

Intonational patterns of the contact varieties *Olivenza* Spanish and *Olivenza* Portuguese

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The goal of the present study is twofold: First, to describe the intonational similarities and differences between *Olivenza* Spanish (Oli-Spa) and *Olivenza* Portuguese (Oli-Port), whose intonation is not systematically described in the literature, and, second, to determine which kind of prosodic features have been transferred in this contact situation.

I analyzed semi-spontaneous data recorded from ten monolingual speakers of Oli-Spa and from ten Oli-Port/Spa bilinguals (nowadays, all speakers of Oli-Port are bilingual and older than 60 years). The material, collected using an intonation survey (Prieto & Roseano, 2010), comprises neutral and biased sentences (639 IPs in total): 274 declaratives, 121 yes-no questions, 166 wh-questions, and 78 imperatives. The description of both pitch accents and boundary tones is compatible with the labeling conditions proposed within the ToBI framework.

The intonational analysis of Oli-Spa and Oli-Port has shown that following prenuclear accents **(a)** and nuclear configurations **(b)** were attested: **1. In neutral statements: (a)** $L+>H^*$ and L^*+H vs. $L+>H^*$ and $L+H^*$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port) and **(b)** $L^* L\%$ vs. $H+L^* L\%$ and $L^* L\%$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port). The deaccentuation of the IP-internal prosodic words amounted to 56% in Oli-Spa and to 53% in Oli-Port; **2. In contrastive focus statements and exclamative statements: (b)** $L+H^* L\%$ (for both varieties); **3. In contradiction statements: (b)** $L+H^* HL\%$ vs. $L+H^* L\%$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port); **4. In neutral yes-no questions: (a)** $L+>H^*$ and L^*+H vs. $L+>H^*$ and $L+H^*$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port) and **(b)** $L^* !HL\%$ and $L^* H\%$ (for both varieties); **5. In exclamative yes-no questions: (b)** $L+H^* !HL\%$ and $L+H^* L\%$ vs. $L+H^* !HL\%$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port); **6. In neutral wh-questions: (a)** $L+>H^*$ and L^*+H vs. $L+>H^*$ and $L+H^*$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port) and **(b)** $H+L^* L\%$ and $L^* H\%$ (for both varieties); **7. In exclamative wh-questions: (b)** $L+H^* L\%$ (for both varieties); **8. In commands: (b)** $H+L^* L\%$ and $L+H^* L\%$ (for both varieties); in **requests: (b)** $L+H^* HL\%$ and $L^* HL\%$ vs. $L+H^* HL\%$ (Oli-Spa vs. Oli-Port). Interestingly, Oli-Spa and Oli-Port mark yes-no questions and wh-questions by lengthening the IP-final syllables (the lengthening being stronger in yes-no questions).

A comparison of the prenuclear accents and the nuclear configurations found in the varieties under investigation with the tonal repertoire of Castilian Spanish (Cast-Spa; Estebas-Vilaplana & Prieto, 2010; Hualde & Prieto, In press) and Standard European Portuguese (Stan-Eu-Port; Frota, 2014; Frota et al., In press) reveals that both contact varieties, Oli-Spa and Oli-Port, show similar tonal units on the one hand, but also prosodic features typical of Cast-Spa and Stan-Eu-Port on the other. Nevertheless, Oli-Spa and Oli-Port rather pattern with Cast-Spa than with Stan-Eu-Port which can be traced back to the stronger contact with Spanish. The results of the current paper can be interpreted as follows: First, Oli-Spa appears to be the result of L2 acquisition and convergence between the prosodic systems of Spanish and Portuguese; and, second, Oli-Port speakers seem to undergo first language attrition. Both prenuclear accents and nuclear configurations have been transferred in this language contact situation.

References

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