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**Contrastive Modelling of the Intonation of Recapitulatory  
Echo Interrogative Sentences in  
Modern American English and Cuban Spanish**

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**Abstract.** Human speech communication is rich in expressive stylistic, syntactic, lexical and discourse devices which are commonly used to express feelings, attitudes and volitions. Supported by the important contributions of CDA, discourse intonation, discourse semantics and pragmatics this dissertation presents a broad contrastive analysis of the intonation patterns of recapitulatory echo interrogatives in Cuban Spanish and American English. A corpus-driven methodology stresses the importance of prosodic features of any language in the analysis of social interaction. As a step forward in the analysis of interrogative sentences in English and Spanish, this research presents relevant data which can be used in the teaching of English as a second foreign language in most schools in Cuba, as well as Spanish to foreign students.

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*To my parents, Oneida y José Ramón:  
To my Grandma F. Eustaquia:  
To my siblings, Marlen and Adalberto,  
To my friends, colleagues and  
Students.*

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## **Introduction**

*“There resides in every language a characteristic world-view [...] every language contains the whole conceptual fabric and mode of presentation of a portion of mankind”*

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1988: 60)

Through the years, major interdisciplinary research on language and communication has unveiled important aspects of our everyday life, which have led us to understand the intricacies of human interaction. In chapter I of her latest book *Interpersonal Communication: Everyday Encounters*, Wood states that the process of socialization, a term which oftentimes intersects with communication, is of a great importance since it “teaches us how to communicate and interpret what others do and say.”(2010:13)

In her article “Prosody and discourse: a diachronic approach”, Wichmann highlights this interdisciplinary character of discourse since, as the linguist states, its approaches mainly derive from fields such as anthropology, philosophy, sociology and linguistics. She analyses “language as it constructs or reflects social reality” (2006: 3). As she refers to in her article “Conversational Analysis owes more to sociology, and is more concerned with how conversationalists jointly create order in that part of social interaction that is “talk” [§2.2]. The latter assertion presents the main objective of most research works on this field, in which discourse prosody plays a key role in the analysis of the expression of interpersonal meaning and its role in the management of interaction. Therefore, intonation serves as a signalling device fulfilling interactional needs – the need to jointly construct and negotiate verbal interaction (2000:125). So it is language: socialization, language negotiation, verbal interaction, communication.

The idea of this dissertation has emerged from the need of improving the teaching of intonation in pronunciation lessons at the School of Foreign Languages of the University of Havana and as a follow-up to a wide range of works on Discourse Intonation by a group of students under my supervision. But, why recapitulatory echo interrogative sentences? A preliminary analysis of Cuban Spanish and American English shows the increasing use of echoic utterances in conversational discourse, in which intonation plays a central role in the establishment of their semantic structures. Linguists have agreed that echoic utterances, in general, relate to a previous utterance (cohesive function) and also share analogies in form and meaning; they inform the

interlocutor about the speaker's misperception of part(s) of the previous utterance or refusal to accept it (conversational management); and they are characterized by an intonation pattern. All these features of echoic utterances have inspired me to make a contrastive analysis of the intonation patterns of recapitulatory echo interrogative speech acts in the Cuban Spanish and American English variants, a field yet barely explored by scholars.

In order to fulfil this objective it was essential to follow these scientific tasks and methods: [1] the compilation and information processing of important issues on intonation and discourse analysis theories, deepening on the conversational aspect and the modal semantic macrocategory of expressiveness and its relation with discourse intonation. At this first stage of the analysis three research methods are mainly used: the critical referential analysis, historical approach and the analytical-synthetic, each of which enables me to analyse the different above-stated sources in order to outline a suitable theoretical framework which serves the purpose of this research. [2] The selection of the corpus samples for this dissertation. It has been designed taking into account the fundamental features of a corpus-based analysis: it is empirical since it analyses the actual patterns of use in natural discourse; it depends on quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques that provide us with functional interpretations of language use. [3] The editing, processing and modelling of such samples using Praat.

Praat is an acoustic software developed in 2007 by Paul Boersma and David Weenink at the Institute of Phonetic Sciences of the University of Amsterdam, which has proven its practicability in the visualization of sound signal and acoustic synthesis. The spectrographic analysis of the corpus samples are based on acoustic variables like fundamental frequency (pitch), duration (length) and intensity (loudness), besides the analysis of tempo and rhythm. Linguists recognise pitch as the most centrally involved prosodic feature in the analysis of intonation. Physiologically, pitch basically depends on the vibrations of the vocal cords and the rate of such vibrations is reflected in the acoustic measurement of fundamental frequency. Pitch is a perceptual term related to the listener's judgment of high or low tones (1997: 3-5). For practical purposes, the F0 is generally equated to pitch. Raithel refers to the direct proportionality between pitch and fundamental frequency when she states that "the higher the pitch we perceive, the higher the frequencies that show up in the spectrogram" (2005: 9). Pitch is represented with a noncontinuous black line in the spectrograms of this dissertation.

Length is another acoustic variable viewed as the duration or length of time it takes to the speaker to produce a linguistic unit and the listener to perceive it (1997: 2). It is not only related to individual phonological segments (esp. vowels) but also to



temporal structure, and is therefore involved in the phonological organisation of the utterance as a whole, which makes it have a distinctive prosodic status (Fox 2000: 14).

Raithel views intensity as the physical feature of the sound, while loudness is the subjective property of a sound which is most directly related to intensity. Loudness depends, however, on the fundamental frequency, the spectral features of the sound as well as on its duration (Lehiste 1970: 114 cited in Raithel 2005: 10). This summarises Raithel's opinion that whatever changes occurring in the F<sub>0</sub> or its intensity are always connected to the temporal domain. Intensity is represented by a continuous gray line.

Two of the main disadvantages of Praat are that it does not allow analysing more than twenty-minute long utterances and mp3 files should be converted to wav. By just clicking on READ FROM FILE... and then EDIT, one has a spectro-temporal representation of an intonation curve. The horizontal dimension represents time and the vertical one frequency (Hz, cps-cycles per second). I have modelled two utterances in some cases to allow the reader to best understand the semantic structure of a given intonation curve as well as the fluctuations in the acoustic variables.

### **Cuban Spanish and American English variants**

Cuban Spanish and American English bear similarities and differences with respect to the standard Spanish and English languages. Researches on Cuban Spanish exalt the influence of many other languages during its formation process and which have long distinguished it from the rest; for instance, the loss of the final /s/ phoneme, the velarized realisation of /n/ and the pronunciation of /z/ as /s/. In her article "La variación lingüística: elemento distintivo entre hablantes de una misma lengua", García Garrido et al ascertains that:

« [...] el español de Cuba posee una serie de rasgos específicos, y en su sistema reproduce todas las estructuras de una lengua nacional, y se puede afirmar que como forma de existencia de una lengua que no presenta divergencias estructurales agudas, tiene plenitud funcional y ha adquirido una autonomía reconocida dentro de los límites de la nación cubana, el español de Cuba constituye una variante nacional del diáctema de la lengua española. Este reconocimiento no implica que exista una diferencia tal entre nuestro español y el académico, por el contrario una de las características de la situación lingüística cubana es el sentimiento de pertenencia a la comunidad hispanohablante que tienen los cubanos.» (2011: 2)

The Cuban Spanish lexicon and phonetics are influenced by the different languages, cultures and ethnicities of the African slave trade in the Island. That is why some linguists agree that there was a creole Cuban Spanish prior to the establishment of a modern variant. Before and during the pseudo-republic period (1902-1959) the Island

was bitten by a wave of racism; this prevented African descendants to lead a proper social life. Their language, generally identified with their religious belief, was also socially rejected. However, with the triumph of the Cuban revolution, some of these words are used in more professional contexts but yet considered informal. There are still remnants of this in current colloquial Cuban Spanish: “asere”, “ambia”, “ecobio”, “monina”, “consorte” (“friend” in sub-Saharan African languages), regularly used by adolescents from dissimilar linguistic and social strata. The social acceptance of a wide range of African religions enriches the cultural and linguistic heritage of Cubans. Linguistic changes in the Cuban Spanish are largely related to the lexicon, which in an original way reflects the evolution of Cuban society and their routine activities.

Like other languages, the American English is exposed to linguistic changes. It is a truism that the young generation of North Americans tend to use more informal and simpler forms in their everyday interactions; something that is highlighted in my corpus. There is nowadays a much clearer sense of political correctness, although it is yet impacted by discrimination and racism. The industrial revolution has contributed to the development of English; however, other linguists agree that such development is causing a breakdown in the English language, the bastardization of language, or the linguistic ruin of the generation (O’Connor 2005 & Axtman 2002 cited in Tagliamonte and Denis 2008:4)

The Hip-Hop culture has greatly influenced on the way the American youth speak today. This type of music has empowered the Cuban youth to codify their own realities; words that epitomise their ponderings, new life challenges, ideas despite their beliefs, cultures, ethnicities, races. Language is therefore a living, ever-changing force in society and as a dynamic entity it is mostly subjected to constant modifications at all levels of language.

### **Dissertation structure**

This dissertation is structured as follows:

An introduction which concisely outlines the core of this dissertation; for instance, the motivation, relevance of the research topic, its main objective as well as the methods and procedures that will govern the writing of this investigation. I have also included a subtle characterisation of the variants used in the making- up of my corpus. Chapter I presents different intonation theories and approaches proposed by prominent scholars from the English and Hispanic schools; it attempts to establish a sort of homogeneity in the analysis of intonation as well as its working methodologies. As its title suggests,

chapter II reviews some of the conversational discourse theories as well as principles and maxims which, as to semanticists and pragmatists, is essential for any analysis of conversational discourse. I analyse *expressiveness* as a modal semantic macrocategory that enables the researcher to determine the semantico- pragmatic values intentionally activated by the speaker as well as the reaction on the listener's side. Besides, this allows me to analyse the speaker-listener convergence in the act of communication.

A third chapter firstly reviews previous analysis on interrogative sentences by English and Hispanic grammarians and some general assumptions on the use of pronominal and absolute interrogative sentences in both variants. Then the contrastive analysis of the intonation patterns of recapitulatory echo interrogative sentences in the Cuban Spanish and American English. The conclusions discuss relevant findings and some possible lines of future research.

## **Chapter I**

### **The English and Cuban Spanish Intonation Systems: theories and approaches to its analysis and research methods**

La entonación es una moneda con dos caras, una expresiva, afectiva,  
actitudinal y otra simbólica, lingüística, sistematizable.

**Cortés** 2002:28

Creemos que no está lejano el día en que todo el mundo reconozca  
esas unidades entonativas tan evanescentes, como se reconoció el  
fonema, aunque sus naturalezas sigan siendo discutidas.

**Quilis** 1981:373

The study of intonation has become a pending subject for most phoneticians, linguists and language teachers who have now acknowledged it as an essential component of language and communication since it enables speakers to achieve fluency, language competence and proficiency in the foreign language (Chun 1998; Celce-Murcia 1987). In his work “Discourse Intonation: to Teach or not to Teach?”, James Ranalli refers to the importance of intonation since it enables speakers to link their utterances to other utterances and to discourse as a whole. Intonation choices are tied to the situational context. He states that despite the linguistic universals of grammar-based descriptions, it is impossible to isolate a stretch of speech from its context in conversational discourse and make generalizations about its intonational meaning (2000:8).

Systematic studies on intonation carried out in the last twenty years show the current inaccuracies regarding the terminology used, concept, components or acoustic variables, number of intonation patterns as well as the main features and structure of the intonation unit. That’s why one of the first tasks is to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the different theories and approaches proposed by prominent scholars from the British and American schools as well as those linguists who have long contributed to the research of English intonation. In addition, this bibliographic cross-examination enables us to reach a consensus on the aspects, yet unresolved, and helps us design an appropriate working methodology for the analysis and teaching of intonation, since as Underhill (1994: 75) points out the main difficulty is that “...we are not in control of a practical, workable and trustworthy system through which we can make intonation comprehensible.”

## **1.1 The linguistic value of intonation**

Accepting or not the linguistic value of intonation has long posed to be a very contentious aspect for early and contemporary linguists. For instance, Antonio Quilis (1981) and Raquel García Riverón (1996) dedicate the first chapters of their works, as many intonologists, to analyse the linguistic value of this suprasegmental feature. According to them, the linguistic nature of intonation is often underestimated by many scholars. For most phoneticians, intonation is approached as a physiological and psychological phenomenon; hence it is impossible to isolate what is linguistically arbitrary. Intonational phenomena are thus organised, as Bolinger puts it, “around the edge of language”, so they can be attributed extralinguistic values. All these opinions give way to the second stage of the analysis in which intonation is considered as a linguistic phenomenon but cannot be described as an orderly, well-grounded system due to the non-discreet character of its elements and the great amount of variants that cannot be phonologically opposed in different contexts.

In his work *Éléments de linguistique générale* (1960), Martinet agrees with Bolinger’s idea of marginalising intonation, for what he ascertains that:

«No se puede, pues, negar el valor lingüístico a la entonación. Pero su juego no entra en el cuadro de la doble articulación, puesto que el signo que puede representar la elevación melódica no se encuentra en la sucesión de los monemas y no presenta un significante analizable en una serie de fonemas. Las variaciones de la curva de entonación ejercen, de hecho funciones mal diferenciadas, funciones directamente significativas [...] pero más frecuentemente una función del tipo que hemos llamado 'expresiva'. » (:79)

According to Martinet’s assertion, it is impossible to segment the intonation units (as in the case of phonemes) which diminishes the linguistic value of this suprasegmental unit. Opposed to Martinet’s and Bolinger’s view, Quilis states:

«El problema se centra principalmente en que la entonación, como todo enunciado lingüístico, posee una sustancia y una forma. La forma, o descripción estructural de la entonación, viene dada por la descripción lingüística: establecer el número de elementos que integran ese nivel, sus relaciones y funciones. La sustancia es un continuum en el que hay que delimitar las unidades de entonación para poder obtener unidades discretas y establecer así sus patrones melódicos y la naturaleza de sus elementos.» (1981:262)

Not only Quilis but also other prominent scholars like Trager & Smith (1951), Pike (1953), Malmberg (1966), Faure (1971) agree that it is possible to segment the melodic continuum into discreet units, phonologically opposed in the speech chain the same as phonemes. Trager & Smith, as well as most North American Bloomfieldian

linguists ascertain that the suprasegmental features make up a whole system, and in the very particular case of intonation, there are four basic pitch levels- suprasegmental phonemes, which should be taken into account in its analysis. Malmberg stresses the phonological character of intonation, while Göran Hammarström (1974) analyses the existing difference between the “contour” (a non-discreet unit) and the “prosodeme” (similar to the phoneme).

Raquel García Riverón quotes Alarcos Llorach, a prominent scholar of the Hispanic intonology studies and a true advocator of the linguistic value of intonation, who states that:

«La entonación, pues, es también un signo, que se expresa mediante la curva melódica (o secuencia de tonos) y cuyo significado consiste en la modalidad asignada al enunciado. El signo de enunciado es la asociación de un contorno o curva melódica con un significado que llamamos modalidad. A diferencia de los signos sucesivos que se combinan en el enunciado, el signo de entonación queda como superpuesto a ella». (Alarcos Llorach 1974 cited in García Riverón 1996)

This intonologist also supports this stance in most her works. For example, in the summary of the first chapter “Los Estudios de la Entonación” of her book *Aspectos de la Entonación Hispánica I Metodología*, Raquel highlights that:

« [...] La entonación es un fenómeno analizable desde el punto de vista lingüístico, estructurable como lo puede ser el componente léxico o morfológico de la lengua; es un hecho lingüístico autónomo por cuanto está formada por unidades formales y conceptuales propias y, por lo tanto, constituye un nivel metodológico y taxonómico específico de la lengua, susceptible de ser investigado.» (García Riverón 1996: 67)

In his book *Didáctica de la prosodia del español: la acentuación y la entonación*, Maximiano Cortés quotes the Cuban intonologist when referring to the main functions and features of this suprasegmental unit. In it, is portrayed the linguistic character of intonation.

«La entonación es significativa- además de su significado fonológico inherente, aporta significado léxico-gramatical al enunciado-, estructurable- se puede analizar en unidades simples y compuestas-, sistemática, convencional- los entonemas no se inventan *ad hoc*, sino que se aprenden de otros hablantes-, y arbitraria- diferente en cada lengua.» (Cf. García Riverón 1996: 29 cited in Cortés Moreno 2002: 25 [§1.3.2])

Two of the most significant works on Hispanic intonology are: *La entonación del español: su estructura fónica, variabilidad y dialectología* (Sosa 1999) and *Teoría y análisis de la entonación* (Cantero 2002). In their works, they provide us with a complete explanation that justifies the reason why intonation should be analysed from a linguistic perspective. In his chapter I “Teoría fonológica de la entonación”, Sosa

presents four basic premises that should always be taken into account in the analysis and description of any intonational system. Based on O'Connor & Arnold (1973: 1-4), intonation is described as:

- I. **Meaningful** (there are sentences in discourse whose semantic or pragmatic meaning is differentiated because of their intonation pattern. In accordance with the speaker's communicative intention and the context of interaction, he/she may utter the same sentence as if questioning, ascertaining or doubting, what enables grammarians to group sentences into different sentence types);
- II. **Systematic** (there is a limited number of intonation patterns in each language, which are used to produce certain semantic effects; this makes it possible to systematise the most frequently used patterns and provide rules for their use);
- III. **Language-based** (as Bolinger (1961) puts it, the patterns of intonation of Spanish are not necessarily the same patterns of intonation used by speakers of any other language, nor will produce the same semantic effects on the hearer's response. It is true that a family of languages generally share more similarities (universal patterns of intonation) than differences in this respect. For instance, a falling pitch is often used in affirmative sentences signalling finality, whereas the rising pitch is frequently used in questions and expressions of request;
- IV. **Divisible into melodic units:** it is within the bounds of these prosodic units defined by the contour where the intonation patterns are realized as well as two other linguistically relevant phenomena inherent to intonation: declination (the progressive fall or drop of the tone) and the final lengthening. It is important to point out Sosa's viewpoint in which he highlights that "the co-existence and realization of these phenomena within the same domain reveals the linguistic reality of these melodic units." (Sosa 1999: 30)

Cantero (2002) does not hesitate to question himself about the linguistic nature of intonation. In his book *Teoría y análisis de la entonación*, he starts by defining intonation as:

« La entonación es el fenómeno lingüístico que constituyen las variaciones de tonos relevantes en el discurso oral. [...] el principal elemento cohesionador del habla, que cumple funciones lingüísticas y expresivas en la comunicación oral. [...] fenómeno en que intervienen el tono, pero también otros parámetros acústicos, como la intensidad, la duración o incluso el timbre.» (2002:15)

In his definition the linguist acknowledges the linguistic nature of this suprasegmental feature and its relation with the transmission of *expressiveness* in spoken discourse. In this dissertation, I have examined expressiveness as a modal semantic macrocategory,

proposed by Prof. Leandro Caballero, crucial for any prosodic analysis. In this respect, Quilis (1981:394) quotes León (1972) when he states that “the intensity of the melodic pattern has a symbolic value direct to the intensity of the expressed feeling.” (Cantero 2002: 17 [§1.1])

Quilis (1981: 376) states that intonation is realized at “linguistic” (distinctive function), “sociolinguistic” (informative and identifying function about the speaker) and “expressive” (conveying the speaker’s mood) levels. Cantero prefers to analyse intonation from a different perspective: intonation is mostly realized at prelinguistic (its cohesive function in discourse); linguistic (distinctive function); and paralinguistic (attitudinal function) levels of analysis (2002: 19). As it can be seen most levels of analysis of intonation mainly refer to the taxonomy of its functions in discourse, which will be dealt with later on. Hispanic intonologists have long systematised the different viewpoints on the linguistic nature of intonation more than English scholars. As Cantero (2002) states it the mutual lack of understanding among American and British scholars begins with the opposing theories by Bloomfield (1933) and Firth (1948).

With the implementation and development of more discourse-oriented methods of conversational discourse analysis, English scholars have started to provide discourse-based definitions of intonation that stresses on its truly linguistic value. For instance, Couper-Kuhlen refers to ‘t Hart/Collier (1975) who points out that:

« [...] there are three different levels at which intonation can be analysed, each reflecting a different degree of abstraction. At a concrete, acoustic level intonation can be seen as a succession of fundamental frequency curves in time. Since, however, many of these acoustic phenomena are not perceived at all by the human ear or only selectively perceived, a second, phonetic level must be distinguished, at which intonation can be viewed as a succession of perceivable pitch 'events'. However, not even all the pitch events which are in principle capable of being distinguished by the human ear are necessarily relevant in understanding the utterances of a given language. That is, a third, more abstract phonological level of intonation analysis can be identified at which potentially distinct pitch events are grouped together into 'meaningful' categories. » (1986: 63)

Throughout this previous analysis, it has been proven that intonation should be considered as a linguistic phenomenon, not as in the case of phonemes, but its levels of analysis and the division of discourse into discreet intonational units makes this suprasegmental feature essential in any description conversational discourse.

As a linguistic sign, intonation is made up of a “plane of expression” and a “plane of content”; each of which consists of “form” and “substance”. The substance of the plane of expression is made up of the fluctuations of the fundamental frequency (F0) - pitch, resulting from the vocal cords vibrations. Nonetheless, it is important to



take into account other acoustic variables like intensity, duration and timbre. The form of the plane of expression deals with the way the speaker uses or combines intonation units, as the basic unit for analysis of intonation, to communicate according to his/her communicative intention. The plane of content consists of the different shades of meanings that can be conveyed contrastively through pitch variations and to which the speaker associates a particular intonation pattern depending on the discourse context.

To sum up, Cantero remarks that:

« La cuestión del significado alude también al carácter lingüístico del fenómeno: pues si hay una entonación lingüística no meramente integradora o expresiva, esta ha de constituirse con una forma definida y un significado estable, esto es un signo lingüístico propio. **[To which he adds]** Los distintos enfoques sólo han sabido identificar este supuesto significado con tipos de significado que ya aportan otros fenómenos lingüísticos: con significados lexico-semánticos (declaración, pregunta, imperativos), con significados aportados por la sintaxis (partículas interrogativas, pregunta disyuntiva o copulativa), dependientes del contexto discursivo (pregunta relativa, restrictiva) o situacional (cortesía, duda, ironía...). **[Then, he concludes by saying that]** el carácter plenamente lingüístico de la entonación ha de pasar por la determinación de un nivel de significación propio, independiente de otros niveles de significación, y asociado sistemáticamente a una forma fónica definida. » (2002: 35-36 [§3])

After having analysed the viewpoints of scholars who have approached intonation as a linguistic sign, the second step in this chapter is intended to cover some of the most controversial questions regarding intonation: (1) is there an appropriate definition of intonation?; (2) Which are the main components and functions of intonation?; (3) what is the phonological unit for the analysis of intonation? What is its structure? It is important to state that this first chapter analyses intonation theories in general, from both English and Spanish schools. I will present some historical and methodological preliminaries to modern intonational studies to illustrate the progressive development of this linguistic science.

## **1.2. A brief history of intonation researches before and after the 1920s by English and Hispanic scholars: main assumptions and contributions**

In his book *Prosodic Features and Prosodic Structures*, Anthony Fox (2000) carries out a thorough analysis of the emergence and development of the notation systems of English intonation. John Hart is among the early phoneticians who refers to intonation in his salient work *Orthographie* (1569) and in which he establishes the relationship between punctuation with intonation. However, the first most significant contribution is made by Steele (1775), who makes a clear-cut distinction among accent, quantity,

pause, emphasis (or cadence) and force, that is in modern intonology terms, pitch, duration, pause, salience (occurrence of the strong beat) and loudness respectively.

Steele (1775) designs an elaborate notation system to represent intonation in which he indicates the duration of each syllable, and of each pause by using musical notes – semiquaver, quaver, crotchet etc., and the pitch movement by rising or falling oblique lines. Besides, he highlights some of the main functions of pitch change, for example, to indicate completion by a final fall, non-completion by a rise, and degrees of emotional involvement by the extent of the movement. As to emphasis he states that all speech, “prose as well as poetry, falls naturally under emphatic divisions”, that he terms cadences and the thesis of pulsation that points out those divisions, are represented by bars, as in music. Although there are still inconsistencies in Steele’s notation system, linguists agree that it is the major advance in the description of nonsegmental phonology carried out in the eighteenth century.

General assumptions on the intonation patterns can be found in works on rhetoric and elocution, especially from the late eighteenth century. Walker (1787), for instance, identifies tones like rising, falling, and level pitches as well as rising- falling and falling-rising. Bell (1886) identifies five types of “inflexions”: fall, rise, fall-rise and rise-fall. He also analyses a new category that he terms the *double compound inflection*- rise-fall-rise, and to which he associates with general meanings.

Sweet does not theorize much on intonation. He identifies six basic patterns of intonation: level, rising, falling, compound rising (falling-rising), compound falling (rising-falling) and rising-falling-rising. Sweet analyses three keys (high, mid and low) which involve different overall pitch levels for the utterance or its parts (1906: 68-71). Bell’s and Sweet’s works mark the beginning of a new tradition in the analysis of intonation, in which determining the role of intonation in utterances is essential in any suprasegmental analysis. But all these studies still lack a unified, clear conception of the internal structure of intonation and an understanding of the distribution of the pitch pattern of the utterance.

Considerable progress is achieved by many scholars from the 1920s onwards in establishing the basis for a descriptive framework of intonation. It is a truism that major contributions to the study of intonation have been made by language teachers. That is why; at some point in this research I refer to important considerations proposed by more pedagogically-oriented scholars.

The major European school of phonology, the Prague School, does not give an explicit model for the description of intonation. Two of its leading phoneticians, Karcevskij (1931) and Trubetzkoy (1939) do not theorize too much on the theory of

intonation in their works, since they mainly focus on the demarcation of sentence intonation from the word tone of tonal accent languages. Nevertheless, Trubetzkoy points out that most (non-tone) European languages make the distinction between a falling and rising intonation when indicating finality and continuation, respectively. The linguist also refers to the difference between intonation and register and highlights that register is used in some languages to differentiate “yes/no” questions from other types of questions by means of intonation.

The British approach to intonation (the nuclear tone approach), stems from the work of the German scholar Hermann Klinghardt (1927), in which he describes the French, English and German systems of intonation. He uses the “intonation unit” as the basic phonological unit for intonational analysis and identifies different intonation patterns, represented by string-of-dots notation system. Besides, Klinghardt carries out a contrastive analysis between English and German systems of intonation and their uses in conversational spoken discourse. Following this same approach to the analysis of intonation, British scholars incorporate the accentual features- mainly the *phrasal accent*. Coleman (1914), who is considered the forerunner of this approach, introduces a tripartite structure for the tone-group which consists of a head, nucleus, and tail. He identifies four different nucleus tones- high fall, low fall, rise and rise-fall, and three different heads- inferior, superior and scandent.

Although advanced for his epoch, Palmer refers to the semantic functions of tones and proposes an inventory of linguistically relevant tones in naturally occurring interactions. Kingdon (1958) and Schubiger (1958) provide a narrower taxonomy of the tone group- prehead, head, body, nucleus, and tail, which he represents through a system of “wedges” (stressed syllables) and “dots” (unstressed ones). Also important is the work on English intonation by Ida C. Ward in her book *The Phonetics of English* (1944), in which she highlights the importance of prominence in the analysis of intonation. Ward uses the conventional mark of stress [ ' ] to denote prominence, while [ " ] shows special prominence or extra emphasis and dots for non-prominent syllables; a straight line indicates level-pitched syllables, and the common rising and falling diacritic marks.

According to Ida C. Ward, there are certain phonological factors that may render a syllable prominent in speech- stress or breath force, lengthening of vowels in prominent syllables and vowel quality. Ward links intonation to the rise and fall in the pitch of the voice in speech; acoustically speaking, the various rates of the vibration of the vocal cords. She states that the different feelings or attitudes are conveyed in the tune of a sentence, which she considers to be the basic intonational unit.

Ward identifies two main *Tunes* I and II. *Tune* I consists of a series of stressed syllables forming a descending scale with a fall pitch at the end. Like *Tune* I, *Tune* II consists of a descending scale of stressed syllables with a rise from a low pitch at the end. This latter is frequently used in unfinished sense groups and in “yes”/ “no” questions, requests, in statements where something is implied but left unsaid. Ward analyses the influence that emphasis exerts on a tune. For instance, the speaker may add emphasis to express some added meaning, or some extra prominence that he/ she wishes to attach to a particular idea by means of intonation (Ward 1944: 173).

It is important to analyse O'Connor & Arnold's intonation works within the British tradition. Their tone group consists of a pre-head, head, nuclear tone and tail, but they disregard the “body” in the analysis of intonation. O'Connor & Arnold (1961) identify ten English intonation patterns which are represented by means of dots- large (accented) or small (unaccented) and filled (obligatory) or unfilled (optional). This tradition changes with the development of Halliday's approach to intonation- ‘Scale & Category’. Halliday's work on intonation (1967, 1970) has been extremely influential because, besides being explicitly phonological, it is based on linguistic categories for the phonological description of intonation and it also places these categories within an overall model of language structure and meaning. Halliday's linguistic categories have proven their compatibility with the British tradition scholars; however, he deepens on the phonological choices speakers make when using intonation and the grammatical choices underlying them, which he terms: tonality, tonicity, and tone. They are related to the division of an utterance into tone-groups, the nucleus location within the tone-group, and the choice of intonation pattern.

### **1.3 Halliday's grammatical approach to intonation**

All natural speech, in any language, is marked by patterns of intonation and rhythm- what Joshua Steele, who first describes them in detail (1775), refers to as “melody and measure of speech”. Halliday relates intonation to the rhythmic pattern of the language since he views intonation as the melodic movement, the rise and fall in pitch while rhythm is the beat of the language, which gives it an organization in time. Prosodic features- intonation and rhythm are part of the language system, whose main functions and contributions to the conversational discourse is language-specific, since it varies from one language to another, although there are certain general tendencies which may apply to all. In general, its basic aim is “to suggest how intonation patterns may be






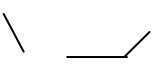
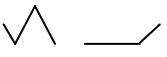
described in such a way as to integrate them within the description of spoken English as a whole” (Halliday 1961: 246).

Halliday states that the function of rhythm is inherent to the phonological language system; that is, it imposes organisation on the sound structure of language (esp. syllables patterns), but it is completely unable to carry any semantic contrasts in its structure. Intonation, however, functions in the lexico-grammatical system; that is, it encodes some aspect of the wording, and therefore directly expresses contrasts in meaning. In most of his works on intonation, Halliday focuses on the grammatical function of intonation rather than any other function. Regarding its grammatical function, Halliday notes that “the choice of intonation (the pitch contour of a clause or phrase) expresses some aspects of speech function, usually having something to do with certainty or doubt; and the location of pitch prominence (where the main fall or rise in pitch occurs) carries some information on how the discourse is organised into messages and what the listener is expected to attend to”. (1961: 49)

Contrasts in English intonation are grammatical; they are exploited in the grammar of the language. What is meant by “grammatical” in Halliday’s approach? The classical Hallidayan position is to consider phonology as the bridge between phonic substance and linguistic form: ‘In phonology we make a separate abstraction from phonic substance, and represent this in statements which show how the given language organises its phonic resources in such a way as to carry its grammatical and lexical patterns’ (1961: 244) ‘When we describe linguistic form, [...] we are describing the meaningful internal patterns of language: the way in which a language is internally structured to carry contrasts in meaning. ‘All contrasts in meaning can be stated either in grammar or lexis, and grammar is ‘that level of linguistic form at which *closed* systems operate’ (Halliday 1961: 246).

Halliday thus treats intonational and non-intonational systems in the same way; and as the former operate at many different places in the grammar, they must be incorporated in the description wherever appropriate. The phonological statement of intonation is made only as detailed as is needed to define those sub-systems of each tone required for the grammatical description, and Halliday claims to have provided a description which has reached the same degree of delicacy as the syntactic part of his description. The assumption underlying the analysis is that conversation in British English can be represented as involving continuous selection from a system of five basic tones (analogous to tunes or contours, and by no means restricted to the syllabic structure of English words).

Halliday refers to the *tone group* as the unit of intonation that is larger than the foot and is capable of representing a meaningful segment of the discourse. He further advances this definition as the quantum of the message; the way in which the speaker structures his message. There are two salient properties of the tone group: (1) a particular point of prominence, referred to as 'tonic' or 'tonic nucleus'. This property is called *tonicity*. (2) It chooses one of a small number of melodic contours or tones, which is referred to as *tone*. This latter consists of a tonic (the segment containing the tonic nucleus) and a pretonic segment (the tonic segment preceded by another). Halliday (1961: 53) identifies five tone realizations:

<b>Tone 1</b>	Fall 	Expresses a statement or WH-question;
<b>Tone 2</b>	Rise 	Expresses a yes/no question;
<b>Tone 3</b>	Low rise 	Usually carries a slight rise signaling message incomplete;
<b>Tone 4</b>	Fall- rise 	Expresses reservation and contrast. In complex sentences it is generally associated with the meaning of 'if';
<b>Tone 5</b>	Rise-fall 	Expresses exclamations and it is commonly used by children;
<b>Tone 13</b>	Fall+ low rise 	Tones 1-3 and 5-3 are, as they appear, combinations of two of the five basic tones; but they occur on a single tone-group, which therefore has two tonic nuclei instead of just one.
<b>Tone 53</b>	Rise-fall+ low rise 	

**Table 1** Halliday's taxonomy of tones

Halliday highlights that increased pitch movement- the place where the pitch is at its most dynamic, is the point of prominence in the tone group. From the acoustic viewpoint, it is a complex linguistic phenomenon comprising features of pitch, length, and loudness (i.e. fundamental frequency, duration, and intensity), but the key factor is

pitch change. Halliday's contour system has been influential for many later theorists such as Bing (1985), Bolinger (1986, 1989), Gussenhoven (1984), Ladd (1980), Tench (1996), all of whom work with an inventory of meaningful contours. It has also been applied extensively to the analysis of spoken discourse.

The British model of intonation approaches the research on suprasegmentals from a communicative perspective, but this often prevents linguists and phoneticians from reaching a second stage in their analysis, which should focus on "the abstraction and systematization of the semantic-pragmatic values implied in different intonational contexts"(Hidalgo 2006: 53). It is worth analysing Bolinger's theoretical contributions in 1986 and 1989. He analyses the *accent* as the nucleus of intonation and identifies three basic "tone profiles" that combine to form different contours, whose meanings are incidental and metaphorical. Profile A (rise-fall) is related to completeness, finality while **B** (high- rise) signals incompleteness and is thus related to meanings of anxiety, surprise. Profile **C** (low- rise) expresses courtesy, moderation, control, etc. Bolinger's profiles have functional roles which allow us to group variants based on prototypical shapes; for instance, profile A is linked to a meaning that remains constant despite variations contributing secondary meanings (Bolinger 1986:140). Another important aspect in Bolinger's model is the incidental and creative character (cf. Cantero 2002: 26) that he attributes to intonation since it does not follow the traditional phonological approaches. In other words, Bolinger relates "intonation more to gesture than to grammar and it accompanies the expression of speaker's emotional state (1986: 157).

Also important are the contributions by prominent American scholars such as Pike (1945), Wells (1945), Trager and Smith (1951), Hockett (1955), among others. Pike as well as other American structuralists view intonation as being superimposed on the segmental string, expressing extra meanings that are also superimposed on the lexical meanings of the words. He further characterizes *intonation* as:

«The intonation meaning is quite the opposite [to lexical meaning]. Rather than being a stable inherent part of words, it is a temporary addition to their basic form and meaning. Rather than being carried by permanent consonants and vowels, it is carried by a transitory extrinsic pitch contour. Rather than contributing to the intrinsic meaning of a word, it is merely a shade of meaning added to or superimposed upon that intrinsic lexical meaning, according to the attitude of the speaker. [...] In English, then, an **intonation meaning** modifies the lexical meaning of a sentence by adding to it the **speaker's attitudes** towards the contents of that sentence. » (Pike 1945:21)

In his works, Pike applied methods of finding contrasts to intonational features as well. He was influenced by the American structuralist tradition and by the knowledge of the tone system of Amerindian languages.

«The pitch levels appear to be nearly or completely meaningless by themselves. It is the intonation contour as a whole which carries the meaning while the pitch levels contribute end points, beginning points, or direction-change points to the contours--and as such are basic building blocks which contribute to the contours and hence contribute to the meaning. [...] In determining the pertinent level or levels of contour, one does not classify the pitch of every syllable or part of a syllable, but only those points in the contour crucial to the establishment of its characteristic rises and falls; they may be called **contour points** [...]. In any rising or falling contour, two contour points are present: the pitch level at its beginning and the pitch level at its end. » (1945: 26)

According to Wells (1945), Trager & Smith (1951) and Hockett (1955), the contour as a whole is an intonation morpheme, with no phonological status. However, the contour also includes terminal junctures, which constitute another kind of phonemic constituent. As well as other American structuralists, these phoneticians consider the pitch phoneme as the basic phonological unit for intonational analysis but have added the terminal juncture to their analysis (Fox 2000: 306). Similarly, Hockett (1955: 45-51) analyses the intonational structure of English based on a model of three pitch phonemes and three terminal contours, one of which is neutral (∅) with no effect on the pitch, while the other two provide for a final fall (↓) and a final rise (↑). In his book *Prosodic Features and Prosodic Structure*, Fox states that “the motivation for this is that the pitch phonemes are minimal; that is, the elements of the pattern are reduced to their minimal extent, and there are minimal contrasts between them.” (2000: 294)

Contemporary phoneticians such as A. C. Gimson (1970), Peter Roach (1991), Ann Wennerstrom (2001), Paul Skandera and Peter Burleigh (2005), David Crystal (1969) have contributed to the development of a unique model of intonation analysis. That is why; the authors of this research have considered important to take into account these contributions for their analysis as well as those made by more pedagogically-oriented scholars such as Bradford (1992), Brazil (1994), Cauldwell & Hewings (1996), Pickering (2004)- true advocates of a discourse approach of intonation.

Based on Gimson’s analysis, intonation changes are the most effective means of rendering prominent for a listener those parts of an utterance on which the speaker wishes to focus attention (1970: 243). His analysis of the English intonation patterns is grounded mainly on the accentual structure of English words. That is why; he identifies two main functions of intonation: accentual and non-accentual. The first function- the accentual- is more language- specific and context-dependent. The second one- the non-accentual deals with the distinctive role of intonation, since by fluctuating the intonation pattern of a sentence type the speaker can interpret the same utterance as a statement



(falling tone) or as a question (rising tone). The latter function encompasses both the grammatical and attitudinal functions formerly described by Crystal.

Gimson exalts the importance of the context and the communicative function of intonation. He ascertains that “[...] the listener interprets correctly those parts of an utterance upon which the speaker wishes to concentrate attention, or is aware of the speaker’s attitude to him, or makes judgments upon the personality of the speaker, the pattern of intonation used may be said to constitute a linguistic system which has a communicative function within a particular community” (1970: 243). Although Gimson subscribes to the British School tradition and follows the same system of notation, he considers that the situation of the nucleus (nuclei) is very important for conveying the semantic content of an utterance and the context of intonation in which this may occur. His taxonomy of intonation patterns is mainly grounded on his analysis of the attitudinal function of intonation. This analysis does not enable him to see the overlapping of the functions of intonation in conversational discourse. He disregards the important role of some acoustic variables in the analysis of intonation.

Crystal (1969) and Gimson (1970) are two of the most important pillars within the English intonology. In his article “Intonation and Linguistic Theory”, Crystal agrees that the systematization of early intonation studies are mainly hindered by the lack of appropriate instrumentation, resulting in “impracticable, vague, oversimple theoretical claims” by linguists and language teachers (1975: 268). Intonation should be analysed, not as a single system of contours but as a complex of features from different prosodic systems (1969: 195). Crystal analyses tone, pitch-range, loudness, rhythmicality and tempo. He defines tone as the first system that “covers the direction of pitch movement within the most prominent syllable of a tone-unit” (:142). In his approach, the tone unit is considered the basic phonological unit for intonational analysis, which he approaches as “the most readily perceivable, recurrent, maximal functional unit to which linguistic meanings can be attached (in the present state of our knowledge)” (:204). He presents the internal structure of the tone-unit: “minimally, a tone-unit must consist of a syllable, and this syllable must carry a glide of a particular kind” and its maximal internal structure is divided into four categories: pre-head, head, nucleus and tail” (:207, 208).

Another important variable is pitch-range. He describes it as a parameter that covers the width of a pitch glide, which is variable, and the distance between pitch levels of adjacent static syllables (:143). A third variable is loudness which is defined as the auditory correlate of amplitude and stress (:156). Rhythmicality accounts for those linguistic contrasts attributed to our perception of regularly occurring peaks of prominence in utterance (:161), while tempo mainly deals with speed, rate and intensity

of utterances in speech (Crystal 1969: 152). Crystal attempts to develop a different view of intonation in order to establish a wider definition than pitch.

In the *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of The English Language* of 1995, Crystal analyses the different functions of intonation. However, his taxonomy goes beyond the four main functions of intonation.

- I. Attitudinal function:** According to Crystal, intonation has long been used to express the speaker's emotions, feelings and other meanings like sarcasm, surprise, anger, despair, interest. Gimson states that these attitudes, emotions and feelings can be voluntarily or involuntarily. The speaker can express his/ her attitudes, emotions towards the listener, what it is being said, or some external event or situation. This function of intonation is identified as emotional function (cf. Crystal 1995) or affective meaning (cf. Brown, Currie and Kenworthy 1980).

Although Brazil, Coulthard and Catherine Johns agree that there is an attitudinal function of intonation and that students should be aware of its existence, they state that "attitude is not only signalled by intonation, but also by an interaction between situational factors, knowledge that the speaker and hearer have of each other, and choices in lexis and syntax" (1980:118). This conception stresses the interrelation of the functions of intonation and other conversational discourse variables (e.g. interpersonal relations) to shape the overall meaning in discourse.

- II. Grammatical function:** According to David Crystal, there is a grammatical and syntactic function of intonation. However, other phoneticians like Wells label this function as the *demarcative function* of intonation since it is largely used to identify grammatical structures in speech rather as punctuation does in writing. Wells refers to a *syntactic function* that distinguishes clause types from questions and statements, and which serves to disambiguate grammatically ambiguous structures through pitch. Crystal quotes that "a given grammatical structure has a regular correlation with a given intonation pattern, and that a change in intonation causes one to reinterpret the syntactic structure of the utterance; no other morphological change being necessary." (1995: 254)

- III. Accentual function:** Roach states that it helps to produce the effect of prominence on syllables that need to be perceived as stressed; in particular, the placing of tonic stress on a specific syllable highlights the most important word in the tone unit (semantic centre). It is sometimes referred to as the *last sentence stress*. However, for contrastive purposes, any word may become the semantic

centre. So we may have both: (a) a normal placement of stress or (b) contrastive placement of stress.

**IV. Discourse function:** Corbett (2004), Roach (1991) and Wells agree that the discourse function (informational) is used to highlight *new* vs. *given* information. Ranalli (2002) and Corbett state that this function is also linked to the speaker's way of organizing and relating meanings based on his/her choices throughout the discourse; that is why, Wells relabels it as *cohesive* function. Besides, Burleigh & Skandera state that "the discourse function of intonation marks the turn-taking process in an exchange between speakers." (2005:119)

Brazil, Coulthard & Catherine Johns' wise words can be used to summarize the analysis of the four basic functions of intonation, since they ascertain that "he [the student] cannot assign intonation to an utterance on the basis of attitude, syntactic structure, or grammatical function in terms of sentence type. What he needs is access to the discourse context and to the apparatus through which he can participate in discursal meaning" (1980:123). Their view favours the overlapping of the functions of intonation.

Crystal's taxonomy of the functions of intonation goes beyond the traditional reductionist notion of four functions. That's why he identifies three other functions:

**V. Textual function:** It is related to the use of intonation to indicate the discourse structure of the whole linguistic text (e.g. news reading, informal conversation, and sermon) as a whole unit. Selting states that it is insufficient to look at how isolated sentences can be joined together; instead one has to look at the utterance in its context, as part of a larger interaction. Intonation is not only used to mark sentence-internal information structures, but it is also employed in the management of the communicative demands of interaction partners. We need to consider the function of intonation with respect to the whole conversational interaction, taking into account the discourse (dialogue) history.

**VI. Indexical function:** Together with other prosodic features, it plays an important role as a marker of personal or social identity. It is possible to identify occupations such as lawyers, preachers, newscasters through their distinctive prosody (Crystal 1995:251).

**VII. Psychological function:** This function of intonation enables the speaker to organise or structure the speech into units that are easily perceived, memorized or performed (Crystal 1995:251).

Throughout the analysis of the functions of intonation it is revealed once more the lack of a unified consensus in the number of functions of intonation. Its inaccurate and imprecise character has led linguists and phoneticians to reduce the scope of analysis in order to provide a suitable linguistic and discourse-based description of this prosodic feature. Crystal provides a broad taxonomy that encompasses the speaker's emotions, feelings, attitudes and behaviour as well as the analysis of syntax, structure of discourse, types of oral texts and the personal and social identity of the participants involved. As he states, all functions of intonation tend to co-occur in conversational discourse.

Roach states that there is no completely satisfactory definition of intonation, but any attempt at a definition must recognize that the pitch of the voice plays the most important part (1991: 133). In a new issue of his book, Roach states that *intonation* has “[...] two rather different meanings: (1) in a restricted sense, the variations in the pitch of a speaker's voice used to convey or alter meaning; (2) in a broader and more popular sense, equivalent to prosody, where variations in such things, as voice quality, tempo and loudness are included.” Accordingly, Roach states that any study of intonation should be carried out based on a conversational discourse approach, which involves *new* vs. *given* information, the regulation of turn-taking in conversation, etc (1992: 56).

In her article “Intonation and Discourse: Current Views from within”, Couper-Kuhlen states that the emergence and development of the Speech Act theory has contributed to the analysis of intonation, since, as she notes, “those who wish to see intonation as part of grammar will now assume that intonations are illocutionary-force-indicating devices and distinctive in the way they pair with different illocutions” (2007:2). As an example of this tradition, the linguist cites Pierrehumbert's model of intonation, which sets up a “grammar” of intonation, with an inventory of six tones (*pitch accents*), two phrasal tones, and two boundary tones (cf. Pierrehumbert 1980).

Nowadays those linguists and phoneticians who ascribe to this tradition of intonational analysis have started to address the meaning of intonational contours in the interpretation of discourse (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990). That is; they have begun to analyse intonation contours in close relation to the propositional content and mutual beliefs of participants involved in discourse. Pierrehumbert analyses the intonational contours that she defines as consisting of a linear string of high and low tones, combining to form the full intonational melody over an utterance (Pierrehumbert 1980 cited in Loehr 2004: 56)

Brazil (1997) develops a comprehensive model which encompasses a smaller and more universal set of intonational meanings integrated into context. As he states in

the prologue of his book *The Communicative Value of Intonation in English* (1997), unlike other models that ascribe to attitudinal or grammatical functions of intonation, this new model approaches the meanings of intonation according to the listener/speaker interaction, shared/unshared knowledge, and conversational control.

As Cauldwell advocates, the true originator of this approach is David Brazil working together with Sinclair and Coulthard. These authors define intonation as a self-contained meaning system, the components of which are directly related to the way the utterance fits the unique state of convergence between participants, existing moment by moment in the interaction (Coulthard and Brazil 1979: 20). They point out that these intonational meanings can be described at an appropriate level of abstraction without reference to co-occurring lexical or grammatical choices, which means that any given intonation or combinations of intonation express certain abstract meanings that are functional with respect to the signalling and constitution of speaker/ hearer convergence irrespective of properties and meanings expressed by lexical, syntactic or other means. On the abstract level, this approach assumes a one to one relation between intonation forms or more global intonation patterns and meanings or particular context constituting functions (Coulthard and Brazil 1979: 21).

Discourse Intonation (DI) relates stress, tone, and pitch height to categories of meaning. It makes the simplest possible description of intonation based on the language user's but not the linguist's perspectives. Brazil states that discourse intonation does not attempt to connect the categories of grammar; neither does it attempt to provide a link between attitude and intonation. Cauldwell & Hewings state that meanings like surprise, sarcasm, grumpiness are thus features of particular contexts which are not attributed to any one choice, such as a rise-fall tone (Cauldwell & Hewings 1996:51).

Brazil identifies the tone-unit as the basic unit for intonational analysis but he defines it as the basic building block of speech which consists of a single complete pitch pattern which consists of proclitic, tonic and enclitic segments (cf. Coulthard 1985:101), because discourse intonation is more concerned with the speaker's moment-by-moment context-referenced choices (cf. Cauldwell 2002). Discourse intonation is grounded on four prosodic categories that are closely related to the tone-unit: *prominence*, *tone*, *key* and *termination*; each of which adds an increment of interpersonal meanings, that is, a different type of information to the speaker-hearer discourse.

Prominence is a syllable carrying a major pitch movement. The allocation of prominence is variable and meaningful taking into account the speaker's selection since they are intended to show a special significance to the listener. Brazil points out that the speaker's selection is achieved based on two paradigms: "general" and "existential".

The general paradigm is the choice available in the language system. The existential paradigm is the context of interaction, also known as the shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener, not only limited to the shared awareness of what has been said before between the participants, or personal close relationships at a specific time and place between the participants, but also extended to a wider context of the mutual understanding of their society (1997: 23). Brazil also states that speakers are constantly making assumptions about what will and will not amount to a selection in the here-and-now state of communicative understanding they share with the hearer(s) (1995: 57).

Tones (pitch movements) are mainly distinguished by their particular direction or contour. Brazil identifies five tone pitch movements: falling, rising, fall-rise, rise-fall, and level. Brazil and Coulthard agree that the meaning of tones and the tone choices depend on the speakers' assessment of the relationship between the message and the audience rather than on the linguistic feature of the message. This has led them to adopt a tone indication system which is semantics-based, unlike most others which are pitch-oriented. Brazil notes that, in informal social talks, the speaker often prefers a fall-rise tone to reduce friction and to be friendly to the listener.

Linguists have also differed in their taxonomies of tones; for instance, Crystal and Ladefoged have identified four basic tones (rise, fall, rise-fall, and fall-rise), while O'Connor and Arnold have proposed just two (rise and fall). Brazil and Roach identify five principal tones (rising, falling, rising-falling, falling-rising, level). I have subscribed to this latter taxonomy of tones which highlights their role and communicative function.

- 1) A **rising tone** is used when seeking to lead or take control in the conversation where speakers and hearers share equal rights. Dominant speakers have a choice of using the rising tone to underline their present status as discourse controllers, or refrain from doing so; for example, chairpersons. It is also used whenever the speaker wants to remind something his audience should know about or already knows (referring tone), assuming a more dominating or assertive role in the act of conversation: a parent to a child, a manager to a worker, a doctor to a patient. If the speaker finishes with a rising tone, the listener is likely to understand that he wishes to continue speaking, and is seeking feedback, by word or gesture.
- 2) A **falling tone** is the most commonly used of all. The speaker uses it to signal a sense of finality, completion, and belief in the content of the utterance, whereas a rising tone to show incompleteness. That is why, it is said that they function as discourse markers in spoken discourse. By choosing this tone, the speaker offers the hearer the chance to comment on, agree or disagree with. The falling tone is

generally used in expressions with proclaiming tones; that is, when the speaker wants to introduce new information for the hearer.

- 3) In the act of communication, the **rising-falling tone** signals not only the exclamation but also the intent of controlling the discourse, and his expectation of a certain reaction from the hearer. It is mostly used in speech to introduce new information that the hearer can agree or disagree with.
- 4) A **falling-rising tone** signals dependency, continuity, and non-finality. According to Brazil, rising and falling-rising tones tell the hearer that the tone-unit refers to a part of the message that both the speaker and hearer know about already. So, the falling-rising tone is used to convey ideas already known, experienced, negotiated or shared, but the speaker seeks further confirmation from the hearer.
- 5) In spoken discourse, a speaker uses a **level tone** in normal and unemotional speech which occurs most of the time.

Another important element in Brazil's model is the key which he defines as the relative pitch level chosen by the same speaker for each tone-unit: high, middle, and low keys. These choices are made with the reference to the key of the immediately preceding tone-unit. These three choices of keys correlate with three semantic units: equative, additive and contrastive. For example, low keys refer to what has been previously stated by the speaker (equative); high keys indicate a denial of expectations in contrast to the previous message (contrastive); and mid keys signal that the tone-unit has an additional relation with what has been said before (additional). It is also worth stating that these semantic units occur within the speakers' same context of interaction.

Termination relates to the low, middle or high-pitch-level choice on the tonic syllable made by the speakers. Cauldwell states that low termination signals discourse finality, whereas high termination invites adjudication. Brazil interprets the choices of prominence, key, tone and termination that the speaker makes in constructing utterances as contributions to the meaning of the utterance by invoking some aspect of the conversational setting he shares with his hearer at the moment of utterance (Brazil 1981: 46). Hence, intonation signals the state of speaker/hearer convergence in discourse.

DI establishes the distinction between new :: old (*given*) information to which a speaker has already referred to. Underhill (1994:86) notes that discourse proceeds and intonation choices are made on the basis of the speaker's assessment of what he and the listeners share as common ground- or how he wishes that state of shared experiences to

appear since common ground is exploitable by the speaker to his advantage. Brazil's approach is based upon the distinction between 'proclaiming tones' and 'referring tones'. Proclaiming tones introduce new information and, thus, may consist of either falling or rising-falling tones. Referring tones, however, introduce information already shared or negotiated by both participants; henceforth, they consist of rising or falling-rising tones. It is important to highlight that referring tones basically carry the social meanings of togetherness and convergence. This proclaiming- referring tones approach stresses the communicative value of the speaker-hearer interaction in discourse.

In her article "Descriptive categories for the auditive analysis of intonation in conversation", Selting concludes her analysis on Brazil's DI by stating that:

"[...] certain intonations and certain combinations of intonations express certain abstract meanings which are functional with respect to the signalling and constitution of speaker/hearer convergence irrespective of properties and meanings expressed by lexical, syntactic or other means. On an abstract level, this approach seems to assume a one- to-one relationship between intonation forms or more global intonation patterns and meanings or particular context constituting functions" (2010:786).

Cruttenden (1997: 7) also relates intonation to pitch movement- the perceptual correlate of fundamental frequency resulting from the vibrations of vocal cords. He agrees that the analysis of prosody should encompass variables such as length, loudness and pitch, being this latter variable the prosodic feature centrally involved in intonation. As well as Gimson (1970) and Roach (1991), Cruttenden carries out a broad analysis of two other prosodic features: tempo and pause with its demarcative function in spoken discourse. Cruttenden (:42) identifies the nucleus as the pitch accent that stands out as the most prominent in an intonation-group. He considers that the intonational meaning is realised at the end of each tone group and the most recent signal carries the most meaning. In his analysis, he proposes a taxonomy of seven nuclear tones that can be phonologically opposed based on their defined semantico- pragmatic meaning:

**I. Falling tones** generally signal finality, completeness, definiteness and separateness

a) Low-fall: More uninterested, unexcited, and dispassionate

b) High-fall: More interested, more excited, more involved

c) Rise-fall:

1c) "Impressed" (associated to yes/ no interrogatives & declaratives.)

Ex: (He got a first) ^Did he! / At ^ Cambridge, / ^ too! (Cruttenden 1997: 92)

2c) "gossip"

Ex: Have you heard about ^ Jane? / She's ^ pregnant! (: 92)

3c) "challenging"

Ex: (I need a nice long holiday) Don't we ^ all! (: 93)



**II. Rising tones** generally signal dependency or non-finality

- a) Low-rise: mostly used in oratorical and formal reading style.
- b) High-rise: more casual; it involves a fairly consistent meaning across all sentence types (echo or repeat questions).
- c) Fall-rise: mainly used in emphatic contexts.
- d) Mid-level: generally carries no other meaning than that of non-finality.

In the article “Teaching English Intonation to EFL/ESL Students”, Celik (2001) gives a more accurate taxonomy of tones from a more discourse-based perspective but taking into account those previously proposed by Cruttenden. Celik attributes the same paradigm of meaning to the falling tone: finality, completion. She also highlights the importance of establishing and analysing the speaker- addressee relations in the act of conversation. Celik states that although the falling tone does not solicit a response from the addressee, it would be polite for him to at least acknowledge in some way that he is part of the discourse. The low-rise tone is used in “Yes/No” questions where the speaker does not know the answer, and expects the answer from the addressee. Its counterpart-high- rise expresses disbelief or is mostly used to ask for repetition or clarification.

According to Cruttenden’s and Celik’s viewpoints, the realization of the “fall-rise” tone has a more grammatical explanation, since it usually occurs in sentence non-final intonation units. Celik states that in the case of a dependent (adverbial or subordinate) clause, the first intonation unit is produced with a fall-rise and the second with a falling tone. Therefore, the tone observed in non-final intonation units can be said to have a “dependency” tone, which is fall-rise.

Despite Cruttenden, Celik analyses two other types of tones such as fall-rise + low- rise and fall + fall. The first tone pattern is used in a dependent clause followed by a yes/no question. For instance, *Despite its DRAWbacks / do you favour it or NOT?* The latter is preferably used when a fall tone follows another fall tone, in which case the speaker expects or demands agreement (tag questions). Ex: *It's a bit TOO good to be true / ISN'T it?* Reinforcing adverbials can also have a falling pitch when placed finally in the utterance as an expression of after-thought. Ex: *Ann said she'd help as much as she COULD / NATUrally.* Finally, the fall + fall tone pattern can also be used when two actions are considered related events.

The linguist includes in her research of intonation a taxonomy of keys. For instance, Celik relates a high key with the speaker’s feelings of excitement, surprise, anger, irritation, rage, wrath, cheer; mostly exploited in exclamations. Speakers use a high key to express contrast. This key is used in what Cruttenden and Celik refer to as

the act of echoing to recover unrecognized, unheard information, or to convey disbelief, disappointment. The low key signals co-referential, additional or supplementary information (cf. Pennington 1996:152). According to Celik, the speaker uses this key in non-defining relative clauses, parenthetical statements, expressions of dis/agreement, reduced clauses, etc. It is also used to express short opinions involving clarification, certainty/uncertainty. Celik points out that most of the speech for a speaker takes place at the mid (unmarked) key, employed in normal and unemotional speech.

Anne Wichmann, in her book *Intonation in Text and Discourse: Beginnings, Middles and Ends*, defines intonation as “the melody of speech consisting of a more or less continuous, constantly changing pitch pattern; it is mainly created by the vibrations of the vocal cords during the voiced parts of speech” (2000: 9). Besides, she refers to intonologists who assume that there is an underlying grammar of intonation, closely related to syntax, which happens to be exploited for interactional purposes, and which is subject to contextual and textual interference in the way it is realised phonetically. Wichmann categorises as expressive intonation those intonational characteristics which appear to convey both pure emotion, and emotion arising from beliefs, knowledge and opinion. Attitudinal intonation, on the other hand, refers to an aspect of intonation (including expressive intonation) which, in a given context, reflects certain speaker’s behaviour, as intended by the speaker, or as perceived by the receiver, or both (:145).

Ann Wennerstrom, in her chapter on “Prosody and Spoken Discourse”, states that prosody is a very comprehensive term which basically encompasses intonation, rhythm, tempo, loudness and pauses, as these interact with syntax, lexical meaning and segmental phonology in spoken texts. Although her main objective is to have discourse analysts incorporate prosodic features into more traditional analytical frameworks, Wennerstrom makes a detailed analysis of intonation that she defines as the pitch or «melody» of the voice during speech. In English, an intonational language, speakers usually tend to manipulate their pitch on particular words, phrases or even topic-sized constituents to convey meanings about the relationships in discourse. She adds that intonation is not automatically derived from the stress patterns or syntax of an utterance; instead, a speaker decides to use particular intonation patterns with certain constituents depending on the discourse context (2001:17). From the previous viewpoint, it can be assumed that Wennerstrom would strongly disagree with Gimson’s approach that the analysis of intonation patterns should be carried out based on the accentual structure of English words. Wennestrom agrees that intonation is language-specific and context-dependent since not all languages share the same intonation system and distribution of its components (rhythm, pauses, etc.) and because prosodic features are closely related

to particular discourse constituents in a rule-governed and meaningful way (: 7). Her approach stresses the discourse function of intonation.

Although Wennerstrom proposes a new working methodology and notation system for her analysis of English intonation, she states that she has based her analysis on the intonation model proposed by Pierrehumbert (1980) in her dissertation and Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg's (1990) treatment of intonational meaning. According to this school of thought, the intonation of an utterance can be analysed as a series of high and low tones, each of which conveys a particular semantico-pragmatic meaning in discourse. Underemphasized in Pierrehumbert's work, however, is the contribution of utterance-initial pitch to intonational meaning; that is why the linguist has incorporated Brazil's (1985, 1997) notion of key- a speaker's choice of pitch at the initiation of an utterance. Besides, Wennerstrom has included in her model a "paratone" component, whereby pitch range marks topic shifts (cf. Brown 1977; Yule 1980).

According to Wennerstrom's model of intonational analysis, there are four categories: pitch accents, pitch boundaries, key, and paratones, each of which consists of a number of subcomponents, or as she labels them-"intonational morphemes." It is important to state that these categories are described based on their discourse functions in naturally occurring speech. She refers to pitch accents as the various tones associated with lexical items that speakers use to highlight salient information in discourse. In her transcriptions, she uses a star symbol [\*] to indicate that the pitch accent is associated with the stressed syllable of the accented word. The second category is pitch boundaries which she describes as the pitch configurations at the ends of phrases, accompanied by a lengthening of the final syllables, and for which she uses arrow symbols to indicate their direction according to the speaker's pitch range.

In her chapter "Intonational Meaning", Ann Wennerstrom models a taxonomy of pitch boundaries: high-rising boundaries (↑) often used in short responses like "uh-huh" and are also closely related to the classic yes-no questions. Low-rising boundaries enable the speaker to anticipate the subsequent phrase for a complete interpretation. Wennerstrom also identifies: partially falling, plateau pitch (similar to *level* pitch) - used in a listing sequence, low and no pitch boundaries. This latter is also known as "cut off intonation" and occurs when the speaker hesitates or in the middle of syntactic units and after discourse markers such as "like" or "you know". Wennerstrom provides a detailed taxonomy; for instance, high key- a high onset in the pitch range, indicates a contrast in attitude with respect to the prior utterance. Mid key, having no change in pitch range, signals a consistent attitudinal stance with respect to the prior utterance. And low key, a

low onset in the pitch range, indicates that the utterance does not add anything special with respect to the prior one, or as Brazil puts it, it is a foregone conclusion (2001: 24).

One last but not the least important category is paratones that she defines as the expansion or compression of pitch range, functioning as a kind of intonational “paragraphing” to mark topical junctures. In her notation system of intonation, she uses *double arrow* symbol (↑↑) to indicate this higher order pitch-range shift at the onset of topic constituents (:24). The scholar proposes a new taxonomy of these paratones and their functions. For example, the high paratone (↑↑), an expansion of the speaker’s pitch range, opens a new organizational unit of discourse. A low paratone (↓↓), a compression of the pitch range, marks an aside, or parenthetical, with respect to the main topic.

The work of Peter Burleigh & Paul Skandera has also contributed to the study of intonation in English. In their book *A Manual of English Phonetics and Phonology*, they characterized intonation as “the pitch contour or pitch movement”. “It is basically the different variations of pitch, but also prominence, over a stretch of speech which has four functions: structural (determines the syntax or the structural role of the utterance whether it is a question, request or instruction), accentual, attitudinal, and discourse” (2005:120). They also carry out a complete analysis of the pitch and the structure of the tone-unit and some of the most frequent intonation patterns in conversational discourse. Following the model proposed by the British School, there are four different intonation patterns in Received Pronunciation (RP): fall, rise, fall-rise and rise-fall.

Burleigh and Skandera relate the fall tone with finality and definiteness, while the rise tone is associated with yes/no questions, requests for a repetition of an answer, and for listing items. This type of tone signals when the speaker takes an authoritative role in the discourse; for instance, while being aggressive in an interview, in instructions and commands. The fall-rise is used as a confirmation for an equal participation in the conversation. Thus, it is used to refer to shared information, confirm information, ask for permission, and to reassure. The rise-fall tone, however, conveys a strong personal impression, strong positive attitude or surprise. These scholars analyse high key when expressing surprise, strong disagreement or agreement. They make impressive use of acoustic phonetics when analyzing the F0 (fundamental frequency) and voice quality which play a key role in the analysis of the intonational structure of any language.

Vassière bases her intonation analysis on a more perceptual approach. In her article “Perception of Intonation” (2005), the linguist states that there is no universally accepted definition of intonation. She defines intonation as the use of F0 variation for conveying information at levels higher than the word (the phrase, utterance, paragraph, and discourse as a whole). It may be strictly restricted to the perceived F0 pattern, or

include the perception of other prosodic parameters like pauses, relative loudness, voice quality, duration, which contribute to signal a prosodic contrast. Vassière states that there is no comprehensive model of intonation perception which includes the interaction among the various, often conflicting, functions of intonation. That is why; she provides the following functions of intonation (Vassière 2005: 250-70).

<b>Syntactic</b>	Segmentation of continuous speech into syntactic units of different size: prosodic words, syntagma, propositions, utterances, paragraphs
<b>Informational</b>	Segmentation of continuous speech into informational units: theme/rheme, given/new, focus/parenthesis
<b>Interactive</b>	Regulation of the speaker–listener interaction: attraction of attention and arousal, turn-taking/holding, topic end/continuation
<b>Modal</b>	Communicative intent: assertion/question/order, etc.
<b>Attitudinal</b>	Attitudes of the speaker toward what he says: doubt, disbelief, etc. Attitudes of the speaker toward the listener: politeness, irony, etc.
<b>Emotional</b>	Speaker’s arousal: joy, anger, etc.
<b>Others</b>	Characteristics of the speaker: identity, sex, age, physiological state, regional varieties, stylistic variations, sociocultural background, etc. Prosodic continuity, intelligibility, lexical access, memory and recall

**Table 2** Vassière’s functions of intonation (2005)

Although Vassière makes a contrastive analysis of the perception of intonation, her approach fits in the model of more contemporary phoneticians, who have subscribed to a more discourse-oriented perspective, since she bases her analysis on three important premises: the speech communication process as a whole, the relevance of prosody in real-life situations, and role of intonation in interaction.

Earlier and more contemporary works by prominent language teachers are primarily focused on the search for a more practical and feasible method of intonation from a more communicative perspective. For instance, Betty J. Wallace (1951) relates intonation with the rise and fall of the pitch of the voice. These fluctuations of pitch make up the system of intonation of the language. Wallace highlights that intonation patterns are language specific, since they may fluctuate from one language to another and from one English community to another. Following Pike’s taxonomy, she analyses the most recurrent intonation patterns in open conversations, described according to the grammatical structure of sentences. Wallace also refers to intonation as a means for conveying the speaker’s attitudes, behaviour. However, she does not analyse other functions of intonation which may overlap in discourse.

Roach states that "the complexity of the total set of sequential and prosodic components of intonation [...] makes it a very difficult thing to teach" (Roach 1991:11). Dalton and Seidlhofer have remarked that features of intonation such as prominence, tone and key "are particularly important in discourse [...] but at the same time they are particularly difficult to teach. With individual sound segments it is the other way around: they are relatively easy to teach, but relatively less important for communication" (Dalton and Seidlhofer 1994:73). John M. Levis (1999), in his article "Intonation in Theory and Practice: Revisited", points out the overemphasis given to the attitudinal and grammatical functions of intonation. Regarding the grammatical function of intonation, he states that the differences between rising and falling intonation patterns seem to be a function of the pragmatic intention of the utterance rather than of the grammatical system of a given language.

Brazil's DI theory has been accepted by more contemporary language teachers such as Bradford (1988), Cauldwell and Hewings (1996), Pickering (2001), etc., who have proven the feasibility of this model of intonation that enables speakers to analyse contextualized intonation patterns. They agree that there are some aspects of discourse intonation which are still difficult to teach. That's why; more recent classroom activities are basically focused on the production and perception of prominence. (cf. Cunningham and Bowler 1999; Gilbert 2001) Pickering and Levis have explored on the use of pitch concord to indicate agreement between interlocutors. Pickering (2001) researches on the extent to which tone choice by international teaching assistants (ITAs) promotes and hinders their meaning in university classrooms.

Summing up this first part, it can be stated that intonation studies have really increased during the last twenty years, which makes it even more challenging to analyse the different perspectives and approaches to this theory.

This analysis shows the development of intonation approaches and theories combining articulatory, acoustic and perceptual variables with conversational discourse analysis. Phoneticians agree that although there is no universally accepted definition for intonation, it is a language- specific and context- dependent linguistic phenomenon, grounded upon discourse premises whose most important aim is to analyse the speaker-addressee interpersonal relations (cf. Brazil's *speaker-hearer convergence*) as well as the communicative value of the speaker- hearer interaction in discourse. This latter allows us to determine its discourse functionality; hence, the distribution of intonation patterns and their semantic-pragmatic meanings.

Although inspired by works of English scholars, Spanish intonologists have started to consider the study of intonation as a true challenge for them. Nowadays, there

is a vast Spanish tradition on intonology whose research goal is to thoroughly describe the intonation patterns of Spanish-speaking world and at the same time contribute to the international project AMPER (Atlas Multimedia de la Prosodia del Espacio Románico).

#### **1.4 The Hispanic tradition of intonation studies: main exponents and contributions**

Not only English but also important Spanish phoneticians have undertaken the analysis and description of intonation for teaching purposes, especially during the XX and XXI centuries. Linguists devote the first chapter in their works to review previous studies on intonation within the Hispanic tradition. Alarcos Llorach (1974), Quilis (1993), García Riverón (1996), Sosa (1999), Cantero (2002), Toledo (2004), Hidalgo Navarro (2006), Pedrosa Ramírez (2007) agree that one of the first and most influential works on the analysis of the Spanish intonation system is Navarro Tomás' *Manual de pronunciación española* of 1918.

Navarro Tomás highlights the importance of researching this suprasegmental feature and analyses three of the principal functions of intonation. He also refers to a grammatical function of intonation since the same phrase can be pronounced with different patterns of intonation; this somehow determines the syntactic structure of the phrase. Besides, intonation conveys the speaker's emotional and mental states (fear, happiness, anxiety, doubt, contempt). Navarro Tomás reflects on the importance of the use of tones in conversational discourse. In this same line of thought, Pike states that "if one says something insulting, but with smiles in the face and voice, the utterance may result in a great compliment; but if one says something very complimentary, but with an intonation of contempt, the result is an insult." (Pike 1972: 56 cited in Atoye 2005:28)

Cantero (2002) analyses both important works by Navarro Tomás, the *Manual de pronunciación española* of 1918 and precisely his *Manual de entonación española* of 1944, in which Navarro makes a clear-cut distinction between the concepts of intonation and accent. The first one is related to the melodic structure of the phrase, while the latter is to intensity. This approach is purely melodic and it fits into the theoretical framework of the Dutch School model of intonation analysis. Navarro Tomás proposes a complete working methodology based on experimental models despite the technical limitations of the epoch. He identifies the phrase as the basic functional unit for intonational analysis. It consists of one or more melodic groups which may, at the same time, encompass one or more melodic units. This latter consists of rhythmico-semantic groups. The melodic

unit is mainly divided into three main parts which have similar concepts to the pre-head, head and nucleus of the British tradition of intonational analysis. (2002:28-29)

Another prominent Spanish scholar is Antonio Quilis, who defines intonation as “la función lingüísticamente significativa, socialmente representativa e individualmente expresiva de la frecuencia fundamental (F0) en el nivel de la oración” (1993: 410). In his article “La entonación de Gran Canaria en el marco de la entonación española”, Quilis analyses intonation from the linguistic, sociolinguistic and expressive levels of analysis. At the linguistic level, intonation is closely related to its distinctive, integrating and delimiting functions. As to the sociolinguistic level, Quilis states that intonation conveys two meanings: the speaker’s identity (sex, age, mood), and his/her socio-cultural background, regional accent, etc. Finally, at the expressive level the speaker uses intonation to express his/ her feelings, volitions. Regarding these levels or functions of intonation, he points out that “the most important function of intonation is the distinctive one, which is overtly realized when opposing a declarative statement to an interrogative one. This phonological opposition relies on the rising :: falling pitch variations at the end of the utterance.” (Quilis 1989: 55-88)

When analysing works on Hispanic intonology, we could not ignore Sosa’s *La entonación del español: su estructura fónica, variabilidad y dialectología* of 1999. In his first chapter “Teoría de la fonología de la entonación”, Sosa outlines the premises to formally describe the intonation system of a language. In order to avoid terminological ambiguities, he uses the term «melodic group» to refer to the basic unit for intonational analysis, making it clear that it is a prosodic unit which carries some melody (intonation contour) and which is not necessarily demarcated by pauses.

According to Sosa, the pause has traditionally been considered as a delimiting element of the intonation phrases. Canellada and Madsen state that:

“Las pausas que delimitan los grupos fónicos pueden ser: pausas grandes, como las que estén al final de la frase, o de algunos grupos; pausas pequeñas, que delimitan algunos grupos; pausas mínimas, que a veces ni siquiera son interrupciones de la voz, sino pausas virtuales que marcan el lugar en que se puede señalarse la pausa, o donde una unidad melódica se enlaza con otra.” (1987: 103)

In disagreement with Canellada and Madsen’s idea of pauses, Sosa states that it is a simplistic viewpoint to define the melodic group as that part of discourse between two pauses, since there are no real pauses delimiting the melodic groups in discourse (1999: 31). He quotes Navarro Tomás who denies this approach with his assertion:

“Con frecuencia el paso de una unidad a otra se manifiesta solamente por la depresión de la intensidad, por el retardamiento de la articulación y por el cambio más o menos brusco



de la altura musical, sin que ocurra real y efectiva interrupción de las vibraciones vocálicas. [...]La división de la frase en unidades melódicas no es un hecho que se produzca siempre de manera uniforme e invariable. Una misma frase de cierta extensión puede ser dividida en mayor o menor número de unidades, según la intención especial con que en cada caso se actualice su sentido. [...] Influyen en esta división circunstancias de orden lógico y emocional.” (Navarro 1944:41)

Sosa points out that in the case of spontaneous discourse, in which there are not always evident pauses, the boundary tones demarcate the limits between melodic groups. Although these tones mark the beginning and ending of melodic groups, they do not necessarily have to coincide with the syntactic structure of a sentence. The chances of segmenting melodic groups depend on semantic and pragmatic considerations as well as on the context and the speaker’s intentions in the communicative act (1999: 31- 32). The linguist refers to Nestor and Vogel’s theory on the segmentation of melodic groups since they include the “style of speech” as a key element in their statement:

«El estilo de habla también juega un papel en la reestructuración de una frase entonacional en varias frases entonacionales más pequeñas. Generalmente es el caso que mientras más formal o pedante el estilo, mayor posibilidad de que un frase entonacional larga se divida en una serie de frases entonacionales más cortas. Esto está claramente relacionado con el factor de la velocidad de habla, puesto que estilo más formales tienden a corresponderse con enunciados dichos más lentamente. De esta forma, si [una oración] en una forma informal y coloquial, lo más seguro es que consista de un solo contorno entonativo. Si por otro lado, se pronuncia como parte de una presentación formal, puede consistir de dos o tres contornos.» (Nestor & Vogel 1986:195 translated in Sosa 1999: 40)

The segmentation of discourse into melodic or phonic groups has been a controversial topic for many linguists and intonologists, since there is no analogy but interlinguistic differences among languages. Every language exploits its prosodic segmentation into melodic units and pitch distribution in different ways, turning it into a more language-specific phenomenon.

Another important work is Maximiano Cortés' *Didáctica de la prosodia del español: la acentuación y la entonación* of 2002. Cortés defines intonation as “un cúmulo de rasgos prosódicos- entre los que cabe destacar la F0, en primer lugar, así como la cantidad, la intensidad y las pausas, en segundo lugar- que emplean los hablantes de una lengua o de un dialecto con fines comunicativos” (2002: 24 § 1.3.2). He analyses the determining role of the context in the production and interpretation of intonation. According to Cortés, when studying intonation the researcher tends to relate a linguistic structure, pragmatic function, etc. to a given intonation pattern. He states that in order to wholly understand how this linguistic phenomenon functions and apprehend its communicative value the researcher should consider the interaction and

negotiation among the involved interlocutors. Cortés states that a perfect interpretation of intonation may be achieved when the hearer takes into account both the linguistic and situational communicative contexts (place and moment of the interaction, role of each participant, their interpersonal relations and their conversational experience). (2002: 25)

In his last paragraph of section 1.3.2 “Definición y caracterización de la entonación”, Cortés highlights his stance regarding the speaker/ hearer convergence:

« [...] al igual que ocurre con la información segmental en la cadena fónica, también en la percepción e interpretación, el oyente se encarga de aportar los datos necesarios (a partir de su bagaje lingüístico y cultural) para complementar el mensaje en aquellos casos en que éste ha sufrido una interferencia (un ruido, un lapsus de atención, etc.). Dicho sea de otro modo, el tono que el oyente percibe es preciso interpretarlo en términos de unidades fonológicas, como acentemas, esquemas rítmicos, entonemas, etc.; y para dicha interpretación, resulta inestimable el contexto prosódico del discurso en su globalidad. » (2002: 26-27)

Despite the phonological character of intonation, it functions at various linguistic levels: lexico-semantic, grammatical, pragmatic and discourse. Intonation transforms linguistic units (words, syntagms, sentences) into discourse and communicative units: utterances, dialogues and monologues (cf. Quillis' integrating function). Intonation integrates each intonation unit and at the same time isolates them from the rest of the discourse units; hence, its integrating-delimiting function. As a prosodic feature, intonation contributes to the structuring of our speech in general and of each of our turn-taking in particular. It organises our speech into meaningful and easy-to-handle discourse segments, for both the speaker and hearer- its cohesive function (Cortés 2002: 26). Cortés also refers to a purely *linguistic* function which is controlled by the speaker and used to enunciate, ask and a *paralinguistic* function through which the speaker conveys his attitude and mood in an expressive and spontaneous way. At the sociolinguistic level, intonation provides the hearer with relevant traits of the speaker as an individual and a member of a social community (: 27).

Cortés uses the intoneme (*entonema*) as the basic unit for intonational analysis that he defines as “el correlato fonológico abstracto de un número infinito de curvas melódicas con suficientes características en común para ser interpretadas como similares para un oyente que domine la lengua en cuestión” (2002: 31). He also states the relation between *phonic group* and *intoneme*; the phonic group is the phonological unit containing the intonation contour and rhythmic structure built upon stress patterns. Cortés segments the intoneme into three parts: prehead (inflexión inicial), head (cuerpo), nucleus (inflexión final) (:31). He analyses the *paratone* as the linguistic unit larger than

the phonic group that corresponds to an emission of voice in the monologue or reading which is not precisely phonic but grammatical, discursive, etc (: 32). Although not very extensively, Cortés brings to light a yet unresolved issue: the universality of intonation patterns conveying expressiveness across languages. To support this opinion, he quotes Navarro Tomás who states that:

“En sus rasgos esenciales dicha entonación ofrece manifestaciones análogas en todas las lenguas. Se advierte por la altura y las inflexiones de voz la actitud emocional en que se oye conversar, discutir o disputar a otras personas, aunque no se entiendan las palabras que se pronuncian. (1944: 154 cited in Cortés 2002: 28)

Hidalgo Navarro's works have contributed to the Hispanic intonology. In his chapter XI “Las funciones de la entonación en el español coloquial”, in Briz's *¿Cómo se comenta un texto coloquial?*, he analyses the functional diversity of intonation in the colloquial conversational discourse and agrees that intonation is a linguistic aspect closely related to discourse but very difficult to be systematised because of its functions associated with the melodic feature and their simultaneous realizations or overlapping in discourse. As to him, this becomes even more challenging when it comes to analyse the colloquial conversational register (2000: 1). Furthermore, the conversation constitutes a particular communicative framework in which the suprasegmental features (intonation) are hugely exploited by the speaker in order to achieve his/her communicative purpose; in some cases it is difficult to perceive such prosodic subtleties in discourse because they usually vary according to the speaker's intention (:2).

In his article entitled “Expresividad y función pragmática de la entonación en la conversación coloquial: algunos usos frecuentes”, Hidalgo Navarro approaches this suprasegmental unit as “[el] efecto prosódico complejo, derivado de la participación del *tono* (la altura musical de un sonido)<sup>1</sup>, *tonema terminal* o *juntura*<sup>2</sup>(dirección adquirida por el nivel tonal a partir de la última sílaba tónica de una frase), el *acento principal del enunciado* (normalmente el acento final) y el *ritmo* (velocidad del habla).” (1998: 2)

The linguist also analyses the functions of intonation from a very didactical perspective. He makes a model based on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. In the paradigmatic axe, it is mainly analysed the functional value of intonation in order to determine modal meanings. He divides this axe into two main functions: the “primary” and “secondary” modal ones, each of which encompasses one particular function of intonation. The first one refers to the “distinctive” function which enables us to classify

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<sup>1</sup> Rasgo suprasegmental que permite considerar la estructura melódica del enunciado como sucesión de niveles tonales (Artemov 1961; Alcina & Blecua 1980; Gili Gaya 1978:54).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Stockwell et al. (1956); Silva-Fuenzalida (1956-57) y A. Quilis (1981)

such speech acts in assertions, questions and commands. The latter mainly focuses on “the various subjective manifestations depending on the speaker’s mood, attitude, behaviour and his/ her communicative intention.” That is, its “expressive function” (: 4). In the syntagmatic axe, Hidalgo Navarro analyses the linear-sequential behaviour of such intonation factors taking into account its influence upon successive discourse units. He refers to a grammatical-syntactic function of intonation that enables the articulation of coherent linguistic messages. It applies as well to the inherent capacity of prosodic features (esp. intonation) to articulate, segment and integrate different dialogue units. Hidalgo Navarro proposes three subfunctions: the integrating (*integradora*), demarcative (*demarcadora*) and phatic-textual (*fático-textual*) functions.

The *integrating* function of intonation structures the discourse sequences to build up the so-called *information structure*; that is, the “theme-rheme”). A fall tone does not usually mean the completion of an idea; it might as well be used to add more information. In this conversation, it is used because the speaker carefully thinks back on what he is saying. The inverted triangle ▼ has been used to mark the semantic focus; the arrows represent the pitch movement: rise ↑, fall↓, level or sustained→; short || and | pauses. Let us analyse this conversation from my corpus.

- | ¿Y por qué tú no vives en tu ▼ casa, eh? ↑ |
- | ¿En mi ▼ casa? ↑ | Mi madre es ▼ come candela↓ | *Me dijo que si me iba pa' la ▼ cola↓* || ▼ *tenía*aaa ↓ || *que irme de la ▼ casa↓* | Ella pensó que yo iba a coger miedo de estar solo en la ▼ calle↓ |

*Aunque estés lejos*, dir. by Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 2003)

Regarding the integrating function of intonation, Hidalgo Navarro ascertains:

“Los recursos entonativos de integración están motivados en muchos casos por la intencionalidad comunicativa del hablante y que, en este sentido, la distribución de la información depende de las circunstancias pragmáticas de la enunciación; así ocurre siempre que el hablante desea otorgar importancia a determinados elementos de su mensaje, situándolos en una posición de relevancia, en cuyo caso, tales unidades (palabra, sintagma, oración, etc.) aparecen disociadas de la estructura sintáctica principal.” (2000: 8)

The linguist also refers to the *demarcative* function of intonation (cf. Wells 2006: 11). It establishes linguistic sequences, hierarchically structured in the colloquial conversation, based on their close relation with the turn-taking structure. In support to this statement, Bolinger (1989:81) states that “probably the most indispensable use of prosody is to

divide discourse into segments and to establish an informal hierarchy of beginnings and endings whereby major constituents can be distinguished from minor”.

Hidalgo Navarro notes that there is no evidence of a strict parallelism between the intonation and syntactic structures. (2000:10) He states that intonation can also be used as a “metadiscursive textual linking element” (: 11); that is, as a discourse tool that establishes the relationships within an oral text. This is referred to as the phatic-textual function of intonation. Hidalgo Navarro analyses the “dialogic” function. He states that:

“Los elementos suprasegmentales desarrollan comportamientos que influyen en los procesos de alternancias de turnos, entre intervenciones sucesivas de hablantes distintos. En este nivel dialógico, la *función demarcativa* determina el paso de un turno a otro y, por tanto, el progreso o desarrollo de la interacción comunicativa, por lo que podría hablarse de una *función dialógica*” (:12). He concludes that intonation, duration, emphatic stress, etc., are important variables that play a significant role in the analysis of human communication and mainly of colloquial conversation.

In chapter VI “La entonación canaria y su relación con las variedades caribeñas”, Dorta quotes ‘t Hart and Collier (1975), Quilis (1993), García Riverón (1996) who agree that intonation is one of the most complex linguistic phenomena due to the interaction of different planes and levels of the structure of language. On the one hand, the physical or acoustic level, in which each utterance is analysed through three acoustic variables (F0, amplitude, duration) that, perceptually speaking, correlate with melody, intensity and duration, respectively; on the other hand, the semantico-functional level that conveys linguistic (interrogatives vs. declaratives and the segmentation of discourse into units of intonation) and extralinguistic information- speaker’s origin, feelings, intentions, sex (2007: 145).

In their article “Relaciones entre la prosodia y la sintaxis en el procesamiento de oraciones”, Teira and Manuel Igoa begin by highlighting the importance of prosody:

« La prosodia es un elemento fundamental de la comunicación, tanto en su vertiente productiva como receptiva. En la producción, la prosodia interactúa de forma significativa con otros componentes del lenguaje: léxico, sintáctico, semántico y pragmático. Esta interacción se observa igualmente en la comprensión, toda vez que proporciona al oyente claves para segmentar y agrupar constituyentes y para interpretar el significado del enunciado y la intención del hablante, además de suministrar información sociolingüística (relativa a los dialectos y registros del habla) e indicios del estado emocional del hablante.» (2007: 46)

Although their work mainly focuses on the relationship between prosody and grammar, Teira & Manuel Igoa stress the interrelation between discourse prosody and the different language components, which are present at both production and perception levels. As

many other scholars, they point out the importance of the speaker's intention, context of communication and functions of intonation. Hundreds of works are currently carried out on the description of the intonation systems of Spanish variants. This illustrates the fact that although at first motivated and influenced by the British and American traditions, the Spanish intonology nowadays treasures a wide range of works on the semantico-pragmatic description of the intonation patterns of various Spanish speaking countries.

### **1.5 Intonation studies in Cuba. The intonation patterns of Cuban Spanish**

Cuba cannot be denied its deserving acknowledgement for the contributions to the study of this prosodic feature. The renowned Cuban intonologist Raquel García Riverón has continued with this research tradition and has nowadays analysed the Spanish intonation in other Cuban provinces as well. In her book *Aspectos de la Entonación Hispánica* (1996), Raquel describes the Cuban intonation system, sets a working methodology for its analysis and provides a taxonomy of the most frequently used intonation patterns. Pedrosa Ramírez, a member of García Riverón's research group, defines intonation as:

« Una unidad sistémica, perfectamente segmentable en la cadena hablada y en cuya descripción intervienen un plano acústico (parámetros no sólo de frecuencia fundamental, sino también de intensidad y cantidad y la aplicación de un enfoque comunicativo funcional. [...] a partir del método conmutativo (commutation test) se establecen no sólo los entonemas para Cuba, sino también los matices de significación, afectivos y modales que se introducen al conmutar dos enunciados con igual estructura léxico-gramatical, lo que da lugar a las variantes del entonema.» (Pedrosa Ramírez 2009: 10)

In her concept of intonation, Pedrosa Ramírez highlights the approach and methodology which the Cuban School of Intonation Studies, headed by Raquel García Riverón, subscribe to. Based on the tenets of this School, the analysis of the Spanish intonation system follows methods of qualitative analysis (in order to determine its functional or communicative values), that enable us to demarcate the intonation units in different modalities of discourse. In the article "El Sistema de Entonación del Español del Cuba a la Luz del Modelo de Análisis Melódico del Habla", García Riverón (et al) states that "in order to define an intonation system of any language, the researcher should follow a communicative and phonological approach, that enables him to segment the spoken discourse into linguistically perceptible and meaningful intonation units occurring in natural communicative situations, and where it is analysable all the richness of the semantico-pragmatic values and their interrelation with lexico- grammatical structures, gestures, among other communication means." (García Riverón et al. 2010: 4)

The Cuban intonologist García Riverón has determined the Cuban Spanish intonation patterns. She bases her analysis on the hypothesis that “in Cuban Spanish, [1] there is a definite number of intonemes, [2] most frequently found in conversations, [3] that can be segmented in spontaneous discourse, [4] and that are represented and determined by their acoustic features, and which [5] may have different functions based on the speech act under analysis” (1996:71). Once the intonologist states the hypothesis, she analyses the phonological structure of intonation that enables the linguist to describe the intonation system of any language or variant.

The first and most important step in her working methodology is to determine the functional potentialities of the suprasegmental feature by means of a *communicative analysis*. As most European schools of linguistics, Raquel develops this approach based on the premise that the value of an utterance is determined by the interaction of different linguistic and extralinguistic means of expression. Therefore, she analyses the utterance as the result of the mutual interaction of these linguistic means that the language uses to express a given semantic value (:72).

In order to determine the intonation units or intonemes, Raquel commutes the intonation curves (F0) of similar and then different lexico-grammatical structures. This commutation test enables linguists to segment the linguistic continuum into intonemes and establish a repertoire of oppositions of this suprasegmental feature. García Riverón uses two research methods: the *indirect auditory analysis* to analyse the spectrograms and graphic representation of four corpora and the *direct auditory analysis* to verify the accurateness of this previous stage. These four corpora consist of recordings taken from Cuban films, TV and radio podcasts; real life communicative situations (interviews), lab recordings (cf. 1996: 79-84 [§2.4]). This analysis results in 18 intonation patterns of the Cuban Spanish variant, which I consider opportune to refer to them.

**IP 1** (Opposition: neutral statement:: neutral<sup>3</sup> question) this opposition is represented in most natural languages and highlights the key role of this suprasegmental feature as a distinctive means of expression, capable of determining such communicative values. It can be found in the answers and segments signalling finality, conclusion. It is used in optative sentences, commands, and in the last element in an enumeration as well. For instance:

A: El día está malo.

1

B: **No tienes hambre.**

A: Buenas joven.

3

B: **¿No tienes hambre?**

Corpus I, Control 1(1996:88)

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<sup>3</sup> The term “neutral” has been used to refer to those linguistic phenomenon that Jakobson describe as “values of first degree” or “linguistic functions” without any sort of modal or affective implications.

**IP-1a** generally used by the speaker to express warning; Raquel includes meanings like negative valuation, reproach, polite command and categorical order. It also involves lexical intensification. (Opposition: neutral statement:: statement expressing warning)

A: Oye, | <sup>1</sup>precisame una cosa ahí. | <sup>1</sup>¿Tú estás seguro que en ese tiempo, | **en**  
<sub>1a</sub> <sub>3</sub>  
**ese**, | se puede contactar con David?

B: En la misma Tegucigalpa.

A: Fíjate, después no quiero justificaciones | <sup>1a</sup>no porque después lo que siempre  
<sub>1a</sub>  
aparece son justificaciones.

Corpus I. Control 14. (1996:91)

**IP-1b** conveys evidence and explanation; when co-occurring with other imperative lexico- grammatical structures, it generally expresses a mild command, and in some other cases it is used in sentences to diminish the strongly imperative or mandatory character. This variant can be used to strengthen the semantico-pragmatic value of a word(s) in certain contexts. It is used in some greetings and in sentences with an ironic semantic structure. (Opposition: neutral statement:: statement expressing evidence)

Example I

A: <sup>1</sup>Aguanta, no estoy de acuerdo contigo en eso. | <sup>1</sup>Es lo único en que no puedo estar  
<sub>1a</sub> <sub>1</sub>  
la de acuerdo con nadie. | <sup>1</sup>En ese aspecto.

B: Mira, ni estás tú | <sup>1</sup>ni nadie... ni todas las que quedaron ahora allá arriba  
<sub>1</sub>  
trabajando.

A: <sup>1b</sup>Es lo que estoy diciendo.

B: <sup>1</sup>Porque tienen la edad tuya.

A: <sup>1b</sup>Claro | <sup>1b</sup>es lo que te estoy diciendo.

Corpus II. Sondeo 13 (1996:92)

Example II

A: <sup>1</sup>Ay, deja ver si puedo ir a esa excursión también.

B: <sup>3</sup>¿Se regresa en el día?



1b                      1b                      1b

C: **Se regresa en el día.** | **Como no.** | **Como no.** | Van por la mañana | y vienen por  
1  
la tarde.  
1b  
A: **Claro.**

Corpus II. Control 31. Sondeo 4 (1996: 91-92)

**IP-1c** used to express a request; it is often accompanied by a strong plead for mercy.  
(Opposition: neutral statement:: statement expressing plead for mercy)

1c

A: Doctor, dígame eso bien.  
1  
B: Setenta y tres libras.  
1a                      1  
A. Está aumentando. ¡Qué bueno!

Corpus II. Control 12. Sondeo 1(1996: 93-94)

**IP 2** is basically determined through the opposition neutral statement:: neutral question. It is commonly found in questions of the first communicative group that based on the taxonomy of questions proposed by Raquel in her book *La Interrogación: Introducción a su estudio* (1987), they contain an interrogative adverb or pronoun. For example:

<p>A: Te estoy preguntando   <b>porque me miras</b>  1  <b>así.</b></p>	<p>A: Pasó algo.   Al niño.   A tu  1  mujer.   Te estoy preguntando.    2  <b>¿Por qué me miras así?</b></p>
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Corpus II. Control 28 (1996: 94)

**IP-2a** (categorical question) characteristic of interrogative speech acts with a semantico-pragmatic value defined as categorical or emphatic (Quilis1981, 1983) resulting from the interaction of the pronominal lexico-grammatical structure with a fall pitch. (Opposition: categorical question:: neutral statement). Example:

<p>A: Mira, yo siempre he pensado que él es un  2a  miserable.   <b>¿Y qué pasa?</b></p>	<p>A: Mira, yo siempre he pensado que él  1  es un miserable.   <b>y que pasa</b></p>
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Corpus I. Control 1. (1996: 96)

**IP 3** (Neutral question without interrogative pronoun or adverb) it is more frequent in absolute questions. This matches with either the second communicative group of questions if

it implies a thematic series (¿María (Juan /Pedro/Luis) va a la playa?) or the third group if it contains an antonymic series as in (¿María va (no va) a la playa?)<sup>4</sup>.

Example I

A: Esas fotos no las rompí porque son de cuando éramos felices, | cuando nos sentíamos  
1  
3  
bien. ¿**Conforme con la explicación?**

Corpus I, Control 17 (1996: 97)

Example II

A: ¿Por qué tuviste la discusión con Jacinto el otro día? | ¿**No confías en mí?** | Responde.  
3 1b  
B: Discutimos porque ustedes me quieren hacer un asesino pues, | y yo no soy un asesino,  
señor.  
A: ¿Y la otra pregunta que te hice?  
B: Perdone usted, ¿pero por qué voy a confiar en vos?

Corpus I, Control II (1996:97)

**IP 3a** (questions conveying astonishment) used in communicative situations in which the speaker makes a question without knowing its true answer, but conveying a strong bewilderment. (Opposition: neutral question:: question expressing astonishment)

Example I

A: ¿Oye, | por fin alguien cogió tu almuerzo?  
3  
3a 1b  
B: ¿**Mi almuerzo?** Si yo no saqué almuerzo esta semana.

Example II

A: Tienes que darme el dinero de la fiesta.  
1  
3a  
B: ¿**Ahora?**  
3  
A: ¿Tú no sabes nada?

Corpus III (1996:98)

**IP 3b** (question seeking corroboration) mainly used to corroborate or clarify something; such interrogative speech acts generally convey a sense of assumption. García Riverón states that the speaker uses this variant to stress on something that he/ she is absolutely sure, and it may appear with exclamatory phrases like: «No me digas!» or «Cómo no!». (Opposition: neutral question:: question seeking corroboration).

<sup>4</sup> See also García Riverón, 1979-1980, 1983, 1998

A: ¿Tú sabes dónde pueden estar? | Entre mis cosas. Espera que te las busco.  
B: No, no te molestes. | Yo ya busqué allí.

3b

A: ¿**Buscaste bien**?

Corpus I. Control 4 (1996: 99)

**IP 4** is frequently found in unfinished questions. According to García Riverón, this type of questions generally starts with “y” (y-questions). Besides, it is used in conditional statements.

Example I

A: No crean que no los comprendo, | pero hay que descansar | no conviene que... (timbre del teléfono).

4

B: ¿**Y ese timbre**?

1

A: Una sola persona puede llamar así.

Corpus I. Control 31 (1996: 101)

Example II

A: ¿Por qué tuviste la discusión con Jacinto el otro día? ¿No confías en mí? | Responde.  
B: Discutimos porque ustedes me quieren hacer un asesino pues, | y yo no soy un asesino, señor. |

4

A: ¿**Y la otra pregunta que te hice**?

B: Perdone usted, pero por qué voy a confiar en vos.

Corpus II. Control 17 (1996: 102)

**IP 4a** mainly used when the speaker repeats the question or idea because he/she realizes the hearer hasn't listened well. (Opposition: neutral question:: unfinished question)

A: Yo soy el responsable del departamento.

B: Ah, es el responsable del departamento. | ¿**El departamento incluye...**?

A: La mesa sueca.

B. Ah, la mesa sueca. | ¿**Y Roberto**?

A. Roberto es dependiente.

Corpus II. Control 49. Sondeo 6 (1996: 103)

**IP 5** used by the speaker in unfinished questions. Raquel analyses the opposition in terms of finished:: unfinished statements.

A: Bueno, el <sup>5</sup> turno de trabajo aquí <sup>5</sup> comien- za   <b>de siete</b>  , en el verano,   <b>de siete</b> , <sup>1</sup>   a tres   y de tres a once.	A: ¿De cuántas cartas consta? <sup>1</sup> B: De siete.
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Corpus II. Control 47. Sondeo 6 (1996: 103)

**IP 5a** signals indecisiveness, irresolution. It is mainly used in colloquial and familiar conversational contexts when the speaker wants to provide the speaker with facts or examples about what he/she has been asked. (Opposition: unfinished statement:: exemplifying statement). Example:

A: ¿Qué quiere decir pagar los costos?  <sup>2</sup> B: Los costos quiere decir   que la unidad es rentable.   Hay un producto que entró <sup>5</sup> <sup>1</sup> al centro,   en este caso...   <sup>5a</sup> <b>la fruta</b>   <sup>5a</sup> <b>las frutas se aprovechan</b>   <b>se hacen otros</b> <sup>5a</sup> <sup>5a</sup> <sup>5a</sup> <sup>1</sup> <b>productos</b>   <b>el queso</b>   <b>se hacen las pastas</b>   y se venden.	
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Corpus 11. Control 58. Sondeo 6 (1996: 106)

**IP 5b** (statement expressing causality) is conveyed through the opposition causality:: surprise/ astonishment. As another type of unfinished sentence-type, this variant is introduced by a lexico-grammatical structure with “como” in Spanish. For instance:

A: Tú verás que a este lo van a matar.   Al loco este lo van a matar.   Dime tú.   Yo no sabía que...   Se lo dije. (Buscando). No hay un solo cenicero aquí.  <sup>5b</sup> <sup>1a</sup>	
---	--

B: **Como tú no fumas**. Tienes que tranquilizarte.

Corpus I (1996: 107)

**IP 6** (statement expressing great indefinite amount of something) generally used in valuative statements or when the speaker highly praises someone’s actions or behaviour. From the grammatical point of view, it appears in elliptical or unfinished statements to best convey such meanings of indefinite amount of something.

Example I

A: Yo creo que es el café que no me cae bien.   Ese de lata.	<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>
--	---------------------------

3

6

B: ¿Tú te refieres al café instantáneo? | **¡Ese café me hace un daño!**

Corpus 11. Control 26 (1996: 109)

Example II

A: Y sé lo que me pertenece | aunque usted me diga: | usted puede entrar sin pagar | yo  
1 1 5  
tengo que tener mi dinero arriba aunque usted no me cobre | pero yo lo tengo seguro  
1  
(ininteligible) | Usted se parece a mi papá. ¡Cómo le voy a cobrar! | Óigame, | **me ha**  
1 2a  
6  
**tomado un cariño.** | Yo le digo que estoy asombrado.

Corpus II. Control 38. Sondeo 4 (1996: 109)

**IP 6a** As IP 6 this variant is basically used in evaluative speech acts, but it is realized with a final falling pitch. Raquel states that this variant can be found in rhetorical questions.

Example I

A: Yo nunca había ido al Parque Lenin. Nunca me había dado idea de ir porque... | **Y**  
1 6a  
**ahora que vi lo que hay que caminar allá adentro para verlo todo.**

Corpus II. Control 29. Sondeo 4 (1996:110)

Example II

A: A mí me dijo una doctora que estuvo aquí: | Mire, | Juan Mora, | **si no fuera el**  
6a 1  
**traqueteo que tiene usted** | ya se hubiera muerto.

Corpus II (1996:110)

**IP 7** (vocative) In this case Raquel refers to the vocative:: enunciation opposition. This IP is mainly used when the speaker wants to call someone's attention that is nearby him/her.

A: Perdóname pero me estás mintiendo.  
1a  
1  
Alguien, | alguien que yo no sé quién es te  
1 1  
envió su dirección, le escribiste, guardaste las  
1 1  
copias y ya. | Eso es todo.

A: ¿Quién viene?  
2

B: Pudo haber sido así.  
1

A: **Mamá,** | mamá si yo quiero hablar  
7

B: **Mamá**  
1

5 1a

contigo de esto, | no es sólo para reprochartelo.

Corpus I. Control 4 (1996:111)

**IP 7a** it is also used in the vocative statement, especially when the speaker wants to call someone’s attention that is at a certain distance from him/her. For instance:

7a

A: **Aurora**. (Pausa larga. Se dirige a otra persona mientras espera la entrada de la  
1  
esposa. Entra la mujer). Mi esposa.

Corpus I. Control 13 (1996: 112)

Although there is no phonetic lab in Cuba, significant works on intonation have been carried out on this research field recently. As has been previously referred to, García Riverón’s seminal work *Aspects de entonación hispánica* (1996) solidifies this weak tradition of intonation studies on the Island. The Cuban intonologist mainly describes the intonation system of Cuba through the application of a functional communicative approach and the analysis of acoustic variables such as fundamental frequency (F0), intensity and quantity. The semantico- pragmatic values of the utterances under analysis are corroborated by perception tests in which the linguistic and paralinguistic means of verbal expression are taken into account. Nowadays new research works are being carried out throughout the provinces of Cuba in order to determine other variants of the Cuban intonation patterns parting from the ones described by García Riverón (1996).

Summing up this first part, a large array of concepts and approaches on intonation made by English and Spanish scholars has been analysed to tackle the first research task as designed in the working methodology by García Riverón in her chapter II ‘La hipótesis, la metodología, los métodos, las técnicas y los materiales’ (1996: 71-86). At this stage the researcher reviews which theoretical aspects are fundamental for the fulfilment of this dissertation.

I have subscribed to the concept of *intonation* proposed by García Riverón (1996) and enhanced by Pedrosa Ramírez (2009:10), who defines it as: “a systemic unit, linguistically analysable and perfectly segmented in discourse, that can be structured as well as the lexical or morphological levels of language, and whose description should be based on the analysis of acoustic variables such as F0, intensity, and quantity and the application of a functional communicative approach.”(cf. p.48) As Raquel highlights “intonation is an autonomous linguistic phenomenon; that is why it mainly consists of formal and conceptual units which turns it into a complete, authentic methodological

and taxonomic level of language.” The intoneme<sup>5</sup> is used as the basic phonological unit for the analysis of this suprasegmental unit (intonation). It encompasses the following features: [1] it is a discrete phonological unit; [2] characterized by a prominent pitch movement or variations of fundamental frequency curve (F0) carrying the most significant intonational information; [3] this pitch movement is located on the nuclear accent (semantic centre or focus) of the utterance depending on the speaker’s intention; [4] it is generally marked by pauses and lengthening of the final syllable. This latter feature enables the listener to anticipate the end of an utterance (Roach 1991:41).

Accordingly, the *intoneme* can be approached as the discrete phonological unit of intonation at a discourse level characterized by the prominent pitch movement (acoustically, the F0 curve variations) located on the semantic centre of the intonation unit, which carries the most significant intonational information in accordance with the speaker’s communicative intention. It is often marked by linguistically relevant pauses and lengthening of the final syllable; this latter emphasises conversation-management function of intonation.

I have followed Crystal’s functions of intonation which are, in a sense, very comprehensive compared to the other phoneticians. All the functions have been further enhanced with other crucial aspects proposed in Roach (1991), Bradford (1992), Brazil (1994) who have designed a more discourse-based approach to the theory of intonation. Spanish intonologists show no significant changes as to the functions of intonation since they basically subscribe to Quilis’ taxonomy. Since I am making a comparative analysis between the intonation patterns of modern American English and Cuban Spanish, the patterns included in this dissertation are the ones proposed by Brazil (1994) and García Riverón (1996), previously summarised in this work.

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<sup>5</sup> Hansjörg Mixdorff (2009), in his article “A Quantitative Study of F0 Peak Alignment and Sentence Modality”, notes that the term “intoneme” is first introduced by Isačenko & Schädlich (1964) in their studies on intonation.

## **Chapter II**

### **Intonation and Conversational Discourse Analysis**

“The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use.  
As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms  
independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to  
serve in human affairs.”

**Brown & Yule 1983: 1**

“En la vida real una frase con su entonación se «colorea» con ciertos elementos  
paralingüísticos y kinésicos (...) sólo entonces podrá expresar muchos cambios  
semánticos y matices de otro modo inefables porque es entonces  
cuando la frase alcanza su plenitud.”

**Poyatos 1997:215** cited in **Hidalgo Navarro 2001: 7**

Discourse analysts and semanticists have highlighted the essential role of discourse intonation when analyzing the pragmatics of spoken discourse within the framework of the speech act theory. The interrelation between the intonational meaning and speech act theory has contributed to the analysis of the “illocutionary force of an utterance”; that is, how intonation helps to convey the speaker’s attitudes, behaviour, volitions, and intentions in the act of communication; so its importance in conversational discourse.

According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:13), the key objective of discourse analysis is to investigate on “the function of a particular utterance, in a particular social situation and at a particular place in a sequence, as a specific contribution to a developing of discourse”. Pamela, in her analysis of the Speech Act theory, refers to the studies by Brennenstuhl, who states that the Speech Act theory puts an end to all those structuralist conceptions for the analysis of language, since it mainly concentrates on how certain linguistic entities constitute a means for interpersonal action. Brennenstuhl emphasizes the fact that “linguistic communication is a form of human behaviour and that the study of language and meaning should accordingly be a behavioral science.” (Brennenstuhl 1988: 54 cited in Pamela 1995: 466)

In her book *The Music of Everyday Speech: Prosody and Discourse Analysis* (2001), Ann Wennerstrom points out that any analysis of conversational discourse should encompass a thorough analysis of the intonational structure of the speech acts. She mainly refers to the centrality of prosodic features (intonation) in the interpretation of spoken texts. In the preface of her book, she highlights that:



Discourse analysts would do well to regard prosody not as some extraneous flourish but as a central, meaningful component of the grammar of the text. Moreover, the kind of meaning conveyed by prosody can best be understood at the discourse level rather than through the analysis of isolated utterances. Thus, those with a discourse analysis perspective are in the most appropriate position to further our understanding of the functions of prosody in the coherence of communication. (Wennerstrom 2001)

Gumperz refers to the importance of intonation since it enables the conversationalists to chunk the stream of talk into the basic message units which underlie interpretation and control the turn-taking or speaker change strategies that are crucial for the maintenance of conversational involvement (1982:107). In the article “Raising the pedagogical status of discourse intonation teaching”, Clennell states that “failure to use the appropriate pragmatic discourse features of English intonation may result in serious communication breakdown between native and non-native speakers of even advanced proficiency levels” (1997:117). Some of reasons for these communication breakdowns are: [1] the propositional content (essential information) of the message may not be fully grasped; [2] the illocutionary force (pragmatic meaning) of the utterances may be misunderstood; and [3] the interspeaker cooperation and conversational management may be poorly controlled.

Gumperz (1982), Clennell (1997), Wennerstrom (2001) show the importance of analyzing the interaction of the speech act theory, illocutionary force and intonation in conversational discourse analysis. The main objective of this dissertation is to make a contrastive modelling of the intonation of recapitulatory echo-interrogative sentences in modern American English and Cuban Spanish. That is why, it is imperative to design a feasible corpus of naturally occurring conversations from various sources. Besides, the analysis of intonation is based on a communicative-functional approach that enables us to determine the semantico-pragmatic meanings of the samples. Thus, the importance of defining different aspects comprised in the Conversational Discourse Analysis (CDA).

## **2.1 Conversational Discourse Analysis:**

### **Speech Act Theory, Intonation & Illocutionary Force**

Paul ten Have, in his article “Methodological issues in Conversation Analysis” (1990), refers to Conversation Analysis (CA) as a research tradition originally started by the sociologist Harvey Sacks emerging from ethnomethodology, whose object of study is the social organization of conversation, or as he terms it ‘talk-in-interaction’. Wichmann refers to important works by scholars like Levinson (1983), Schiffrin (1994), Silverman (1998), Couper-Kuhlen & Selting (1996) and Couper-Kuhlen & Ford (2004) who relate CA to sociology since it is more concerned with how conversationalists jointly create

order in that part of everyday interaction that is 'talk'. Another important article is “Conversational Analysis as a Theoretical Foundation of Language Action Approaches?” by Göran Goldkuhl, who views CA as the study of the participants’ own methods for production and interpretation of social interaction. Goldkuhl states that the Speech Act theory is a tradition deeply rooted in the philosophy of language, whereas conversational analysis is rooted in an empirically oriented sociology of language (2003: 57). CA examines the patterns that occur in conversation, and how speakers use talk to create orderly social interaction, focusing on the empirical speakers’ behaviour within the surrounding conversation and without attributing intentions or motives to a speaker's actions.

Before deepening on the Speech Act theory it is first opportune to define what it is meant by *colloquial conversation*. In the article “Microestructura discursiva y segmentación informativa en la conversación coloquial”, Hidalgo Navarro defines it taking into account the theoretical tenets adopted by the Val. Es. Co. Research Group of the University of Valencia, and which I subscribe to in this dissertation:

“La conversación es un tipo de discurso que se caracteriza por los siguientes rasgos: es oral, es decir, se articula a través de un canal fónico; dialogal, lo que implica, frente al monólogo, sucesión de intercambios; inmediato, puesto que a diferencia de un informativo o mensaje pregrabado, se desarrolla en la coordinada espacio-temporal aquí-ahora-ante ti; retroalimentado y cooperativo, puesto que se obra juntamente con otro y su intervención; dinámico, como demuestra la alternancia de turnos, que además es no predeterminada, a diferencia de otros discursos dialogales tales como el debate, la entrevista, etc. La conversación es coloquial cuando presenta además los rasgos no planificado, lo que implica un escaso control de la producción de habla, que favorece la presencia de reinicios, vacilaciones y vueltas atrás; no transaccional, es decir, orientada a un fin interpersonal, de comunión fática, frente a la conversación transaccional, constituida como medio para obtener un fin específico. Consecuentemente, el tono de dicha conversación es informal. En suma, en la llamada conversación coloquial se reconocen, por un lado, los rasgos conversacionales, relativos al discurso y, por el otro, rasgos coloquiales, propios del registro de uso.” (2003: 368)

In the last part of his previous assertion, Hidalgo Navarro stresses the importance of the context of communication (including the communicative situation), the interpersonal relations among the interlocutors, among other conversational discourse aspects.

“Los rasgos coloquiales, a su vez, vienen favorecidos y están determinados por la situación comunicativa, en concreto por parámetros tales como la *relación de igualdad social y funcional* entre los interlocutores, su *relación vivencial de proximidad* (shared knowledge/common ground) un *marco de interacción familiar* y la *temática no especializada* de la interacción. La mayor o menor presencia de tales parámetros o rasgos situacionales determina grados de coloquialidad. [...] lo coloquial se constituye en una escala gradual: a mayor presencia de todos estos rasgos, mayor coloquialidad (menor

planificación, mayor carácter interpersonal y mayor informalidad). Ello no significa que no todas las conversaciones presentan el mismo grado de coloquialidad [...]” (368)

When analysing the emergence and development of Speech Act Theory, three important approaches by prominent scholars- Austin, Searle, and Grice should always be taken into account as well as their contributions to conversational discourse analysis. Early studies on this theory reveal the importance of intonation to the structure and interpretation of speech acts and the direct and indirect interaction between intonation and illocutionary force, since intonation is considered as an essential component of the illocutionary force of an utterance, the grammar and lexicon (Wennerstrom 2001: 131).

Austin’s speech act theory is very much welcomed among discourse analysts and semanticists. His method involved a discussion of “performatives”- utterances that change some state of affairs in reality by their content. Such utterances, as he points out, are neither true nor false. He also demonstrates that such speech acts do not necessarily depend on the lexicogrammatical form of the utterance; although an utterance might overtly lack a performative verb, the act of ordering, warning, or promising could still be accomplished (Wennerstrom 2001: 133). Austin attempts to describe the total speech act in the total speech situation and warns us against oversimplifying complexities of meaning by reducing meaning to descriptive meaning.

Austin identifies at least three main components in a speech act:

- 1) **Locutionary act:** It is equaled to the uttering of a given sentence with a given sense and reference; it is also equivalent to meaning in the traditional sense. (1962: 108) Leech (1983:199) identifies this act with “the transmission of the message (ideational communication)”.
- 2) **Perlocutionary act:** An act of bringing about or achieving some consequence by saying something as if convincing, persuading, surprising, misleading. The consequence, however, may not be what the speaker intends. (1962: 108)
- 3) **Illocutionary act:** An act with a certain force such as informing, ordering, warning, and undertaking. (Austin 1962: 108) Based on Leech’s theory, this speech act may be identified with the transmission of discourse (interpersonal communication). He also describes the illocutionary act based on social goals when he defines it as “the social goals of maintaining cooperation, politeness, etc.” (Leech 1983: 199)

In his book *Expression and Meaning: studies in the theory of speech acts* (1979), Searle examines Austin's taxonomy of illocutionary speech acts and proposes the following:

- 1) **Verdictives:** They consist in the delivering of a finding, official or unofficial, upon evidence or reasons as to value or fact so far as these are distinguishable (1979:8). In other words, those judgements or ideas that cannot be taken as an absolute truth. Among the verbs conveying this meaning are: *acquit, hold, calculate, describe, analyse, estimate, rank, assess*.
- 2) **Exercitives:** Austin identifies them as the giving of a decision in favor of or against a certain course of action or advocacy of it, a decision that something is to be so, as distinct from a judgment that it is so. Exercitives are thus used to exert power, a right or an influence upon someone's behaviour, actions or judgment. Verbs conveying this meaning are: *order, command, direct, plead, beg, recommend, entreat* and *advise*.
- 3) **Commissives:** According to Austin, the whole point of the commissive is to commit the speaker to a certain course of action. In other words, they involve the speaker's promises and responsibilities. Among the verbs conveying this meaning are: *guarantee, pledge, promise, embrace, swear, compromise*.
- 4) **Expositives:** These illocutionary acts are used in acts of exposition involving the expounding of views, the conducting of arguments and the clarifying of usages and references. Austin includes verbs such as *affirm, deny, emphasise, answer, report, illustrate, accept, object to*.
- 5) **Behavioatives:** This type of illocutionary speech act deals with the speaker's reaction to other people's attitudes and behaviour. Under this category, Austin includes verbs such as *apologize, deplore, commiserate, criticize, bless, curse*.

Another important philosopher who also contributed to the Speech Act Theory is John Searle. Searle proposes a new speech acts typology based on Austin's previous analysis. He allocates a central place to communicative intentions. His typology is based on the illocutionary verbs which occur in a given language. He develops a theory of indirect speech acts which implies that language users can sometimes say what may seem to be a statement when they are performing indirectly another type of illocutionary act. Searle (1979) identifies and describes five basic types of illocutionary acts:

- 1) **Representatives** (or assertive): The speech acts represent a sequence of facts or events from the past, present or future (hypothetical). (cf. Austin's expositive and veredictive acts)
- 2) **Directives**: These are mainly intended to produce some effect through action by the hearer." (Leech 1983:106) (cf. Austin's exercitive speech acts)
- 3) **Commissives**: These speech acts commit the speaker to a future action to a greater or lesser degree. (cf. Austin's commissive speech acts)
- 4) **Expressives**: These speech acts are used to express the speaker's physiological attitude towards the state of affairs which the illocution presupposes. (1983:106) (cf. Austin's behavioatives)
- 5) **Declarations**: Leech defines declarations illocutions whose successful performance brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality. Searle (1979) states that these speech acts are performed by someone who is authorized to do so within some institutional framework; that is why, Leech claims that these speech acts are institutional (social, religious, legal, etc.) rather than personal acts. Searle highlights that the syntactical structure does not reveal a clear-cut distinction between the illocutionary force and propositional content of the speech act (1983:106). (cf. Austin's exercitives)

Based on Searle's approach, one can rely on linguistic form to recognize a speech act, so he states that "in indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer. To be more specific, the apparatus necessary to explain the indirect part of indirect speech acts includes a theory of speech acts, certain general principles of cooperative conversation, and mutually shared factual background information of the speaker and the hearer, together with an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences." (Wennerstrom 2001: 134)

Searle proposes a set of felicity conditions that he considers as vital conditions for speech act of a particular class to be recognized. These conditions express both the speaker's and hearer's desires, intentions, and level of sincerity. Searle's taxonomy is grounded neither on pure logic nor strictly linguistic structural rules.

- 1) **Preparatory conditions:** Include factors such as the status or authority of the speaker to perform the speech act, the situation of other parties. The situation of the utterance is also important.
- 2) **Sincerity conditions:** Show that the speaker actually intends what he or she says like in the case of apologizing or promising. It is often impossible for others to determine whether or not sincerity conditions are fulfilled. However, there are some speech acts where this sincerity is determined by the presence of witnesses, so that one (or more) of the parties cannot later claim that they did not really mean it.
- 3) **Essential conditions:** They are the ones by means of which the speaker, when carrying out the speech act, is subjected to a series of beliefs or previous intentions to this speech act. A case in which these serious conditions would not be completed would be that of a person making two contradictory statements, since this way the person would leave against his or her belief.

A third pragmatist whose work is traditionally associated with Speech Act Theory is Grice. Like Searle, Grice also focuses on the conditions surrounding the interpretation of indirect speech acts. He states that the participants involved in a talk are aware of a cooperative principle, which he formulates as: “make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Lindblom 2006). Taking this as an important premise in his analysis, Grice outlines a suitable framework of conversational maxims to best illustrate how a listener could determine the speaker’s intentions. These conversational maxims are:

- 1) **Maxim of quantity:** Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange). Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. From the intonational viewpoint, when the speaker includes something that he shares with the hearer, it is mainly done with a fast rhythm; the pitch is perceived as lower than normal and a relatively low volume. Effectively enough, the speaker is also flouting the maxim of manner, but he concurrently uses other paralinguistic and prosodic features which enable the hearer to decode the implicature as previously intended by the speaker.
- 2) **Maxim of quality:** Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. This maxim is overtly flouted in ironic

utterances in which there is a tendency to overnasalization of the speech act, slow tempo, overuse of emphatic stress as well as the lengthening of stressed syllables.

- 3) **Maxim of relation** (or relevance): Be relevant.
- 4) **Maxim of manner**: Avoid obscurity of expression. Avoid ambiguity. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). Be orderly. (Grice cited in Jaworski & Coupland 1999: 78) A vivid example of the flouting of this maxim is the case of rhetorical questions, in which the speaker already knows the answer to the question; however, he is not being pragmatically “sincere”. In this case, the speaker recurs to such paralinguistic effects as slower rhythm and tempo than the one used in normal questions and also a higher pitch.

There are several ways in which participants can make use of these conversational maxims: they can follow them, violate one of them, opt out of one of them, and sacrifice one to the other if they clash, or flout them. According to Green (1989), speakers can assume that hearers adopt the cooperative principle and its maxims for interpreting speech behavior; the speaker is free to exploit it, and to speak in such a way that his behaviour must be interpreted according to it. If the speaker's remark seems irrelevant, the hearer will attempt to construct a sequence of inferences that make it relevant or at least cooperative. This exploitation of the maxims is the basic mechanism by which utterances are used to convey more than they literally denote. Grice refers to this as «conversational implicature».

However, Grice's theory does not explain how conversation really works in social life. Such theoretical inconsistencies have attracted many detractors. The main problem seemingly lies on the interpretation of the term cooperation. Many linguists view Grice's theory as a prescription to idealized talk where all exchange is smooth and nice; others agree that it recommends cooperation between participants because it achieves meaningful communication. Abbot Lozada, in her paper “The behaviour of intonation patterns in conversational spoken discourse: monologues”, quotes Crystal (1992:295) who refers to the stereotyped conception towards conversational analysis theories and which I have used to best understand the detractor's stance:

“The stereotype is that people speak in complete sentences, taking well-defined turns, carefully listening to each other, and producing balanced amount of speech. The reality is that people often share in the sentences they produce, interrupt each other, do not pay attention to everything that is said, and produce a discourse where the contributions of the participants are wildly asymmetrical (meaning unbalanced or unequal)”. (2010: 15)

Following Grice's conversational maxims, Leech develops the Principle of Politeness and proposes a set of principles with their own conversational maxims, attributing to some of them a more pragmatics-based approach. Leech defines politeness as "forms of behaviour that establish and maintain comity; that is, the ability of participants in a social interaction to engage in an atmosphere of relative harmony (2010: 15). This principle may be seen as necessary support to the Cooperative Principle. The Principle of Politeness has a negative face which minimizes the expression of unpleasant ideas and a positive face by which we attribute special importance to pleasant ideas.

- 1) **Tact maxim:** It minimizes cost to other; maximise benefit to other.
- 2) **Generosity maxim:** It minimizes benefit to self; maximise cost to self.
- 3) **Approbation maxim:** It minimizes dispraise of other; maximise praise of other.
- 4) **Modesty maxim:** It minimizes praise of self; maximise dispraise of self.
- 5) **Agreement maxim:** It minimizes disagreement between self and other; maximise agreement between self and other.
- 6) **Sympathy maxim:** It minimizes antipathy between self and other; maximizes sympathy between self and other. (Leech 1983: 132)

Other principles introduced by Geoff Leech are:

- 1) **Irony Principle:** Leech states that the Irony Principle is of "second-order", since it enables the speaker to be impolite while still seeming to be polite. The ironic force of a remark is often signalled by exaggeration or understatement. Leech refers to this principle as being dysfunctional since it does not provide us with a method of being offensive to others; however, the Irony Principle may as well enable us to combine "the art of attack with an apparent innocence that is a form of self-defence" (1983: 142-45). In other words, some ironically offensive speech acts can be minimized in such a way that they become less aggressive and hurtful than direct criticism, insults, threats, etc. Irony is often related to an unfriendly tone of voice.
- 2) **Banter Principle:** In contrast to the Irony Principle (an apparently friendly way of being offensive); Banter is an offensive way of being friendly (:144). Leech opposes *irony* (mock-politeness) to *banter* (mock-impoliteness). He ranks the Banter Principle as a third-order one, placing both principles- irony and banter, in a scale or hierarchy of importance.



- 3) **Interest Principle:** Leech places it at a similar level to that of Cooperation and Politeness, which points out the tendency to say the unexpected and therefore interesting, preferring in this case an interesting, unexpected conversation with high degree of informativeness to a boring and foregone one.
- 4) **Pollyanna Principle:** Leech states that the participants in a conversation will prefer pleasant topics to unpleasant ones. An example of this is **euphemisms**, since they generally disguise unpleasant topics by using apparently inoffensive expressions. Another example is to «minimise» the degree to which things are bad. (1983: 147)

Amanda Schiffrin (2005) has revolutionised the world of conversational discourse analysis with her doctoral thesis “Modelling speech acts in conversational discourse”. Schiffrin acknowledges the importance of speech acts in discourse. And she states that “the identification of the speech act that is intended by the production of an utterance is vital as it provides appropriateness constraints for our responses. [...] after every utterance, conversational expectations are created (either implicitly or explicitly) which serve us in understanding later conversation, in producing a relevant and appropriate response and in being able to identify when and where a conversation goes wrong” (2005: 5). She adds that [...] “if we cannot understand the function intended by the production of certain utterance, then we will also be unable to form opinions about the position of a speaker with respect to the content of his utterance.” Schiffrin concludes that by “recognising speech acts could be essential for ascribing the correct beliefs and goals to a participant, for gleaning background knowledge of that participant and thus for being able to build on the knowledge gained from the current conversation in order to facilitate future interactions with that speaker.” (: 6)

There are some properties that Schiffrin refers to for the identification of speech acts in discourse: (1) *content* of the utterance (the proposition expressed by the utterance); she points out that it is essential to activate our background knowledge and knowledge of the speaker to deduce the content of an utterance. (2) *Force* (or mood) of the utterance which corresponds to the traditional mood types (*declarative*, *imperative* and *interrogative*). Finally, the position of the utterance within a conversation. Schiffrin highlights its importance since “the same content can be interpreted as different speech acts depending upon its position relative to other utterances in the same context. This inevitably affects the understanding of the function of the utterance.” (2005: 6)

Schiffrin also refers to the speaker/hearer roles in the act of communication. She states that “a speaker does not form his utterances using the only possible set of words for the ‘correct’ communication of his ideas, but packages what he says in a way he believes the hearer is most likely to understand in the context of the discourse situation” (2005: 23). This assertion supports the existence of conversational maxims and principles since “speech is [...] constantly balanced between too much and too little information.” That is, the necessary background information to decode the message is often negotiated between the participants in a conversation at the time the need for it occurs. This reduces the need for under-specification or over-specification (:23).

Sperber and Wilson state that every utterance comes with a presumption of its own optimal relevance for the listener (1995: 158). Schiffrin’s statement fills up any possible semantic gap in Sperber and Wilson’s previous quote: “all one needs to do is to look at the social aspects of communication to find a reason for a hearer’s attention” (2005: 24). In her analysis, Schiffrin refers to utterances and speech acts, indistinctively. Although she reviews important aspects of CA theorists, it is essential for us to define these two discourse units. “The intentional content of discourse is expressed through the *utterance*, which may consist of one or more *speech acts*. Accordingly, the speech act is considered a dynamic discourse unit” (Curbeira 2001 [§ PART III]).

Interrogative sentences are used to perform speech acts of directly asking a question or making a request, but they may also be used to convey such speech acts indirectly. In their article “Analysis of Indirect Uses of Interrogative Sentences Carrying Anger” (2007), Hye-Jin Min and Jong C. Park quote that “every utterance has its illocutionary force that makes the hearers to act a certain behaviour, in accordance with the speaker’s intentions, such as assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations (cf. Austin 1962; Searle 1969). The actions induced by such intentions, or speech acts, are systematically related to particular types of a sentential form uttered by the speaker (Levelt 1989). However, these relations do not appear quite strict because speech acts with a particular sentential form could be dependent upon prosodic and paralinguistic devices” (2009:311). That is, an interrogative sentence is not only used for asking a question or making a request directly to the hearers, but also performs speech acts indirectly, including reproach, rejection, refutation.

Regarding the listener’s effective apprehension of the speaker’s message, M. Victoria Escandell Vidal states that:

“Los actos verbales que los hablantes realizan al emitir enunciados no son propiedades intrínsecas de las oraciones, sino efectos de la interacción entre el significado de las oraciones y las situaciones en que éstas se usan. [...] para que el enunciado tenga éxito, la finalidad explícita que persigue quien lo emite debe resultar suficientemente visible o

reconocible para el destinatario; por lo tanto, uno de los objetivos que debe proponerse el emisor al construir su enunciado es que éste refleje convenientemente las actitudes y los objetivos que quiere comunicar abiertamente.” (1999: 18 [§61.3])

Then she adds that:

“Las lenguas utilizan medios formales (prosódicos, léxicos y sintácticos) para contextualizar los enunciados o, dicho de otro modo, para orientar y restringir las interpretaciones posibles. En el caso del español, las marcas formales que se combinan con las propias de la interrogación comprenden ciertas variaciones en el patrón entonativo, alteraciones en el orden de palabras canónico, la presencia de determinadas unidades léxicas, o el uso de tiempos y modos verbales” (1999: 18-19).

Escandell’s viewpoint stresses the co-occurrence of the different levels of language that make up a single interactive whole that enables us to communicate messages. However, concerning the effective use of intonation, the pragmatist and grammarian agrees that “la entonación sirve no sólo para definir una modalidad gramatical frente a otra, sino también para orientar de manera decisiva la interpretación de los enunciados” (: 19). Hence, it can be assumed that the objectivity of the speaker’s message facilitates the listener’s apprehension of this that is possible due to the overlapping or co-interaction of the different levels of language (prosodic, lexical and syntactic) tinged by the speaker’s intentions and the context of communication.

Another interesting approach is thoroughly presented in the article “The theory of verbal communication in the works of M. M. Bakhtin and L. S. Vygotsky”, in which Akhutina analyses the speech act “as a whole, including the speech act as an act of expression, as well as the intention of the speaker and his effect on the listener, entail consideration of the speech act as an event of verbal communication; that is, as an active social interaction” (2003: 96). Unlike his predecessors and contemporaries, Bakhtin hypothesizes that the “actual reality of language and speech is not the abstract system of linguistic forms, and not the isolated monologue, and not the psychological act of its expression, but the social event of speech interaction that is performed by the utterance and the utterances” (Vološinov 1929:113). The linguist defines the *utterance* as “the minimum indivisible unit of speech interaction. Bakhtin adds that “as a social event, the utterance entails, first of all, active interaction between the speaker and the listener (the speaker’s activity entails and presupposes the activity of the listener)”. The utterance also allows the speaker to interact with previous speakers. (2003:97)

Bakhtin refers to the structure of the utterance. Internally, the utterance is dialogic because it expresses the speaker’s particular position, communicates some particular objective content, always responds to the previous context and anticipates the

listener's response. Hence, it can be stated that the utterance is «internally social». As a social entity it reflects the speech process, other people's utterances, and especially the preceding links in the conversational chain. As the unit of verbal communication, the utterance has a number of other inherent features. Each utterance is produced by a specific subject [i.e., speaker]; its boundaries are mainly determined by the alternation of speakers. It has a special type of «completeness». It is a complete semantic entity, so that a position can be adopted in response to it. The utterance not only has a direct relationship to alien utterances, but also a direct contact with reality (i.e., the extraverbal situation). Based on Bakhtin's conception, a listener always assumes some particular attitude in response to an utterance, evaluating it as true or false, bold or timid, and so on. The listener's evaluation covers the linguistic and the extralinguistic context as a single whole. Thus, the utterance and the context interact as a whole. It follows that the context of the utterance is a crucial component of it; the component that carries implicit sense. The implicit sense is not arbitrary, but is based on the speaker's understanding of what the listener already knows. (:98)

The contextual nature of the utterance (the presence of an implicit sense) is as central as the fact that the utterance is dialogic. According to Bakhtin, the extralinguistic context of an utterance comprises three aspects: (1) the same physical environment that is seen by both of the participants in the conversation; (2) knowledge and understanding of a position-situation that they both have in common; and finally (3) their common evaluation of this position-situation. Bakhtin addresses the concept of genre as essential in conversational discourse analysis. This genre is approached as a standard form for structuring an entire utterance. Bakhtin believed that the genre; that is, the mental representation of the form of the whole utterance, guides the speaker in the speech process: the genre selected dictates the type of sentences used and the links that combine them. He states that without mastery of speech genres, verbal communication is virtually impossible. (2003:99)

Another important aspect of the utterance is that it expresses the speaker's position. Bakhtin identifies two aspects of the position expressed by the speaker: selection of the objective semantic content and the "subjective emotional evaluative attitude of the speaker" to this content. He asserts that an absolutely neutral utterance is impossible. The speaker's emotional attitude to the objective content, his "evaluation" determines his selection of the lexical, grammatical, and compositional forms for the utterance. However, the most significant way to express evaluation is through intonation. In this respect, he states that "Intonation establishes the close connection between the word and the extralinguistic context. Living intonation is virtually able to

release the word from its verbal limits [...] Intonation is always at the boundary of the verbal and the nonverbal, the spoken and the unspoken [...] Intonation is oriented in two directions: toward the listener [...] and toward the object of the utterance as if to a third living participant.” (Vološinov 1929: 252- 254)

Although some linguists may disagree, as it often happens when it comes to theories, Bakhtin presents a comprehensive theory encompassing important aspects for the analysis of verbal communication; for instance, the speaker/listener’s relationship and their active role in verbal interaction, the features of the utterance as the main indivisible unit of verbal interaction, the importance and integration of the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts in the understanding of the conversation, the speaker’s psychological position and emotional attitude towards the object of evaluation, among others. And all these factors are entwined as a whole through intonation. There are many other approaches concerning the CA in naturally- occurring interactions, but it is not the objective of this dissertation to include them all. I have made reference to these maxims and principles since they are often referred to in the works of grammarians who have adopted a more communication-based approach. Besides, my analysis and working methodology are based upon semantico-pragmatic tenets, which give this dissertation a more communicative orientation.

## **2.2 Intonation and Semantic Modality: Expressiveness as a modal semantic macro-category)**

The illocutionary dimension has been largely researched by several linguists like Austin (1962), Searle (1979), Gumperz (1982), Firth (1995), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), among others. Although not as systematic as in other countries, Cuban linguists have also developed new theories regarding the illocutionary dimension.

In his postulates, Leandro Caballero defines the illocutionary dimension as “[...] that which reflects the traits transmitted by interactive intentional contents of the utterances. It focuses on the characterization of the speaker, whose communicative intention can merely be achieved if the illocutionary agent (he/she who expresses him/herself by means of using resources of different levels of language) is able to choose the appropriate means to convey his message to a listener. This implies that the illocutionary agent takes into consideration factors such as: moral characteristics of the listener, situational context, socio-cultural aspects, power relations, social status, shared knowledge, and so on.” (Herrera et al: 2008)

The Research Group of Semantic and Ideographic Studies of the School of Foreign Languages, headed by Ana Curbeira Cancela, have embarked on the making-up of more specialized type of dictionaries- Semantico-Ideographic Dictionaries of Lexico-Semantic Fields and the description of the modal semantic categories initially proposed by Caballero (2002) and further enhanced by A. M. Galbán (2003) in her master's thesis entitled "Una aproximación al estudio de las macro-categorías semánticas modales (valoración, lealtad, certidumbre, interés, afectividad, expresividad) y su expresión a través de verbos del español y el alemán." In her thesis, Galbán Pozo refers to **modality** as [...] the component of an utterance or any expression which manifests the presence of a recognized type of subjective position of the subject to what is said in discourse and of the listener to what he/she interprets, and in this case the reference to reality is realized only through the dictum (Galbán Pozo 2003).

The above definition highlights the importance and relevance of modality for the analysis of conversations inasmuch as it mainly enables us to unveil what has not been explicitly stated by the participants involved, which therefore leads them to the use, fulfilment or infringement of the conversational principles, rules and/or maxims previously referred to in this chapter. Modality is not only conveyed through lexical means but also through any other linguistic and paralinguistic means such as intonation, gestures, etc. Hence, in my attempt to analyse the close relationship between the modal semantic category of expressiveness and intonation, it can be considered intonation will be approached as a speech act, that is, as the expression of the speaker's attitude (enunciator), in the discourse (the modality of speech act), towards the referent which is intentionally considered (illocutionary and communicative strategy), and which is also allocated in the scale of linguistic values (in this case phonological ones), as well as semantic values linguistically established.

According to Ana María Galbán Pozo, emotions can be defined as mental states that are mainly produced in the interrelation with objects and other phenomena of the environment [...]. On the other hand, emotions influence our behaviour and are perceived by the interlocutor through our verbal and non-verbal language (2003:73). The semanticist states that both emotiveness and modality are interrelated; however, she highlights that one should not relate the feelings and/or emotions to the modal semantic macrocategory of expressiveness, which reflects the psychological position of the speaker towards what it is said about the referent, showing the speaker's mood from a double perspective: (1) that of the mode of expression characterized by the opposition restraint:: overflow, and (2) that of the emotional tone, expressed by the opposition

satisfied:: dissatisfied (2003:74). Galbán Pozo shows this semantic opposition through Caballero's trapezoid. (See next page)

The mode of expression, either overflow or restraint, is manifested through verbal or non-verbal discursal means. In the case of the verbal means, discourse intonation plays a key role, since emotions can be expressed by different intonation variables like: speech rhythm, sentence stress, tone, pauses. As Herrera et al refer to, "it is in discourse where the notions of excess, moral deviancy, outburst, or whatever overflow (that is axiologically negative according to the different socio-cultural norms and patterns of behaviour) are at play. On the other hand, the notions of self-control of ones' feelings, moderation, restraint (that are generally axiologically positive, since they are in accordance with the socio-cultural patterns of behaviour of the different social groups or communities), are at play in discourse as well." (Herrera et al. 2008: 25)

According to Galbán Pozo, the satisfaction :: dissatisfaction opposition is expressed through the notions of satisfaction- joy, enthusiasm, happiness, delight, pleasure (generally axiologically positive), or that of dissatisfaction- grievance, pain, regret, shame, sorrow, affliction, distress, anguish, despair, shock and disturbance (generally axiologically negative). It is worth highlighting that these manifestations can be either «internally motivated»; that is, they can be experienced as a perception of the subjects' own internal state in relation to their surroundings or «externally motivated», which means that they can be influenced by some extralinguistic factors, conditions, circumstances. Both calm in the mode of expression and indifference in the emotional tone expressed are the result of the semic balance between the contraries, as presented in the trapezoids below. For instance, calm is basically attributed to those subjects who do not express any emotional tension regarding their state of mind, and indifference reflects the combination of no satisfaction and no dissatisfaction concerning the emotions, feelings experienced by the subjects.

In this chapter, I have concisely tried to show the importance of intonation and its relationship with some approaches to conversational discourse analysis. On the one hand, Conversational Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides us with the necessary means to analyse naturally occurring conversations, which is essential in the determination of the semantico-pragmatic meanings of such intonation patterns. And on the other, it allows us to determine the rules and different ways of human interaction.

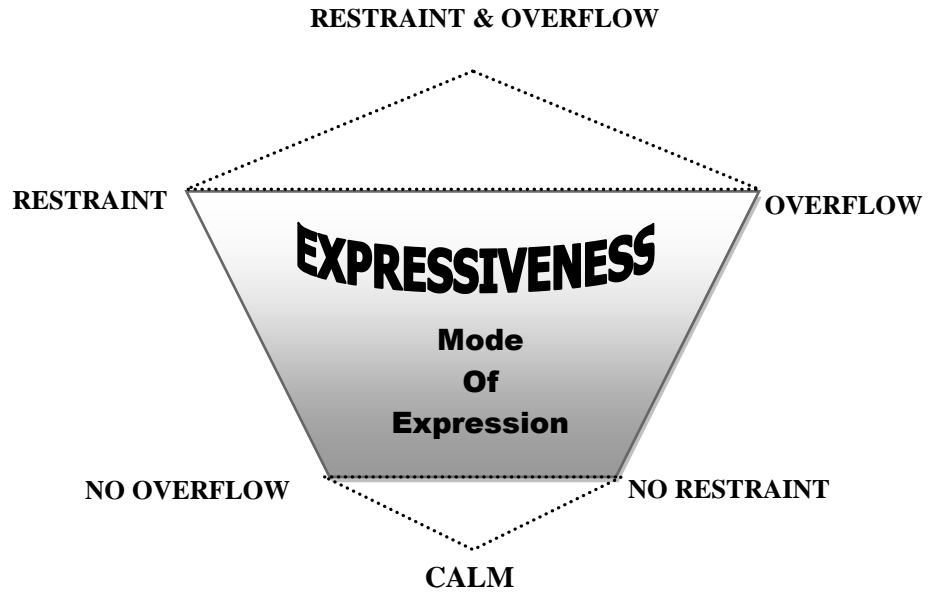
The analysis of the modal semantic macro-categories (valuation, interest, affectivity, expressiveness, certainty, and loyalty) greatly contributes to a more accurate understanding of the conversational discourse variables and how they interact in natural speech. But the analysis of expressiveness in my dissertation is intended to examine the

relationship between the listener (and his/her emotional state), the information he/she receives and his/her reaction to it. And how the speaker makes use of intonation in general or emphasises on one of its components to achieve communication and convey his/her message irrespective of the lexicon or syntax used. Besides, the speaker recurs to expressiveness in actual speech to convey his emotions, feelings, behaviour in a more pragmatic way, whose semantico-pragmatic values are therefore activated through the fluctuations of intensity, rhythm, pitch, pausation, tempo, etc.

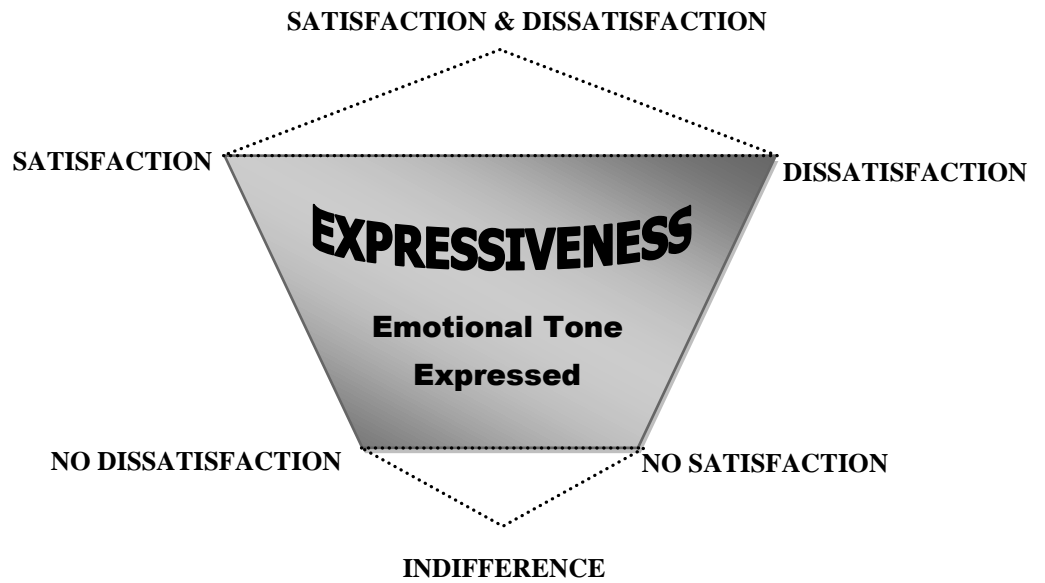
Hidalgo Navarro (2003: 368-385) and Bakhtin (cited in Akhutina 2003: 96-114) review some important sociolinguistic views on colloquial conversation and the theory of verbal communication, which are, together with the conversational maxims and principles, fundamental in the analysis of the semantico-pragmatic meanings of intonation. Bakhtin's characterization of the utterance as [1] the minimum indivisible unit of speech interaction; [2] as a social event, the utterance entails active interaction between the speaker and the listener; [3] it allows the speaker to interact with previous speakers. All the features of the utterance that have been above listed— internal social nature, dialogism, the constraints imposed by alternation of speakers, its special kind of completeness—are interrelated; which makes it be a complete semantic entity. By quoting Voloshinov's words: "intonation is always at the boundary of the verbal and the nonverbal, the spoken and the unspoken [...]" (1926: 252-54), Bakhtin highlights the importance of intonation in CA. This stance supports the more contemporary discourse-based tenets of intonation. (cf. Brazil 1994; Bradford 1992; Wennerstrom 2001)

Concerning the relation between the speech act theory and the interrogative sentences, it can be summarised that speech acts are the acts we perform through words. General types of speech acts are essential to everyday interaction; these are statements, questions, exclamations and directives (requests, instructions, etc.) Each speech act is associated in the grammar with a type of clause; for instance, the declarative is typically used to encode a statement, the interrogative a question, the imperative a directive and the exclamative an exclamation. These are the direct correspondences between form and function that we refer to as direct speech acts (Downing & Locke 2006: 199) Downing and Locke state that intonation plays a distinctive role in conveying the illocutionary force or intended meaning of an utterance. They conclude by stating that "hearers use inference to recover the intended meaning at specific points in a conversation, based on assumptions of cooperativeness, truth, relevance and cultural knowledge." (2006:199)





**Fig. 1** Caballero's mode of Expression (Galbán Pozo 2003)



**Fig. 2** The Emotional Tone Expressed (Galbán Pozo 2003)

## Chapter III

### **Contrastive Modelling of the Intonation of Escandell's Recapitulatory Echo Interrogative Sentences in Modern American English & Cuban Spanish**

#### **3.1 The interrogatives: generalisations within the English and Spanish grammars**

As to many grammarians, the history of English grammar dates back to the sixteenth century with the Bullokar's *Pamphlet for Grammar* of 1586, in which the structure and rules of English grammar are contrasted with those of Latin. This Latin-based tradition comes to an end with the printing of Cooper's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of 1685. Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* of 1795 becomes well-known in USA, Europe and the British Empire, since it promotes a broader understanding of the English grammar. In the first volume of *An English Grammar: Comprehending the Principles and Rules of the Language* of 1808, Murray mostly emphasises on the agreement and construction of words in a sentence. He refers to the existence of three sentence types: explicative (explaining), interrogative (asking) and imperative (demanding). (1808:216)

Fitz-Gibbon examines Murray's works and publishes in 1851 *A Grammar of the English Language Abridged from the 47<sup>th</sup> Edition of Lindley Murray's Grammar and revised according to present usage*. Ideally, according to this grammarian, but indeed simplistically, Fitz-Gibbon does not include a separate section on sentence types within PART III SYNTAX. Like Murray, he refers to the three possible sentence types (1851:60). Carpenter's work of 1952, *The Structure of English*, is considered one of the most influential grammars since it is the first to use recordings of live data as its corpus. A biographical review of Charles Carpenter Fries (1887-1967) issued by Oxford ELT Journal refers to this book as follows:

“The Structure of English (1952) unlocked long-hidden secrets of syntax which he extracted through the patient exploration and manipulation of real-language data which he found indispensable, and which served to give his conclusion a type of verisimilitude conspicuously lacking in much subsequent grammatical investigation.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Oxford Journals Humanities ELT Journal* (Vol. XXIII) Rev. of Charles Carpenter Fries (1887-1967) Copyright © 2012 Oxford University Press. Web. 8 April. 2012

In 1973, Robert P. Stockwell, Paul Schacter and Barbara Hall Partee publish *The major syntactic structures of English*, which approaches grammar from a transformational-generative perspective and which influences such grammars as Quirk and Greenbaum's *A university grammar of English* and Hemphill's *A mathematical grammar of English*, both published in 1973.

English becomes an important language for commercial, education, science and technology and diplomatic reasons. Modern language teaching in Europe becomes a proliferating business in late nineteenth century; hence, new English grammar books are published. Linguists agree that grammar is more systematised in this century, mainly by historical and comparative grammarians like Rasmus Rask who made comprehensive comparative studies in the grammars of Indo-European languages and Jacob Grimm who analyses English grammar in his research of the grammar of Germanic languages. However, none of these works contribute to the development of the English grammar.

The development of phonetics solidifies the study of English grammar. One of the most outstanding works is Sweet's *A new English grammar: logical and historical* of 1892. Following Sweet's phonetic tradition, Palmer writes his *Grammar of spoken English* in 1924; however, this work includes essential aspects of the spoken language like intonation. As a true advocate of Sweet's principles, Jespersen writes his *Modern English grammar on historical principles* in 1914. Thanks to his success and worldwide recognition, Jespersen publishes a single volume work *Essentials of English grammar* in 1933, in which the linguist sets out his principal conceptions about grammar.

Aarts and McMahon (2006:83) states that "if Sweet's New English grammar marks the transition from the nineteenth century school grammars to the scholarly grammars of the twentieth century, Zandvoort's Handbook may be said to represent the end point of the scholarly grammatical tradition of the first half of the twentieth century."

Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik's work *A grammar of contemporary English* of 1972 is actually considered one of the most significant works of this period. A purely discourse-oriented approach prevails throughout this work in which four major syntactic types of simple sentences are determined taking into account their correlations with the communicative functions: *statements* (declarative), *questions* (interrogative), *commands* (imperative) and *exclamations* (exclamatory). Both Leech and Svartvik's *A communicative grammar of English* of 1975 and Quirk's *A comprehensive grammar of the English language* of 1985 finish with an old tradition of structuralism and becomes more communication-based, since they mostly focus on function rather than form. In his work of 1985, Quirk makes a comprehensive analysis of questions and gives a formal

typology of English questions; that is, *major* and *minor* types of questions. The first one «yes/no» encompasses 'yes/no, declarative, alternative, echo and tag questions', while the latter mainly refers to the exclamatory and rhetorical questions.

Contemporary grammar books subscribe to this approach and classification of questions. Yule's *Explaining English Grammar* of 1998 is aimed for English language teachers and stresses on the use of particular forms to convey meaning according to the context and communicative purpose. Angela Downing and Philip Locke's work *English Grammar: A University Course* of 2006 is an extraordinary English grammar book. This book goes beyond the structuralist conceptions to present an integrated account of the structure and function, enabling students to relate grammar with the overall structure of discourse and to the contexts of communication. Downing refers to the contributions of the grammars of Quirk and his colleagues.

These grammarians not only accentuates the importance of structure and its functioning in discourse but also the importance of grammar in relation to discourse since as she defines it "[...] discourse is not a static product, but a constantly changing, negotiated process: as interaction proceeds, interlocutors build up and modify mental representations of their addresses, the context and the discourse itself. This perspective on language leads to the integration, within this new version of the grammar, of ideas from cognitive linguistics." (Foreword to the second edition, Downing and Locke 2006) Contemporary grammar books are therefore intended to provide users in general with a means of understanding the relation of form to meaning and meaning to function within a given communicative context.

Downing and Locke's functional approach to grammar is based upon general discourse premises:

- All languages fulfil two higher-level or meta-functions in our lives since they are commonly used to express our interpretation of the world as we experience it («ideational» or «representational» functions), to interact with others in order to bring about changes in the environment («interpersonal») and to organise the message in a way to enable representation and interaction to cohere («textual» function).
- Regular grammatical patterns reflect the usage of language. For instance, the «declarative», «interrogative» and «imperative» patterns serve the purposes of expressing different forms of social behaviour. Downing and Locke masterly combines the speech act and relevance theories and the principle of politeness

with their grammar approach in order to explain how speakers use and interpret linguistic forms and sequences in English within cultural settings.

- The situational and linguistic contexts, speaker-hearer relations and the speaker communicative purpose are crucial elements in the analysis of grammar.
- Linguistic elements should not be analysed in isolation but in relation to others in the act of communication since the speaker chooses those grammar patterns which best convey his/her message during their interaction with other speakers.

Downing and Locke (2006: 177) identify the following types of clauses: «declarative», «interrogative», «exclamative» and «imperative». Interrogative clauses are divided into two major groups: **polar** «yes/no questions» and **non-polar** «wh-questions». They also analyse other types of interrogative clauses: echo questions, alternative interrogatives, double interrogatives, within which they include questions within questions, question tags, among others. Their analysis is based on the positive–negative contrast which is an essential semantic feature associated with finiteness and emphasise on the relation between grammatical form and pragmatic meaning (:182). Their systemic- functional approach can be summarized by stating that “as in other areas of the grammar, a form can fulfil more than one function, and a function can be fulfilled by more than one form” (Downing and Locke 2006). In his book entitled *Functional English Grammar: An Introduction for Second Language Teachers* of 1996, Graham Lock presents a functional description of English grammar, viewed not as a set of rules but as a tool for communication. He does not refer to questions and statements as grammatical structures but as speech acts.

Two other important books are Biber’s *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* of 1999 and Carter and McCarthy’s *Cambridge Grammar of English: A Comprehensive Guide. Spoken and Written English. Grammar and Usage* of 2006. They group the wh-, yes/no, alternative and tag questions under the label of major types of independent clauses. However, they also identify other clause types: «exclamative», «imperative» and «declarative». Carter and McCarthy (2006) agree with the formal classification of clause types but go even further in their analysis since they include the indirect polar interrogatives introduced by «if» or «whether».

Kroeger’s grammar book *Analyzing Grammar: an Introduction* is also worth analysing since it mostly focuses on the pragmatic functions rather than the grammatical structures. In his analysis of direct versus indirect speech acts, Kroeger states that most languages have specific grammatical patterns that are used to indicate the actions the

speaker intends to perform: declarative «statements»; interrogative «questions»; and imperative «commands». Kroeger identifies two questions types: (a) yes/no questions «closed questions»; and (b) content questions «open/information questions». Recently published books on English grammar subscribe to this same approach and classification since they provide foreign students with the necessary tools to understand the grammar of language from a more communication-based approach.

The Spanish tradition on the analysis of interrogatives dramatically differs from one year to another. According to García Riverón (1983:36), early studies on the interrogative sentences are mainly inspired by foreign research. As long as the study of interrogatives has been given a systematic treatment in other Schools of Linguistics, this analysis focuses most on the main works and their contributions. When analysing the Spanish tradition on grammar studies, most scholars agree that Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* of 1492 is the first written work on this topic. This first grammar reveals the great normative-stylistic influence of the Latin grammars. In his article "Historia de la oración interrogativa en la Real Academia Española", Francisco García states that «although early scholars do not analyse the interrogatives *per se*, they refer to the main uses of the interrogative adverbs according to the speaker's intention when asking for place, time, etc. » (2008:63)

In the early twentieth century, the *Gramática de la lengua castellana de la Real Academia Española* of 1911 does not contribute much to the study of interrogative sentences. Six years later, 1917, the Academia publishes a new *Gramática*, in which the sentence is defined from a logics perspective that perfectly matches with the assertive sentence and very brief reference is made to the interrogative sentences and its types. In 1973, the Academia writes the *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española*, which does not go any further on the study of interrogative sentences but does approach the sentence from a more pragmatic perspective since it takes into account the speaker's intention and the listener's aim. The sentence is defined as "la intención del hablante divide la elocución en unidades de sentido completo en sí mismas llamadas *oraciones*. Tener sentido completo en sí mismas quiere decir que contienen una enunciación «afirmativa o negativa», una pregunta, un deseo o un mandato." [§3.1. 2: 349]

The *Esbozo...* classifies interrogative sentences parting from a semantic- logic approach: general and partial ones. Regarding the intonation of interrogative sentences, Francisco García states that "la interrogación tiene una entonación voluntaria en correlación con formas y estructuras gramaticales específicas." (2008: 74) He makes a comprehensive analysis of this new classification, which I will not refer to because of lack of time and space. [See § 4: 74-78] This classification reveals the various discourse

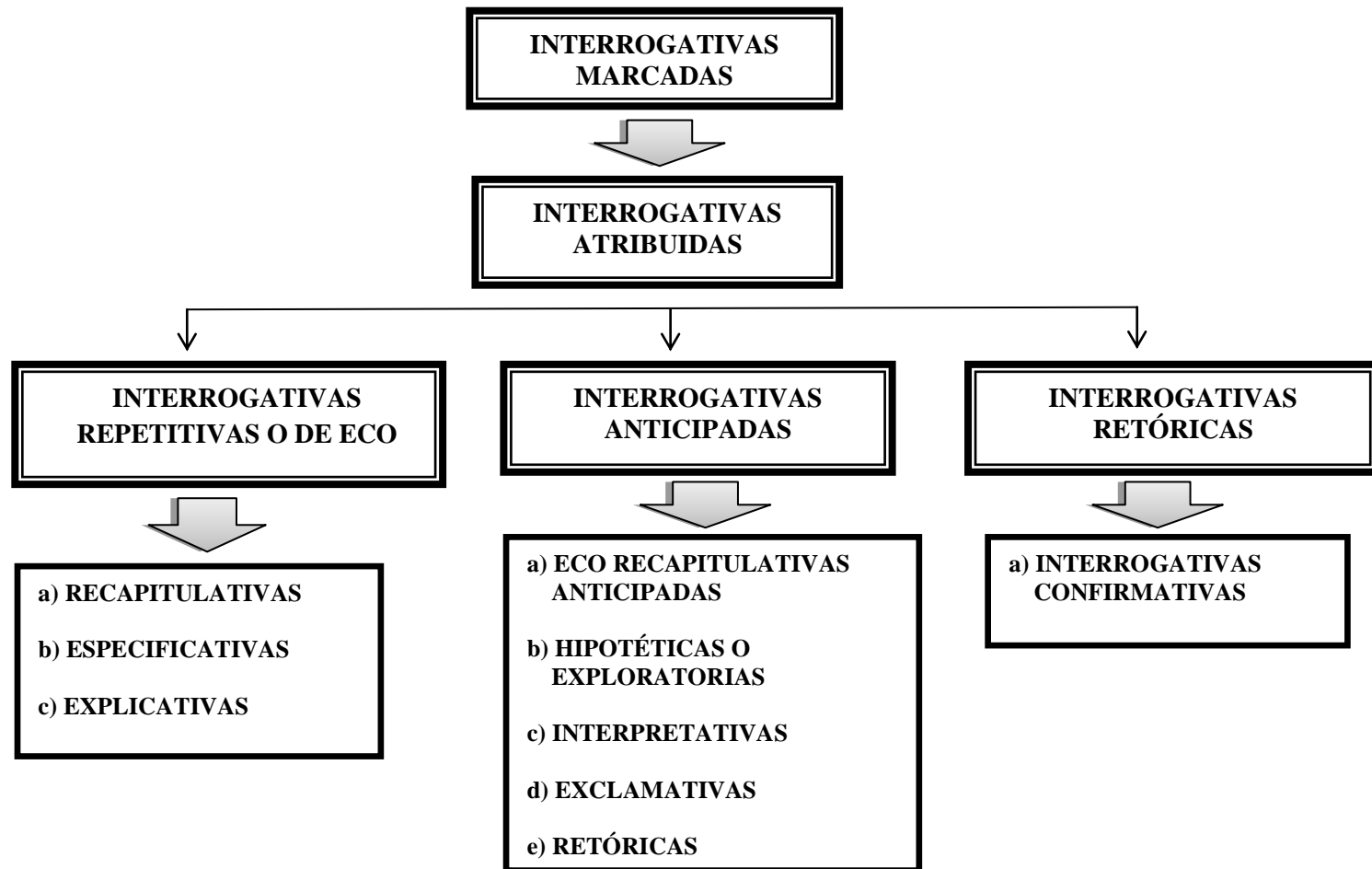
functions of the interrogative sentences and the distinctive role of the intonation. Francisco García also analyses Escandell's work of 1999, in which she examines the interrogative sentences from a purely semantic and discourse-based approach.

Escandell makes a clear-cut distinction between interrogative and question. In her chapter 61 "Los enunciados interrogativos: aspectos semánticos y pragmáticos", she states that "Las oraciones interrogativas constituyen una clase sintáctica bien definida, con rasgos formales específicos que las distinguen de otros tipos de oraciones (declarativas, imperativas,...) con las que pueden compartir un mismo contenido proposicional" (1999: 3 [§ 61.1]). She uses the term «interrogative sentence» to refer to the strictly grammatical aspects (syntactic and semantic ones) and «questions» to refer to those interrogative utterances used to ask for some new information to the addressee. Escandell concludes this chapter by stating that "La caracterización semántica de las oraciones interrogativas debe, por tanto, ser lo suficientemente restringida como para individualizarlas frente a las demás, y, a la vez, lo suficientemente amplia como para permitir explicar que una misma estructura pueda servir a objetivos discursivos a veces muy diferentes (1999: 4 [§ 61.1.1]).

After analysing the limited solutions to the study of interrogatives given by the speech act theory, logics and traditional grammar approaches, Escandell concludes that "[...] desde una perspectiva semántica, las oraciones interrogativas se presentan como estructuras proposicionales abiertas; es decir, como funciones lógicas que contienen, al menos, una variable." So, the interrogative sentences are considered as «open propositional structures». Escandell also states that "la propiedad que todas las oraciones interrogativas tienen en común es la de contener una incógnita, una variable" (Francisco García 2008: 79). Summing up, the interrogatives are «open incomplete» expressions that the speaker uses to express doubt, hypothesis; insinuate something without explicitly saying it, to introduce an unfamiliar topic to the listener. This leads to a new classification of interrogative sentences from a more discourse-based conception.

### **3.2 Modelling of the Intonation of Interrogative Sentences in Modern American English & Cuban Spanish. Working methodology and corpus analysis**

The working methodology involves first the watching of different Cuban and American sitcoms, soap operas and teleplays in order to design a suitable corpus for this analysis. Forty five samples result from this first stage of the analysis; each of which depicts the communicative context and the speaker-hearer interpersonal relations. This enables us to determine the semantic-pragmatic values of the interrogative sentences.



**Table 3** Escandell's Classification of "Marked" Interrogative Sentences (1999 cited in Francisco García 2009: 85)



The interrogative sentences are then isolated from the rest of the context using Edius Pro 6.5 (2005), a video editing software. These samples are afterwards converted to wav files so that they can be analysed with PRAAT. As previously stated in the introduction, the intonational analysis of the corpus samples is based on the acoustic variables which allows me to achieve homogeneity in the working methodology and terminology used.

The Cuban Spanish samples are taken from soap operas, movies and teleplays, mostly produced by ICAIC and ICRT in co-production with other film industries. The Cuban film "Fresa y Chocolate" represents the Cuba of the 1979 in its struggle against sexual and cultural repression. It tells the life of a cultivated, homosexual and sceptical young man, Diego, who deeply falls in love with a young heterosexual communist full of prejudices and doctrinary ideas. This drama personifies the role of homosexuality as preconceived by the Cuban society, art censorship, close-mindedness, male chauvinism, and democratic centralism. "The gay subtheme," states Alea in *Cineaste*, "is just a convenient illustration [...]." *Fresa y Chocolate* examines the flaws of revolutionary Cuban society.

Cuban soap operas have devoted their space in the Cuban small and big screens to portray the evils and everyday routines of the society. For example, "Apesar de todo" is a soap opera directed by Eduardo Moya & Maité Vera in 2000 which mainly focuses on the life of three friends who, all their internal and external life obstacles hindering their professional careers and love affairs once swept away, decide to start their lives over again at such an age when Cuban women find it absolutely weary and pointless. "Aunque estés lejos" (Juan Carlos Tabío 2003) is another Cuban soap opera which portrays the desire of most Cuban to immigrate to the U.S for mere economic reasons. As it is presented by "Cartelera de Cine elPeriódico.com", it is "una historia de encuentros y desencuentros con el tema del exilio presente".

"Dos en Busca de Una" is a teleplay produced by Virgen Tabares in 2004 that highlights the fact that Cuban couples do not have the possibility to lead an independent life, even in their sex relations. "Oh, La Habana", a Cuban soap opera directed by Charli Medina and produced by ICAIC in 2007 mainly portrays the social evils within the Cuban society and family nucleus such as domestic violence, marriage unfaithfulness, male chauvinism, professional success, social deviancy, among others, all this increased by the economic situation and people's discontent. "La cara oculta de la Luna" mainly focuses on the sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/AIDS as well as issues like social acceptance and warn young people about the dangers of being infected with such diseases. Filmed in a slum in western Havana, Habanastation addresses the inequalities in Cuba through the relationship between two children of different social strata.

In the case of the American English, samples are taken from movies and TV series like "Desperate Housewives" (2004), an American T.V. dramedy-mystery series, which takes place at Wisteria Lane, a street in the fictional American town of Fairview in the fictional Eagle State. It narrates the life story of a group of women, seen through the eyes of their dead neighbour, who committed suicide in the very first episode. They work through domestic struggles and family life, while facing the secrets, crimes and mysteries hidden behind the doors of their beautiful and seemingly perfect suburban neighbourhood.

Another series of the corpus is "Dirty Sexy Money" (2007) which revolves around a lawyer and family man called Nick George, whose father mysteriously dies in a plane crash. Nick agrees to take his position as the Darling family's lawyer, while trying to discover who committed the murder. The Darlings, the richest family in New York, constantly rely on Nick to solve their problems. Nick struggles to balance his morals and family life while dealing with the demands of the Darlings. "A Gifted Man" (2011), produced by CBS Television Studios & Timberman-Beverly Productions and which mainly centres on a competitive surgeon whose life is changed forever when his ex-wife dies and begins teaching him what life is all about from the here-after. Finally, "Dawson's Creek" (1998-2003) is an American teen drama television series created by Kevin Williamson and produced by Sony Pictures Television which takes place at the fictional seaside town Capeside, Massachusetts. This series portrays the fictional lives of a close-knit group of teenagers in their early sophomore year.

This general overview of the plots of the sitcoms, movies, soap operas used in the establishment of the corpus introduces the readers of this dissertation into a general atmosphere of a more global context of communication, which enables our audience to understand better the speaker's intention, behaviour, attitude and psychological position towards the referent.

### **3.2.1 Pronominal and absolute interrogative sentences**

In his section 2.5 "Sobre la entonación de las preguntas", Sosa succinctly refers to the main use of **pronominal** and **absolute** (or categorical) interrogative sentences. He states that:

«Las [preguntas] pronominales se usan generalmente con intención «cognoscitiva», es decir, cuando se quiere pasar de lo desconocido a lo conocido; la contestación a ellas no puede ser un mero sí o un no, sino datos nuevos y concretos. Y las no pronominales, o absolutas, son preguntas que «indicativas», que se usan cuando de un conocimiento aproximado, incompleto, se quiere pasar al conocimiento justo, más completo; este tipo de pregunta solo exige una contestación afirmativa o negativa.» (1999: 144)

Regarding the intonation of these sentences Sosa adds that:

« La configuración melódica de este tipo de preguntas [preguntas pronominales] corresponde en general con el del enunciado declarativo, en el sentido de que la parte más alta del contorno coincide con la primera palabra acentuada, luego de la cual se produce un descenso gradual que culmina con un tonema descendente. En las preguntas pronominales, la primera palabra acentuada corresponde al elemento gramatical interrogativo (ya sea un pronombre o adverbio interrogativo), que es donde se concentra la intención interrogativa.» (1999: 144 [§2.5.1])

In her analysis of the falling pitch of pronominal interrogative sentences, Escandell states that these sentences are:

«Suficientemente bien caracterizadas desde el punto de vista sintáctico por la presencia del pronombre o adverbio interrogativo, no necesitan de la entonación como marca distintiva, y por ello presentan habitualmente un esquema entonativo muy semejante al de una declarativa. Van, por tanto, asociadas a un patrón de ‘cadencia’, con la palabra interrogativa en la cima de la curva entonativa y una melodía descendente hasta el final.» (1999: 12 [§ 61.1.4.2])

Although in his epoch-making book *A University Grammar of English* of 1973, Quirk does not distinguish between interrogative sentences and questions, he defines questions from a discourse approach. Quirk defines them as “a syntactic class whose use is closely related to the communicative function they perform, mostly by means of intonation” (1973: 177). Quirk also proposes some criteria for the analysis of questions in English: [1] the placing of the operator just in front of the subject; [2] the initial positioning of an interrogative or *wh*-element; and [3] intonation. A succinct analysis of these two types of interrogatives serves as a basis for the understanding of Escandell’s classification and pragmatic description of the *marked interrogative sentences* (cf. :79).

#### **a) Pronominal (or *wh*-) interrogative sentences**

From the syntactic viewpoint, this type of interrogative sentence is characterised by the use of *Wh*- words (or *Q*-words): *who*, *what*, *when*, *where*, etc. These *Q*-elements take the first position in a question; however, the place of the *Q*-element may change when it occurs in a prepositional complement or depending on the level of formality and register (1973: 181). Quirk relates *wh*-questions with a falling intonation (:182). Escandell states that these question-types are, as in English, generally characterised by an interrogative word in initial position followed by the subject/ verb inversion (1999: 28). The linguist notes that “[...] los pronombres y adverbios interrogativos demuestran un mismo comportamiento: su aparición en posición inicial da origen a

una serie de cambios obligatorios en la estructura de la oración, independientemente de cual sea la función por ellos realizada.” (1987: 55)

#### **b) Absolute (or yes/no) interrogative sentences**

*Absolute* (or *yes-no*) questions are formed by positioning the operator before the subject and giving the sentence a rising intonation (1973: 177). Escandell states that the internal syntactic order of words in this type of interrogative sentences is quite complex. She states that “suele decirse que el orden de constituyentes en su interior es libre, y que, por lo tanto, el único elemento formal que permite diferenciar las enunciativas de las interrogativas es la entonación” (1999: 28). However, she has proven that this is categorically a misconception and supports this by stating that:

« [...] esta afirmación es inexacta, al menos, en dos sentidos diferentes: ni las estructuras con y sin inversión son intercambiables en todos los contextos, ni las propiedades sintácticas de unas y otras son totalmente coincidentes. Es cierto que el hecho de que en español podamos tener sujetos tácitos oscurece la situación, ya que en muchas ocasiones no encontramos un sujeto léxico expreso. Para los casos en los que sí aparece, el orden de constituyentes verbo/sujeto es el no marcado, mientras que la secuencia sujeto/verbo representa un orden marcado. Cada una de las dos posibilidades tiene consecuencias diferentes.»

### **3.2.2 Irony, Intonation and Echo Interrogative Sentences**

Irony plays an important role in the analysis of the intonation of echo interrogatives, so its significance in achieving communicative competence (cf. Hymes 1971, 1972).

*Verbal irony* is a form of nonliteral language in which speakers communicate implied propositions that are intentionally contradictory to the propositions contained in the words themselves. In the article “Is there an ironic tone of voice?”, Bryant and Fox refer to an *ironic tone of voice*; that is, some particular consistent prosodic (i.e. pitch, loudness, and duration) pattern with a distinct perceptual correlate that is systematically associated with verbal irony. Prolonged articulation and exaggerated pitch are two other features of verbal irony (2005: 257). Wilson & Sperber argue that verbal irony is a form of echoic interpretation; which means that speakers communicate an attitude toward some attributed proposition by echoing that same proposition, explicitly or implicitly, and simultaneously commenting on it (: 100).

Verbal irony is more related to the attitudinal function of intonation, since the speaker uses it to express his arrogance, hostility, mockery, mistrust. Although there are linguists who give more importance to the speaker’s communicative intent (cf. Torres Sánchez 1999, Martin Hartung 1998), Crespo Allende & Benítez Figari (2005) state that

“la ironía, a diferencia de otras formas indirectas, como las peticiones indirectas, tiene una caracterización prosódica determinada; [...] la entonación irónica se caracteriza acústicamente por el carácter enfático de la inflexión final de la curva de entonación; en otras palabras, por un aumento de los hertzios del rango característico del hablante”. (Kočman 2011: 189-190)

Hymes' theory allows language teachers to combine the linguistic competence and the communicative one, giving a clear understanding of the second language users' needs and characteristics. Teaching irony as an aspect of language and communication provides language teachers and students with an important tool to avoid communication breakdowns between interlocutors.

## I

3

- ¿Te interesa Vargas Llosa? | Este está dedicado || pero en casa tengo otro ejemplar|

3

Además tengo a Severo Sarduy y a Goytisolo "completos" | ¿Vamos a buscarlos?

“Fresa y Chocolate”, dir. by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea & Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 1993)

## II

- Eve ↑ || would you like to join us for dinner? ↑

- Oh! That's so sweet... No, I don't want to intrude. There's a crowd.

“Desperate Housewives”, dir. by Marc Cherry & ABC Studios 2004 (Season 1 episode 2)

In both communicative situations, the speaker has used an interrogative speech act to make a formal invitation. The interpersonal relation among the participants is that of acquaintances. The spectrograms show a rising intonation pattern in each instance. The three absolute interrogative speech acts are used to persuade the speaker. By choosing a fast rhythm and tempo the speaker gives a sense of persuasive invitation. In the second communicative situation, the speaker exploits more intensity than in I, since it carries a bit of irony. The speaker thus adds more prominence to content words in order to stress her underlying message. Besides, intensity correlates with the speaker's expressiveness. If compared the two continuous gray lines in the spectrograms showing intensity, it can be stated that American English speakers tend to be more expressive in their everyday interactions. As a case of verbal irony, the speaker in II shows a prolonged articulation and exaggerated pitch, so it takes more time for her to pronounce the whole speech act.

III

- 3a  
 - ¿Estás perdido?  
 - Sí.  
 - Suerte por ahí.

“Habanastation” dir. by Ian Padrón (ICAIC, ICRT & La Colmenita 2011)

IV

- Are you ok? ↑  
 - Yeap (...)

“Desperate Housewives”, dir. by Marc Cherry & ABC Studios 2004 (Season 1 episode 2)

In III and IV, the speaker uses absolute interrogative speech acts to ask for the listener’s state of feeling/ mind. The relationship between the participants is that of close friends. The two absolute interrogatives are syntactically analogous but lexically different. I have modelled the spectrograms of these two interrogative speech acts in order to best illustrate the pitch range and movement. As represented in the spectrograms, the black non-continuous line showing pitch is higher in III than in IV, which means that III uses a mid pitch and IV a high pitch. However, the speaker in III exploits more intensity by adding more prominence to his speech act which results in an overflow of the degree of expressiveness. Since the two interrogative speech acts are short, both speakers take the same length of time to pronounce it. It is also corroborated that English speakers tend to begin their enunciation with a high key often perceived as a rising intonation at the very beginning of the utterance.

The following examples show four absolute interrogative speech acts:

V

- 7a 1c  
 - Oye || ¿me puedes acompañar hasta la Plaza (de la Revolución)?  
 3b  
 - ¿Tú no vienes de allá?  
 - Sí, pero me confundí de guagua. (...)

“Habanastation” dir. by Ian Padrón (ICAIC, ICRT & La Colmenita 2011)

VI

- 7a 3  
 - (To the nurse) Seño || ¿Ud. me hace el favor y me alcanza la toalla?  
 1b  
 - Como no Hortensia.

“Dos en Busca de Una” dir. by Virgen Tabares (Teleplay, ICAIC 2004)

VII

Jack: So just listen to myself?

Dawson: Yeah↑ || I mean you never know what you'll hear↓ | Do you do me a favour and hit the lights? ↑

Jack: Oh, yeah.

VIII

Teacher: Mr McPhee?

Jack: Yes?

Teacher: Would you care to continue reading your ↑now || very ↑public || work of poetry? ↑

Jack: You can't be serious.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 14 “To Be or Not to Be”, 1998-2003)

I have decided to analyse contrastively four different examples which in a way coincide with the same linguistic function: *asking someone for a favour formally*. These absolute interrogative speech acts are syntactically different since they are structurally complex. Interestingly, the speakers in V and VI have chosen a high key to utter their speech acts. This is more predominant when using the vocative; for example, Oye! and Señor! to call someone’s attention. In all the communicative situations, the speakers share the same interpersonal relations; that is, V and VII are school friends, VI nurse- patient and VIII teacher- student. This establishes a balance in terms of degrees or scales of formality.

In VI, the speaker is more concerned and desperate since he wants to find his way back to La Plaza where he is supposed to meet his school friends. He uses a rising pitch pattern to convey his feelings and state of mind. If contrasted with VII, the speaker in V uses a fast tempo and rhythm that is characteristic of such environments of despair, concern. The fundamental frequency and intensity overlaps at time in the speaker V’s speech, which shows an overflow of expressiveness and stresses the idea of desperation. There is an explicit verbal irony in the speech of the speakers V and VIII. In the case of V, the listener has chosen a negative absolute interrogative speech act which, ironically, challenges the speaker and calls for his talent to find the way back himself. The speaker in VIII uses a sarcastic interrogative speech act, purposely fragmented into three tone units with a very low falling pitch pattern and sarcastic expressiveness accentuating the speaker’s intention, so the listener’s response showing embarrassment, unexpectedness and emotional breakdown.

In English and in Spanish the pronominal (wh-) interrogative speech acts are generally structured following a much similar syntactic pattern. For instance:





Jen: An honour. Although, next time, I would like to request that you extend my dialogue beyond “help” and “Ahhh”.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 8 “The Reluctant Hero”, 1998-2003)

XV

- So, umm... where do you wanna do this? ↓
- Somewhere we can be comfortable. Let’s go to your bedroom.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 3 “Alternate Lifestyles”, 1998-2003)

The interpersonal relations among the participants are that of acquaintances and close friends (as in IX, XI, XII and XV), daughter and father (as in X) and doctor-patient (as in XIV). Syntactically, the pronominal interrogative speech acts begin with a Q-word. The speakers have used a low rising pitch that highlights their communicative intention: persuading (IX); expressing curiosity, surprise or doubt (X, XIII, XIV, XV); anger, rage (XI). The continuous gray line showing the intensity in the spectrograms correlates with the speaker’s overflow of expressiveness. The pronominal interrogative speech acts are uttered with a fast tempo and rhythm and although there is no evidence of verbal irony, the speakers use a prolonged accentuated articulation and lengthening of long phonemes which, together with the communicative intent and situational context, help convey his/her underlying message. The analysis of these corpus samples reveals that in most talks the speaker’s communicative intention and sociolinguistic context play a key role in the determination of the semantic structure of a speech act of any kind. And its description should include an interaction of all components of language: grammar, lexis, prosody.

Escandell states that both absolute and pronominal interrogative speech acts may grammatically include negative adverbs, which are semantically associated to the speaker’s psychological position towards the proposition. These negative adverbs show the speaker’s disagreement towards the facts or events which contradict his expectations (1999: 63).

XVI

- Ay! Yo no sabía que tú eras tan madrugador.
- Ud. sabe que pasa Hortensia... mi abuelo nos enseñó a levantarnos bien temprano.
- Ay pues mira, a mí me daba mucha pena pedirte, pero bueno ya que tú te levantas tan tempranito... ¿Por qué no vas a buscar el pan para comerlo fresquecito?

1b 1b 1b 1b  
- Si || si || si... como no.

“Dos en Busca de Una” dir. by Virgen Tabares (Teleplay, ICAIC 2004)

## XVII

3  
- ¿Usted no vino a preguntar por el último de la cola?  
- Perdóname, pero yo no sé de qué Ud. me está hablando.

“Aunque estés lejos”, dir. by Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 2003)

## XVIII

7a 1 1  
- Oye || asere algo tenía que hacer| Además cualquiera lo hace en una escalera | ¿Uds.  
3  
nunca lo han hecho en una escalera? Además tenía que levantar la moral que la  
1  
tenía en el piso.

“Dos en Busca de Una” dir. by Virgen Tabares (Teleplay, ICAIC 2004)

## XIX

3  
- Ay tía || ¿pero de verdad tú no te das cuenta de que este muchacho es un vivo? Además  
chica, ¿tú qué sabes qué clase de gente es y dónde salió?

“Dos en Busca de Una” dir. by Virgen Tabares (Teleplay, ICAIC 2004)

## XX

- ¿Qué tú hacías en esa fiesta papi?  
- Un poco que trabajando Sonia.  
- No entiendo.  
- Si chica. Con la arquitecta Maura. Nada aprovecharon la oportunidad de estar allí juntos y se pusieron a hablar de trabajo. Hay un proyecto también.  
3  
- ¿Maura no fue la que viajó contigo papá?  
- Sí.  
- No. Entonces menos lo entiendo, ¿no?

“A pesar de todo” dir. by Eduardo Moya & Maité Vera (Cuban soap opera, episode 4, 2000)

“No” and “nunca” are commonly used in Cuban Spanish and American English in order to express irritation and impatience, irony, censure and annoyance. In his book *Español Coloquial: rasgos, formas y fraseología de la lengua diaria* of 2006, Cascón Martín states that these adverbs are often used to exert pressure on the listener and get his/her approval as well as to invite someone or offer something. (: 76 [§5.2.1])

## XXI

- Are you ready to talk?
- I'm ready to listen.
- I was drunk; Nick, and... you left me waiting there when I told you...
- Are you seriously defending the idea that you were kissing Jeremy?
- Are you seriously not willing to forgive me when you've done the same thing with Karen? ↓
- Oh, so we are even now?
- Is that the moral of the story; at the end of the day, that's what marriage is?
- You tell me what this marriage is. Doesn't it ever occur to you that you're headed down the exact same path your dad went down? ↓ Little by little they are pulling you in.

"Dirty Sexy Money" dir. by Craig Wright & ABC Studios (Season 2, episode 12, 2007-09)

## XXII

- Whit: Look at you. It must be 30 years.  
Grams: Has it been that long?  
Whit: Look, why don't we have dinner together tonight and catch up on old times? ↓  
Grams: Oh, no! Really. I- I- I couldn't, but thank you, really, Whit.

"Dawson's Creek", dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 17 "Physic Friends", 1998-2003)

## XXIII

- Isn't Mr. Mullen's brother your divorced attorney? ↑
- Yes. Yes, he was.
- Can I say something?
- In my heart I still believe that you and Carl are going to get back together.

"Desperate Housewives", dir. by Marc Cherry & ABC Studios (Season 1 episode 2, 2004)

## XXIV

- So, why don't you let me help you the way you helped me? ↓
- Who were you yelling at Michael?

- Anna. My ex-wife.

“A Gifted Man” dir. by CBS Television Studios & Timberman-Beverly Productions (2011)

In contrast to American English, Cuban Spanish speakers regularly use questions which begin with the copulative conjunction “y”. For example:

XXVI

2

- Bueno, ¿Y de qué es la cola esa, eh?
- Na, pa' que. Lo que reparten ahí, hace rato que Ud. lo tiene ya.
- Ay, no entiendo. (*se sonríe*)
- Es que aquí se hace la cola para la embajada americana.

“Aunque estés lejos”, dir. by Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 2003)

XXVII

2

- ¿Y cómo tú sabía que era maricón?
- Uno se da cuenta en seguida! Mira había chocolate y pidió fresa.
- (*risas*) Coño David esa si es buena!

“Fresa y Chocolate”, dir. by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea & Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 1993)

XXVIII

2

- ¿Y por qué tú te quieres ir del país?
- Porque mi papá está allá.... Se fue en el 80. Nunca me ha escrito, pero yo sé que está cómodo. Y a mí me gusta vivir bien. A lo mejor es un defecto, ¿no? Pero yo soy así.

XXIX

3

- ¿Y te quedan muchos días allá en la funeraria?
- Bueno, mañana tengo la entrevista con el cónsul. Si me dan la visa, tengo que ver como consigo la otra parte del dinero. A lo mejor me queda un día, un mes, o a lo mejor termino de enterrador o vistiendo muertos. En la vida nunca se sabe, ¿no?

“Aunque estés lejos”, dir. by Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 2003)

I succinctly have tried to refer to some important syntactic and intonation features of the interrogative speech acts in both languages under analysis, paving the way for the contrastive analysis of Escandell's echo interrogative speech acts.

### **3.3 Echo Interrogative Sentences: Recapitulatory Echo Interrogatives**

Escandell defines the echo interrogative sentences as speech acts characterised by the repetition of the whole utterance or parts of it recently uttered by another speaker. She also labels these speech acts as *citas retrospectivas* «retrospective quotes» (1999: 61).

Escandell states that “[...] las ‘interrogativas-eco’ están condicionadas por la forma del enunciado que reproducen. [...] su sintaxis interna no está sujeta a los requisitos estructurales que impone la modalidad interrogativa, sino a los que establece la modalidad de la que el enunciado se hace eco” (: 62). This justifies the fact that the interrogative pronouns or adverbs do not necessarily have to occur in initial position and other compatible verb moods can be used to echo or repeat an utterance.

The linguist highlights the distinctive role of prosody (esp. intonation) when she states that “la distribución de estos patrones no es, por supuesto, arbitraria, sino que se deriva del significado mismo de cada uno de ellos, y condiciona, por tanto, la interpretación y la función discursiva de cada una de las clases” (:62). Grammatically, echo interrogatives have these properties (cf. Banfield 1982; Quirk 1985; Huddleston 1984; Radford 1997; Blakemore 1994):

1. They repeat/echo what has been said;
2. They relate to a previous utterance in the discourse context;
3. Morphologically and syntactically, they seem to have more in common with the echoed sentence-types than with standard interrogatives;
4. They are different from other questions since they are used to question the actual words uttered, rather than the content of previous utterances;
5. They are interrogative in the sense defined in Relevance Theory, i.e. they represent desirable thoughts.

Echo interrogatives differ from other interrogatives by their restricted context. An echo occurs in a conversation as a reaction to a prior utterance and is interpretable only with respect to it, while other questions may be the first or the only utterance in a discourse (Banfield 1982: 124). So, echo questions may seem not to be syntactically interrogative but pragmatically they are, since they mainly convey the echoer's questioning attitude to a prior utterance or more generally, an existing contextual assumption.

Escandell identifies three types of echo interrogative sentences: recapitulatory, explanatory and specificatory. She defines the recapitulatory echo interrogatives as

those expressing the listener's attitude towards the speaker's most recent words. (1999: 62)

XXX

- ¿Y a ti qué te pasa?
- Lo que me acaba de pasar. Estaba en Coopelia tomándome un helado cuando viene un  
1  
tipo y se me sienta en la mesa. Un tipo raro.
- 3a
- ¿Un tipo raro?
- Un maricón, chico.

XXXI

- ¿Y entonces?
- 1
- Terminó invitándome a la casa.
- 3a
- ¿A su casa?
- Ah, David, ese lo que quería era otra cosa!

XXXII

- El tipo tiene la casa llena de cosas raras, tenía unas esculturas... ahí... rarísimas. Yo no sé mucho de eso, pero a mí me parece que ahí hay algo. Fíjate que había una con una  
1  
onda medio religiosa.
- 3a
- ¿Una onda religiosa?

XXXIII

- Sí. No son de él, son de un amigo. Quieren hacer una exposición. Y de una embajada  
1  
los van a ayudar.
- 3a
- ¿De una embajada?

“Fresa y Chocolate”, dir. by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea & Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 1993)

XXXIV

- 2
- ¿Y por qué tú no vives en tu casa, eh?
- 3a
- ¿En mi casa? Mi madre es come-candela. Me dijo que si me iba para la cola tenía que irme de la casa. Ella pensó que yo iba a coger miedo de estar solo en la calle.

“Aunque estés lejos”, dir. by Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 2003)

XXXV

- ¿Y qué iba a hacer Yuneisy?<sup>2</sup>
- Mira yo no sé lo que tú vas a hacer.<sup>1</sup> Pero yo sí. Y yo no quiero seguir más contigo Lizardo.

XXXVI

- Yuneisy || tú no puedes hacerme esto.<sup>7 1</sup>
- ¿Y tú tienes idea de lo que tú me has hecho a mí?<sup>3</sup>
- Vete Lizardo.

"Oh La Habana" dir. by Charli Medina (episode 79, ICAIC 2007)

XXXVII

- Mira tía, no quiero oír más. ¿Tú parece que no quieres ver que yo lo que te quiero es  
abrir los ojos? Me voy chica, me voy. ¿Tú sabes qué es lo que voy a hacer?<sup>2</sup> Voy a buscar a  
un abogado y a llevarte al psiquiátrico porque has pedido la chaveta, chica.
- ¿Y tú sabes qué es lo que voy a hacer yo?<sup>2</sup>
- ¿Qué es lo que vas a hacer?<sup>2</sup>
- Lo voy a nombrar mi heredero.

"Dos en Busca de Una" dir. by Virgen Tabares (Teleplay, ICAIC 2004)

XXXVIII

- David
- ¿Qué pasa?
- Consulté tu caso.<sup>1</sup>
- ¿Qué caso?<sup>2</sup>
- ¿Cómo que qué caso David?<sup>2</sup>
- Lo del maricón.
- Ah, olvídate de eso compadre. Mira yo le di la importancia que no tiene.
- Estás loco. Le diste la importancia que había que darle. Tienes que averiguar más.<sup>1</sup>
- ¿Averiguar qué?<sup>2</sup>
- Tienes que averiguar más: lo de la embajada, lo de la exposición. Tienes que inventar

1

algún pretexto y volver a su casa.

3a

1

- ¿A su casa? Si ese tipo no es más que un maricón.
- Por eso mismo. Esto es muy importante, David. Oye, esto es una misión. ¿Tú crees que se puede confiar en un tipo que no defiende a su propio sexo?

“Fresa y Chocolate”, dir. by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea & Juan Carlos Tabío (ICAIC 1993)

### XXXIX

3

- Ven acá ¿y tú piensas llevarte a Cristi a vivir a tu pueblo?

3a

- ¿A Cristi? ¿A mi casa? Te volviste loco. ¿Con mi abuelo?

“Dos en Busca de Una” dir. by Virgen Tabares (Teleplay, ICAIC 2004)

### XL

Dawson: Right, right, uh, absolutely. Obviously. We’ll sleep on it, wake up and this will be a dream.

Joey: You mean like it never happened?

Dawson: Is that what you want? ↑

Joey: Is that what YOU want? ↑

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 1 “The kiss”, 1998-2003)

### XLI

- That is a beautiful rose!
- Where did you get it?
- Oh, John gave it to me.
- John? ↑ Your gardener? ↑ He gave you a rose? ↑

“Desperate Housewives”, dir. by Marc Cherry & ABC Studios (Season 1 episode 2, 2004)

### XLII

Dawson: You know I found out what they are replacing the Rialto with. Another movie theater.

Joey: They’re replacing one theater with another? ↑

Dawson: Upgrade. Bigger seats, bigger screen, bigger sound. They say it’s supposed to be great.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 1 “The kiss”, 1998-2003)

### XLIII

Dawson: Denial. You can’t accept the fact that the little boy that you brought onto the world is grown up. I mean he’s a sexual being.



Mitch: Are you having sex with Joey?

Dawson: No, I did not say that, but I'm a sexual being responsible, mind you, biologically a sexual being.

Mitch: A sexual being? ↑

Dawson: Yeap. And you're having trouble facing that reality. Dad, it's a typical parental problem. Do you know what? The sooner you accept that, the sooner you and I will have an honest relationship.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 3 “Alternate Lifestyles”, 1998-2003)

#### XLIV

Joey: Look. You don't have to snap at me like it's my fault.

Bessie: Well, I thought you were coming in earlier. We needed you tonight.

Joey: Well, I'm sorry Bessie, but I actually have a life. I'm not your full-time slave.

Bessie: Full-time slave? ↑ That's a bit of an exaggeration.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 3 “Alternate Lifestyles”, 1998-2003)

#### XLV

Therapist: This is my home number. I want you to call me if you feel your anxiety getting worse.

Also, I want you in here early next week and we can decide then if you're in need of any medication.

Andie: Medication, uh? ↑ But you said that I wouldn't have to go back on?

Therapist: It's different now. What's going on inside you, Andie, may not be healing itself properly. The sooner we confront this, the better.

“Dawson’s Creek”, dir. by Kevin Williamson & Sony Pictures Television (Season 2, episode 20 “Reunited”, 1998-2003)

The examples show that the recapitulatory echo interrogative sentences are mostly used by the speakers to ask for clarification or confirmation, show astonishment, anger, defiance, etc. Its frequent use is what makes this type of interrogative speech acts very difficult to be systematised in the language system. I have subdivided these samples into three main categories based on the principle of frequency of occurrence.

For example, the most recurrent type is that when the listener recapitulates or repeats the whole speech act or highlights parts of it in a form of an echo interrogative. The echoed or highlighted lexical unit usually coincides with the speaker's last word(s). In the Cuban Spanish samples (XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII and XXXVIII) and the American English (XLIII, XLIV, XLV), the speaker finishes with a falling pitch and the

listeners chooses a rising pitch to express recapitulatory echo interrogative. Both the key and intensity influence on the degree of overflow of expressiveness that together with other intonation components - rhythm, tempo, highlight the speaker's position towards the referent or object of evaluation.

A second most commonly used is when the listener echoes the same utterance but stressing more on content words, slow tempo and sometimes carrying unnecessary pauses, which altogether highlight the speaker's mood or attitude towards the content of the speaker's utterance. In samples (XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII), the speakers have selected a mid falling pitch and the listeners echoes using a final rising pitch. Thus, the speaker's pitch establishes a transition between his utterance and the listener's echo. Something similar happens in American English. For instance, in sample XL the listener repeats the speaker's interrogative but adding more prominence to "you", which calls for the speaker's opinion first so that the listener can adopt his/her position. From the syntactic viewpoint, it is evident that the listener echoes exactly the speaker's utterance turning it into a recapitulatory echo interrogative or repeats the same interrogative pronouncing the content words with more speech prominence and intensity. This also happens in the Cuban Spanish, as in XXXVIII, but it is mainly used with *¿cómo...?*.

One least frequent but also important is the one in XXXIX which correlates with XLI. In these samples both speakers segment their intonation unit in three or more recapitulatory echo interrogative tone-units, each of which has a rising pitch- a common intonation pattern of enumerations. Lexically, the speaker chooses the word (s) to be echoed according to the communicative intention and the desired effect on the listener.

## **Conclusions**

I have provided the reader with a summary or partial conclusions at the end of each chapter. I would first like to highlight the importance of “prosody” as a comprehensive term which encompasses rhythm, tempo, loudness, pauses and particularly intonation and which interacts with segmental phonology, syntax and lexical meaning in spoken discourse; and therefore its distinctive and interdisciplinary character. Throughout this research, intonation is approached from three major perspectives:

- I. Intonation at a discourse level of analysis;
- II. Descriptive approach (*from a methodological perspective*);
- III. Intonation as a complex discourse system imperative for the development of the non-native speaker’s communicative competence and language proficiency.

Besides, this analysis proves that intonation can be used to flout the conversational maxims, for which the interpretation of a speech act requires more than knowledge of the conventional linguistic meaning; so the importance of the context of conversation and the speaker’s and listener’s shared knowledge of the world.

Chapter III begins with a referential analysis of interrogatives by Spanish and English scholars and a brief review of some important prosodic and grammatical aspects of absolute and pronominal interrogative sentences are contrastively presented. This first part prepares the reader for the contrastive modelling.

The corpus consists of forty five samples which are analysed with PRAAT. Some of these samples contain more than one interrogative speech act. This analysis corroborates that the “low-rise” pattern in absolute interrogative is commonly used to request information, whereas the “high-rise” has a dual function: as a discourse link or to signal surprise. The “fall” pitch is often used in assertions, mainly when the speaker expects the addressee to agree and tries to elicit confirmation. With a “level” pitch, the speaker expects a positive answer. Most pronominal interrogatives are uttered with a falling pitch, but one cannot refer to a fixed pitch pattern since this varies according to the speaker’s communicative intention and other extralinguistic factors.

Syntactically, echo interrogatives are considered non-sentential utterances, whose particular syntax has made them resistant to linguistic treatment. That is why, echo interrogatives often constitute exceptions to otherwise generalizations about the syntax of questions (Artstein 2000: 91). Prosodically, echo interrogatives are generally

uttered with a final rise, although the key depends on the speaker's intention and the degree of expressiveness. In my analysis three main groups are highlighted:

- I. The listener echoes part(s) of the speaker's utterance, generally the last word(s);
- II. The speaker's exact utterance is echoed; and
- III. The speaker echoes key words in isolated tone- units which, syntactically, bear the same paradigm of an enumerative sentence in English.

In Cuban Spanish and American English, the main linguistic function of recapitulatory echo interrogatives is to express astonishment, seek confirmation, etc. The listener uses a rising pitch, perceptually manifested through an overflow of expressiveness.

I have also considered the important role of verbal irony in conversational discourse analysis and its significance in language teaching.

As part of the student's communicative competence, Padilla García states that both the teacher and student should take into account the role of intonation in the analysis of ironic speech acts because, although it is not a necessary condition, it helps understand the semantic structure of utterances. The linguist also summarises that it is not necessary, either for the teacher or student, to reach a high degree of specialisation to master the use of the ironic intonation; however, he/ she should be able to extract from intonation those most complex levels of meaning, which comprise the distinction of the melodic pattern and its pragmatic interpretation.

To raise the students' awareness towards the use of irony and intonation, the teacher should include the study of the intonation patterns in the pronunciation lessons and teach the students that prosody is a versatile linguistic category which enables us to convey different phonological or expressive effects (Padilla García 2005: 285-286).

The dissertation highlights the significance of intonation in the establishment of the pragmatic- discursive functions of recapitulatory echo interrogatives. Both the contrastive modelling and working methodology give language teachers and students a practical tool to communicate effectively through prosody. The use of spectrograms also trains students in the production and perception of intonation curves, creates an interactive classroom environment, provides feedback and promotes skill- and task-based exercises reinforcing phonological acquisition, sound contrasts, among others.

The teaching of recapitulatory echo interrogatives due to its high frequency of use in conversational discourse increases the students' communicative competence, fluency and language proficiency.

Annex

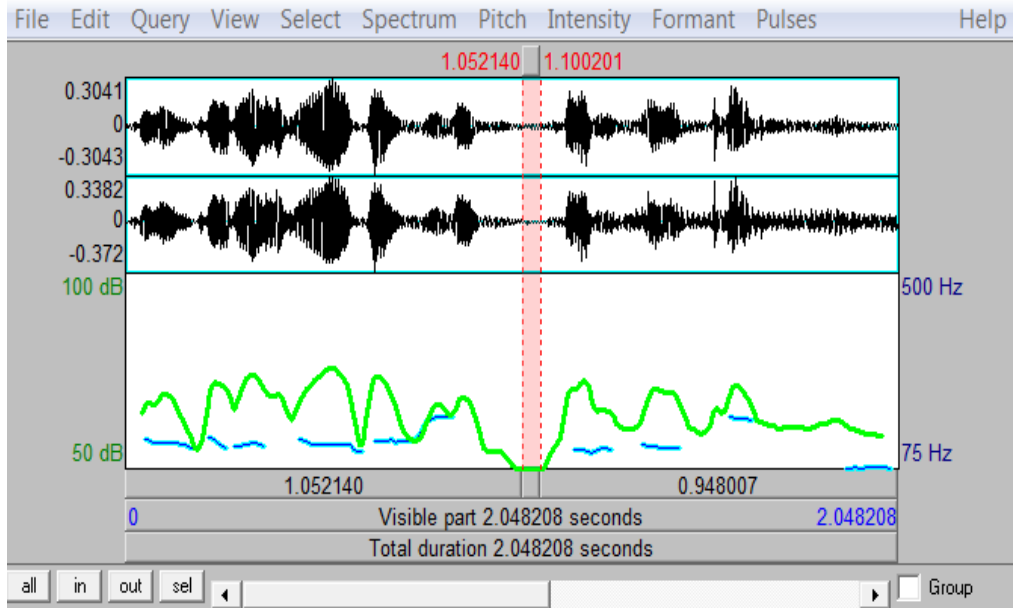


Fig. I Spectrographic analysis of *¿te interesa Vargas Llosa?* and *¿vamos a buscarlos?*

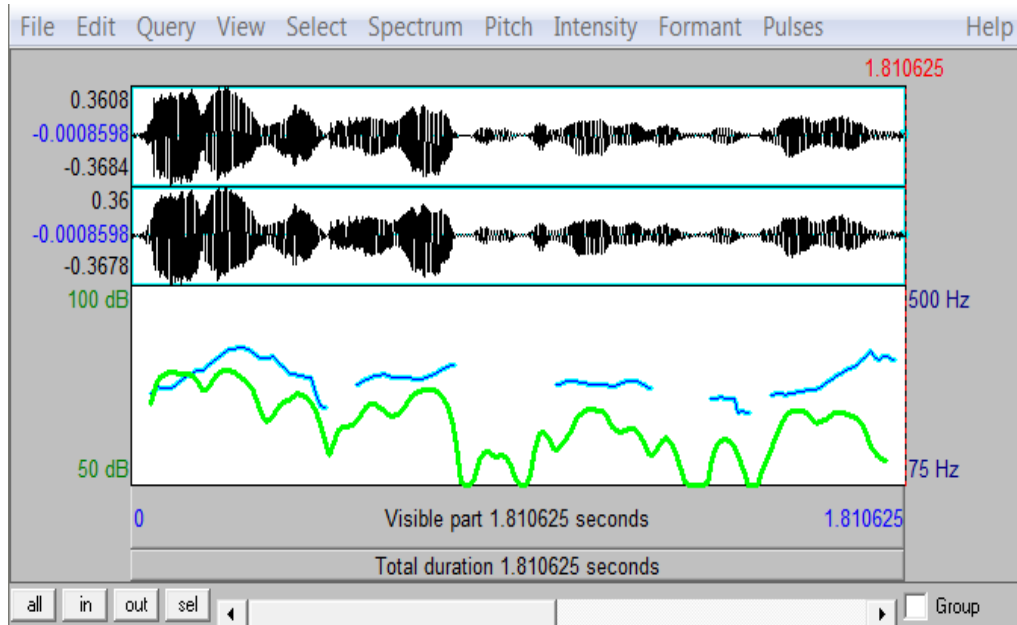


Fig II. Spectrographic analysis *Eve, would you like to join us for dinner??*

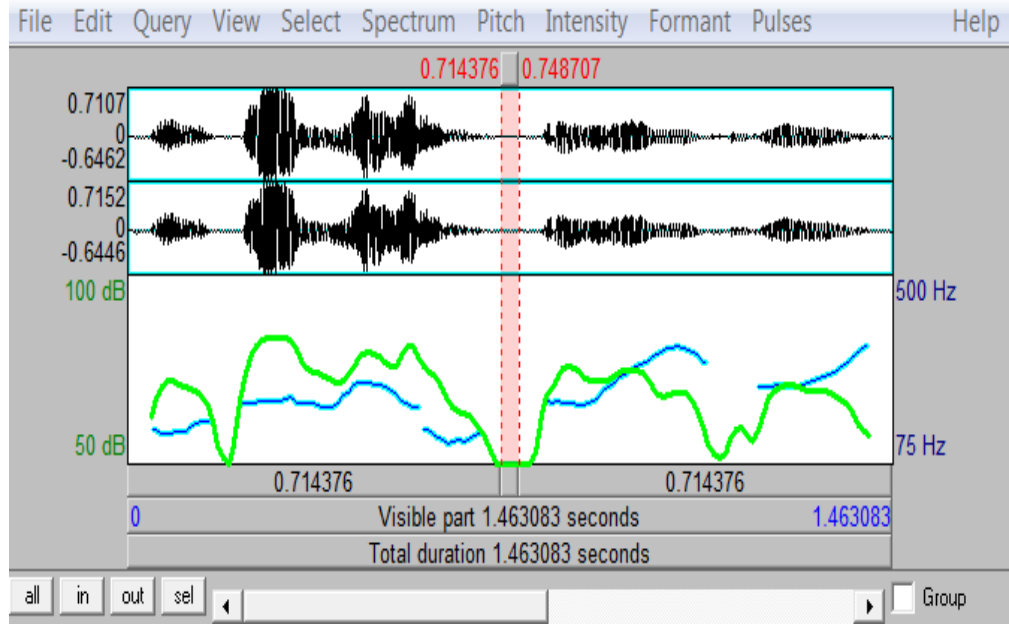


Fig III. Spectrographic analysis of *¿estás perdido?* and IV. *Are you O.K.?*

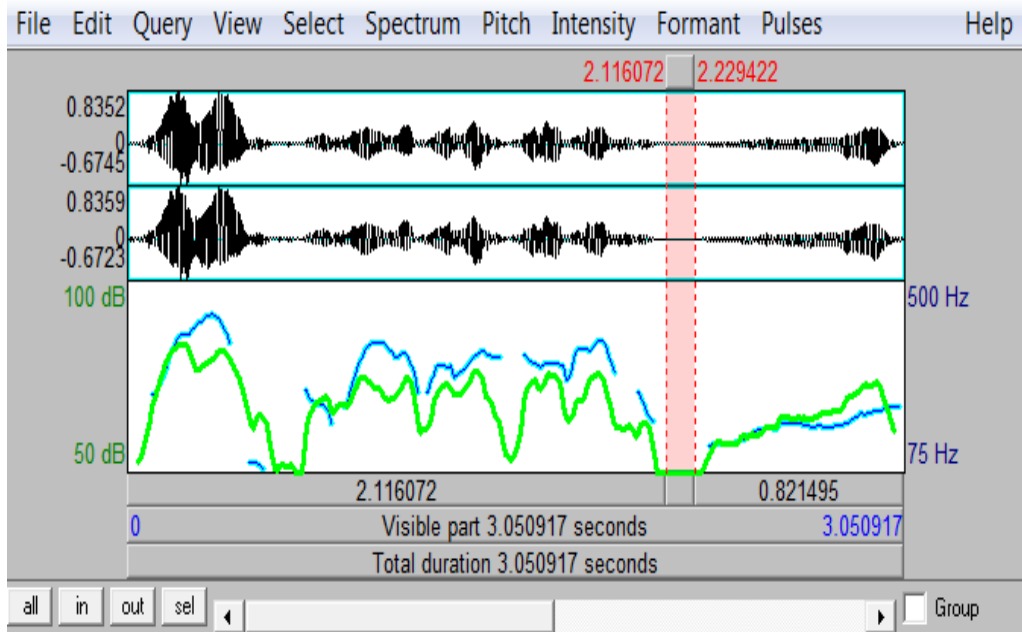


Fig V. Spectrographic analysis of *Oye, ¿me puedes acompañar hasta la Plaza?* and *¿tú no vienes de allá?*

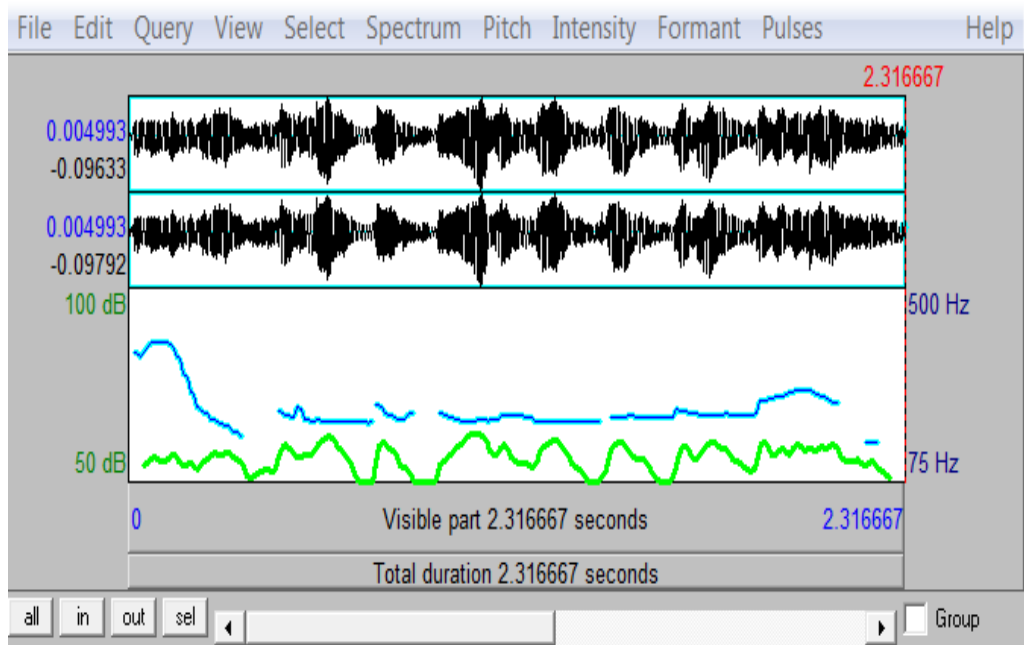


Fig VI. Spectrographic analysis of *Seño, ¿ud. Me hace el favor y me alcanza la toalla?*

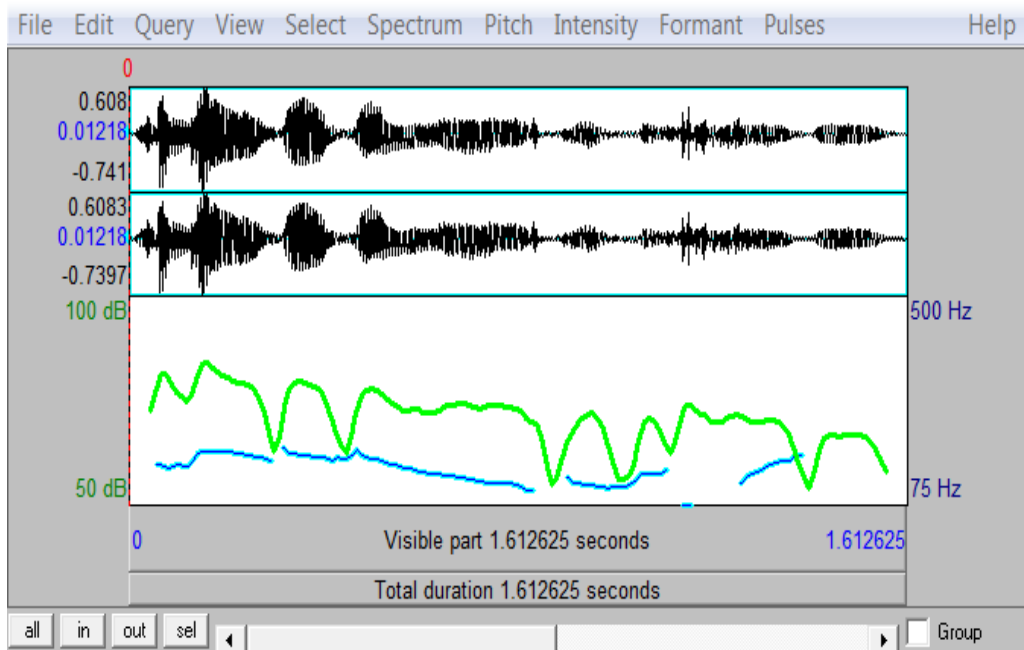


Fig VII. Spectrographic analysis of *do you do me a favour and hit the lights?*

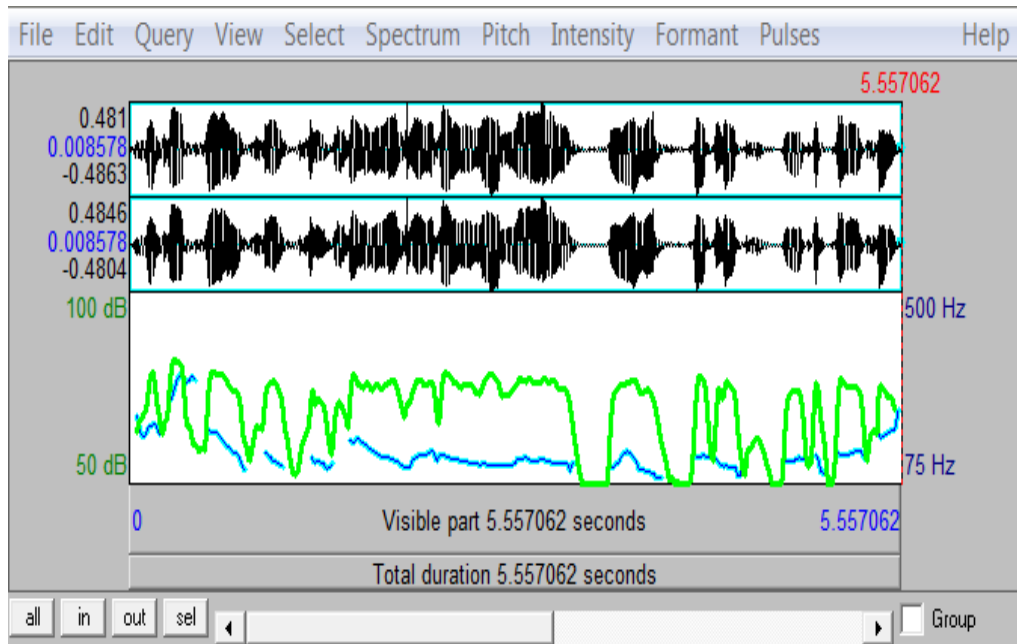


Fig VIII. Spectrographic analysis of *would you care to continue reading your now, very public, work of poetry?*

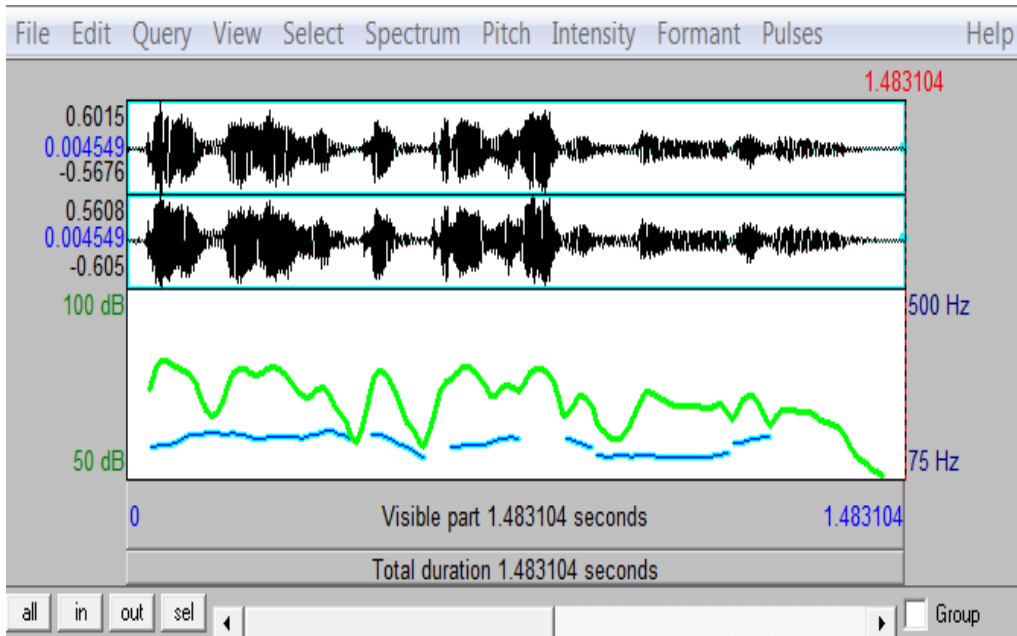


Fig IX. Spectrographic analysis of *¿dónde vas a encontrar esos libros?*



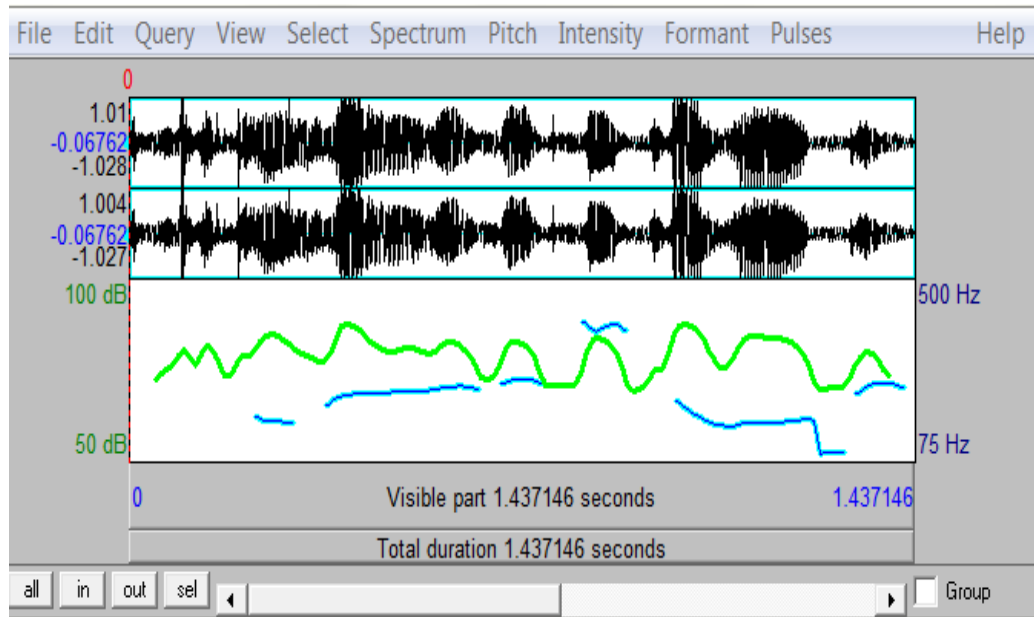


Fig X. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Qué tú hacías en esa fiesta papi?*

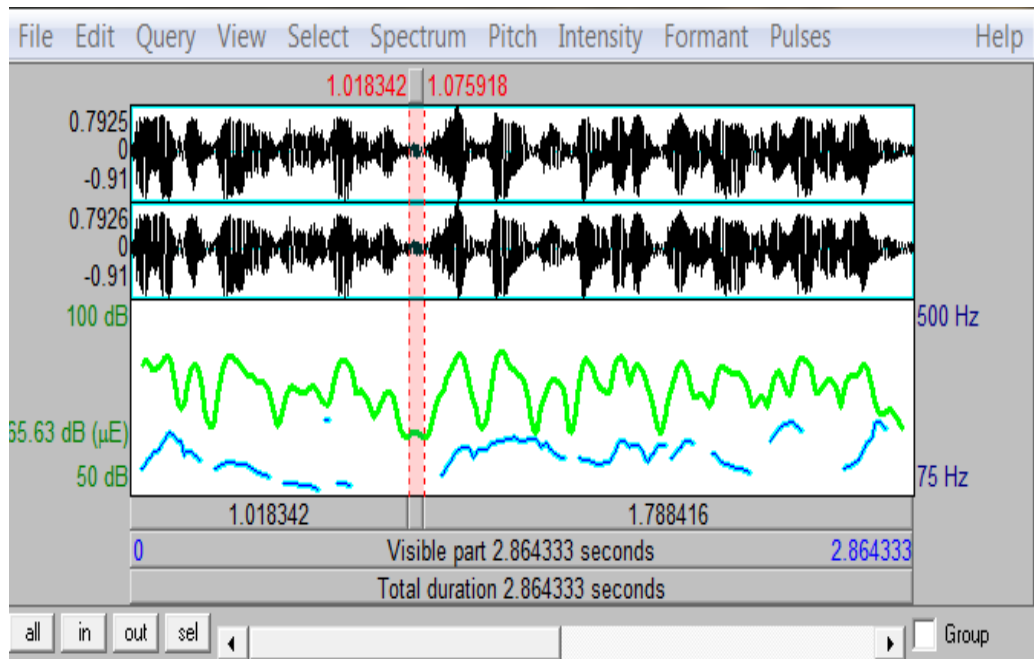


Fig XI. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Cómo te puedes equivocar así?* and *¿Cómo puedes confundir las cosas así Yassell?*

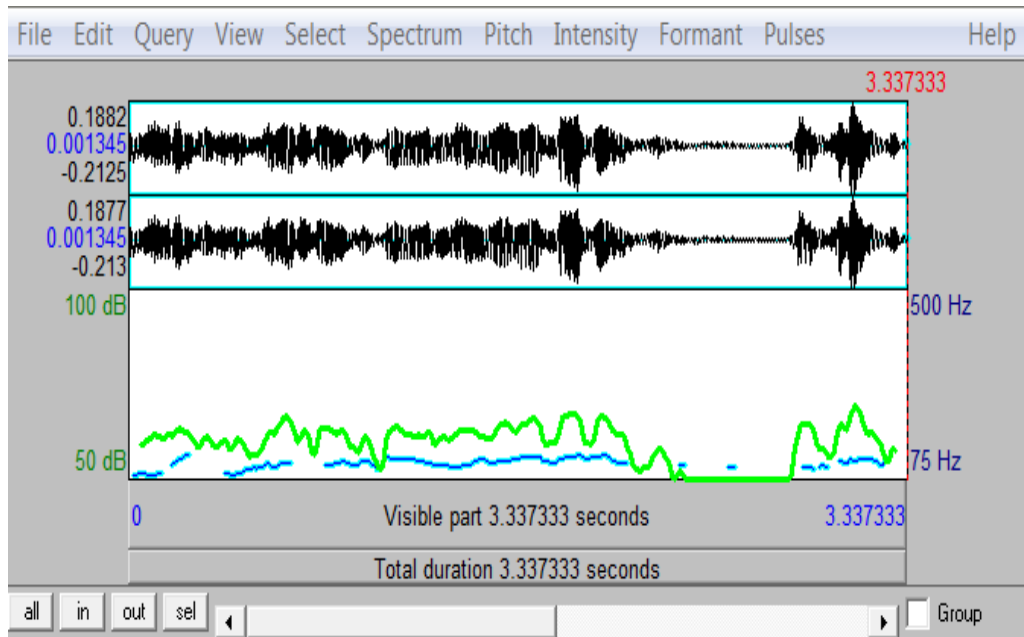


Fig XII. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Quién iba a saber que Ud. tenía que ver algo con los parientes?*

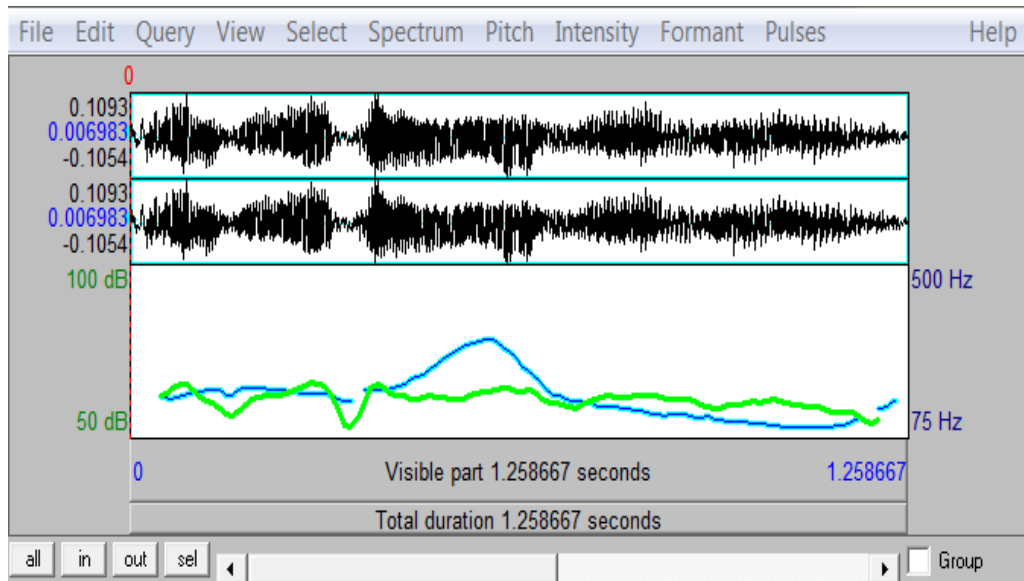


Fig XIII. Spectrographic analysis of *what are you doing in here Mary?*

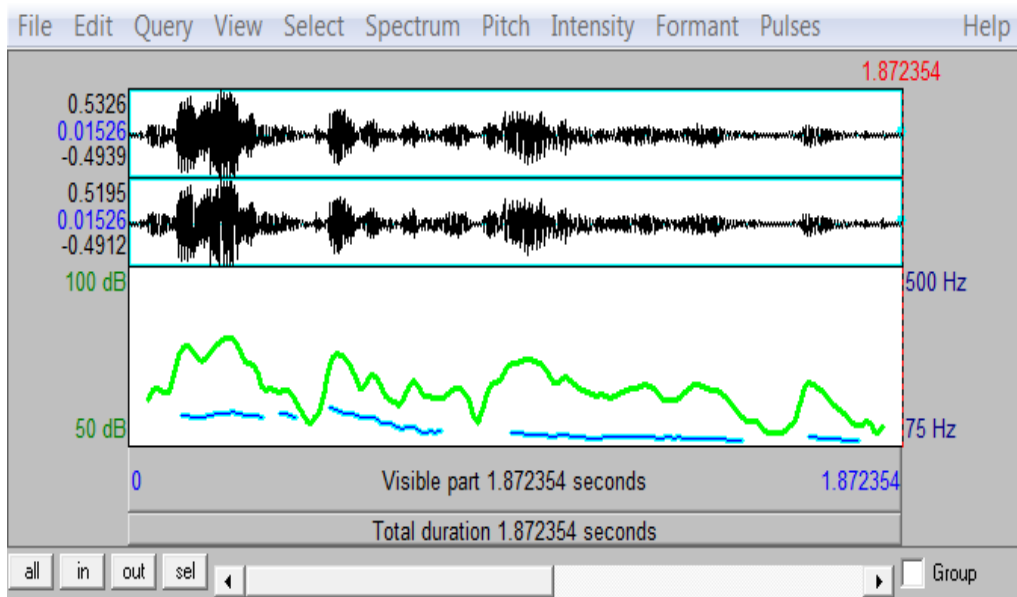


Fig XIV. Spectrographic analysis of *so, how does it feel to be the star of an award winning film?*

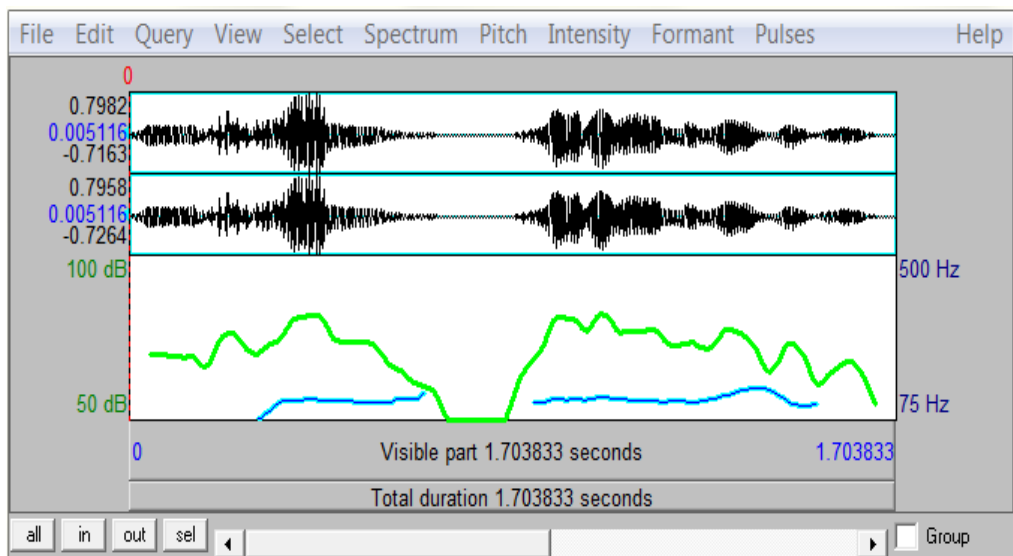


Fig XV. Spectrographic analysis of *so, uh where do you do wanna do this?*

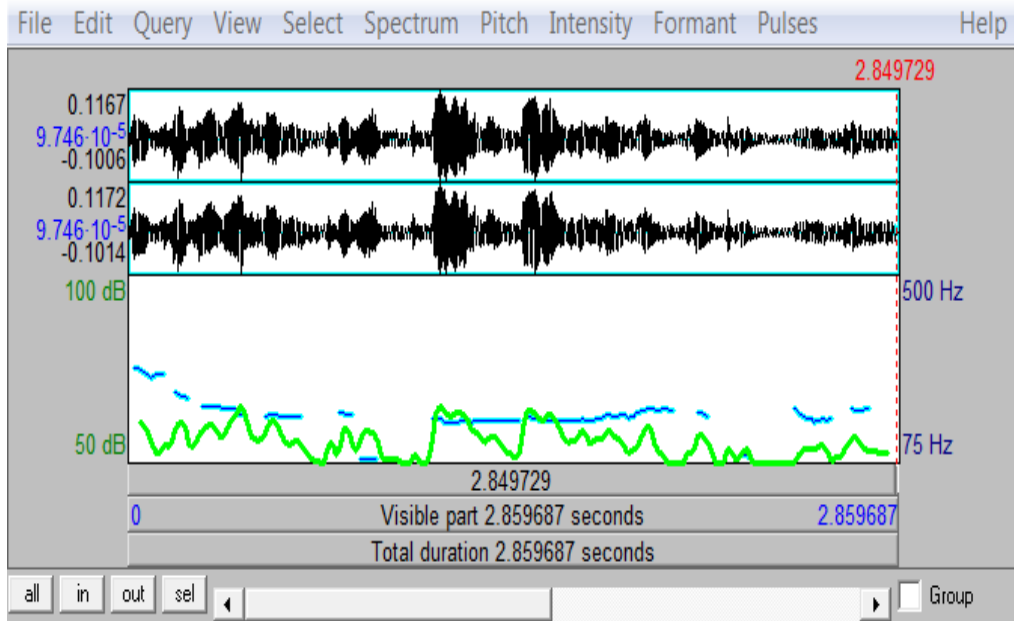


Fig XVI. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Por qué no vas a buscar el pan para comerlo fresquito?*

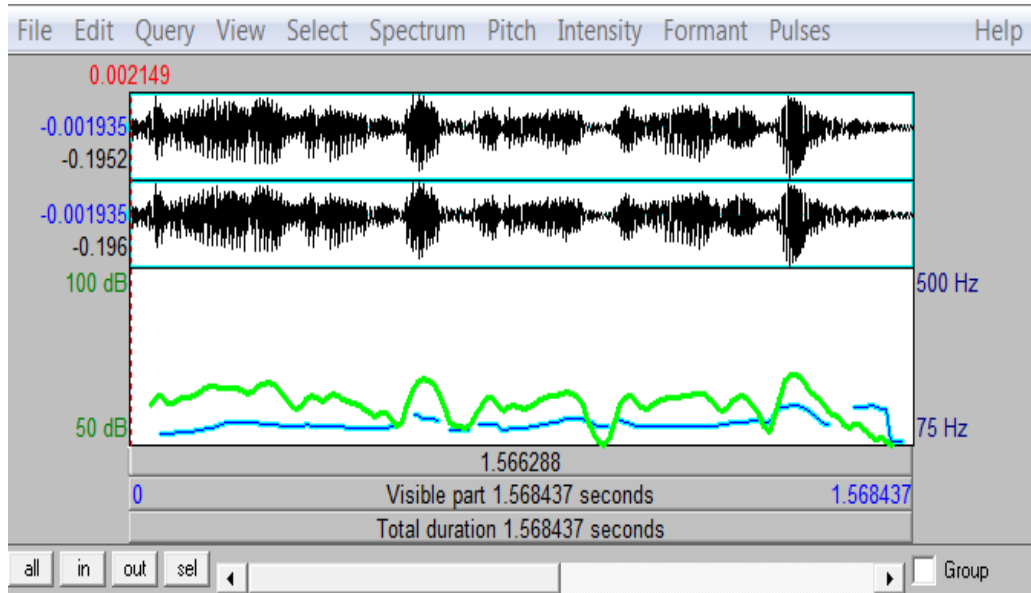


Fig XVII. Spectrographic analysis of *¿ud. no vino a preguntar por el ultimo de la cola?*

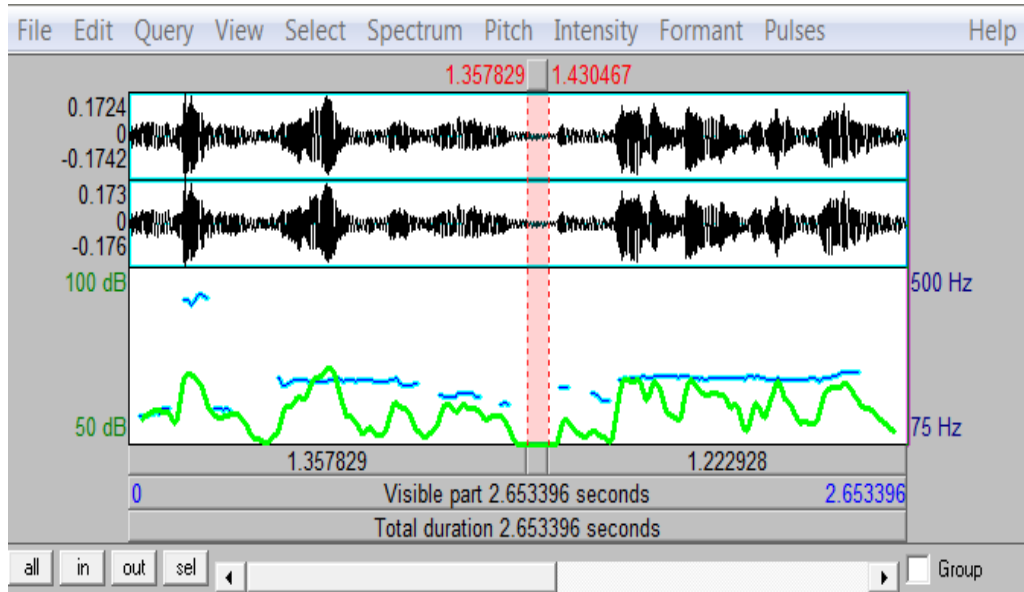


Fig XVIII. Spectrographic analysis of *Además cualquiera lo hace en una escalera. ¿uds. nunca lo han hecho en una escalera?*

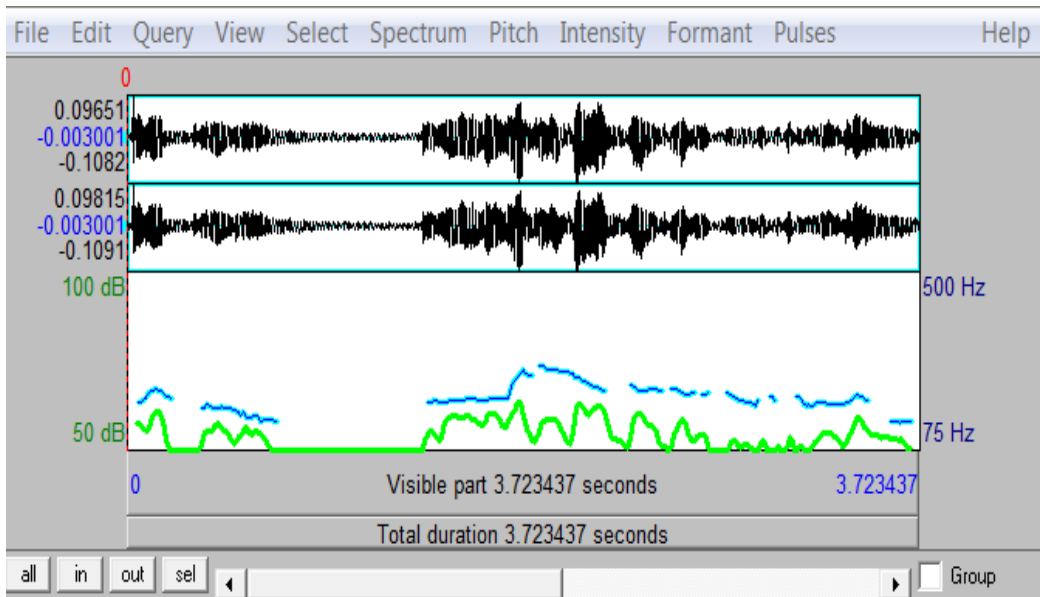


Fig XIX. Spectrographic analysis of *Ay tía, ¿pero de verdad tú no te das cuenta de que este muchacho es un vivo?*

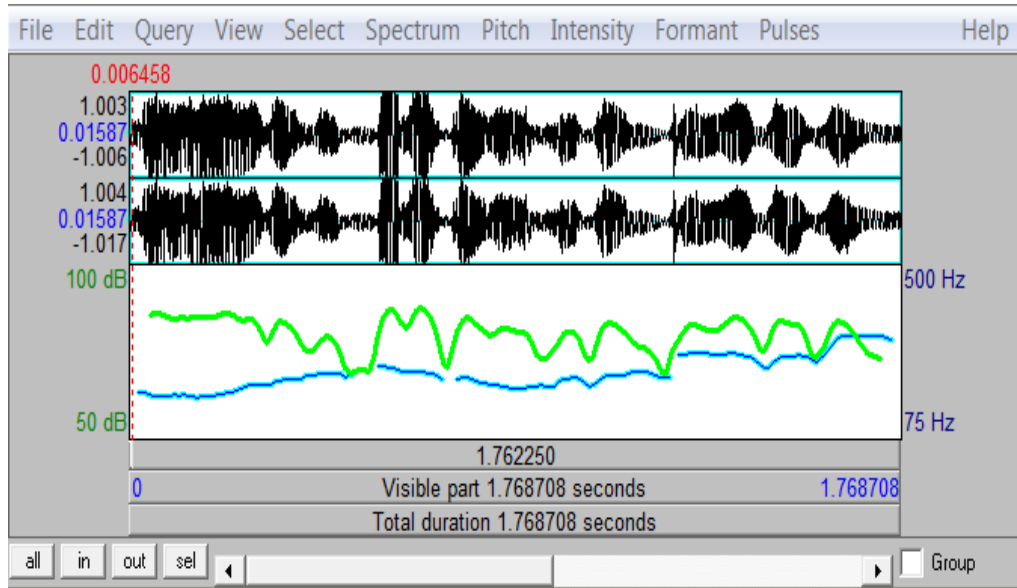


Fig XX. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Maura no fue la que viajó contigo papá?*

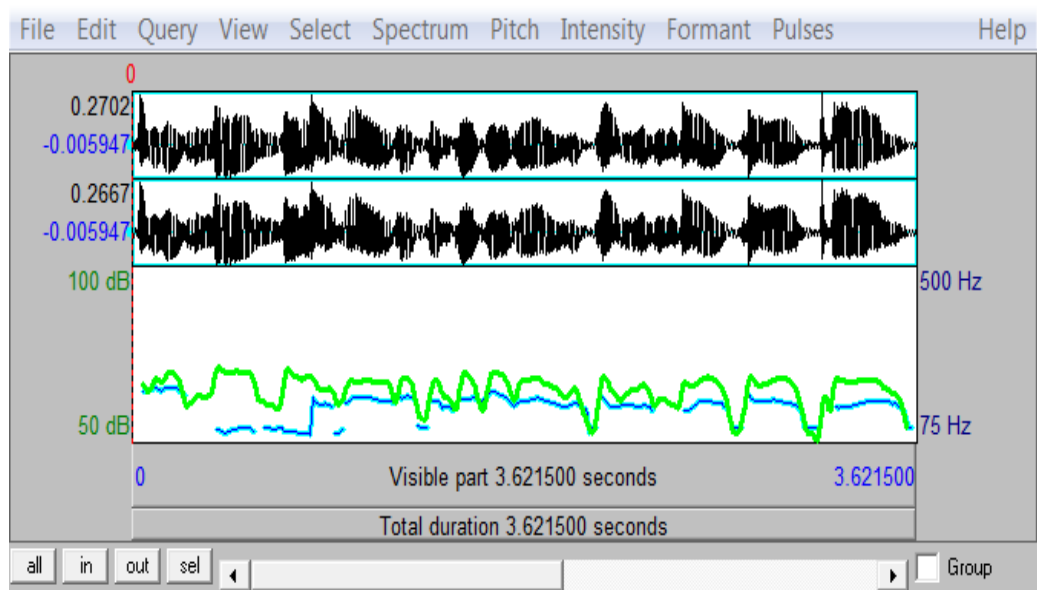


Fig. XXI (a) Spectrographic analysis of *Are you seriously not willing to forgive me when you've done the same thing with Karen?*

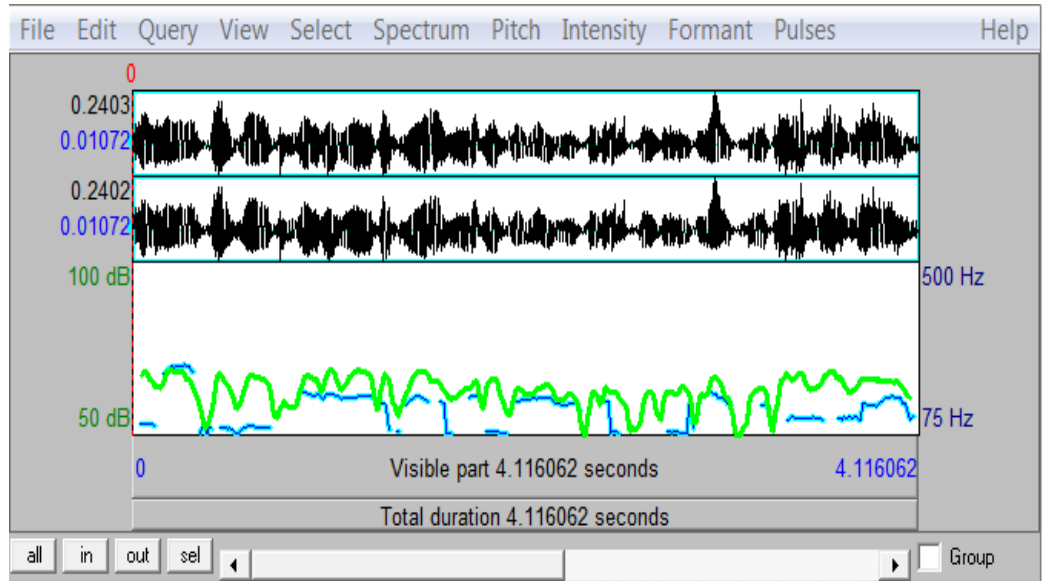


Fig. XXI (b) Spectrographic analysis of *doesn't it ever occur to you that you're headed down the exact same path your dad went down?*

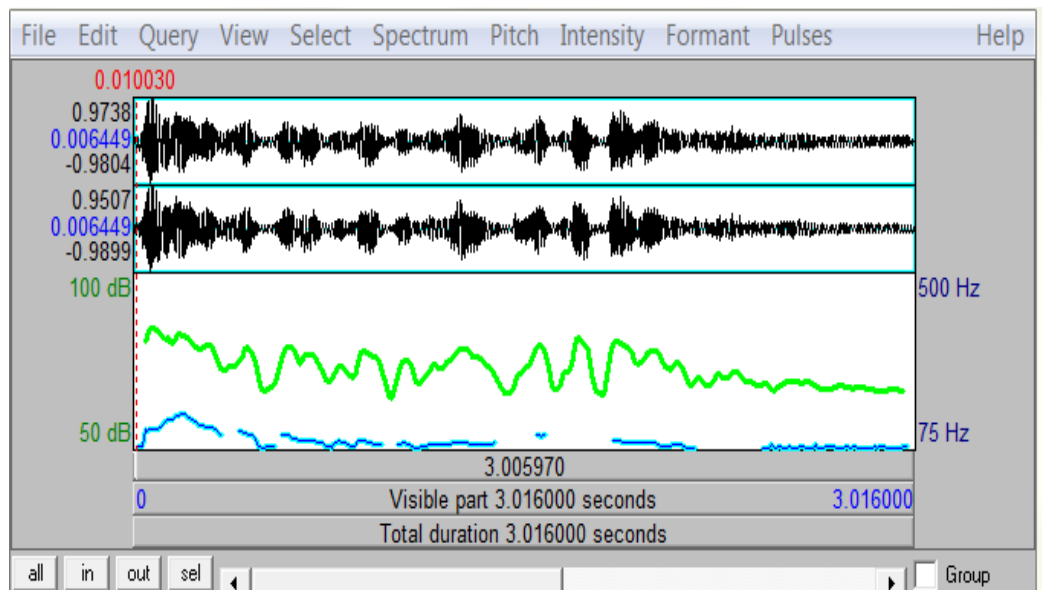


Fig XXII. Spectrographic analysis of *Look, why don't we have dinner together tonight and catch up on old times?*

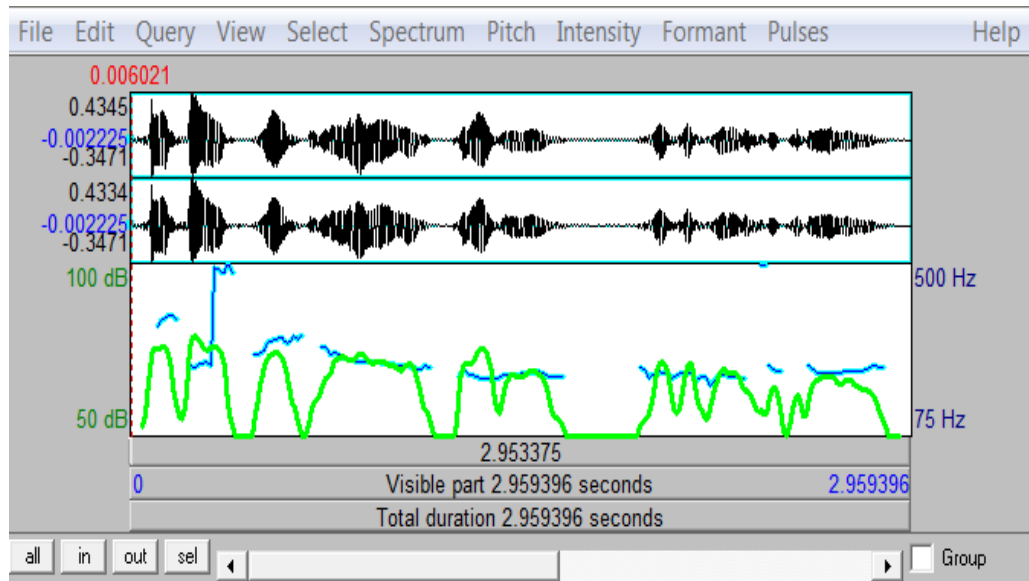


Fig XXIII. Spectrographic analysis of *isn't Mr. Mullen's brother your divorced attorney?*

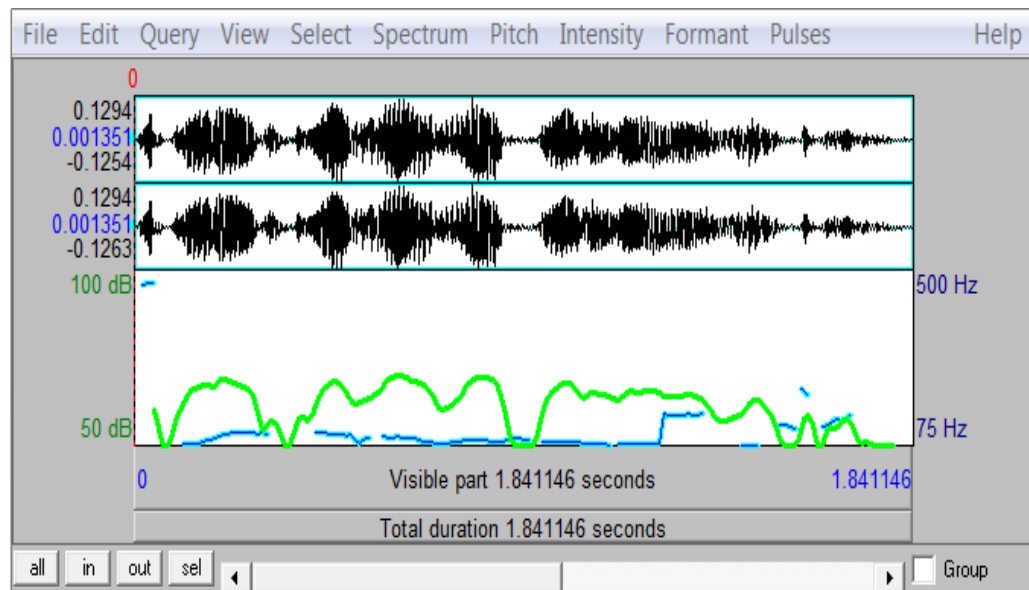


Fig XXIV. Spectrographic analysis of *so, why don't you let me help you the way you helped me?*



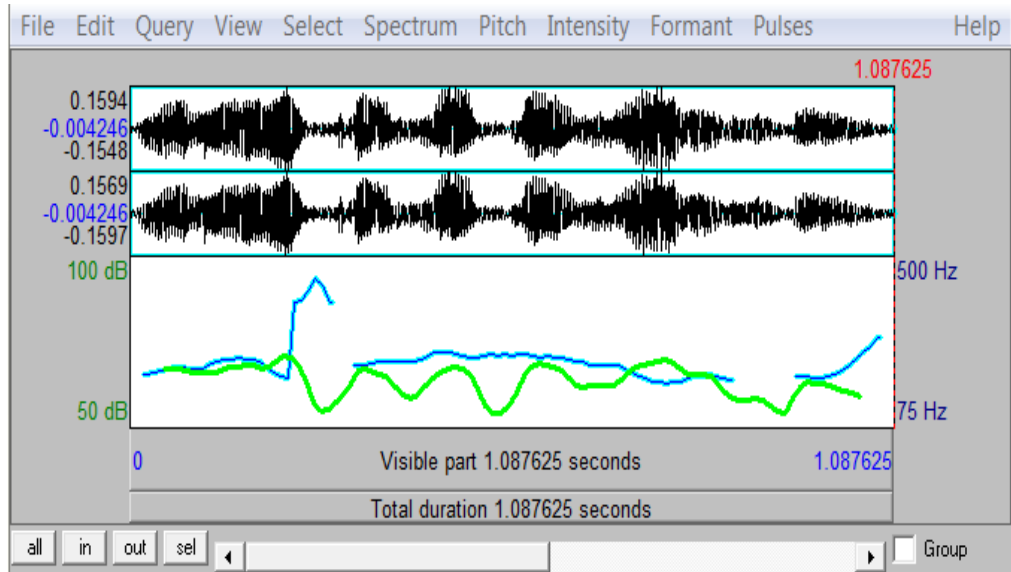


Fig XXVI. Spectrographic analysis of *Bueno, ¿Y de qué es la cola esa, eh?*

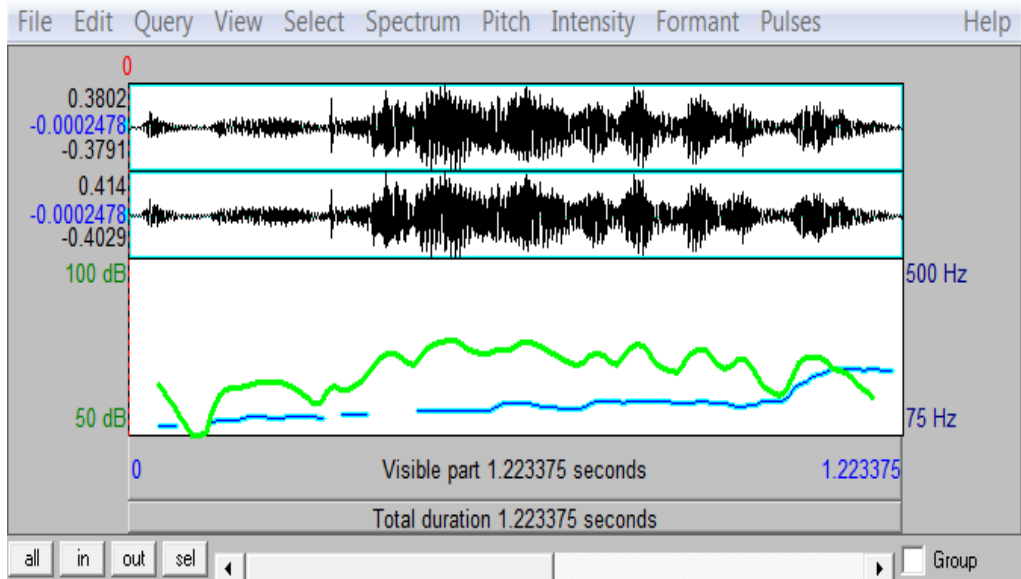


Fig XXVII. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Y cómo tú sabía que era maricón?*

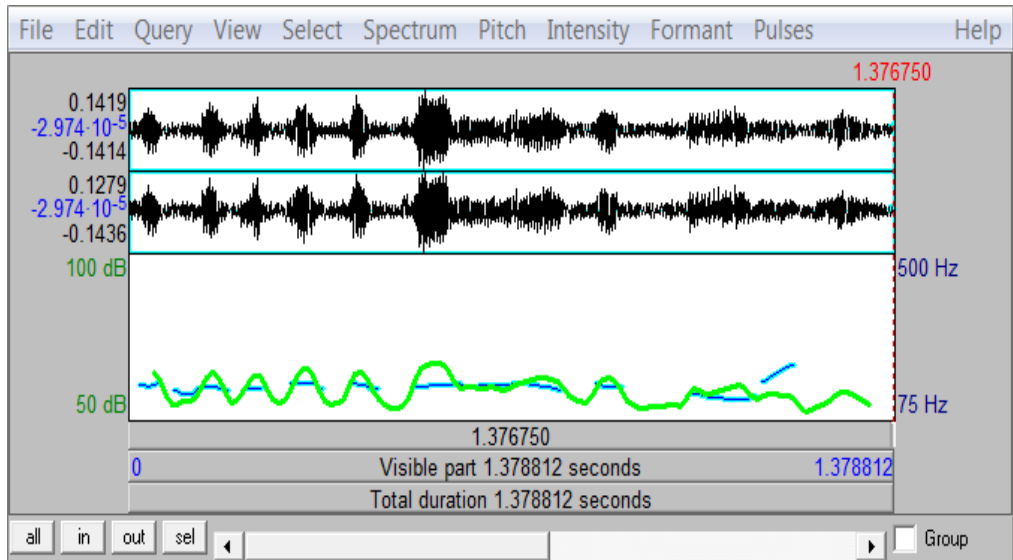


Fig XXVIII. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Y por qué tú te quieres ir del país?*

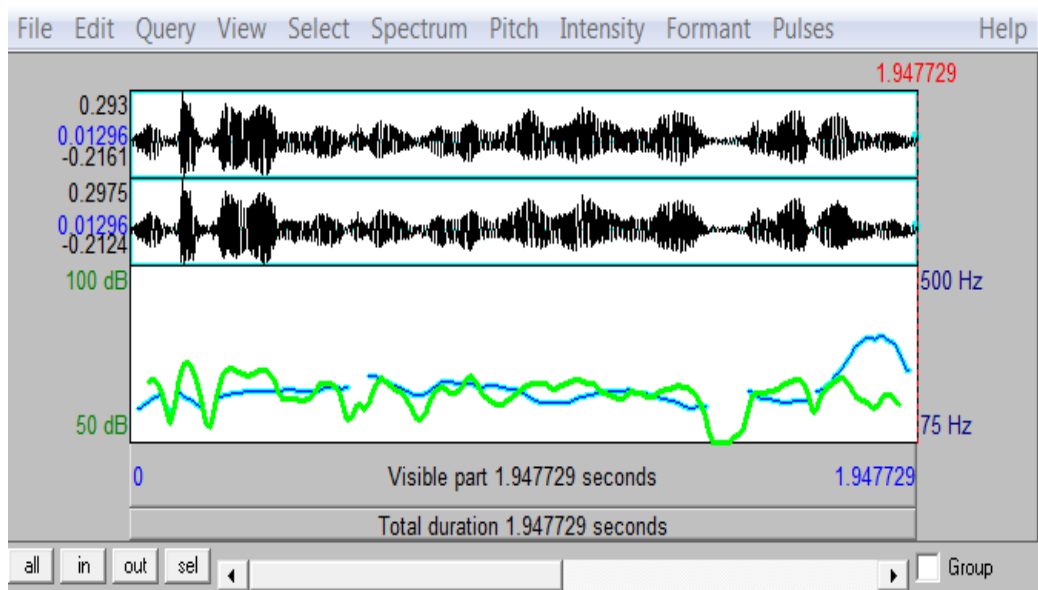


Fig XXIX. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Y te quedan muchos días allá en la funeraria?*

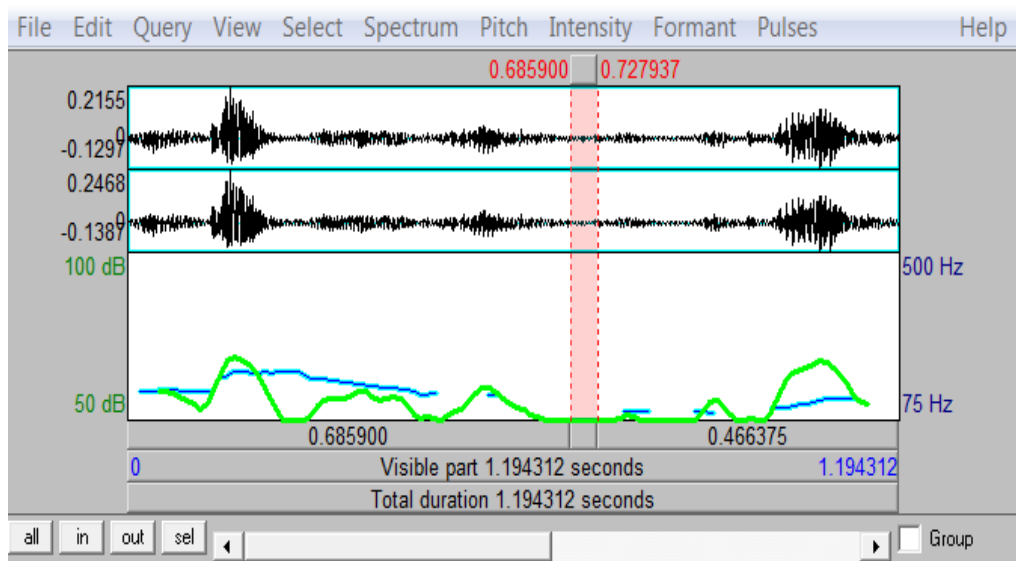


Fig XXX. Spectrographic analysis of *Un tipo raro* and *¿Un tipo raro?*

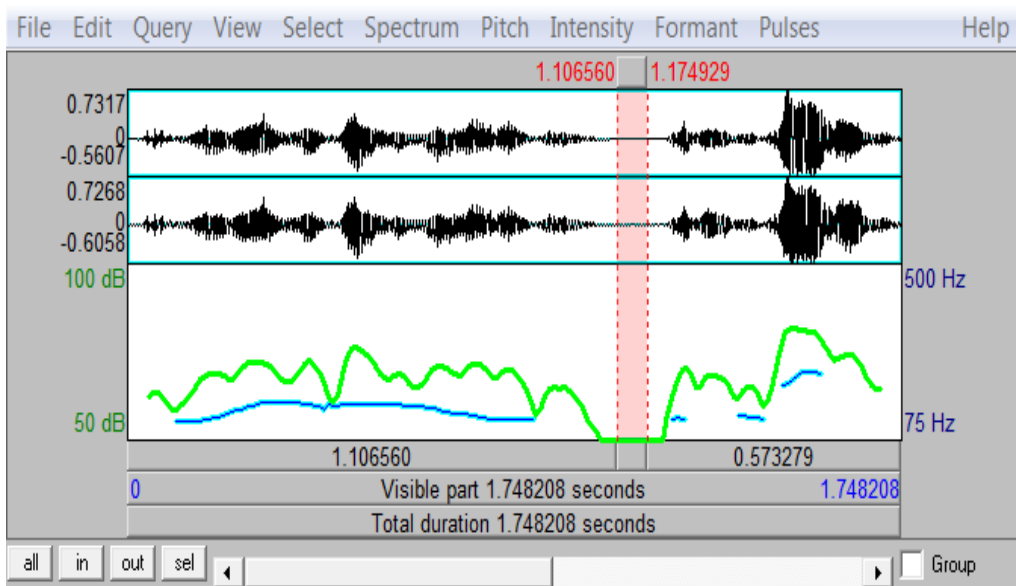


Fig XXXI. Spectrographic analysis of *Terminó invitándome a la casa* and *¿A su casa?*

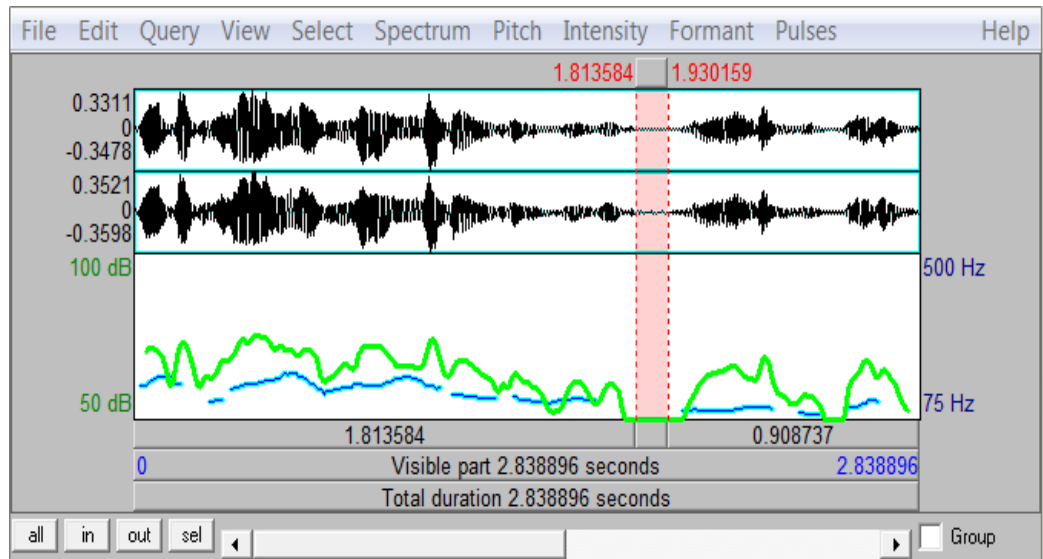


Fig XXXII. Spectrographic analysis of *Fíjate que había una con una onda medio religiosa* and *¿Una onda religiosa?*

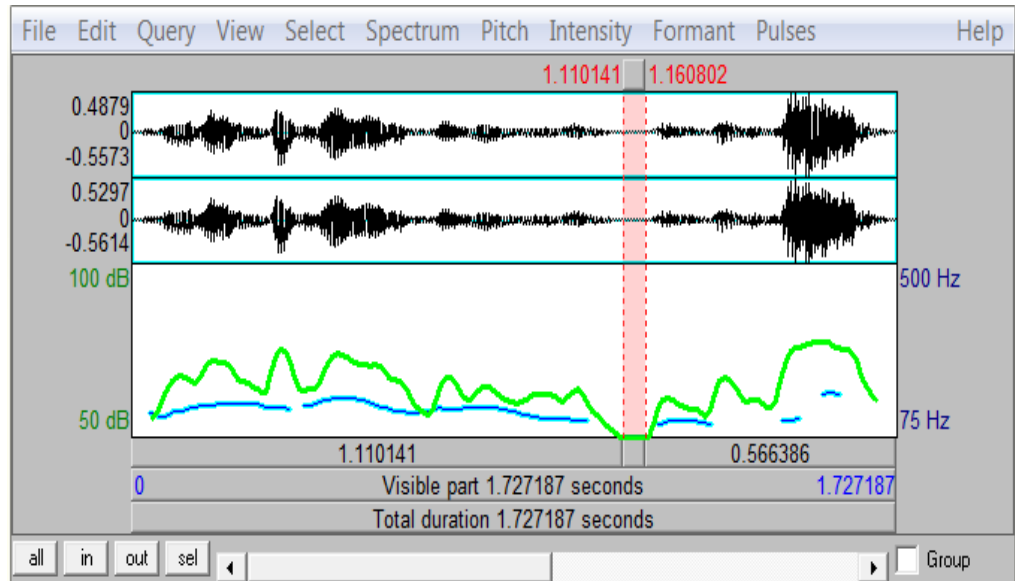


Fig XXXIII. Spectrographic analysis of *Y de una embajada los van a ayudar* and *¿De una embajada?*

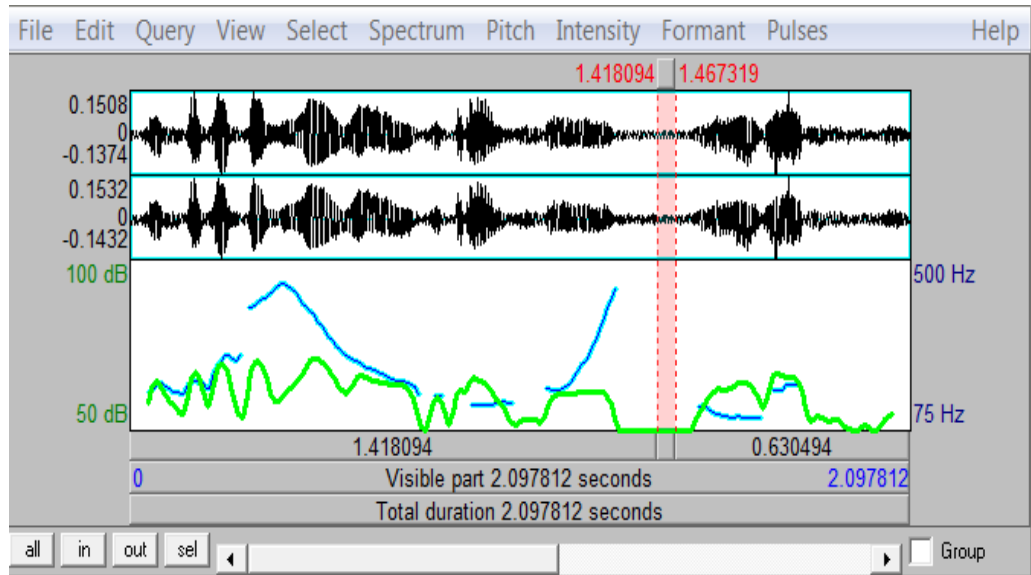


Fig XXXIV. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Y por qué tú no vives en tu casa, eh?* and *¿En mi casa?*

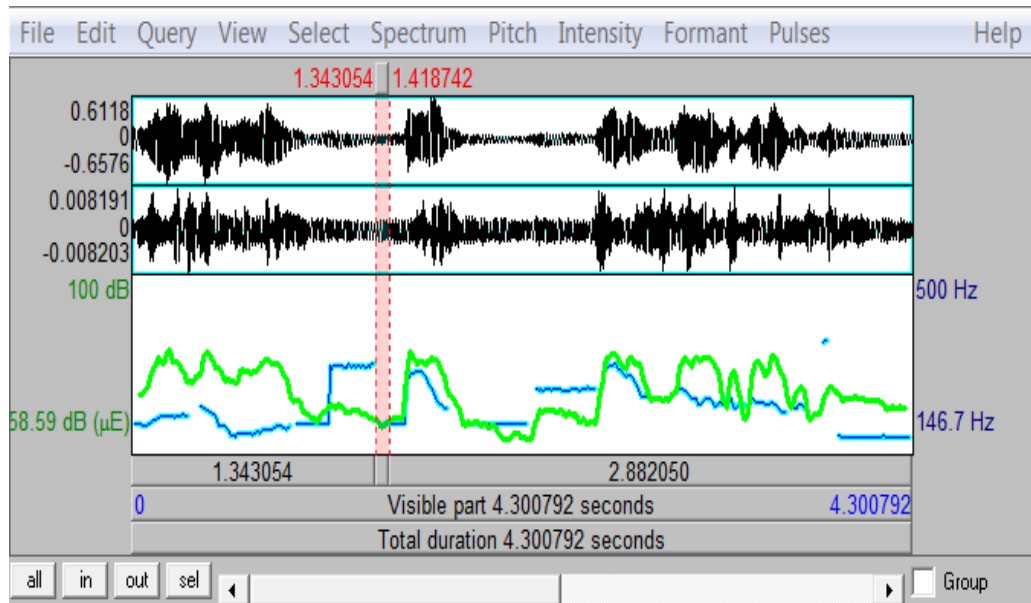


Fig XXXV. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Y qué iba a hacer Yuneisy?* and *Mira yo no sé lo que tú vas a hacer.*

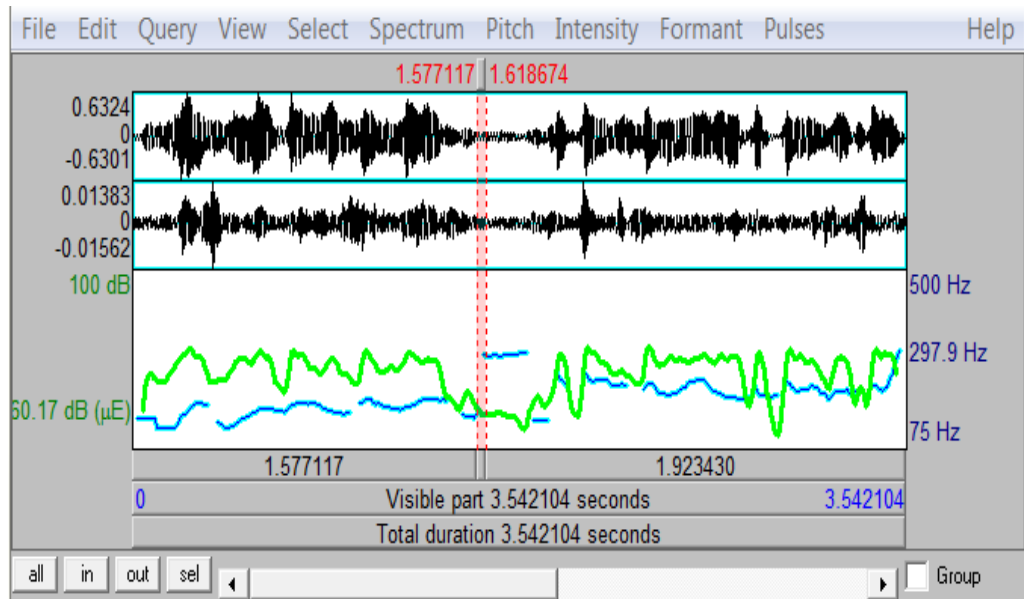


Fig XXXVI. Spectrographic analysis of *Yuneisy, tú no puedes hacerme esto* and *¿Y tú tienes idea de lo que tú me has hecho a mí?*

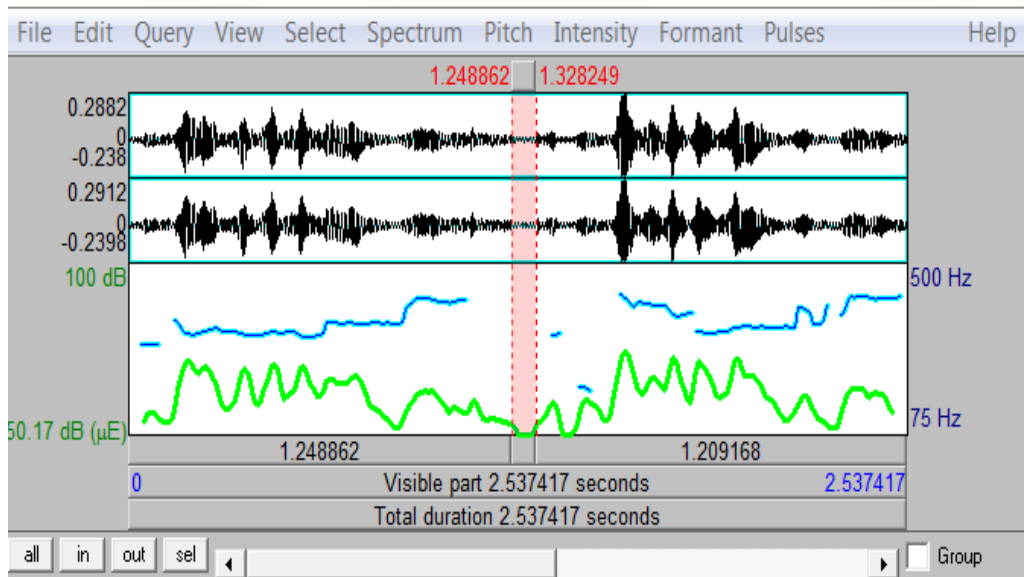


Fig XXXVII. Spectrographic analysis of *¿Tú sabes qué es lo que voy a hacer?* and *¿Y tú sabes qué es lo que voy a hacer yo?*

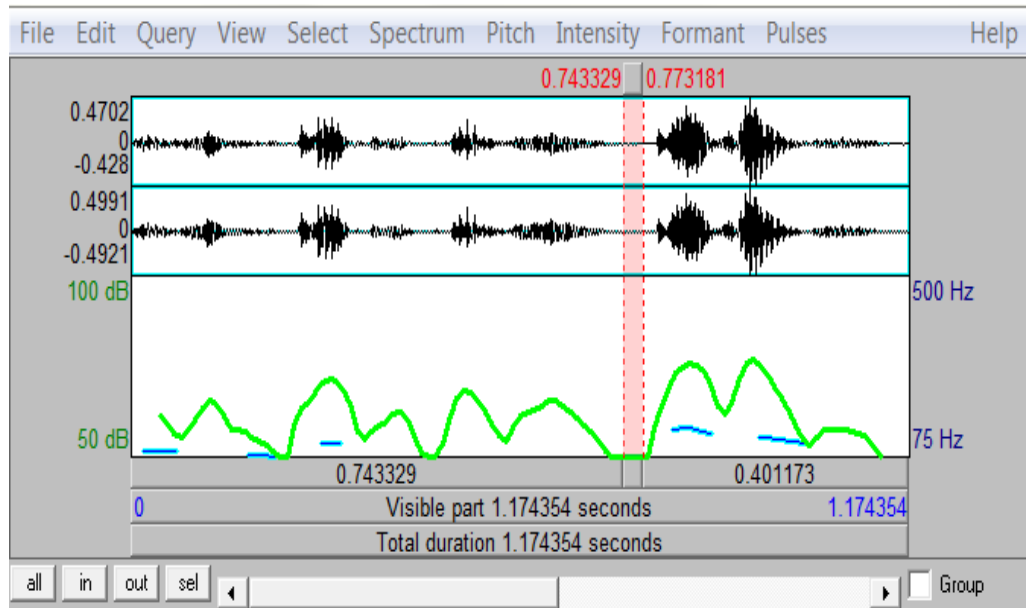


Fig XXXVIII (a). Spectrographic analysis of *Consulté tu caso* and *¿Qué caso?*

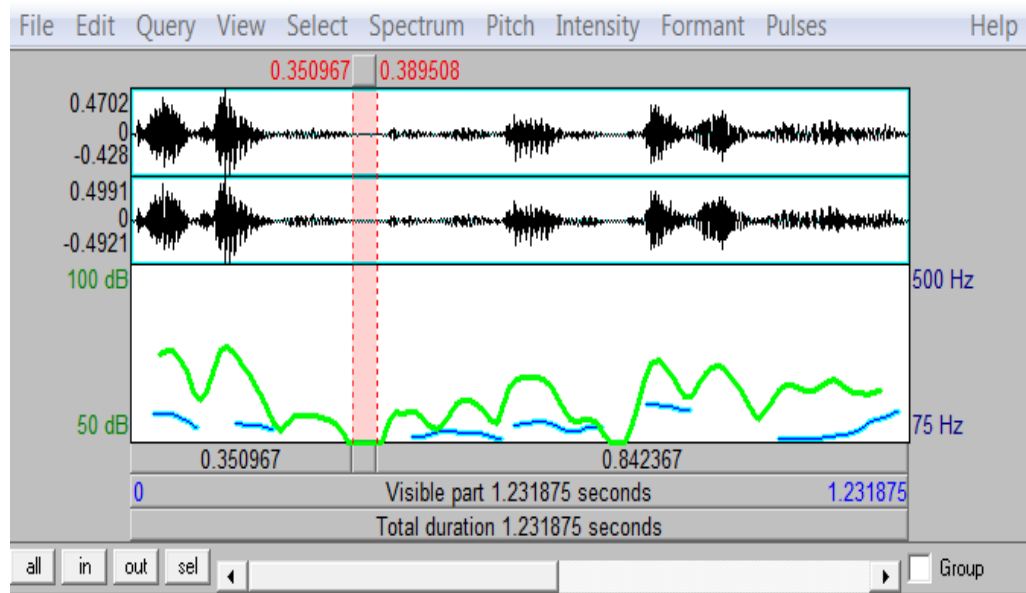


Fig XXXVIII (b). Spectrographic analysis of *¿Qué caso?* and *¿Cómo que qué caso David?*

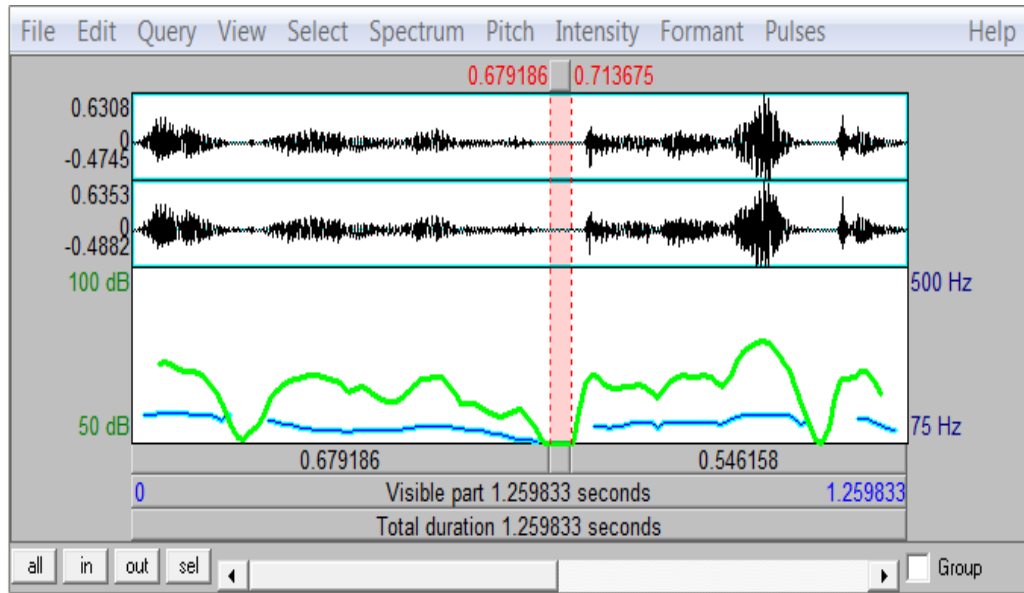


Fig XXXVIII (c). Spectrographic analysis of *Tienes que averiguar más* and *¿Averiguar qué?*

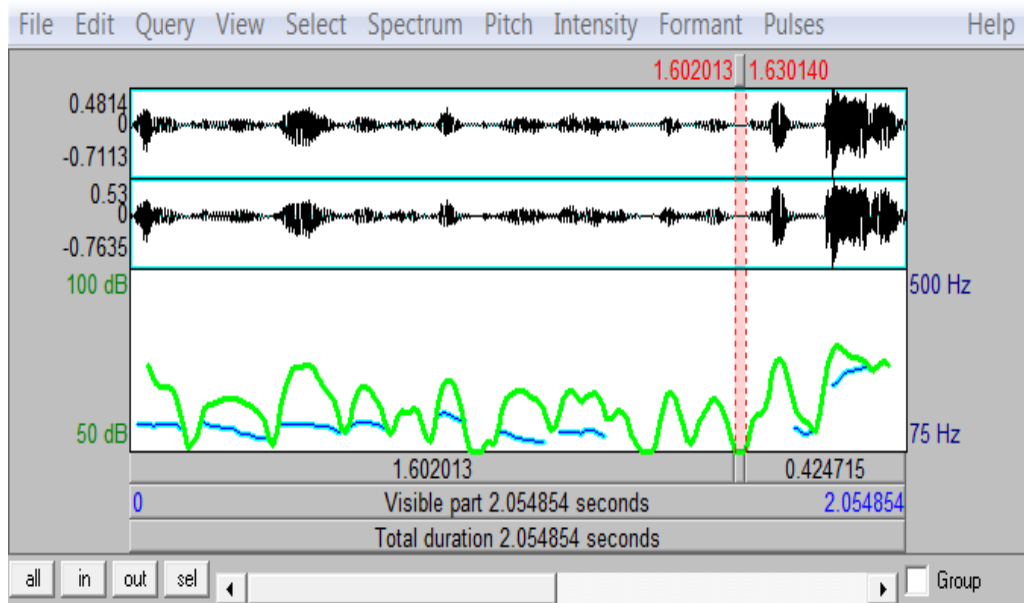


Fig XXXVIII (d). Spectrographic analysis of *Tienes que inventar algún pretexto y volver a su casa* and *¿A su casa?*



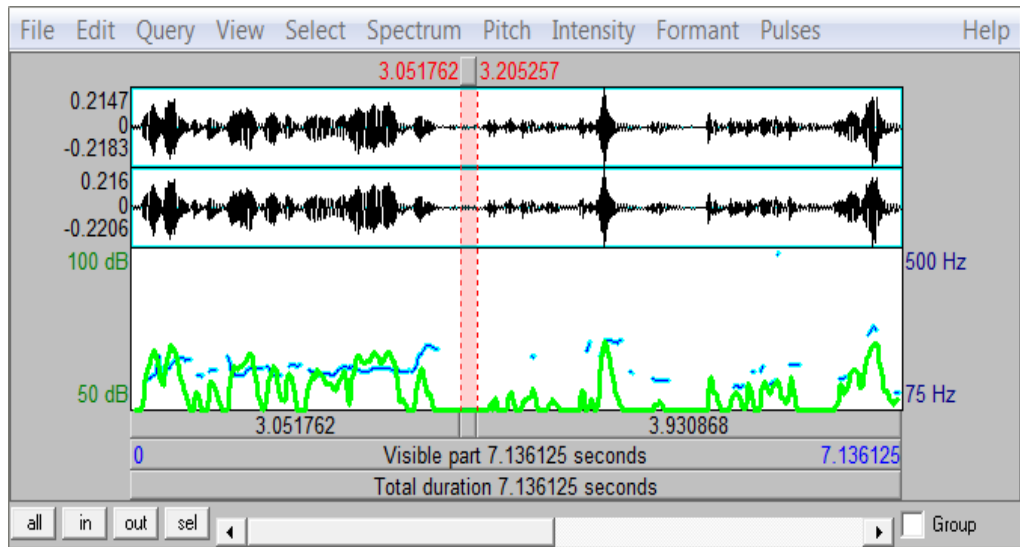


Fig XXXIX. Spectrographic analysis of *¿y tú piensas llevarte a Cristi a vivir a tu pueblo?* and *¿A Cristi? ¿A mi casa? Te volviste loco. ¿Con mi abuelo?*

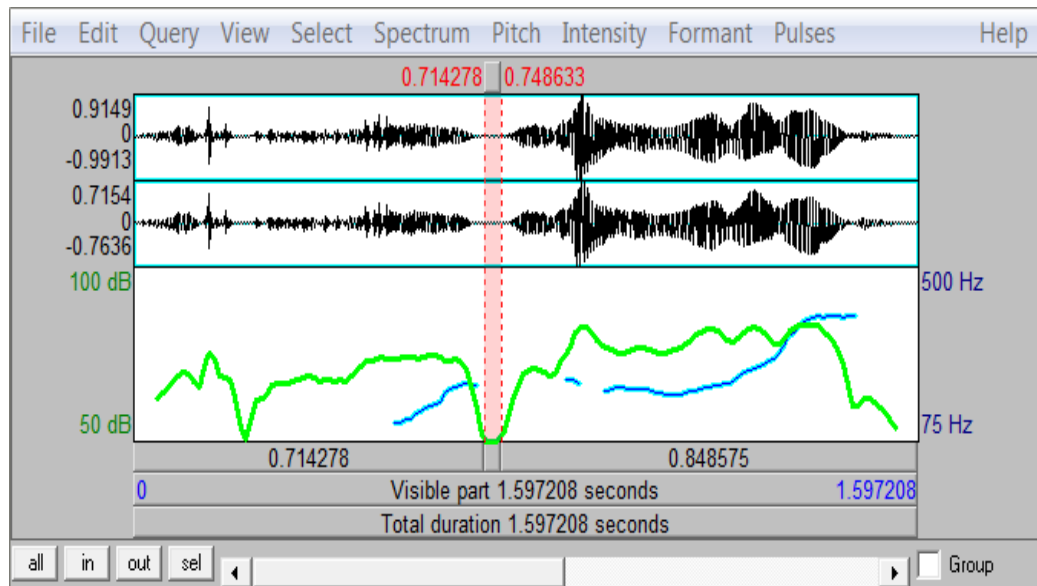


Fig XL. Spectrographic analysis of *is that what you want?* and *is that what YOU want?*

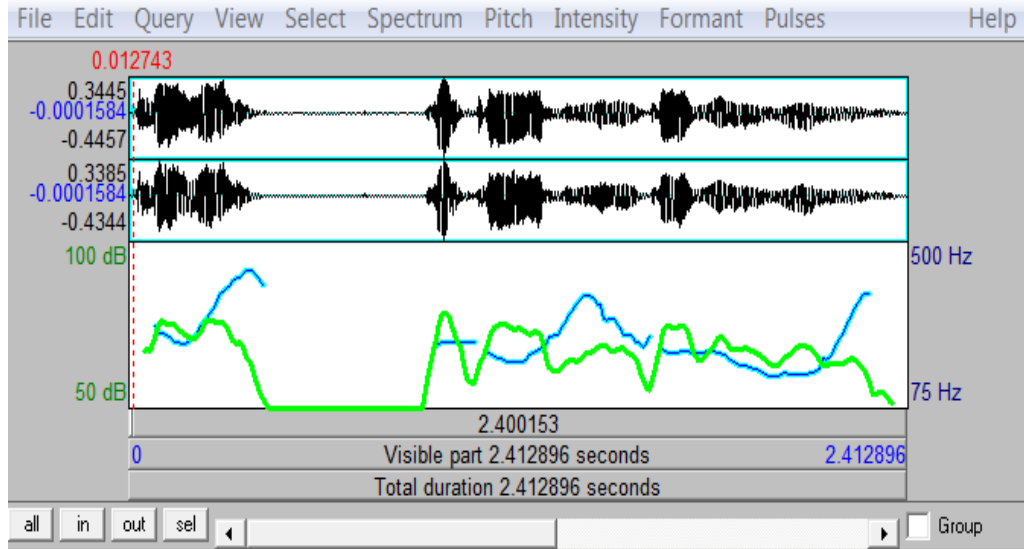


Fig XLI. Spectrographic analysis of *John? Your gardener? He gave you a rose?*

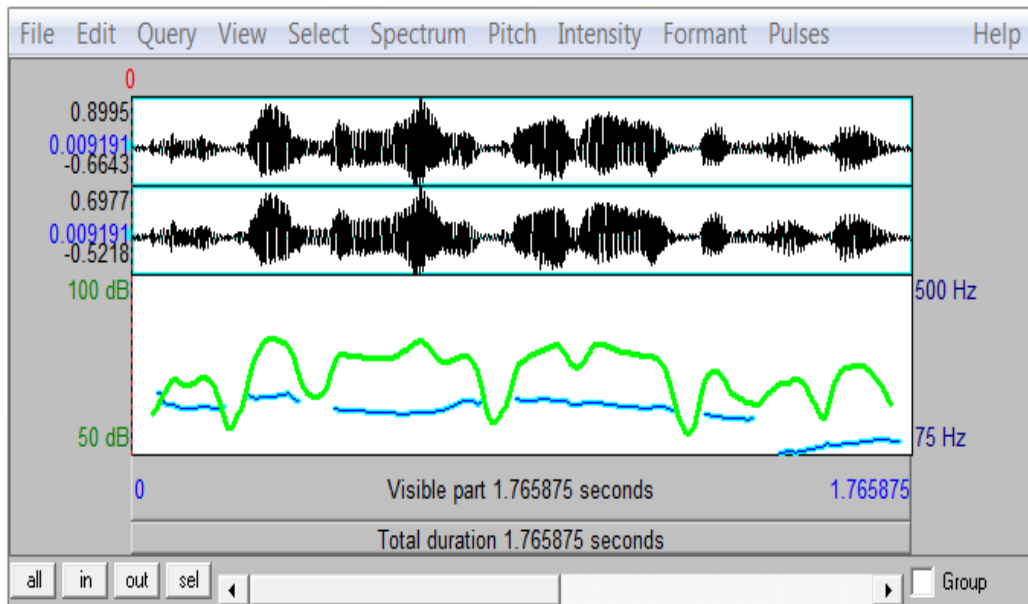


Fig XLII. Spectrographic analysis of *They're replacing one theater with another?*

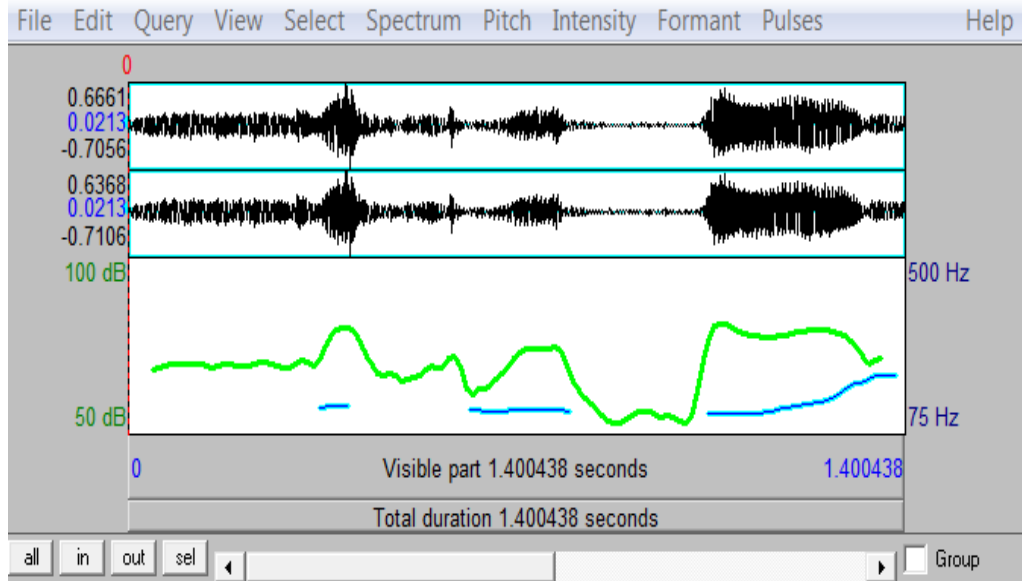


Fig XLIII. Spectrographic analysis of *A sexual being?*

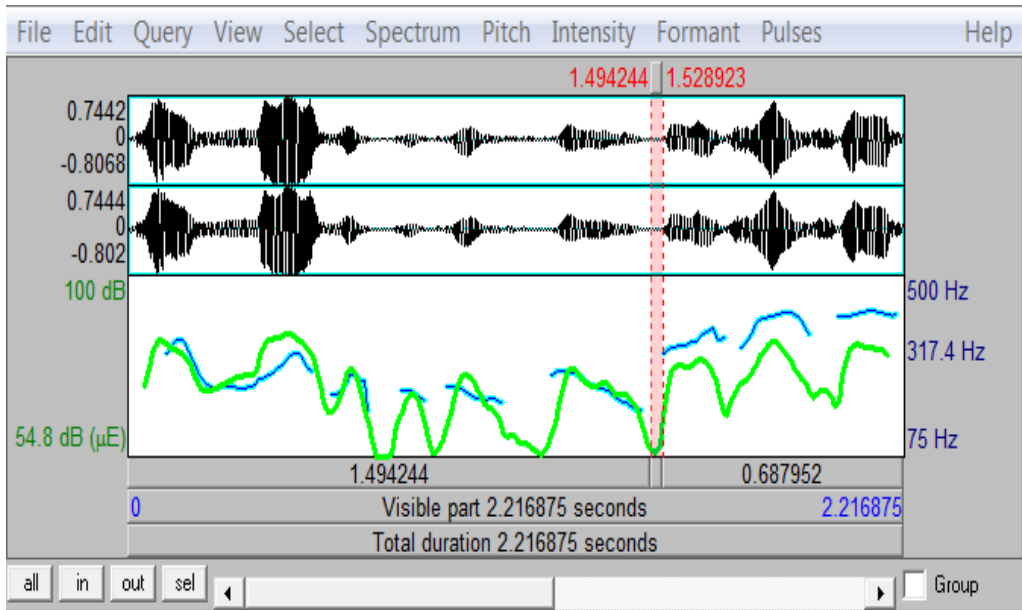


Fig XLIV. Spectrographic analysis of *I'm not your full-time slave and Full-time slave?*

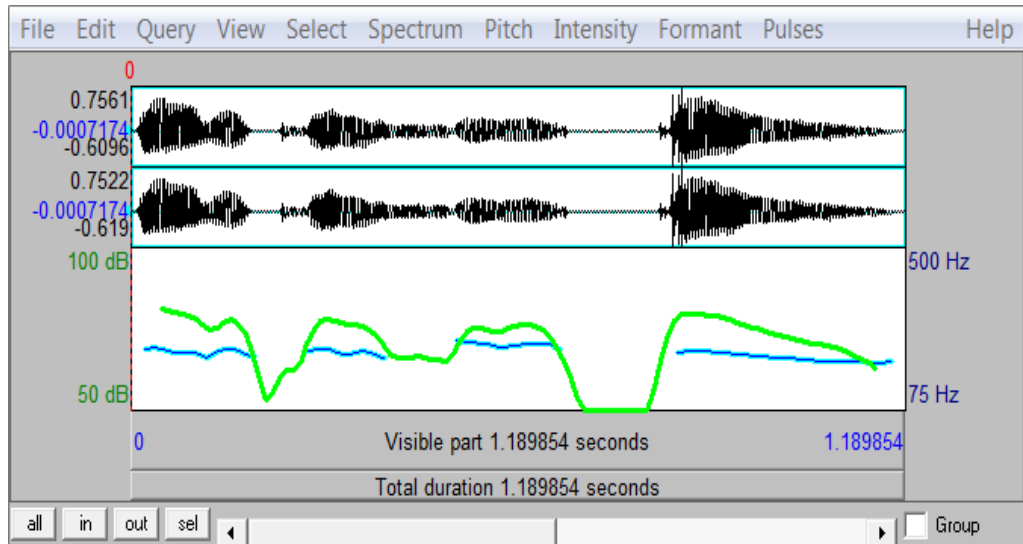


Fig XLV. Spectrographic analysis of *Medication, uh?*

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