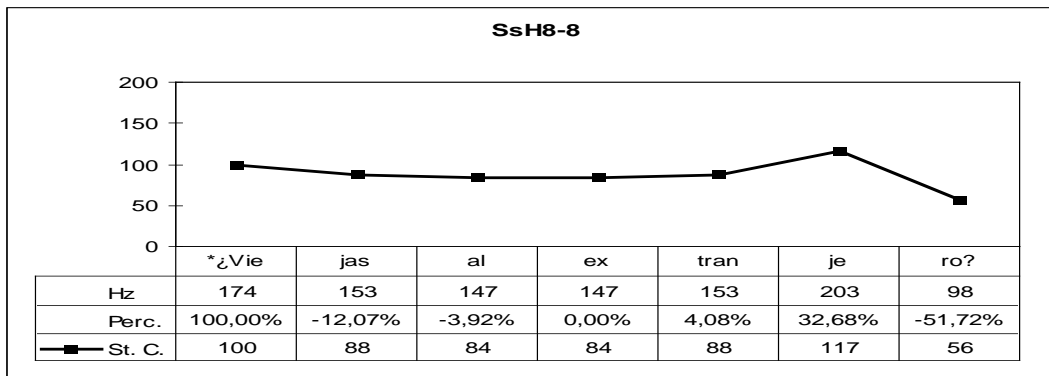
| ¿ 'Vi'sitas mu'seos?|  
 visit-2sg museums

'Do you visit museums?'



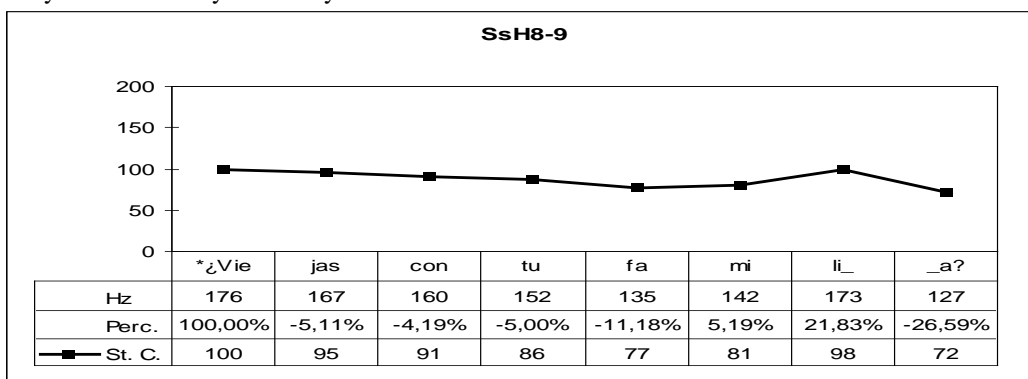
Code SsH7-13, female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 44

| \*¿'Viejas al extran'jero?| correctly: viajas  
 travel-2sg to-the abroad  
 'Do you travel abroad?'



Code SsH8-8, male  
 Pattern SP7 (possibly HP7b)  
 Pitch Range 109

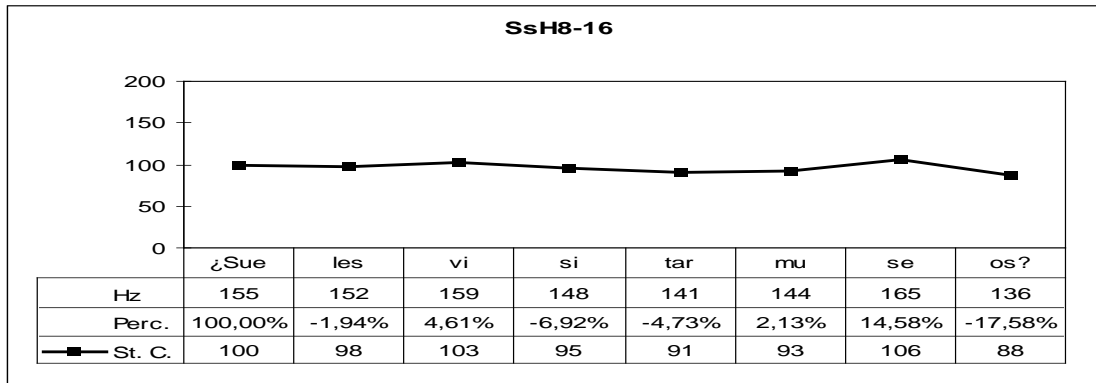
| \*¿ 'Viejas con tu fa'milia?| correctly: viajas  
 travel-2sg with your family  
 'Do you travel with your family?'



Code SsH8-9, male  
 Pattern SP4b, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 39

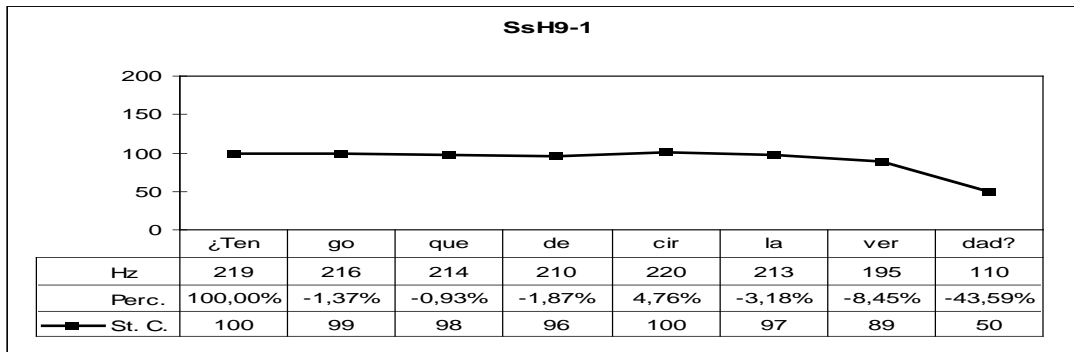
| ¿'Sueles visitar mu'seos?|  
 usually-do-2sg visit muesums

'Do you usually visit museums?'



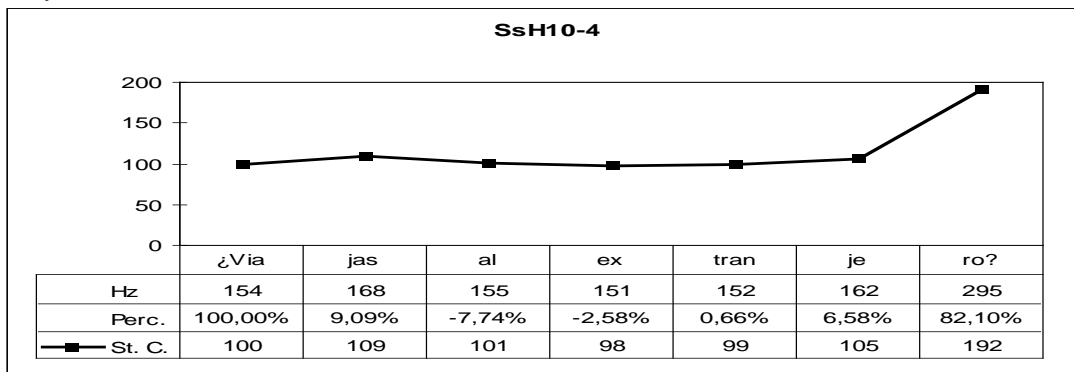
Code SsH8-16, male  
 Pattern SP7, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 20

| ¿'Tengo que decir la ver'dad?|  
 have-1sg that-compl tell the truth  
 'Do I have to tell the truth?'



Code SsH9-1, female  
 Pattern SP9, last syllable not given two moras  
 Pitch Range 100

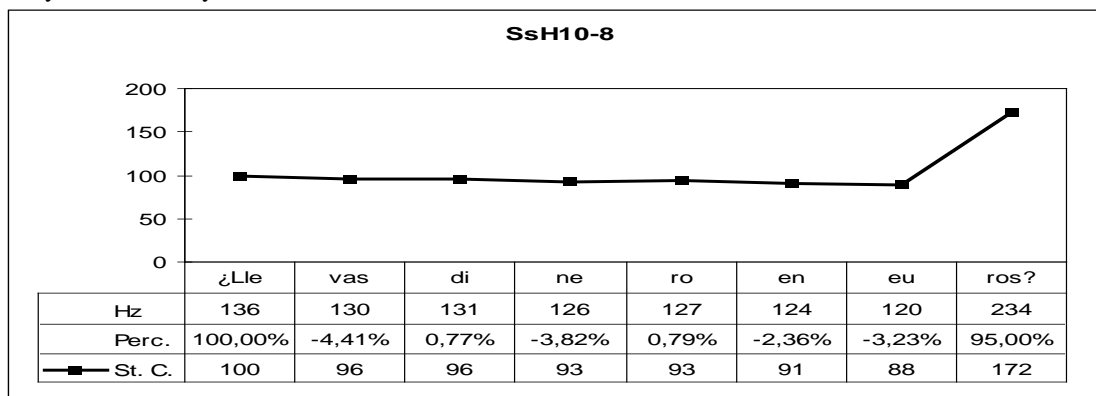
| ¿'Viajas al extran'jero?|  
 travel-2sg to-the abroad  
 'Do you travel abroad?'



Code SsH10-4, male  
 Pattern SP2  
 Pitch Range 96

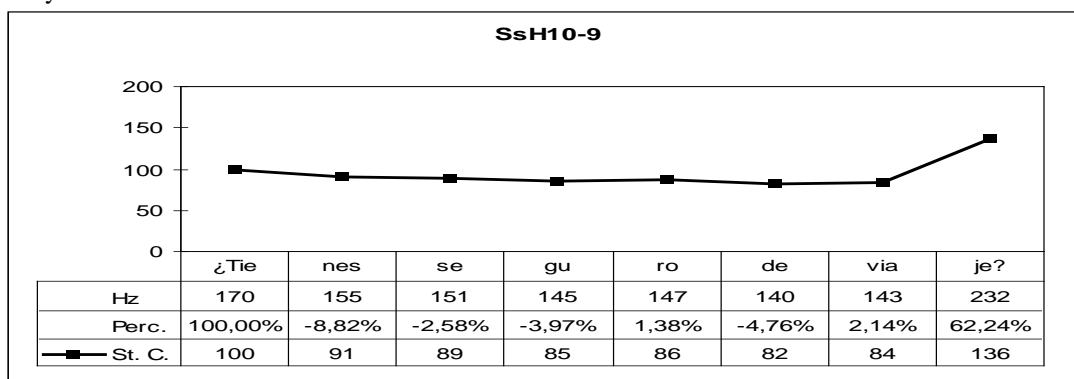
| ¿ 'Llevas dinero en 'euros?|  
 take-2sg money in euros

'Do you take money in euros?'



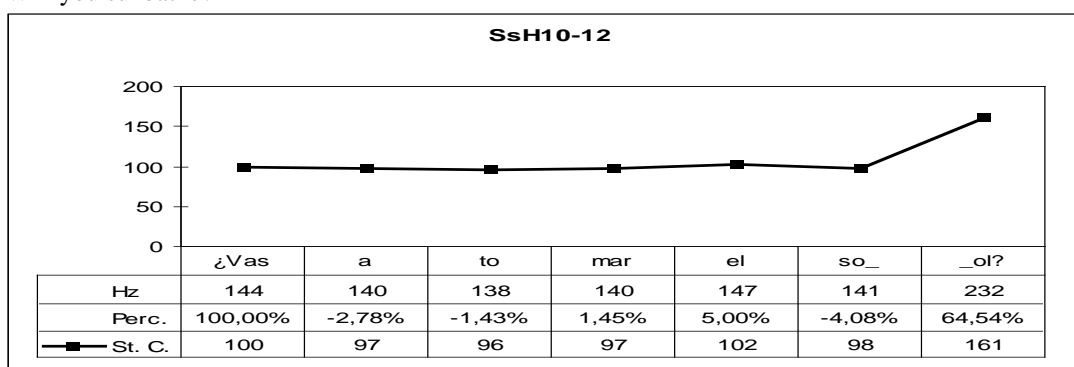
Code SsH10-8, male  
 Pattern SP2  
 Pitch Range 96

| ¿'Tienes seguro de 'viaje?|  
 have-2sg insurance of journey  
 'Do you have travel insurance?'



Code SsH10-9, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 66

| Vas a to'mar el sol?|  
 go-2sg to take the sun  
 'Will you sunbathe?'

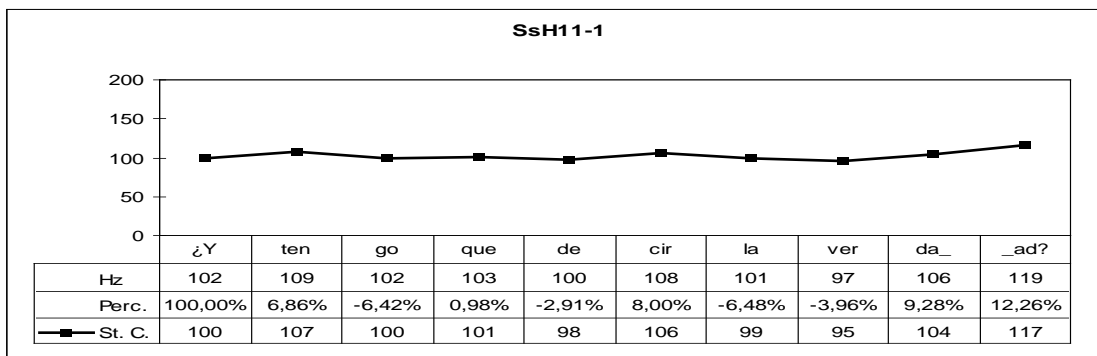


Code SsH10-12, male  
 Pattern SP3  
 Pitch Range 68

| ¿Y 'tengo que decir la ver'dad?|  
 and have-1sg that-compl tell the truth

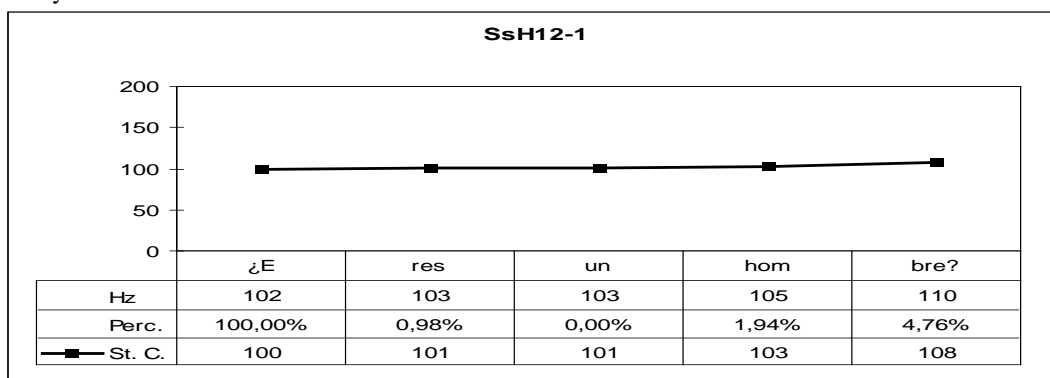


'Do I have to tell the truth?'



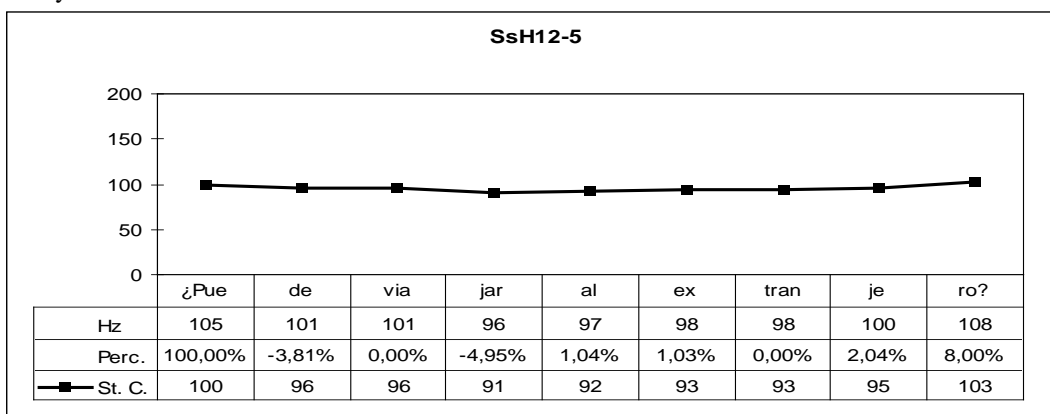
Code SsH11-1, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 23

| ¿'Eres un 'hombre?|  
 be-2sg a man  
 'Are you a man?'



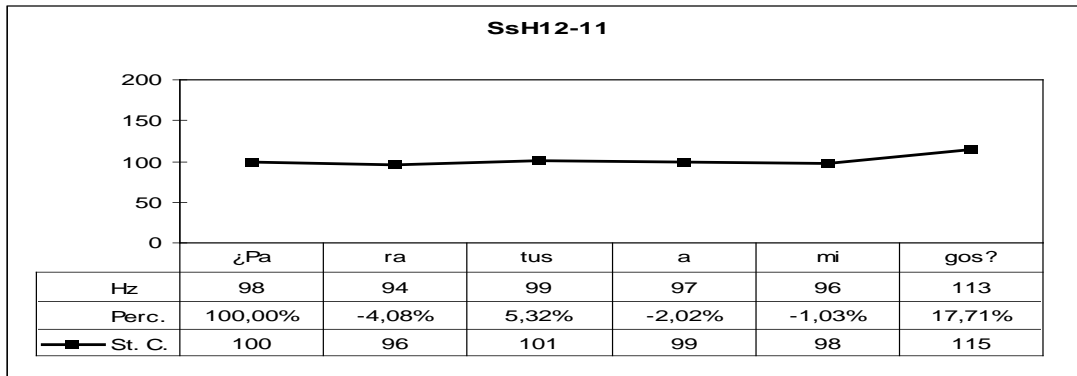
Code SsH12-1, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 8

| ¿'Puede viajar al extran'jero?|  
 can-3sg travel to-the abroad  
 'Can you travel abroad?'



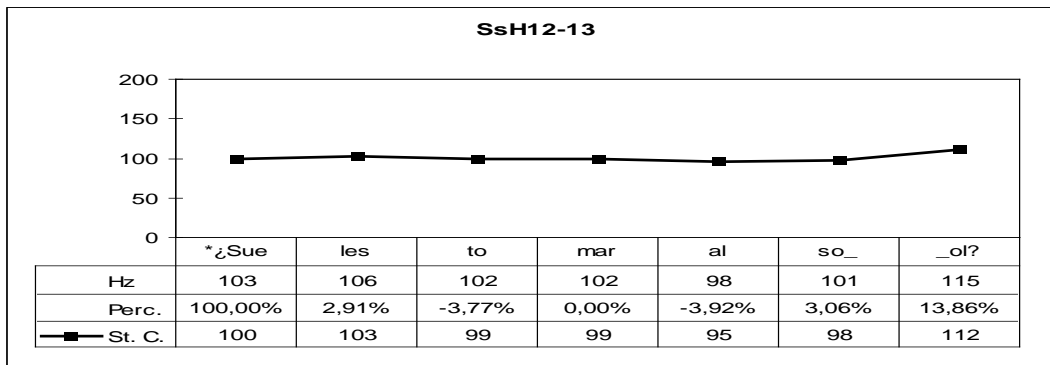
Code SsH12-5, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 13

| ¿'Para tus a'migos?|  
 for your friends  
 'For your friends?'



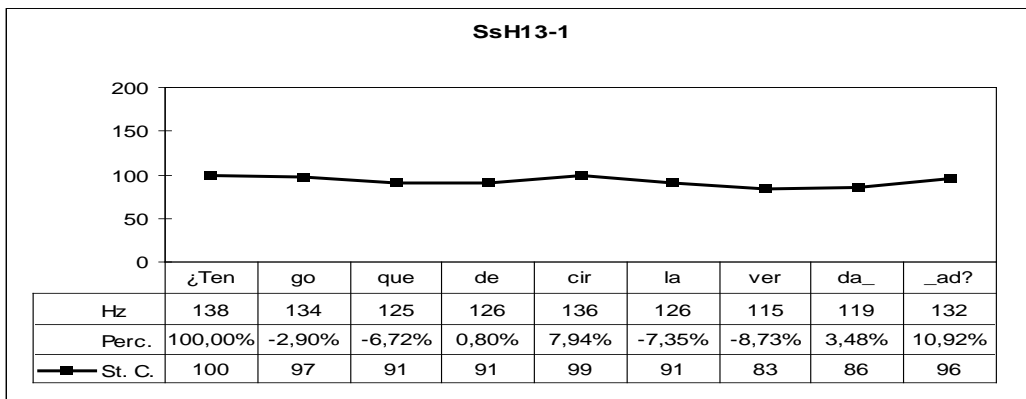
Code SsH12-11, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 17

| \*¿'Sueles tomar al sol?' correctly: el sol  
 usually-do-2sg take the sun  
 'Do you usually sunbathe?'



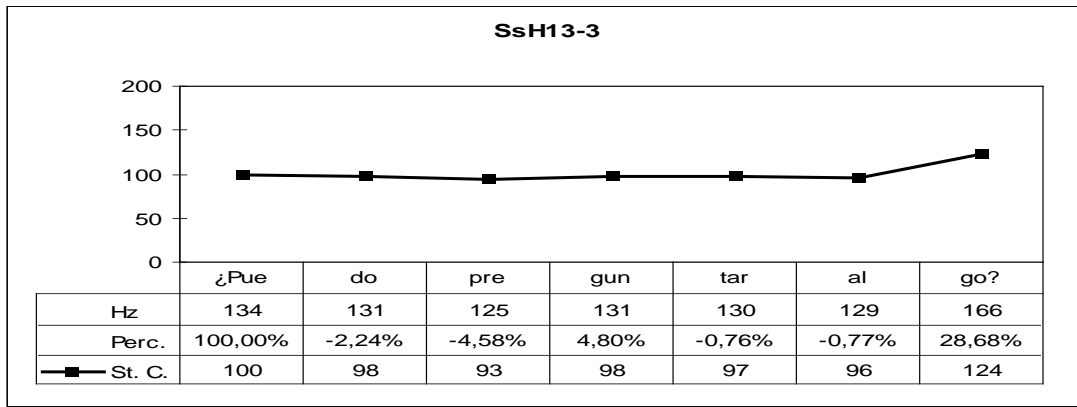
Code SsH12-13, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 18

| ¿'Tengo que decir la ver'dad?'  
 have-1sg that-compl tell the truth  
 'Do I have to tell the truth?'



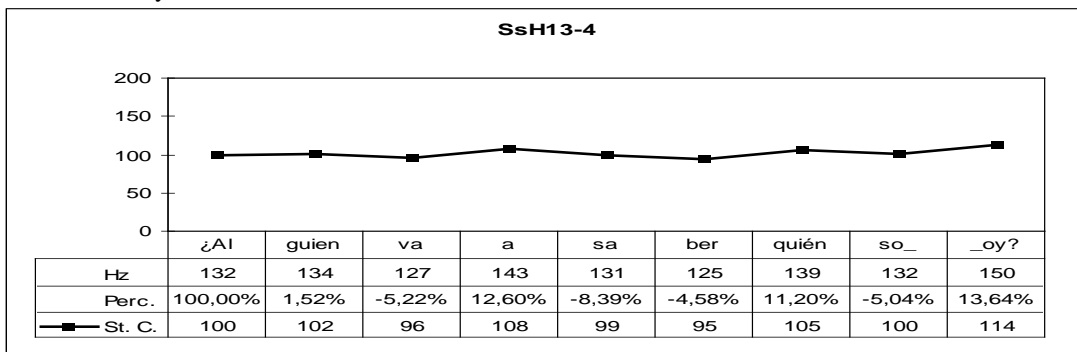
Code SsH13-1, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 20

| ¿'Puedo preguntar 'algo?'  
 can-1sg ask something  
 'Can I ask something?'



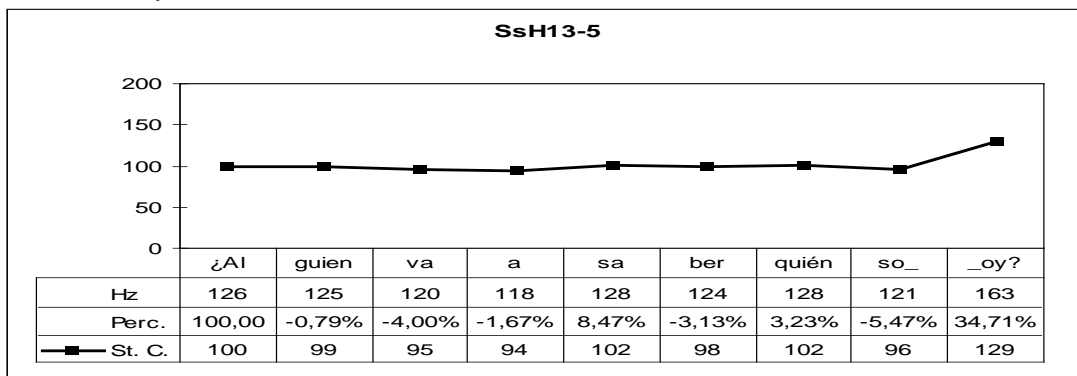
Code SsH13-3, male  
 Pattern SP6b  
 Pitch Range 33

| ¿'Alguien va a saber quién soy?|  
 somebody go-3sg to know who am  
 'Will somebody know who I am?'



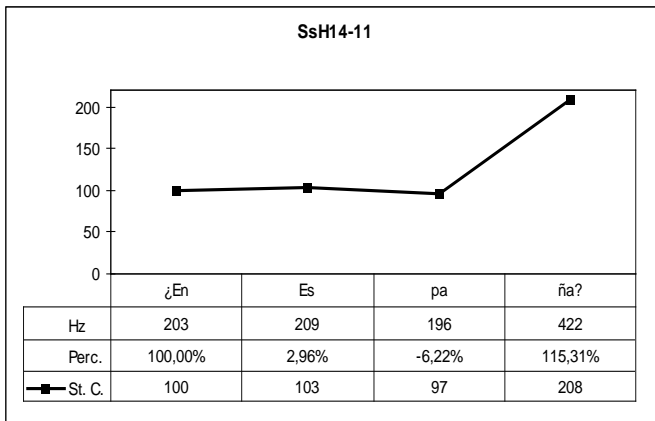
Code SsH13-4, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 20

| ¿'Alguien va a saber quién soy?|  
 somebody go-3sg to know who am  
 'Will somebody know who I am?'



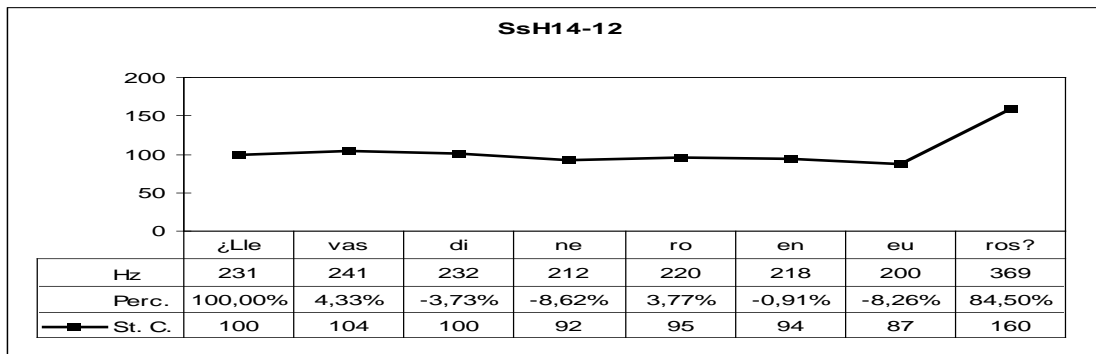
Code SsH13-5, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 37

| En Es'paña?|  
 in Spain  
 'In Spain?'



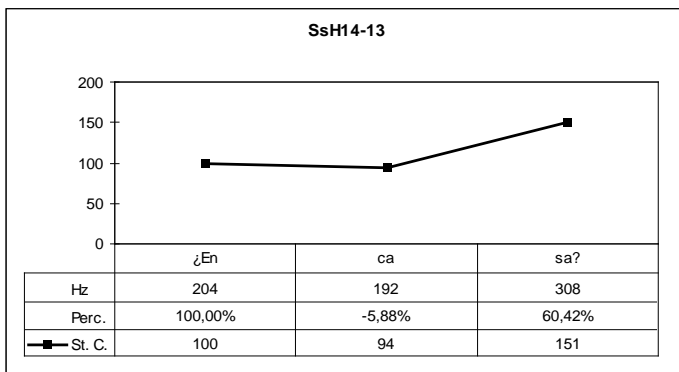
Code SsH14-11, female  
 Pattern SP2  
 Pitch Range 114

| ¿ 'Llevas dinero en 'euros?|  
 take-2sg money in euros  
 'Do you take money in euros?'



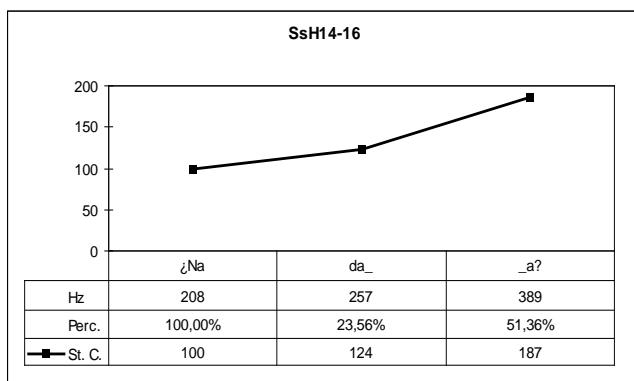
Code SsH14-12, female  
 Pattern SP2  
 Pitch Range 84

| ¿En 'casa?|  
 in home  
 'At home?'



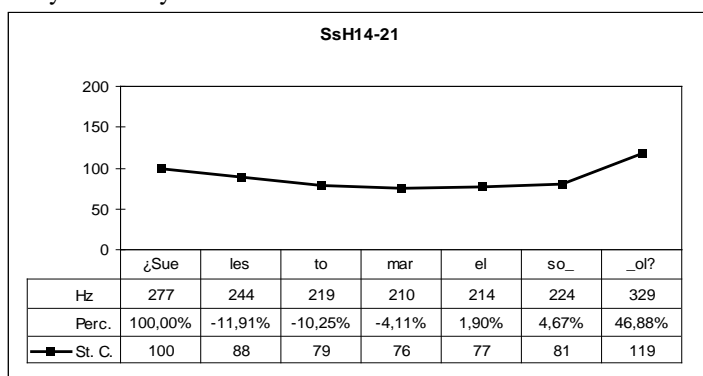
Code SsH14-13, female  
 Pattern SP3, possibly HP7 on a disyllabic word  
 Pitch Range 61

| ¿ 'Nada?|  
 'Nothing?'



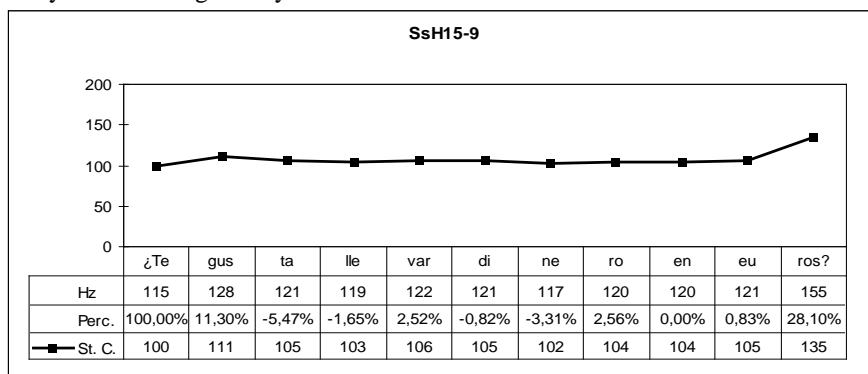
Code SsH14-16 , female  
 Pattern SP6, possibly HP7 on a disyllabic word  
 Pitch Range 87

| ¿'Sueles tomar el sol?|  
 usually-do-2sg take the sun  
 'Do you usually sunbathe?'



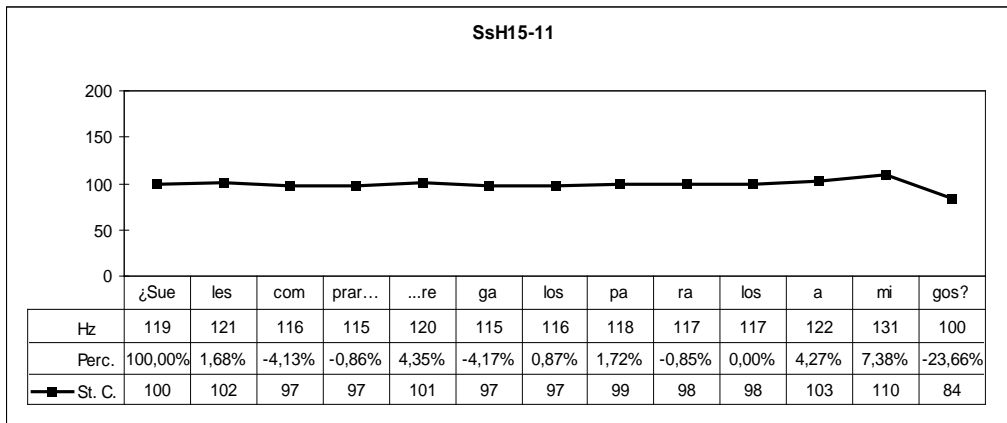
Code SsH14-21 , female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 57

| ¿Te 'gusta llevar dinero en 'euros?|  
 you-dat-2sg like-3sg take money in euros  
 'Do you like taking money in euros?'



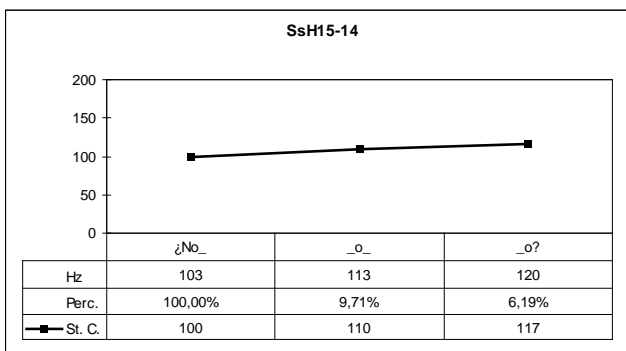
Code SsH15-9, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 35

| ¿'Sueles comprar... regalos para los a'migos?|  
 usually-do-2sg buy gifts for the-pl-masc friends  
 'Do you usually take gifts for the friends?'



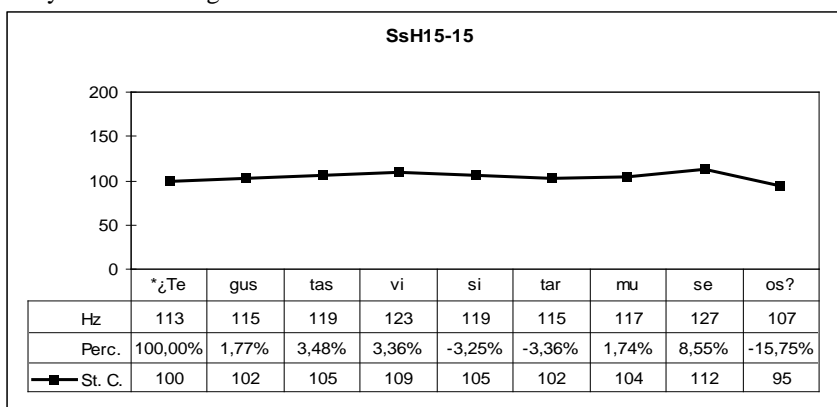
Code SsH15-11, male  
 Pattern SP7, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 31

| ¿No?|  
 'No?'



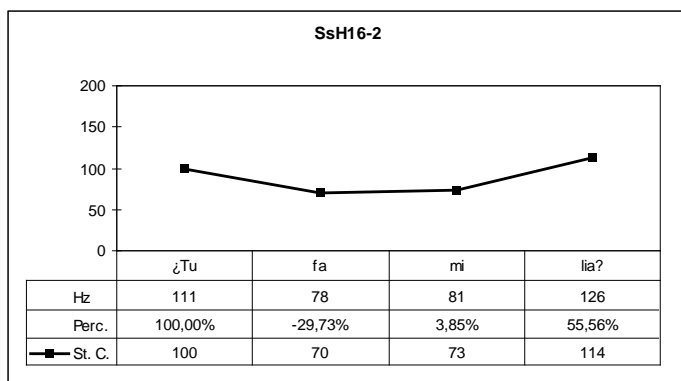
Code SsH15-14, male  
 Pattern SP6 (or SP13)  
 Pitch Range 17

| \*¿Te gustas visitar mu'seos?| correctly: gusta  
 you-dat-sing like-2sg visit museums  
 'Do you like visiting museums?'



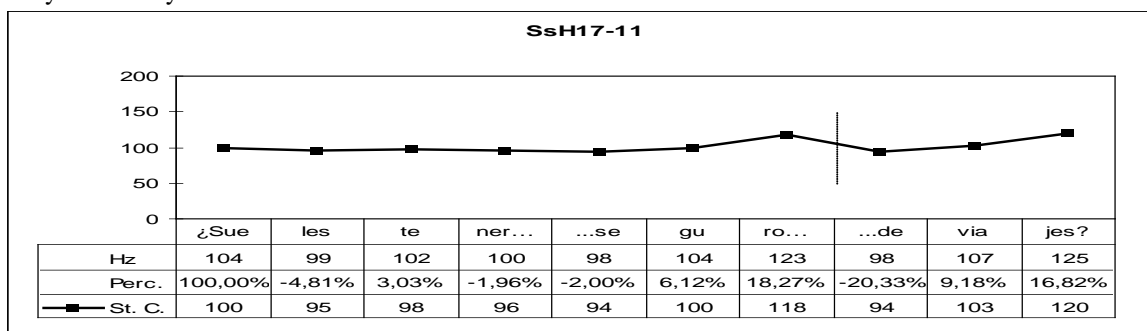
Code SsH15-15, male  
 Pattern SP7, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 18

| ¿Tu fa'milia?|  
 your family  
 'Your family?'



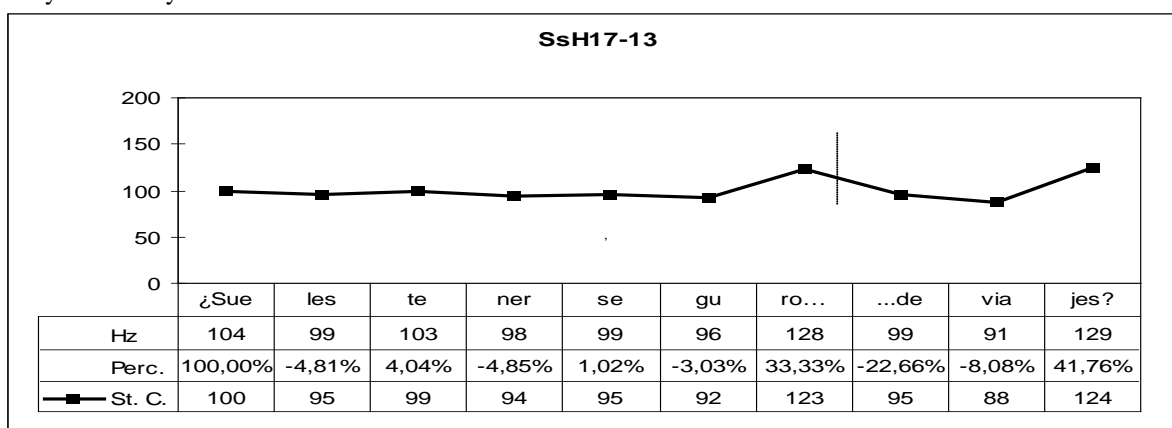
Code SsH16-2, female  
 Pattern SP3  
 Pitch Range 63

| ¿'Sueles tener... seguro... |de 'viajes?|  
 usually-do-2sg have insurance of journeys  
 'Do you usually have travel insurance?'



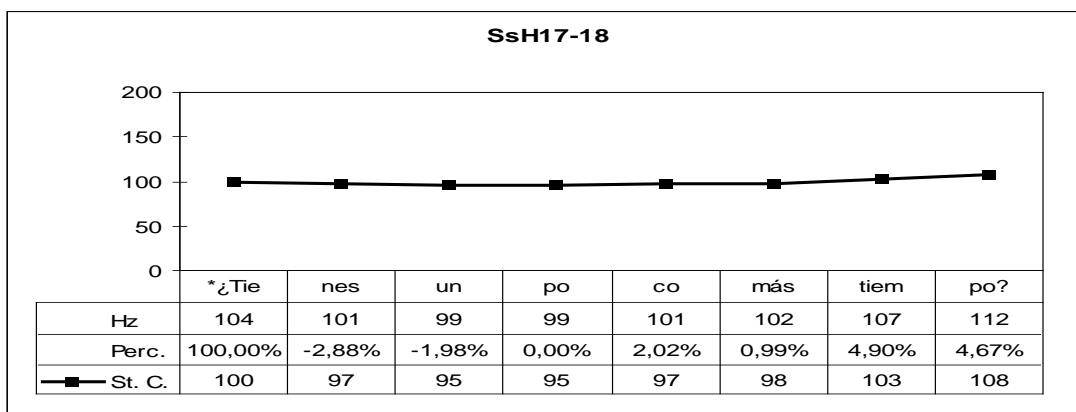
Code SsH17-11, male  
 Pattern SP6a + SP6  
 Pitch Range (only second pattern) 28

| ¿'Sueles tener seguro... de 'viajes?|  
 usually-do-2sg have insurance of journeys  
 'Do you usually have travel insurance?'



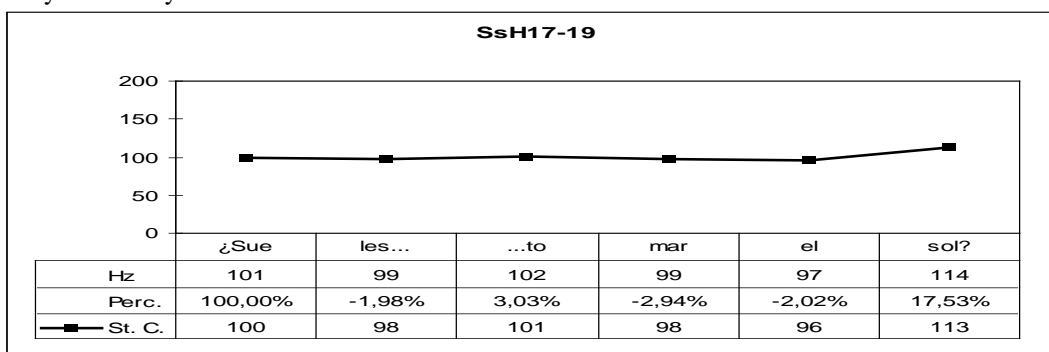
Code SsH17-13, male  
 Pattern SP6a + SP3  
 Pitch Range (only second pattern) 41

| \*¿'Tienes un poco más 'tiempo?| correctly: más de  
 Have-2sg a bit more time  
 'Do you have a bit more time?'



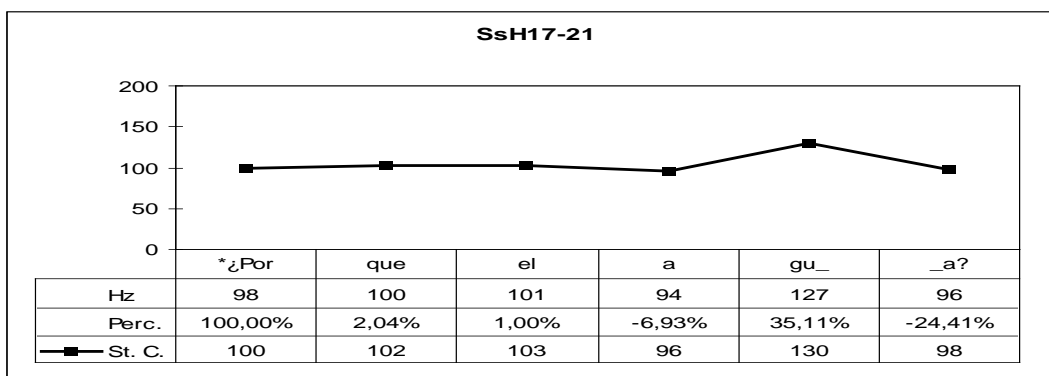
Code SsH17-18, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 14

| ¿'Sueles tomar el sol?|  
 usually-do-2sg take the sun  
 'Do you usually sunbathe?'



Code SsH17-19, male  
 Pattern SP6a, Syntagmatic Accent high but not given two moras  
 Pitch Range 18

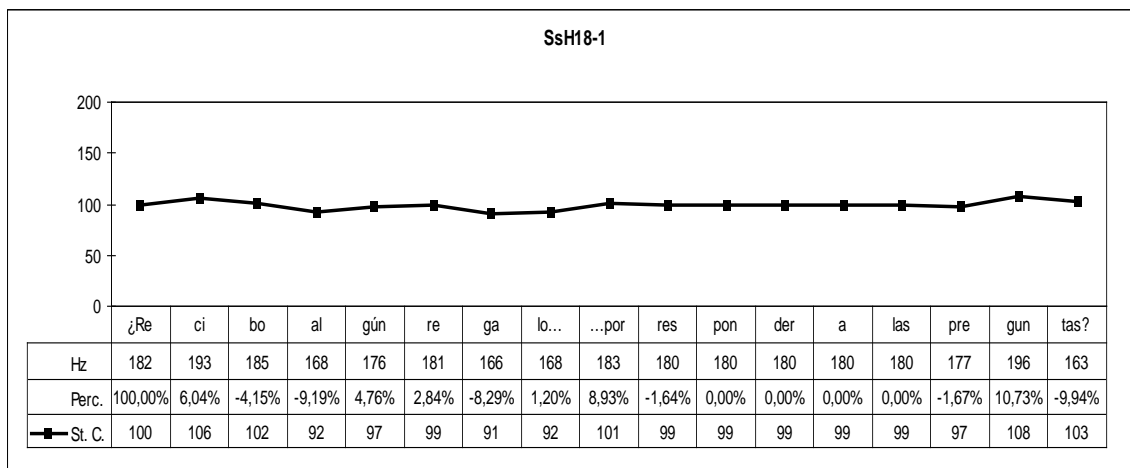
| ¿'Porque el 'agua?|  
 because the water  
 'Because of the water?'



Code SsH17-21, male  
 Pattern SP4b, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 35

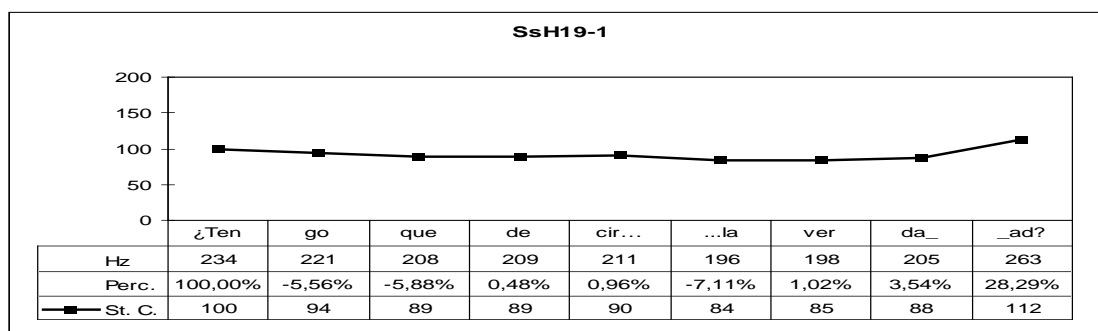
| ¿Re'cibo algún regalo... por responder a las pre'guntas?|  
 receive-1sg some gift for answer to the questions?  
 'Will I receive some gift if I answer the questions?'





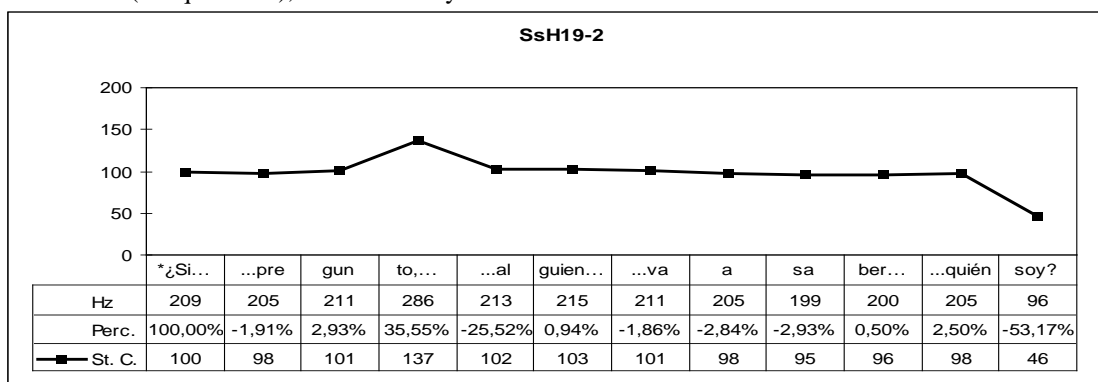
Code SsH18-1, female  
 Pattern SP7, possibly HP7  
 Pitch Range 19

| ¿'Tengo que decir ... la ver'dad?|  
 have-1sg that-compl tell the truth  
 'Do I have to tell ... the truth?'



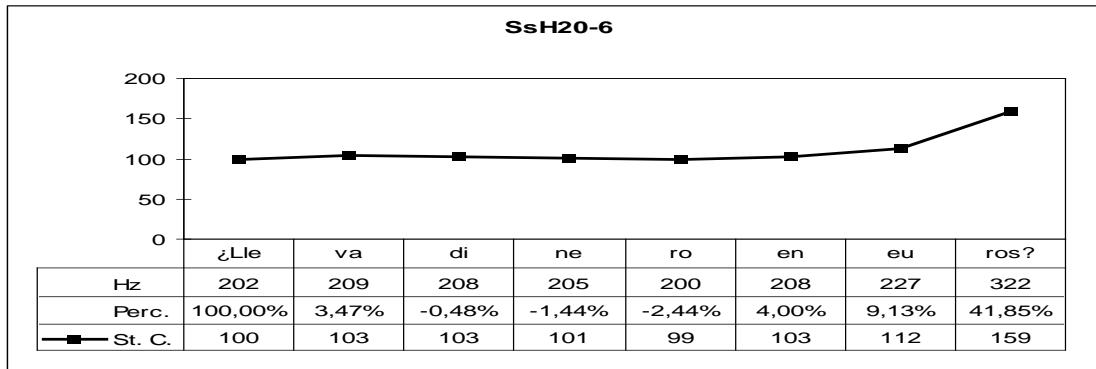
Code SsH19-1, female  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 33

| \*¿Si... pre'gunto..., alguien... va a saber... quién soy?| correctly: si respondo  
 if question-1sg somebody go-3sg to know who be-1sg  
 'If I answer (the questions), will somebody know who I am?'



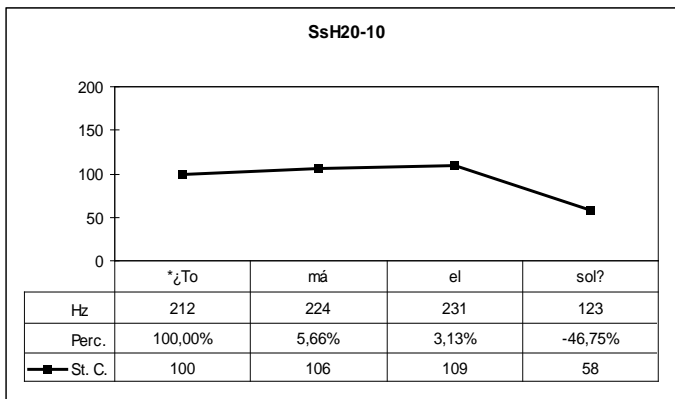
Code SsH19-2, female  
 Pattern SP9, last syllable not given two moras  
 Pitch Range 198

| ¿'Lleva dinero en 'euros?|  
 take-3sg money in euros  
 'Do you take money in euros?'



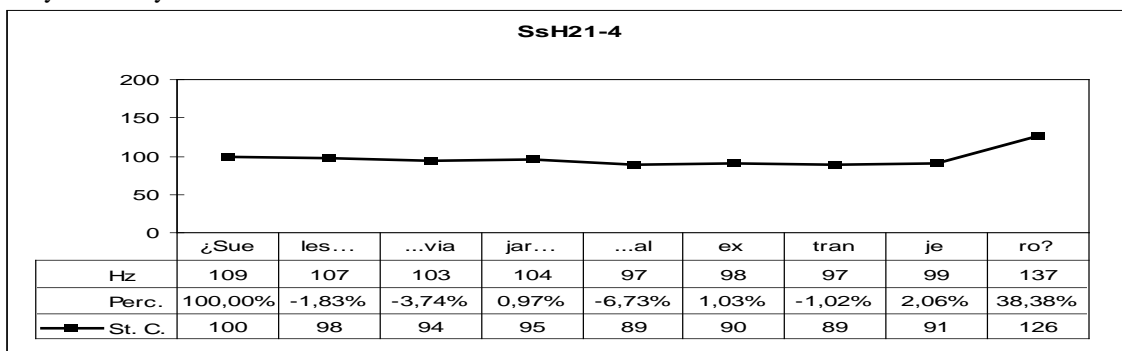
Code SsH20-6, female  
 Pattern SP3  
 Pitch Range 61

| ¿\*Tomá el sol?| correctly: toma  
 take-3sg the sun  
 'Do you (formal) sunbathe?'



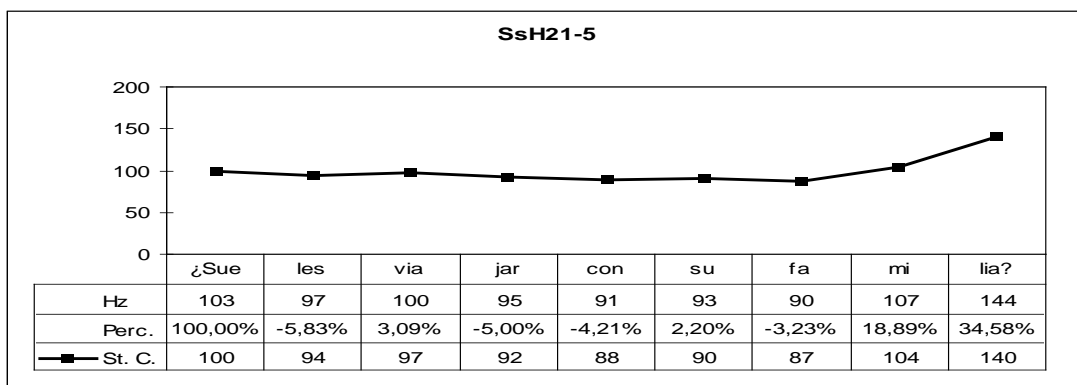
Code SsH20-10, female  
 Pattern SP9, last syllable not given two moras,  
 possibly HP7a  
 Pitch Range 88

| ¿'Sueles... viajar... al extran'jero?|  
 usually-do-2sg travel to-the abroad  
 'Do you usually travel abroad?'



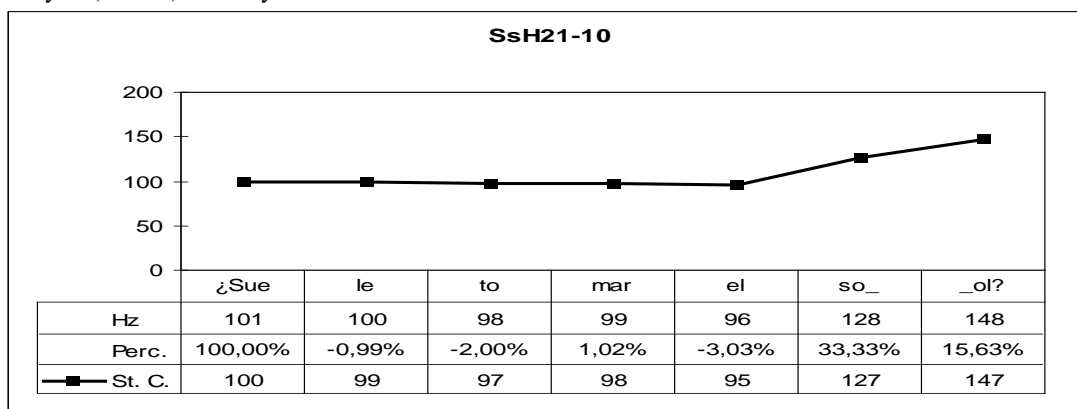
Code SsH21-4, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 42

| ¿'Sueles viajar con su fa'milia?|  
 usually-do-2sg travel with his/her family  
 'Do you usually travel with his/her family?'



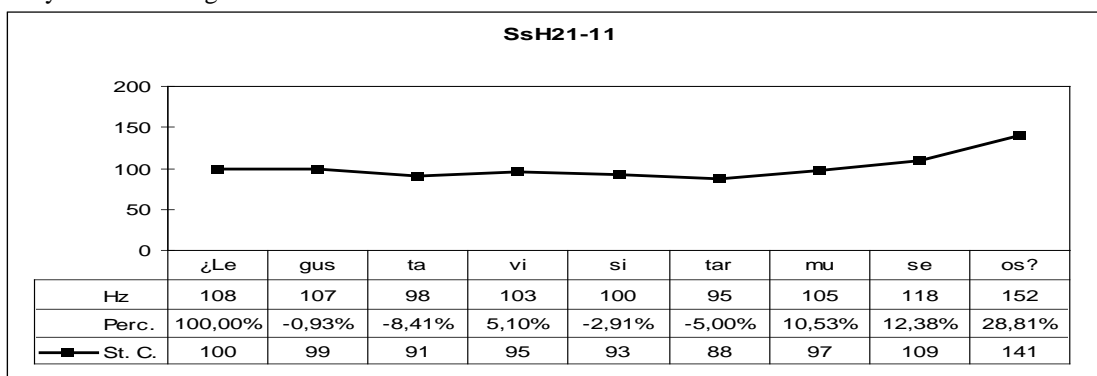
Code SsH21-5, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 61

| ¿'Suele tomar el sol?|  
 ususally-do-3sg take the sun  
 'Do you (formal) ususally sunbathe?'



Code SsH21-10, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 55

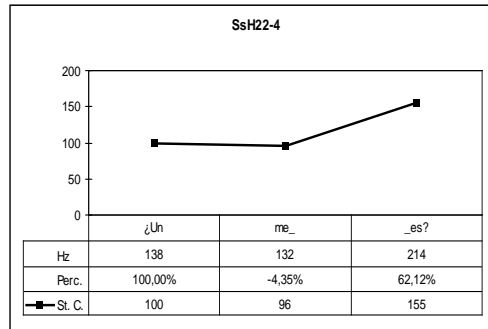
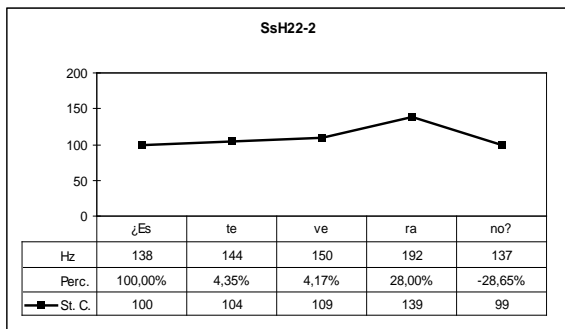
| ¿Le 'gusta visitar mu'seos?|  
 (s)he-dat like-3sg visist museums  
 'Do you like visiting museums?'



Code SsH21-11, male  
 Pattern SP6a  
 Pitch Range 60

| ¿'Este ve'rano?|  
 this summer  
 'This summer?'

| ¿Un mes?|  
 a month  
 'A month?'

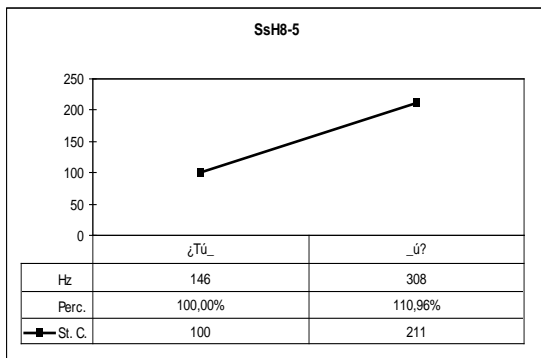


Code SsH22-2, male  
 Pattern SP7, possibly HP7b  
 Pitch Range 40

SsH22-4, male  
 SP3, possibly HP7 on a disyllabic word  
 63

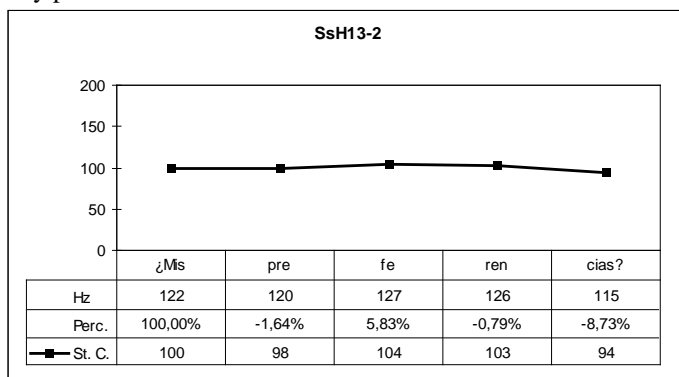
## 2. Echo yes-no questions

| ¿Tú?|  
 'You?'



Code SsH8-5, male  
 Pattern SP2  
 Pitch Range 111

| ¿Mis prefe'rencias?|  
 my-pl preferences  
 'My preferences?'



Code SsH13-2, male  
 Pattern SP1  
 Pitch Range 11

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