NOTAS Y RESEÑAS

RESEÑAS

MEGHAN E. ARMSTRONG, NICHOLAS HENRIKSEN & MARIA DEL MAR VANRELL (EDS.) (2016): *Intonational Grammar in Ibero-Romance: Approaches across Linguistic Subfields,* **Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.**

During the last decades intonation and, more in general, suprasegmental features have received more and more attention. Unsurprisingly, most of the first studies used to focus on one language only and analyzed it from one specific perspective, which was usually a phonetic or phonological one. In the following years, researchers have moved to more interlinguistic and interdisciplinary approaches. The collective work *Intonational Grammar in Ibero-Romance: Approaches across Linguist Subfields*, edited by Meghan E. Armstrong, Nicholas Henriksen, and Maria del Mar Vanrell, which includes contributions by almost forty researchers, is the result of that burst of activity. The title of the volume, in fact, explicitly mentions the fact that the editors have chosen an interlinguistic and interdisciplinary approach. The Romance languages analyzed in the book are some of those that evolved from Vulgar Latin in the Iberian Peninsula (although not all scholars would agree that all of them should be included in Ibero-Romance): Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan. In addition, a few genetically unrelated languages are dealt with in the book: Basque, Quechua, English, German, and Catalan Sign Language.

The book has seventeen chapters, divided in three parts (*Intonation, variation and contact; Intonational modeling, syntax and pragmatics; Intonation, acquisition and special populations*), plus *Introduction*, *Foreword*, and *Index*. The print edition is hard cover and includes 389 pages, some of them printed in color. Figures and graphs are essential parts of all chapters, as it is usual in intonation studies, and they are most of the times very clear and useful. Another positive formal aspect is that several chapters use interlinear glosses to comment in-text examples (and they would have been very helpful in the rest of the chapters for readers who are not familiar with Romance languages or with all Romance languages). As José Ignacio Hualde says in his *Foreword* to the volume:

> All chapters include new empirical research, exploring issues ranging from descriptive/theoretical knowledge regarding the intonational system of these languages, to the acquisition of intonation by children and in situations of language contact, and to clinical applications (p. xiii).

In the *Introduction* the editors present the structure of the book and outline its main objectives. The reason for editing this volume is, in their own words, the fact that, in spite of the huge amount of research carried out in the last decades on the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, to date *there is no volume of empirical research papers that represents the most recent methodological and interdisciplinary advances in the field of Ibero-Romance intonation* (p. vii). The editors also suggest that their volume *could be considered as an obligatory reading and an updated point of departure for any scholar, researcher or advanced student working on Ibero-Romance intonation or any of its related research paradigms* (p. ix).

The *Foreword*, by José Ignacio Hualde, presents an overview of some fundamental issues in Ibero-Romance intonational research and brings together some of the themes that run across chapters, which are *the meaning of intonational contours, the expression of prominence and phrasing, the prosodic role of oral and visual information, intonational transfer in language contact and the acquisition of intonation* (p. xiii). One of the most interesting issues mentioned in the *Foreword* is language contact and its effects on intonation. Indeed, we still know very little about this subject and about a related issue, i.e. intonational change, which is one of the research lines that could be explored more in depth in the next decades.

The main body of the book starts with a discussion of task-related effects in the prosody of heritage speakers of Spanish and long-term Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States. The authors are Laura Colantoni (University of Toronto), Alejandro Cuza (Purdue University), and Natalia Mazzaro (University of Texas-El Paso). The aim of the research presented in this chapter is answering an apparently simple question: do long-term Spanish immigrants and heritage speakers living in the United States have different intonations in broad focus statements? And if they do, why? The authors collected data form 16 speakers and they get to the conclusion that there is no significant difference between the two groups in read speech but not in narratives. The explanation for this difference in read speech has to do with the effects of schooling. Long-term Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States were educated in Spanish in their countries of origin, therefore are used at reading (aloud or not) in Spanish. Heritage speakers of Spanish in the US were educated in English and were not used at reading in Spanish.

The main objective of the second chapter, written by Gorka Elordieta (University of the Basque Country) and Aritz Irurtzun (French National Centre for Scientific Research, IKER), is describing the effects of language contact on the alignment of pitch accents in statements in some varieties of Spanish spoken in the Basque Country. The authors analyzed utterances in Spanish produced by 12 speakers

belonging to three different sociolinguistic groups: (i) L1 Basque speakers of a Basque dialect with rising pitch accents, (ii) monolingual Spanish speakers from Donostia (a city of intense Basque/Spanish language contact), and (iii) monolingual Spanish speakers from Bilbao (a Spanish-prominent city). The conclusion they get to is that their results show consistent posttonic peaks in all three varieties. This conclusion is used as an indirect evidence to reinforce the results of previous studies that showed that in other vaieties of Spanish spoken in the Basque Country there is an intonational transfer form the local variety of Basque to the local variety of Spanish.

The third chapter is by Ana Isabel Mata (Universidade de Lisboa), Helena Moniz (Instituto de Engenharia de Sistemas e Computadores – Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Lisboa), and Fernando Batista (Instituto Universitário de Lisboa). The authors focus on stylistic variation in the intonation of European Portuguese teenagers and adults. They analyze intonation contours in phrase-final position in a corpus of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech produced by 6 teenagers (3 female and 3 male) and 3 adults (2 female and 1 male). The authors find significant differences in several intonational features and between different subsets of speakers[1]. As far as the differences between the spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech are concerned, the overall conclusion is that one of the most important factors that determines the variation observed is *the speaking styles specifically required at school, which call for the speaker's effort to speak clearly and to keep the listeners attention, and ultimately as "intelligibility-oriented" speaking style changes*.

In the fourth chapter, Antje Muntendam (Radboud University & Florida State University) and Francisco Torreira (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics) deal with focus and prosody in Quechua, Peruvian Spanish spoken by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, and Peninsular Spanish. The speakers (16 Quechua-Spanish bilinguals from Cuzco and 8 speakers of Peninsular Spanish from 2 different dialectal areas) played a game that was designed to stimulate the production of broad focus utterances and narrow (corrective) focus. The authors found no systematic correspondence between specific contour/accent types and focus in their data. This notwithstanding, they identified two contours that were present in Quechua and in Peruvian Spanish, but not in Peninsular Spanish, which shows that there has been

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[1] In some cases, the reader might ask him/herself to what extent such statistical significance is also a linguistic significance, especially when the statistical analysis is carried out within the adult group and significant gender differences are found between the data produced by the two female speakers and the *only* male speaker.

some kind of prosodic transfer from Quechua to Spanish in Quechua-Spanish bilinguals.

The fifth chapter is by Lluïsa Astruc (The Open University), Maria del Mar Vanrell (Freie Universität Berlin), and Pilar Prieto (ICREA-Universitat Pompeu Fabra). The authors' aim is to discover whether two different intonational contours that had been described for yes-no questions in Central Catalan (L* H% and H+L* L%, respectively) have different pragmatic functions. In order to do so, they recorded 15 speakers of Central Catalan who participated in a Discourse Completion Task and uttered 16 offers and requests in scenarios controlled for level of social distance, power, and cost of the action. The data show that cost of the action and social distance have significant effects on intonation choices. More in general, thus, this chapter shows that politeness factors can be encoded intonationally in some languages.

In the following chapter, Plínio A. Barbosa (State University of Campinas) deals with intonation modeling in cross-linguistic research. The author chooses to carry out such modeling by means of the Parallel Encoding and Target Approximation (PENTA) model, and discusses its advantages and disadvantages in comparison with other approaches. Data from 4 speakers of Brazilian Portuguese and 4 speakers of European Portuguese in two speaking styles (reading and storytelling) are analyzed. The author finds differences between dialects but also, within each dialect, between speaking styles. Once again, thus, significant differences are found between different styles, like in Chapters 1 and 3 of the book.

The seventh chapter is by João Antônio de Moraes (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro) and Albert Rilliard (LIMSI-CNRS). The authors analyze utterances produced by 2 speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (the authors do not specify whether the speakers are professional actors or not) who produced 6-syllable long utterances conveying four basic emotions (anger, joy, fear, and sadness) plus the "neutral" emotional state in three sentence-types (statement, yes-no question, and order). The recordings were analyzed in order to detect how emotion and sentence type affect acoustic and visual parameters. The authors find that sentence-type affects the shape of the F0 contour, while emotions affect F0 range. A perception test carried out with the same data show judges rely on audio cues to identify sentence-type, while they use visual information to identify the emotions.

In the following chapter, Ingo Feldhausen (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt & Laboratoire de Phonétique et Phonologie) deals with the prosody-syntax interface in different types of left-dislocations in Murcia Spanish. The author analyses

prosodically 260 sentences uttered by 5 natives speakers. The speech type is scripted (also known as "acted speech") and the sentences of the corpus were designed so that they comprised three constructions: hanging topic left-dislocation, clitic left-dislocation, and left-dislocation without resumptive pronoun. Data show that all three types of left-dislocation have similar intonational patterns: they display a rising nuclear pitch accent and a high boundary tone (and may be followed by a pause, which is mandatory only in hanging topic left-dislocation elements in interrogatives). One of the most interesting conclusions of this paper is a very general one, i.e. that *the results [of this research] show that corresponding assumptions in the syntactic literature, which typically lack prosodic evidence and thus empirical underpinning, need to be refined, with possible implications for syntactic analysis.*

The ninth chapter is by two of the editors of the volume (Nicholas Henriksen and Meghan E. Armstrong) and Lorenzo García-Amaya (University of Michigan). They analyze the meaning (i.e. the pragmatic function) of the intonation of yes-no questions in a Peninsular variety of Spanish. They recruited 7 male and 7 female speakers of Manchego Peninsular Spanish and instructed them to converse freely for 10-15 minutes. The total number of sentences analyzed is 89. As far as the overall frequency of the contours is concerned, the authors find that L+H* H% and L+H* L% are the most common nuclear configurations, whereas L* H% configurations are rare in their data. They also put forward a temptative interpretation of the pragmatic functions of these configurations: they suggest that L+H* H% signals speaker-attributed thoughts, whereas L+H* L% signals other-attributed thoughts. Thu authors also cautiously suggest that H+L* L% could signal what they call *affected questions*, i.e. those where the speaker is ironic/sarcastic, annoyed or upset.

In chapter 10, Leopoldo Omar Labastia (Universidad Nacional del Comahue) describes the intonation of statements in Buenos Aires Spanish. The author analyzes two TV interviews of two speakers of *porteño* Spanish in order to define the pragamtic meaning of three nuclear configurations in Buenos Aires Spanish. He claims that such meaning is *associated with the strength and emphasis with which the state of affairs is communicated and with the type of cognitive effect to be achieved by the utterance.*

The following chapter, whose title is *Towards automatic language processing and intonational labeling in European Portuguese*, is by Helena Moniz (Universidade de Lisboa & Instituto de Engenharia de Sistemas e Computadores - Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Lisboa), Fernando Batista (Universidade de Lisboa & Instituto de Engenharia de Sistemas e Computadores - Investigação e Desenvolvimento em

Lisboa), Ana Isabel Mata (Universidade de Lisboa), and Isabel Trancoso (Instituto de Engenharia de Sistemas e Computadores - Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Lisboa & Instituto Superior Técnico). The authors describe a method that, basing on prosodic features (pitch, energy, and tempo patterns), distinguishes between sentence-form types and disfluency/fluency repairs. Thus, more in general, this method contributes to the characterization of intonational patterns of European Portuguese, but it might very easily be adapted to other languages.

In chapter 12, Núria Esteve-Gibert (Universitat Pompeu Fabra), Ulf Liszkowski (University of Hamburg), and Pilar Prieto (ICREA – Universitat Pompeu Fabra) argue that prosodic and gestural features distinguish the intention of pointing gestures in child-directed communication. The authors, in fact, found that there are differences in the audiovisual prosody of three kinds of pointing gestures in child-directed speech. The three kinds of pointing gestures are the expressive pointing (caregivers share with the infant their interest in an object), the imperative pointing (caregivers asked the infants to give them an object), and the informative pointing (caregivers informed the infants about where an object was). There three kinds of pointing differ, first of all, from a gestural point of view. To put it in the authors' words, *as for pointing shapes, caregivers used index-finger deictic gestures in an expressive and an informative intention, but open hand deictic gestures (mostly palm up) when conveying an imperative intention*. Such different gestures go hand in hand with different acoustic cues (basically with different intonational contours, but also with different pitch ranges and speech rates).

The following chapter is by Marisa G. Filipe (Universidade do Porto), Sónia Frota (Universidade de Lisboa), Adrienne Villagomez (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), and Selene G. Vicente (Universidade do Porto), who examine a set of linguistic abilities (including the prosodic ones) in fifteen 5-9 years old Portuguese children with high-functioning autism. The authors find evidence that children with high-functioning autism differ from most children of their age in two respects. On one side, the have difficulties understanding some of the communicative functions conveyed by prosody. This goes hand in hand with the fact that they have difficulties perceiving and imitating prosodic patterns. As the authors themselves point out, this is not an isolated case, but rather a general tendency, insofar as also in other languages *children with high-functioning autism performed significantly poorer than controls on at least one prosodic task*.

Chapter 14 is dedicated to early prosodic development. Its authors (Sónia Frota, Marisa Cruz, Nuno Matos, and Marina Vigário, all of them from the Universidade de Lisboa) describe and analyze longitudinally the emergence of intonation and

phrasing in two European Portuguese children between 1;00 and 2;04. Data gathered by the authors suggest that the development of intonation and phrasing precedes the beginning of combinatorial speech. From a methodological point of view, it is worth pointing out that this study explores both intonation and duration to analyze early prosodic development in Portuguese. One of the most interesting results is that both children displayed an adult-like use of distinct nuclear contours and tune-text alignment before 1;09. Crucially, these landmarks in intonational development precede the onset of the two-word period. This strongly suggests that intonational development is independent from grammatical development.

Conxita Lleó (University of Hamburg) is the author of the following chapter, which contains a preliminary study of wh-questions in German and Spanish child language. The first part of the chapter contains an interesting review of the most important publications about wh- questions in German and Spanish. In the following pages the author analyzed 60 wh-questions uttered by two 3-year-old German-Spanish bilingual children and compares them with 80 questions produced by German and Spanish monolingual children of the same age and with 71 questions produced by German and Spanish adults. The author puts forward two main conclusions. On one side, she concludes that most aspects of wh- questions seem to already be acquired at the age of 3. On the other hand, her data show that bilinguals exhibit a considerable amount of intonational variation, which is attributed to cross-linguistic interaction.

The penultimate chapter of the book is by Pastora Martínez-Castilla (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia) and Sue Peppé. The goal of their research is assessing the prosody in speakers of Spanish who have Williams syndrome. The authors describe the only test that was specifically designed to assess prosody in Spanish-speaking clinical populations: the Iberian Spanish version of the Profiling Elements of Prosody in Speech-Communication (PEPS-C) test. The use of this test in clinical populations is exemplified with the case of Williams syndrome. One of the main conclusions that the authors put forward is, in their own words, that *the PEPS-C test is a valid tool for researchers and clinicians who are to assess prosodic skills in Spanish-speaking individuals with disorders of different aetiologies.*

The last chapter deals with a non-spoken language, the Catalan Sign Language (LSC), a language that is obviously not genetically related with the spoken languages belonging to the Ibero-Romance group. Josep Quer (ICREA-Universitat Pompeu Fabra) is the author of this chapter about *Intonation and grammar in the visual-gestural modality*. It goes without saying that the term "intonation" is used metaphorically, insofar as F0 modulation has no linguistic function in sign languages. Intonation in this chapter means *facial nonmanual articulations*. The

reason behind the use of the term intonation instead of *facial nonmanual articulations* is that the author shows that facial articulations (especially brow raise) are a marker of syntactic integration of the dependent clause into the matrix (potentially layered with other nonmanuals). Facial articulations, thus, display in LSC one of the linguistic functions that is played by F0 modulation in Ibero-Romance spoken languages, i.e. conveying information about syntactic structure.

Paolo Roseano
Universitat de Barcelona & University of South Africa
paolo.roseano@ub.edu