

Documenting Tucumán Spanish: native patterns versus language contact prosodies.

Tucumán Spanish (TS) -up to date still undocumented- is a variety of Spanish with a strong Quecha substrate spoken in the northwest of Argentina by 1,500.000 people. This project's goal is to document the intonation system of Tucumán Spanish both as spoken in San Miguel de Tucumán, the capital of the state, and in situations of language contact with the prestige variety of Buenos Aires Spanish (BAS). To that end, a database was created by a) administering a version of the Argentinian Spanish Discourse Context Task (DCT) in the *Atlas interactivo de la entonación del español* (Prieto & Roseano, 2009, 2010) b) collecting a 15-minute spontaneous speech sample to 33 Tucumán residents, to 18 Tucumán speakers relocated in Buenos Aires, and to 5 Buenos Aires speakers as the control group. Based on these data, the following research questions were addressed: (1) How do Tucumán speakers phonetically realize broad focus statements, absolute and partial interrogatives? (2) Do Tucumán speakers relocated in Buenos Aires accommodate to the intonation patterns of Buenos Aires Yes-no questions? (3) If prosodic accommodation takes place, how is it phonetically implemented?

In order to answer research question 1, two trained phoneticians listened to the sentences three or more times and transcribed them individually using ToBI notation (Beckman et. al, 2002). Inter-transcriber reliability reached a consensus over 90%. Table 1 below summarizes the transcribed sentences corresponding to Broad Focus statements, Interrogatives and vocatives in TS. While the intonation of statements in Tucumán Spanish is in general very similar to those of Buenos Aires Spanish, the low nuclear accent and high boundary tones of the Tucumán Yes-No Questions (Figure 1) stand out in sharp contrast with the LH*-HL% hat shape of the prestige variety (See Figure 2). Given that this difference is also perceptually very salient, we wondered whether relocated Tucumanos would accommodate their Yes-no question intonation (variety 1) to that of the prestige variety (variety 2), as it has been documented for other varieties of Spanish (Colantoni & Gurlekian, 2004; Mennen, 2004).

In order to address research questions 2 and 3 regarding prosodic accommodation, we manually marked the pre-nuclear pitch accents, nuclear pitch accents and boundary tones of Yes-no questions (info seeking and emphatic) from the DCT by Tucumán residents, by those relocated in Buenos Aires and by the control group of Buenos Aires speakers in order to gather pitch and duration measurements. Results showed that only 27.8% and 22.2% of the participants accommodate to BAS across neutral and emphatic Yes-no questions respectively by (1) realizing a low boundary tone, namely L% or HL%, and by (2) implementing higher f0 ranges in the emphatic Yes-no questions than in the neutral, in line with canonical BAS. In addition to these two accommodating traits, the Yes-no questions of relocated Tucumanos still preserved some traits typical of Tucumán, such as a low pitch range for the nuclear pitch accent, which was higher in Buenos Aires Spanish. Therefore, we conclude that mixed accommodation patterns observed in this work provided further support for O'Rourke's (2012) claim that dialect contact might trigger alternate intonation patterns. These results will be discussed within theories of language contact.

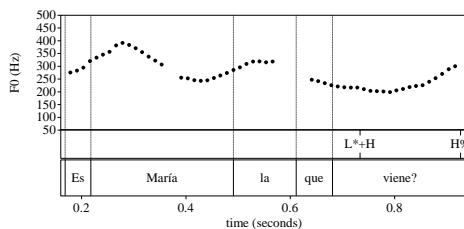


Fig 1. Yes-No question in Tucumán Spanish.

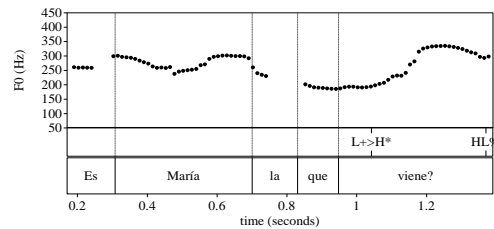


Fig 2. Yes-No question in Buenos Aires Spanish.

Table 1. *Transcriptions of Tucumán Spanish sentence intonations and their frequencies.*

Statements	Yes-no questions	Wh-questions
<i>Broad focus</i> HL* L% (71%) LH* L% (29%)	<i>Info seeking yes-no questions</i> L* / L+>H* H% (54%) L* / L+>H* ;H% (46%)	<i>Neutral</i> M+L* L% (48%) M* M% (17%) L* H% (35%)
<i>Vocatives</i> L+M* H%-M%-L% H+M* HM%	<i>Emphatic</i> L* ;H% L* ;H% (84%)	<i>Rhetorical</i> L+H* L% (49%) H+M* M% (50%) L* H% (1%)
	<i>Echo- counterexpectational</i> L* H% (42%) L* ;H% (58%)	
	<i>Imperative</i> L+H* H% (40%) / ;H% (60%)	
	<i>Confirmatory</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As 1 IP L* H% / ;H% (40%) HL* L% (20%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As 2 IP's L* H- H+L* L% (19%) L* H- L* ;H% (1%)	

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