Chilean Spanish Intonation

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Chilean Spanish Intonation

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1. Introduction

This chapter presents some of the most representative intonation patterns of the Spanish dialect spoken in Santiago, Chile. Chile is a narrow 4,200-kilometre-long strip of land extending down the Pacific Coast of Latin America, of which less than 300,000 square kilometres is habitable. Of the total population of 15 million, just over 8 million live in the capital area around the cities of Santiago, Valparaíso and Rancagua, while another 4 million are concentrated in the southern region from Concepción to Temuco. Traditionally, Chilean linguists have broken Chilean Spanish into four dialect areas mainly on the basis of lexical and segmental differences. The latest standard description (Wagner 1998, 2004), for example, includes 217 rural and urban locations, where 16% and 84% of the Chilean population is concentrated, respectively. We have chosen to describe the Santiago dialect because it is the most representative.

Intonation studies in Chile began in the 1950s coinciding with the development of phonology, when Silva Fuenzalida (1956-1957) reduced pitch contours to a finite number of pitch phonemes which, combined with stress and juncture phonemes, give rise to suprasegmental morphemes. Nothing much happened until Contreras (1976) put forward a theory to describe nuclear accent placement in connection with word order and information structure. A few years later, Silva Corvalán (1984) examined the intonation of OV, narrow focus constructions, and Urrutia (1988) investigated a Chilean southern dialect supported by spectrographic evidence.


\textsuperscript{*} We thank, first of all, our informants. Thanks go as well to Eva Estebas-Vilaplana and Christoph Gabriel, and to the editors, Pilar Prieto and Paolo Roseano, who read and commented on a previous draft of this chapter. All the errors that remain are ours.
The one hour corpus; this was, at the same time, the first attempt to conduct prosodic research within the Autosegmental-Metrical framework (Cid and Ortiz 1998, 2000, Cid and Poblete 1999, Cid et al. 2000) and the results do not differ much from those obtained in the present study. Rosas (2002) examined the ALECh corpus and described the intonation of 240 statements elicited from twelve, mostly regional speakers. Cepeda and Rosas (2007) analysed the configurations of justification adverbial clauses with a discursive politeness effect, and Pereira (2007) looked into the role of pitch and pause to disambiguate utterances with high attachment of relative clauses. More recently, Román, Cofré and Rosas (2008) compared double-peak prenuclear patterns in declaratives with single-peak prenuclear patterns in questions as part of the AMPER project.

A few studies have focused mainly on prominence and analysed, for instance, the reaccentuation of given information and the shifting of prenuclear and nuclear pitch accents to avoid prominence clashes (Ortiz 1994, 2000, 2003). More recent research has concentrated on the strategies used to solve accentual clashes (Atria 2009), patterns with one single peak being the preferred solution.

The chapter is organized as follows: section 2 contains the inventory of pitch accents and boundary tones found in the Santiago Chilean dialect; in section 3 we present and comment on the basic intonation contours found in the Chilean corpus, including statements, questions, commands and vocatives; and in section 4 we offer our conclusions.

2. Chilean Spanish intonational phonology

2.1. The pitch accents

Table 1 shows the inventory of pitch accents used in this description.

Table 1: Inventory of monotonal and bitonal pitch accents in Chilean Spanish and their schematic representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monotonal pitch accents</th>
<th>Bitonal pitch accents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L*</td>
<td>L+H*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This accent is phonetically realised as a low plateau at the minimum of the speaker’s range. In the present corpus, it is found in the nuclear position of wh- and echo questions, gentle requests and the last item of closed enumerations.

This accent is phonetically realised as a high plateau with no preceding F0 valley. In our data, it is attested as one of the possible choices for nuclear position in invitational questions, open enumerations and calling contours followed by H%.

This accent is phonetically realised as a rising pitch movement during the accented syllable with the F0 peak located at the end of this syllable. It can be found in the nuclear position of narrow
focus statements, statements of the obvious, wh- questions, neutral yes-no questions, counterexpectational and echo questions, commands and vocatives, among others. The downstepped version is attested in neutral statements, and the upstepped version, in emphatic and contradiction statements and invitational and rhetorical questions.

L+H* This accent is phonetically realised as a rising pitch movement on the accented syllable with the F0 peak usually slightly aligned with the postaccentual syllable. It is attested in the prenuclear position of broad focus statements, exclamative statements, commands, requests and questions of all types.

H+L* This accent is phonetically realised as a F0 fall within the accented syllable. It is attested in nuclear position in yes-no questions and echo questions (with a rising contour); in questions seeking confirmation and in disjunctive questions (with a falling contour). The downstepped version is found in broad focus statements.

2.2. The boundary tones

**Table 2: Inventory of monotonal and bitonal boundary tones in Chilean Spanish and their schematic representations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monotonal boundary tones</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L%</td>
<td>L% is phonetically realised as a low sustained tone or a falling tone at the baseline of the speaker. It is found at the end of broad and narrow focus statements, commands, wh- questions, invitational and rhetorical questions, yes-no questions and vocatives.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M%</td>
<td>M% is phonetically realised as a rising or falling movement to a target mid point. It is attested in uncertainty statements, echo and imperative questions, calling vocatives, greetings and courtesy adverbials.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H%</td>
<td>H% is phonetically realised as a rising pitch movement coming from a low or a high pitch accent. It is found in gentle requests, invitations and uncertainty statements.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bitonal boundary tones</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH%</td>
<td>HH% is phonetically realised as a sharp rise at the end of the phrase usually attaining the highest level of the speaker’s range. It is found in questions of various types.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH%</td>
<td>LH% is phonetically realised as a F0 valley followed by a rise. It is attested in counterexpectational questions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Basic intonational patterns in Chilean Spanish

Following the guidelines established for the present volume, a total of 69 utterances (plus another 6 which helped us corroborate initial findings) were recorded by 5 Santiago Chilean Spanish speakers (2 women and 3 men) between 30 and 65 years old, which yielded a total of 375 configurations. The recordings were analysed separately by the three researchers and the results were compared with consensus then being reached on any initially differing analyses. It is worth noting that some of the recordings were analysed more than once and that, on the whole, there was not much inter-researcher variation in the preliminary analysis and intonational marking. The 69 utterances were obtained by means of a guided questionnaire based on Prieto (1991) consisting of various contexts and situations which elicited semi-spontaneous answers, although the questionnaire was modified both lexically and syntactically in order to reflect Chilean usage. The basic version of this questionnaire can be found in Prieto and Roseano (coords. 2009-2010). A few more sentence types were added mainly to ascertain the existence of the prenuclear accent L*+H and the status of final vocatives. The collected utterances were classified into statements, questions (wh-, yes-no, etc.), commands, requests and vocatives. In the case of the first two categories, both marked and unmarked versions were considered, as well as meanings associated with attitudinal factors which convey more or less subtle overtones, such as factual, exclamatory and disapproving declaratives, invitational and critical questions, etc.

Our theoretical framework conforms to the revised Sp_ToBI proposal by Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto (2008) developed for Castilian Spanish. With respect to the earlier model by Beckman et al. (2002), this basically entails the incorporation of new pitch accents L* and L*+H, thus yielding an inventory of two monotonal (L* and H*) and four bitonal pitch accents (L+H*, L+>H*, L*+H and H+L*), as well as bitonal boundary tones, to make up a total of four, i.e. two rises (HH% and LH%), a fall (HL%) and a mid stylised tone (M%). One of the main aims of this chapter is to determine the extent to which the new (Castilian Spanish) proposal conforms to the description of the Santiago Chilean dialect. The utterances were acoustically analysed with Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2010).

In this section we examine the main intonation patterns found for the various sentence types in the Santiago Chilean dialect in the following order: 3.1 statements; 3.2 biased statements; 3.3 questions (including yes-no and wh-); 3.4 commands; and 3.5 vocatives.

3.1. Statements

3.1.1. Broad focus statements

Broad focus statements are typically produced with L+>H* prenuclear accents and with L+!H* or, less frequently, !H+L* as nuclear accents, followed by L%. That is, as in Castilian Spanish and other dialects, prenuclear accents are consistently produced with a rise throughout the stressed syllable and a peak in the postaccented syllable. It is worth noting, however, that the delayed peak is not as late as in Castilian. The difference between the highest point in the prenuclear accent and the delayed peak may often be as low as 5Hz. The
other proposed prenuclear accent, L*+H, which underlines the auditory perception of a delayed peak, was not found in the present corpus. Unlike Castilian and other Spanish dialects, Santiago Chilean Spanish does not have monotonal L* nuclear accents in broad focus declaratives. Indeed, the most frequent nuclear accent is a rise aligned with the stressed syllable and downstepped to the previous accent, which conveys an involved attitude on the part of the speaker. The other possibility is a fall within the nuclear syllable, which signals more factual and therefore less enthusiastic information. This is also the type of nuclear accent found in the last items of closed enumerations. We therefore transcribe the typical nuclear accents of Santiago broad focus statements as either L+!H*, after a previous H* accent (as is also reported for Mexican Spanish by de-la-Mota et al. this volume) or !H+L*, as we can see in figures 1 and 2. The latter implies less emotional involvement.

3.1.2. Biased statements

The nuclear accent used in biased statements differs from that of broad focus statements in the relative prominence of the F0 peak. This higher peak can be transcribed either as L+H* (without the downstep diacritic) or as L+iH* (with an upstep diacritic). This transcription allows us to distinguish among three levels of prominence, namely L+!H*, L+H* and L+iH*.

3.1.2.1. Narrow focus statements

Contrastive narrow focus can also be expressed with a L+H* nuclear accent. Figure 3 shows the sentence *No, de limones* ‘No, of lemons’, elicited in response to ‘Do you want a kilogram of oranges?’ by a male speaker. Both accents have been realised on an extra high pitch, which we transcribe simply as L+H*, bearing in mind that the targets represent high F0 values. Similar patterns are attested in Ecuadorian (see O’Rourke this volume), Castilian (see Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume) and Mexican Spanish (see de-la-Mota et al. this volume).

Narrow focus contradiction statements are similar to correction statements. The nuclear configuration used in emphatic statements (L+iH*) is also used in example 4, the contradiction statement *¡No, se van a Lima!* ‘No, they’re going to Lima!’, with which a speaker amicably but firmly contradicts information wrongly assumed by a friend. The rendering is relatively slow and the presence of three pitch accents gives it a deliberate flavour.
Figure 1: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the broad focus statement Bebe una limonada ‘S/he is drinking lemonade’ produced with a L+>H* prenuclear accent and L+!H* nuclear accent followed by a L% boundary tone.

Figure 2: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the broad focus statement María come mandarinas ‘Maria is eating tangerines’ produced with L+>H* and !H* prenuclear accents and a !H+L* nuclear accent followed by a L% boundary tone.
Figure 3: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the narrow focus statement No, de limones ‘No, of lemons’ produced with two identical L+H* L% nuclear configurations.

Figure 4: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the contradiction statement ¡No, se van a Lima! ‘No, they’re going to Lima!’ produced with a L+iH* L% nuclear configuration.
3.1.2.2. Exclamative statements

The higher degree of emphasis can be seen in the exclamative statement ¡Qué frío más horrible! ‘It’s dreadfully cold!’, which is transcribed with a L+H* nuclear accent on horrible followed by a L% boundary tone, as shown in figure 5.

3.1.2.3. Statements of the obvious

The meaning conveyed by this sort of statement is obviousness. The speaker is expressing surprise (perhaps ironic) while answering an interlocutor’s question, believing that this answer is self-evident. Figure 6 displays the intonation contour of the sentence ¡Sí, mujer, de Guillermo! ‘Yes [she’s pregnant] by Guillermo [of course]!’ consisting of similar L+H* prenuclear accents and a L+H* nuclear accent with a low boundary tone L%. (Note this configuration is also reported for Venezuelan Andean Spanish by Astruc et al. this volume.)

3.1.2.4. Uncertainty statements

As in other dialects, uncertainty statements take a M% boundary tone. The speaker has her doubts about a present she has bought and produces a type of configuration whose meaning can be associated with a self-doubting attitude. From a discourse point of view, this type of pattern consists of two intonational phrases, the first of which conveys the new information and the second of which conveys givenness, with a relatively stable plateau in between. The two intonational phrases seen in example in figure 7, Puede que no le guste el regalo que le compré ‘S/he may not like the present I have bought him/her’, have no metrical break. The first has a L+H* H% nuclear pattern to explain the dip on guste, which signals the new information, while the second, associated with background information, takes a H* M% configuration.

3.2. Questions

3.2.1. Yes-no questions

As usual in other dialects, yes-no questions offer more variety than statements. To begin with, prenuclear accents are of two types, H+L* and L+H*, whereas the prenuclear accent of statements is L+H*. We find three main nuclear configurations: H+L*, i.e. a step-down to the nuclear syllable; L+H*, i.e. a rise within the nuclear syllable; and L* before the final high target. Finally, the boundary tones can vary between L% and HH%. Figure 8 gives an example of the information-seeking yes-no question ¿Ya llegó Maria? ‘Has Maria arrived yet?’, with two prenuclear accents, L+H* and H+L*, the latter starting a distinct dip before the final rise L+H* HH%. Here it is worth pointing out that the target of this type of final rise is not as high as in other Spanish dialects, like Castilian (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume) and Mexican Spanish (de-la-Mota et al. this volume). In fact, the Mexican realisation of HH% is, in comparison, extremely high. In general, the meanings associated with these configurations involve genuine interest on the part of the speaker.
**Figure 5:** Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the exclamative statement ¡Qué frío más horrible! ‘It’s dreadfully cold!’ produced with a L+iH* nuclear pitch accent followed by a L% boundary tone.

**Figure 6:** Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the statement of the obvious ¡Sí, mujer, de Guillermo! ‘Yes [she’s pregnant] by Guillermo [of course]!’ produced with two L+H* prenuclear accents and a L+iH* L% nuclear configuration.
Puede que no le guste el regalo que le compré.

Figure 7: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the uncertainty statement Puede que no le guste el regalo que le compré ‘s/he may not like the present I have bought him/her’ produced with two intonational phrases, the first with a L+>H* configuration and the second with H* M%.

¿Ya llegó María?

Figure 8: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the information-seeking yes-no question ¿Ya llegó María? ‘Has Maria arrived yet?’ produced with a L+H* HH% nuclear configuration.
It is difficult to find totally neutral yes-no questions in our corpus, as most questions appear to have nuances of politeness or some other pragmatic overtone. For instance, questions such as ¿Tiene hora? ‘Have you got the time?’, ¿Tiene mermelada? ‘Have you got any jam?’, ¿Puedo entrar? ‘May I come in?’ were interpreted as requests with greater or lesser degrees of formality and/or deferentiality.

Gentle requests are exemplified in figures 9 and 10. The first is ¿Tiene mermelada? ‘Have you got any jam?’ and the second, ¿Tiene hora? ‘Have you got the time?’ The first takes a H+L* prenuclear accent and a L+H* nuclear accent with a high target, a configuration which simply carries a meaning of politeness. In the second example, on the other hand, a pleading nuance is added to politeness, suggested by the L* L% nuclear configuration in which L* is realised with a markedly long syllable. This pattern is very common in indirect speech acts such as commands of the type Ven ‘Come’ with a begging overtone, that is, ‘I beg you to come’.

Figure 11 shows a version of a disjunctive question, in which the first phrase rises to HH- while the second falls to L%. This makes the meaning more pointed but still friendly, suggested by the voice quality the speaker uses, which extends over the whole utterance: a labial setting implying a permanent half-smile (Laver 1994: 398).

3.2.2. Biased yes-no questions

3.2.2.1. Echo yes-no questions

Echo questions have a pattern similar to information-seeking yes-no questions, except that the boundary tone has a higher target: a nuclear accent L* followed by a HH% boundary. Phonetically speaking, the realisation of this type of boundary is higher than that of ordinary yes-no questions. Figure 12 illustrates ¿Dijiste que son las nueve? ‘Did you say it was nine o’clock?’ The nuclear dip preceding the final rise reinforces the effect of surprised disbelief or incredulity. By contrast, a shallower dip and weaker rise would turn the question into a neutral echo question.

A counterexpectational yes-no question expressing marked incredulity, ¿Tienes frío?! ‘You’re cold?!, is produced with a bitonal boundary tone LH%, which is not normally found in other sentence types in the Santiago Chilean dialect and is illustrated in figure 13. The nuclear configuration is L+H* LH%.

3.2.2.2. Imperative yes-no questions

Another example of an indirect speech act is a yes-no question used to express a command. In our corpus, the imperative yes-no question ¿Quieren callarse? ‘Would you please be quiet?’ was produced with a H* prenuclear and a L+H* M% nuclear pattern (figure 14).

Questions with an invitational nuance consist of a characteristic steady rise (H* HH%), as exemplified in figure 15, where the boundary tone has a noticeably high target. The same pattern would turn a polite question, like that in 10, into a much more neutral yes-no question, deprived of the polite overtone.
Figure 9: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the polite yes-no question ¿Tiene mermelada? ‘Have you got any jam?’ produced with a L+H* HH% nuclear configuration.

Figure 10: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the polite yes-no question with a pleading nuance ¿Tiene hora? ‘Have you got the time?’ produced with a L* L% nuclear configuration.
¿Quieren melón o helado? ‘Would you like melon or ice cream?’ the first part of which is produced with a L+H* HH- and the second with a H+L* L% nuclear configuration.

¿Dijiste que son las nueve? ‘Did you say it was nine o’clock?’ produced with a L* HH% nuclear configuration.

*Figure 11: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the disjunctive question ¿Quieren melón o helado? ‘Would you like melon or ice cream?’ the first part of which is produced with a L+H* HH- and the second with a H+L* L% nuclear configuration.*

*Figures 12: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the echo yes-no question ¿Dijiste que son las nueve? ‘Did you say it was nine o’clock?’ produced with a L* HH% nuclear configuration.*
Figure 13: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the counterexpectational yes-no question ¡¿Tienes frío?! ‘You’re cold!’ produced with a L+H* LH% nuclear configuration.

Figure 14: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the imperative yes-no question ¿Quieren callarse? ‘Would you please be quiet?’ produced with a L+H* M% configuration.
3.2.2.3. Confirmation yes-no questions

A yes-no question expecting confirmation, ¿Verdad que vos a venir? ‘You are coming, aren’t you?’, was said in our corpus with a nuclear pattern similar to that in example 2, a version of a broad focus statement, that is, a final fall involving a H+L* nuclear accent and a L% boundary tone. The main difference lies in the high plateau reached in the question between the prenuclear and the nuclear accents, as shown in figure 16.

3.2.3. Wh- questions

As in other Spanish dialects, wh- questions can take either a falling or a rising nuclear pattern. A question such as ¿Qué hora es? ‘What time is it?’, for example, will take a rise if the speaker asks an open, more neutral question, whereas a more urgent meaning is conveyed with a fall, that is, when the speaker’s course of action depends on how early or late it is. In figure 17, the information-seeking wh- question ¿De dónde vienes? ‘Where do you come from?’ displays a L+H* prenuclear and a L* HH% nuclear configuration which, phonetically speaking, has a relatively mild rise compared with other samples in our corpus. The relatively high key conveys a neutral meaning.

A different type of wh- question is shown in figure 18, where we see a L+H* prenuclear configuration and a L* L% nuclear pattern. This suggests a more serious, urgent overtone.

3.2.4. Biased wh- questions

3.2.4.1. Echo wh- questions

With echo questions speakers repeat the information received either because they have not heard and ask for repetition or because they need to have it clear in their mind before giving an answer. A neutral echo wh- question is exemplified in figure 19, where ¿Dónde voy? ‘Where am I going?’ is said with a L+H* prenuclear and a L* HH% nuclear configuration.

A similar high-pitched boundary tone can be seen in the next biased wh- question used to convey incredulity. The early dip of the prenuclear accent and the high-pitched boundary tone reinforce the emphatic meaning of the counterexpectational echo wh- question displayed in figure 20 ¿Qué dices que te dieron? ‘What do you say they gave you?’

3.2.4.2. Imperative wh- questions

An example of an imperative wh- question, with which the speaker urges the listener to carry out a neglected task, is shown in figure 21, ¿Cuándo lo vas a hacer? ‘When are you going to do it?’, realised with a L+H* prenuclear and a L* L% nuclear pattern.

The same pleading nuance in example 10 (¿Tiene hora?) is present in the following wh-question, figure 22, with an invitation flavour, ¿Por qué no vienen? ‘Why don’t you come?’, in which there is again a falling nuclear contour L+iH* L% with syllable lengthening.
Figure 15: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the invitation yes-no question ¿Quieren caramelo? ‘Would you like some sweets?’ produced with a \( iH^* \) HH% nuclear configuration.

Figure 16: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the confirmation yes-no question ¿Verdad que vas a venir? ‘You are coming, aren’t you?’ produced with a H+L* L% nuclear configuration.
Figure 17: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the information-seeking wh- question ¿De dónde vienes? ‘Where do you come from?’ produced with a L* HH% nuclear configuration.

Figure 18: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the urgent wh- question ¿De dónde vienes? ‘Where do you come from?’ produced with a L* L% nuclear configuration.
Figure 19: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the neutral echo wh- question ¿Dónde voy? ‘Where am I going?’ produced with a L* HH% nuclear configuration.

Figure 20: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the counterexpectational wh- question ¿Qué dices que te dieron? ‘What do you say they served you?’ produced with a L+H* HH% nuclear configuration.
Figure 21: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the imperative wh-question ¿Cuándo lo vas a hacer? ‘When are you going to do it?’ produced with a $L^* L^%$ nuclear configuration.

Figure 22: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the invitation wh-question ¿Por qué no vienen? ‘Why don’t you come?’ produced with a $L+iH^* L^%$ nuclear configuration.
3.2.4.3. Rhetorical wh-questions

Rhetorical questions are those which do not expect an answer and are used either because this is self-evident or when speakers themselves provide it. In the present corpus, an example of the first type, ¿Qué haríais sin mí? ‘What would you do without me?’, was produced with two L+›H* prenuclear accents followed by a L+!H* L% nuclear pattern, as presented in figure 23. The teasing, smug attitude this question conveys is reinforced by a brisk, clipped rendering of the nuclear syllable (mí).

3.3. Commands and requests

3.3.1. Commands

Strong illocutionary force is associated with the rising-falling nuclear configuration L+!H* L%. In the following example, there is also a profusion of rising prenuclear accents L+H* which prepare the ground, so to speak, for the falling nuclear accent. This can be seen in the command ¡Ven para acá ahora mismo! ‘Come here at once!’, figure 24.

3.3.2. Requests

A similar pattern to that described in figure 2 for a neutral statement, i.e. a L+›H* prenuclear accent and a !H+L* L% nuclear configuration, is found in the neutral request Llenen este formulario ‘Fill in this form’. Softened, more invitational commands and gentle requests are obtained in various ways, such as by moving the H target of the first, prenuclear accent, to a higher register and/or by using a M% boundary tone. Another option involves the addition of a falling or rising courtesy adverbial such as por favor ‘please’, which is generally unaccented and appended to the main clause or may take a rise ending in a M% boundary tone. A similar contour is attested in Venezuelan Andean Spanish (Astruc et al. this volume). The first of these options is illustrated in figure 25.

Finally, in figure 26 we illustrate an insistent cajoling request with which the speaker intends to win her interlocutor’s trust. Yo, ven, hombre ‘Come on, come with us, man’ consists of three rising pitch accents, the nuclear accent occurring on the vocative that concludes the utterance. In the Chilean dialect, sentence-final accented vocatives are associated with a weighty pragmatic meaning.
Figure 23: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the rhetorical wh-question ¿Qué harían sin mí? ‘What would you do without me?’ produced with a L+¡H* L% nuclear configuration.

Figure 24: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the command ¡Ven para acá ahora mismo! ‘Come here at once!’ produced with a L+iH* L% nuclear configuration.
Figure 25: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the request Llenen este formulario, por favor ‘Fill in this form, please’ produced with a L+H* M% nuclear configuration.

Figure 26: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the gentle request Ya, ven, hombre ‘Come on, come with us, man’ produced with a L+iH* L% nuclear configuration.
3.4. Vocatives

As pointed out previously (Ortiz 1994), vocatives are normally accented in utterance-initial position in Chilean Spanish. In final position, however, the accentuation of vocatives depends on the illocutionary force of the speech act. We can safely distinguish, then, between marked and unmarked final vocatives. To Chilean ears, an accented vocative, which is typical of other Spanish dialects in all situations (Castilian Spanish, for example) would sound definitely exaggerated in the case illustrated in figure 27, elicited by the context ‘You say hello to somebody you see every day at work’. This is the unmarked form of address and the result is a single pitch accent (L*+H HH%) on *hola* and a deaccented final vocative which merely completes the rise. The accented vocative *hombre* seen in example 26 sounds emotionally involved. An unaccented vocative, which is also possible here, would sound less enthusiastic.

Vocatives can also be used as tentative calls. Figure 28, *Marina*, shows one of the possible versions of this: the calling contour commonly known as the stylised tone, which is a sustained mid pitch L+H* M%. The same configuration is also reported by O’Rourke et al. with respect to Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (this volume) and is also found in Castilian (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume) and Mexican Spanish (de-la-Mota et al. this volume).

4. Conclusions

The following main conclusions may be drawn from the above description:

a) There are a number of coincidences between the Chilean and Castilian Spanish pitch accent and boundary tone inventories. This is the case of the monotonal H* and L* and the bitonal L+H*, L+>H* and H+L* accents. It is also true of the monotonal H%, L% and M% and the bitonal HH% and LH% boundary tones.

b) There is very little evidence, however, of the existence of L*+H and no evidence of the boundary tone HL%.

c) L+H* and its upstepped version L+¡H* are the most frequent nuclear pitch accents, whereas H+L* is the least frequent. As to boundary tones, the bitonal variety is of rare occurrence.

d) L+>H* is often realised with very little peak delay compared with other Spanish dialects; L+H* is not an unusual alternative in prenuclear position.

e) Nuclear syllable lengthening may contribute significantly to softening commands and turning certain yes-no questions, and even statements, into indirect speech acts involving a pleading attitude.

f) Unmarked, final vocatives used simply to address an interlocutor, as opposed to tentative calls or calling from over a distance, are unaccented and merely appended to a preceding nuclear accent.
Figure 27: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the unmarked form of address, utterance-final vocative in Hola, Mario ‘Hello, Mario’ produced with a L*+H HH% nuclear configuration.

Figure 28: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the vocative ¡Marina! used as a tentative call, produced with a L+H* M% nuclear configuration.
Some of the most frequent intonation contours for a variety of sentence types occurring in Santiago Chilean Spanish have been described in this chapter. The following chart contains a summary of the nuclear pitch configurations (final pitch accent and boundary tones). These have been organized according to the different sentence types.

Table 3: Inventory of nuclear pitch configurations in Chilean Spanish and their schematic representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broad focus statements</td>
<td>L+H* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>!H+L* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biased statements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow focus statements</td>
<td>L+H* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contradiction statements</td>
<td>L+H* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclamative statements</td>
<td>L+H* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements of the obvious</td>
<td>L+H* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty statements</td>
<td>H* M%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes-no questions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information-seeking yes-no questions</td>
<td>L+H* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polite yes-no questions</td>
<td>L+H* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biased yes-no questions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echo yes-no questions</td>
<td>L* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterexpectational yes-no questions</td>
<td>L+H* LH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative yes-no questions</td>
<td>L+H* M%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation yes-no questions</td>
<td>iH* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation yes-no questions</td>
<td>H+L* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wh-questions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information-seeking wh-questions</td>
<td>L* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urgent wh-questions</td>
<td>L* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Biased wh-questions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echo wh-questions</td>
<td>L* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterexpectational wh-questions</td>
<td>L+H* HH%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative wh-questions</td>
<td>L* L%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical wh-questions</td>
<td>L+¡H* L%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Imperatives: commands and requests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Intonation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commands</td>
<td>L+¡H* L%</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requests</td>
<td>L+H* M%</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L+¡H* L%</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Diagram" /></td>
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</table>

### Vocatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Intonation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tentative calls</td>
<td>L+H* M%</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


