1. Introduction


Current dialectology regards Cantabrian as a dialect of Spanish. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that Cantabrian Spanish, historically linked to the Astur-Leonese dominion (Holmsquist 1988, Penny 1970, 2004, Ealo 2007, Fernández Juncal 1998), possesses certain features that Castilian Spanish never inherited or were lost early in its formation process (Lasén Pellón 2004). The old Leonese intonation survives in certain areas of the Kingdom of León that were hispanicized at an early date (Penny 1970, 2004, Meléndez Matías et al. 2008, Zamora Salamanca 2009, López-Boío and Cuevas-Alonso 2009, Cuevas-Alonso and López-Boío in press). This situation results in a continuum extending across the north-western Iberian Peninsula with blurred interdialectal boundaries where a variety of intonation patterns can be found.

In the case of Cantabria, the linguistic panorama is especially complex as it is an area populated by inhabitants with diverse origins: the Cantabrian north, the west of León and the east of the region, which is strongly influenced by the Basque Country (Alarcos 1982). This situation, together with a prosodic base that is characteristic of north-western Peninsular Romance varieties from the Basque Country and Castille, has resulted in intonation patterns that differ significantly between the western and the eastern areas of the region.

Studies devoted to the prosody of northern dialects of Peninsular Spanish, especially those focused on Cantabrian varieties, are scarce. Indeed, these dialects have long been

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In previous research (López-Bobo and Cuevas-Alonso 2009, Cuevas-Alonso and López-Bobo in press) we described and compared the intonation patterns of broad focus statements and information-seeking yes-no questions in the eastern and western parts of Cantabria. The coexistence of two different intonation patterns was confirmed. We see on the one hand the north-western Peninsular or traditional pattern, which has largely been preserved within rural areas and to a lesser extent urban areas, and which shows a number of similarities with other varieties of the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula (Galician, Asturian and Basque Country Spanish), among them the fact that information-seeking yes-no questions end in falling intonation. On the other hand, we find the standard pattern, which is typically present in urban areas and shows a falling contour in declarative sentences and a rising one in information-seeking yes-no questions, as in Castilian Spanish (see Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume). Nonetheless, neither of these subvarieties of Cantabrian Spanish is homogeneous, since they both show significant differences from east to west.

Generally speaking, the contrast between the two subvarieties is clearest in the intonation of information-seeking yes-no questions. The more castilianized subvariety shows L* HH%, whereas L+H* M% is the usual configuration in the traditional subvariety (reinterpreted in this chapter as H* HL%), with upstepping in the more western areas of the region. In our studies, we have noted the presence of truncation in questions in the traditional subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish when an oxytone is present at the end of the sentence. This phenomenon (see Ladd 2008: 180-184; Gussenhoven 2004: 236 and following) is probably caused by the fact that “the speaker rejects the possibility of producing a falling tonal movement on a stressed syllable” (Toledo and Gurlekian 2009: 409) or that there is not enough phonetic space to complete a double tonal movement, i.e. rising and falling (Vizcaíno Ortega et al. 2008). However, declarative sentences do not show different patterns between the two subvarieties as regards their nuclear configuration, which is in most cases H+L* L% (this could be phonologically interpreted as a L* L% realization). In cases where the last lexical stress of the sentence corresponds to a paroxytone word, L+IH* L% can be found (López-Bobo and Cuevas-Alonso 2009, Cuevas-Alonso and López-Bobo in press).

In the present study, a new contribution to the description of Cantabrian Spanish intonation is provided. In order to do this, we have relied on a wider corpus that includes varied syntactic structures with different pragmatic meanings.
The chapter is organized as follows: section 2 introduces the basic inventory of pitch accents and boundary tones attested in Cantabrian Spanish, in line with the revised version of Sp_ToBI (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008). Section 3 presents a description of the intonation patterns in different types of sentences with or without the presence of focus and containing various pragmatic meanings such as insistence, disbelief, obviousness, etc. Finally, the most noteworthy conclusions and a summary of the main nuclear configurations found in Cantabrian Spanish are presented in section 4.

2. Cantabrian Spanish intonational phonology

In the following sections, we will first briefly analyse the prosodic group levels attested in Cantabrian Spanish and then establish the pitch accents and boundary tones documented in this variety, relying on the Sp_ToBI initial proposal and its revisions (Beckman et al. 2002, Face and Prieto 2007, Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008).

2.1. The pitch accents

Cantabrian Spanish has two monotonal pitch accents: L*, which in nuclear position establishes configurations mainly with L%, HH% and HL% (and to a lesser extent, with M%); and H*, which combines with L% and HL%.

Four bitonal pitch accents have been attested in this variety: L*+H, L+H*, L+>H* and H+L*. The data presented in this study seem to confirm the triple contrast among early rising accent (L+H*), delayed peak (L+>H*) and late rising accent (L*+H) proposed by Face and Prieto (2007). High tones can be produced with upstep or downstep in the following cases: ¡H*, ¡H*, L+¡H*, L+¡H*, ¡H+L*. L+H* is very frequent in nuclear position and combines with almost every boundary tone found in Cantabrian Spanish (i.e. L%, M%, HH%, LM% and HL%). L+H* L% is the combination that seems to appear in the largest number of contexts. On average, these contexts coincide with those described for Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008, this volume) and for Catalan (Prieto in press). On the other hand, L+H* H- is common in non-final constituents.

H+L* is a characteristic nuclear tone in information-seeking wh- questions. Nevertheless, when it expresses some kind of pragmatic meaning, it is normally downstepped. Although the number of informants will have to be increased in order for us to draw definitive conclusions, downstepping in this tone seems to be common. In contrast with information-seeking wh- questions, this downstepped combination characterizes imperative sentences. Only cases in combination with L% have been documented, and not with other possible boundary tones.

Regarding prenuclear positions, several pitch accents have been attested. The delayed peak accent L+>H* is the most frequent in broad focus statements and imperatives, but it is also present in biased statements, where it alternates with the early rising accent L+H*, as well as biased questions, in which it alternates with the late rising accent L*+H. However, in yes-no questions L*+H predominates in coexistence with L+H*. In this position, H+L* has also been documented, appearing in the longest intonation units.
Table 1: Inventory of monotonal and bitonal pitch accents in Cantabrian 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>This accent is phonetically realized as a low plateau at the minimum of the speaker’s pitch range. It is found in nuclear position for broad focus statements, exclamative and rhetorical wh- questions, disjunctive questions and information-seeking yes-no questions (in the standard subvariety only).</td>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a rising pitch movement in the accented syllable with the F0 peak located within this syllable. It is found in nuclear position for narrow focus statements, confirmation yes-no questions, imperative yes-no questions (traditional subvariety only), requests and calling contours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H*</td>
<td>L+&gt;H*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a high plateau with no preceding F0 valley. In this corpus, it is found in information-seeking yes-no questions (in the traditional subvariety).</td>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a rising pitch movement on the accented syllable with the F0 peak aligned with the postaccentual syllable. It is attested in prenuclear position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L*+H</td>
<td>L*+H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a rising pitch movement on the accented syllable with the F0 peak located within this syllable. It is found in nuclear position for narrow focus statements, confirmation yes-no questions, imperative yes-no questions (traditional subvariety only), requests and calling contours.</td>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a F0 valley on the accented syllable with a subsequent rise on the postaccentual syllable. This accent is found in prenuclear position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H+L*</td>
<td>H+L*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a F0 fall within the accented syllable. It is found in nuclear position for imperative yes-no questions (standard subvariety only), imperative and exhortative wh- questions, commands and requests.</td>
<td>This accent is phonetically realized as a F0 fall within the accented syllable. It is found in nuclear position for imperative yes-no questions (standard subvariety only), imperative and exhortative wh- questions, commands and requests.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. The boundary tones

With regard to boundary tones, Cantabrian Spanish presents two monotonal tones L% and M% (Beckman et al. 2002 adds H%), and three bitonal tones, HL%, HH% (as in Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008), and LM%. However, the tritonal boundary tone (LHL%) proposed by Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto (2008) for insistent requests has not been attested in our corpus.

As will be explained later in this chapter, the M% boundary tone is highly productive in the traditional subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish. In this subvariety, imperative yes-no questions and echo wh- questions are characterized by this boundary tone. However, it has also been documented in the standard subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish. Special attention must be paid to the presence of a phonetic variant of the bitonal boundary tone HL% within
the traditional subvariety, characterized as a rise from a high tone and then a fall to a mid tone. Consequently, this phonetic realization often combines with nuclear L+H* accents, sometimes upstepped, and with H*.

**Table 2: Schematic representations of monotonal and bitonal boundary tones in Cantabrian Spanish**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monotonal boundary tones</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>L%</strong> L% is phonetically realized as a low sustained tone or a falling tone at the speaker’s baseline. It is attested at the end of broad and narrow focus statements, information-seeking wh- questions and imperatives, among other utterance types.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bitonal boundary tones</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HH%</strong> HH% is phonetically realized as a sharp rise at the end of the phrase usually reaching the highest level of the speaker’s pitch range. It is found in information-seeking yes-no questions in the standard subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LM%</strong> LM% is phonetically realized as a low F0 valley followed by a rise to a mid tone. It is attested in statements of the obvious in the standard subvariety.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HL%</strong> HL% is phonetically realized as a peak in F0 followed by a fall. It is commonly found in statements of the obvious and in information-seeking yes-no questions (in the traditional subvariety only), in confirmation yes-no questions and in insistent calls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Basic intonational patterns in Cantabrian Spanish

In this section the basic intonation contours found in Cantabrian Spanish are described. The present analysis has been carried out by examining sequences and contexts proposed for obtaining the corpus which forms the basis of the *Atlas interactivo de la entonación del español* (Prieto and Roseano coords. 2009-2010). The sentences were obtained through a guided questionnaire based on the one proposed by Prieto (2001), which contains 69 different contexts and situations intended to induce semi-spontaneous responses. The informants were four women aged between 25 and 40 from two towns located in the north-western area of Cantabria (Unquera and Cabezón de la Sal). In developing this description, a total of 276 sentences were analysed. The types of sentences included in the corpus are statements, yes-no questions, wh- questions, echo questions, commands, requests and vocatives. The analysis was performed using Praat v. 5.1.31 (Boersma and Weenink 2010).
Our description relies on 1) traditional research into Spanish and Cantabrian intonation, 2) previous studies based on Sp_ToBI and 3) a systematic analysis of the two intonation patterns (traditional and standard) seen in Cantabrian Spanish. Despite notable divergences between these two linguistic subvarieties, we shall take the standard subvariety as a point of reference to facilitate comparison with descriptions of Spanish dialects that are included in this volume. Nevertheless, references to the intonation of the traditional subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish will also be made.

3.1. Statements

3.1.1. Broad focus statements

Broad focus statements (see figure 1) in this dialect of Spanish are characterized by a L* L% nuclear configuration, regardless of whether they are made up of one or several intonation units. This behaviour coincides with that seen in most varieties of Spanish: Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008; see also Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume), Canarian Spanish (Cabrera-Abreu and Vizcaíno-Ortega this volume), Mexican Spanish (de-la-Mota et al. this volume), Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (O’Rourke this volume) and Argentinian Spanish (Gabriel et al. this volume).

As in other varieties of Spanish, prenuclear pitch accents of broad focus statements are L+>H*; after the rising movement produced throughout the tonic syllable, the prominence falls on the posttonic. However, in those cases where the tonal unit presents a larger number of tonal accents, L*+H or H+L* is attested.

In sentences with two tonal units, the pattern of intermediate phrases is characterized by the continuation rise H- preceded by a L+H* accent, as in the majority of Spanish dialects.

Sentences containing incidentals (i.e. units that are not independent but are not integrated in the sentence either) behave in a similar way. The cases analysed in this chapter contain this type of element either at the beginning of the sentence, embedded in it or as bearers of the nuclear configuration at the end of the sentence; in none of these positions does the presence of this type of syntagmatic group influence the L* L% nuclear configuration. In the intermediate phrase there is a L+H* pitch accent followed by H-.

\[ \text{a pesar de la lluvia, } \text{esta mañana he ido al médico} \]
\[ \text{L+H* H-} \quad \text{H+L* L%} \]
\[ \text{I went to the doctor’s this morning} \]

dl
\[ \text{esta mañana, } \text{a pesar de la lluvia, } \text{he ido al médico} \]
\[ \text{H+L* L%} \quad \text{L+H* H-} \quad \text{L* L%} \]
\[ \text{this morning, despite the rain, I went to the doctor’s} \]

A special case is those incidentals which, coming at the end of the sequence, specify the reference of the term that precedes them (i.e. Yo viví muchos años allí, en Lima ‘I lived there for many years, in Lima.’). They involve a L+H* L% configuration. The presence of this nuclear accent, quite common in contrastive statements, is due to its grammatical and pragmatic characteristics and the fact that these clauses are subject to some kind of focalization.
**Figure 1:** Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the broad focus statement *La niña morena se come una mandarina* ‘The dark-haired girl is eating a tangerine’. The intermediate phrase is $L+H^*H-$ and the nuclear configuration is $L^*L%$.

**Figure 2:** Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the narrow focus statement *No, de limones* ‘No, of lemons’. It shows a $L+H^*L%$ nuclear configuration.
3.1.2. Biased statements

3.1.2.1. Narrow focus statements

Narrow focus statements (figure 2) are produced with a nuclear pitch accent characterized by a rising movement that starts in the last tonic syllable of the sentence and whose peak is aligned with the end of this syllable (L+H*). After this, the tone descends to the tonal baseline of the speaker (L%). Other varieties of Spanish also present this nuclear pitch accent in narrow focus statements, in contrast to broad focus statements (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008 and the other chapters in this volume). In the specific case of figure 2, it is interesting to note that the first intonation unit is characterized by a pitch accent L+H* and an edge tone M-, as has been documented in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume) and in contrast with the L+H* L-, documented in Canarian Spanish (Cabrera-Abreu and Vizcaíno-Ortega this volume), Venezuelan Andean Spanish (Astruc et al. this volume), Chilean Andean Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume), and with L* HL-, which is found in Mexican Spanish (de-la-Mota et al. this volume).

The same nuclear configuration used in contrastive narrow focus statements is found in contradiction statements, where the speaker firmly contradicts a preceding assertion and conveys the idea that what s/he says is definitive and cannot be contested. As can be seen in figure 3 Que no, que irán a Lima ‘No, they are going to Lima’, the typical configuration to convey this meaning is a bitonal nuclear L+H* accent followed by a low boundary tone L%. This nuclear configuration has been also found in other varieties, such as Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (O’Rourke this volume) and Chilean Andean Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume). This kind of sentence offers L+H* as prenuclear pitch accent. The first intonation unit, Que no, shows L+H* H-.

3.1.2.2. Exclamative statements

In our corpus, the same configuration attested in narrow focus and contradiction statements is also found to express emphasis. As can be seen in figure 4, in the exclamative utterance ¡Qué olor a pan tan bueno! ‘What a lovely aroma of bread!’ the nuclear accent is L+H*, the peak is located in the accented syllable of bueno and it is followed by a L% boundary tone.

The prenuclear accent is L+H*, followed by a high plateau. It then falls throughout the second half of syllable tan. This configuration has also been attested in other Spanish dialects, such as Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume), Mexican Spanish (de-la-Mota et al. this volume) and Chilean Andean Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume).
Figure 3: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the contradiction statement Que no, que irán a Lima ‘No, they are going to Lima’ produced with a L+H* nuclear accent followed by a L% boundary tone. The first intonation unit, Que no, shows L+H* H-.

Figure 4: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the exclamative statement ¡Qué olor a pan tan bueno! ‘What a lovely aroma of bread!’ produced with prenuclear L+H* and H* pitch accents and a L+H* L% nuclear configuration.
3.1.2.3. Statements of the obvious

In Cantabrian Spanish, the tune of statements of the obvious contrasts with what is seen in broad focus statements. As reported by Armstrong (this volume), this behaviour is due to the fact that the speaker is aware of the truth value of the propositional content and assumes that it is shared by the listener. However, because of something s/he has heard in the immediately preceding context, the speaker realizes the content is not really shared by the listener after all and thus s/he produces a statement that clearly underlines the obvious nature of the message.

In the statement of the obvious contained in our corpus Sí, mujer, de Guillermo ‘Yes, woman, Guillermo’s [of course]!’ the obviousness meaning is expressed by the presence of a low to mid boundary tone LM% at the end of the obvious information, i.e. de Guillermo ‘Guillermo’s’. The affirmation codified by the adverb Sí ‘Yes’ is reinforced by the tonal configuration that is characteristic of obviousness (L+H* LM%). In our opinion, the procedural information emerges from the sum of two elements: 1) the affirmation, which answers the question, and 2) the nuclear configuration, which adds the obviousness meaning. Figure 5a shows the waveform and F0 pitch track of the utterance Sí, mujer, de Guillermo ‘Yes, woman, Guillermo’s [of course]!’ with the typical nuclear accent L+H* and a boundary tone LM%. After the prominence, the F0 starts a slight descent to the nucleus centre of the posttonic syllable, which makes up this complex tone’s first target. From there, it starts a rise persisting to the end of the sentence that does not reach the sorts of high frequency values that are seen in information-seeking yes-no questions in the standard subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish.

Statements of the obvious present varied behaviour. The standard subvariety exhibits a configuration that is common to other dialectal varieties of Spanish (see Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume for Castilian Spanish, Cabrera-Abreu and Vizcaino-Ortega this volume for Canarian Spanish, de-la-Mota et al. this volume for Mexican Spanish, Armstrong this volume for Puerto Rican Spanish and Astruc et al. this volume for Venezuelan Andean Spanish), although this is not the only pattern found in Cantabrian Spanish. Figure 5b shows the type of intonation pattern found in the traditional subvariety. The nuclear accent is kept low until the start of the posttonic syllable, from which point a sharp rises to a prominence located at the beginning-middle of the posttonic nucleus. Therefore, the nuclear configuration is L* HL%, as seen in other languages such as Catalan (Prieto in press).

Just as in neutral declaratives, prenuclear accents in statements of the obvious are characterized by a rising pitch movement throughout the tonic syllable, which starts in its onset or in the nucleus of the pretonic. The peak generally falls in the vowel of the posttonic syllable (L+>H*).

In the non-final constituents, the configuration is not very different from what we see in broad focus statements, i.e. L+H* H-. However, the presence of a pause causes the boundary tone to come out as L-.
*Sí, mujer, de Guillermo*

**Figures 5a and 5b:** Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the statement of the obvious *Sí, mujer*, de Guillermo ‘Yes, woman, Guillermo’s [of course]!’ with a L+H* LM% nuclear configuration in the standard subvariety (upper panel) and L* HL% in the traditional subvariety (lower panel).
3.1.2.4. Uncertainty statements

As opposed to other Spanish dialects studied in this volume (Castilian, Canarian, Argentinian and Chilean Spanish), in which hesitation and uncertainty are expressed by a M% boundary tone, in Cantabrian Spanish the sentences which contain these pragmatic meanings show L%. Like in Castilian and Canarian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto, and Cabrera Abreu and Vizcaíno Ortega this volume), the nuclear pitch accent attested in this northern Peninsular dialect is L+H*. This nuclear configuration L+H* L% is illustrated in figure 6 for the sentence *Puede que no le guste el regalo que le he comprado* ‘S/he may not like the present I have bought him/her’.

In prenuclear position, L+>H* is attested in the first and third lexical accents, i.e. *puede* and *guste*; the second accent coincides with the adverb *no* and presents H+L*. On the other hand, after the prominence aligned with the posttonic syllable of the verb of the subordinate clause (*guste*), the tone falls and is kept low until the last accent of the utterance. Thus, the last pitch accent before the nuclear one is commonly L*.

![Figure 6: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the uncertainty statement Puede que no le guste el regalo que le he comprado ‘S/he may not like the present I have bought him/her’ characterized by a L+H* L% nuclear configuration.](image-url)
3.2. Questions

Cantabrian Spanish questions present particular features. As a consequence of the contact between the traditional subvariety, which is linked to Astur-Leonese, and the standard subvariety, this type of sentence displays different intonation patterns (López-Bobo and Cuevas-Alonso 2009, Cuevas-Alonso and López-Bobo in press).

However, as has been already noted, because it is closer to Castilian Spanish, the standard subvariety will serve as the basis of our description of sentences in order to allow comparison with all the Spanish dialects described in this volume.

3.2.1. Yes-no questions

As is shown in figures 7a and 7b, information-seeking yes-no questions in Cantabrian Spanish present two different intonation configurations whose different origins can be seen in the specific dialectal traits mentioned above. The L* HH% nuclear configuration, which is consistent with what is documented in other Spanish dialects, such as Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume) and Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (O’Rourke this volume), characterizes the standard subvariety. The prenuclear accents contrast with those found in statements. Cantabrian Spanish questions show low pitch in the accented syllable and a rise that begins at the end of this syllable (L*+H).

By contrast, the nuclear configuration of the traditional pattern, H* HL%, diverges considerably from Castilian Spanish, while presenting numerous resemblances to those varieties that make up the north-western Peninsular Romance dialect continuum (Canellada 1944, Zamora Salamanca et al. 2009, López-Bobo et al. 2008, López-Bobo and Cuevas-Alonso 2009, Cuevas-Alonso and López-Bobo in press) as well as other Spanish dialects described in this volume that are characterized by a circumflex configuration: Canarian Spanish, Argentinian Spanish, Puerto Rican Spanish and Venezuelan Andean Spanish (see Cabrera Abreu and Vizcaíno Ortega this volume, Gabriel et al. this volume, Armstrong this volume, Astruc et al. this volume).

As can be seen in figures 7a and 7b (¿Tienes hora? ‘Have you got the time?’), after a first L+>H* prenuclear accent the tone is kept high until the nuclear accent H*, creating a high plateau all around the prenuclear contour. This combines with a bitonal boundary tone HL%. The first target, located in the nucleus of the posttonic syllable, is higher than the nuclear accent; the second, which coincides with the intonational phrase’s limit, is phonetically realized as a mid-tone. This HL% variant has been characterized at the beginning of this chapter as a rise and then a fall to a mid tone.

At this point we must explore the possibility of the existence of a phonological HM% boundary tone due to the fact that this phonetic realization seems to appear in all information-seeking yes-no questions in the traditional subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish. At first sight it would seem that such boundary tones are HL%, so the question is whether the HM is phonologically relevant or just an allotone of HL%. Phonetically, the existence of HM seems to be clear. In spite of this, our initial hypothesis was that this might be a case of truncation since it generally appears in oxytone items. However, paroxytone words, which offer sufficient phonetic space, also reveal a mid tone (see figure 7a).

Figure 8 shows a confirmation yes-no question (¿Tienes frío?, ‘Are you cold?’) in which HL% can be attested. These examples confirm the phonetic basis of the contrast between HM and HL.
¿Tienes hora? ‘Have you got the time?’ The contrast between the configuration of the traditional variety, characterized by $H^* HL\%$ (upper panel), and the standard variety with $L^* HH\%$ (lower panel) can be seen.
Cantabrian Spanish Intonation

Figure 8: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the confirmation yes-no question ¿Tienes frío? ‘Are you cold?’ with a clear HL% that contrasts with the information-seeking yes-no question exemplified in figure 7a.

However, although the F0 trace represented in figures 7a and 8 seems to confirm the validity of the contrast between HM and HL boundary tones, as they seem to differentiate between confirmation and neutral information-seeking yes-no questions, an initial study suggested that HM is a phonetic variant of HL%.

In this study, the synthetic modification of a mid tone to a low tone in neutral information-seeking yes-no questions did not lead to a change in the pragmatic value of the sequence. However, a downstep in the prominence associated with the last lexical accent caused such a question to be interpreted as a confirmation yes-no question.

Therefore, an exhaustive experimental study is required in order to evaluate the importance of the pitch accent of the prominence and final tone of the question, although it is the former that seems to be the reason for this pragmatic contrast. Pending such a study, this chapter will regard HM as a phonetic variant of the HL% boundary tone.

In those cases where information-seeking yes-no questions have more than one prosodic constituent (e.g. enumerations or when some kind of extra-sentential element is found), the intermediate phrase presents an accent L+H*, which is upstepped in the traditional variety, and an edge tone H-.

On the other hand, intermediate phrases of the disjunctive questions (¿Vas hoy o mañana?, ‘Are you going today or tomorrow?’) have a configuration that does not diverge from the L+H* HH- attested in Castilian Spanish. Therefore, the contrast established for the intermediate phrases in Castilian Spanish between H- in statements and HH- in questions (see Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008: 277 and this volume) is maintained in Cantabrian.
Spanish intonation. The intonational phrase’s nuclear configuration of a disjunctive question is \( L^* \ L\% \), bearing in mind that the second intonation unit is the one that makes up the alleged affirmative in this type of question; by contrast, the first unit represents the interrogated element (Navarro Tomás 1991[1944]: 118-119).

3.2.2. Biased yes-no questions

3.2.2.1. Echo yes-no questions

Echo questions are defined within the Relevance Theory framework (Wilson and Sperber 1993, Sperber and Wilson 1995) as elements whose outstanding condition does not imply, unlike what has been claimed, being mere repetitions of what has been said previously in the discourse. Noh (1995, 1998) proposes that these questions must be defined as echoic uses of language, i.e. they involve a certain questioning attitude about what has been said. This definition thus allows us to consider sentences without a prior utterance as echo questions; indeed, they are meta-representational. According to Noh (1995, 1998), this kind of question asks not about the state of affairs but rather about a previous utterance or thought. Assuming the meta-representational character of these questions proposed by Noh (1995, 1998), Iwata (2003) points out that the rising pitch leads to their interrogative status.

In order to analyse echo questions, the existence of two units must be considered: on the one hand, the repeated element itself or echo, and on the other hand, the wh- question that precedes it, which is formed as an independent intonation unit and whose omission is possible. In most cases, the latter has the characteristic intonation contour of a wh-question, with a \( H^* L\% \) nuclear configuration. In those instances where the interrogative character is emphasized, they will show \( L^* H^* H\% \).

Regarding the echo element, it shows the characteristics described by Navarro Tomás (1991[1944]: 112); according to his research, these sentences are insistent questions about what has just been heard or said, “sometimes to make sure we have understood something clearly, and in other cases to enhance the interest and importance attached to what has been said or heard”. This allows us to include echo questions within the category of intensified questions. Uncertainty regarding the interpretation of what has just been heard and an incredulity nuance (sometimes with the emphasis derived from a previous question) result in a rising contour throughout the intonation pattern, with a sharp ending (Navarro Tomás 1991[1944]: 100, 112 ff.). This kind of question presents some features that, in our opinion, arise from its intensified and meta-representational nature: wider tonal range than yes-no or wh- questions and a \( L^* H^* / H^* \) nuclear pitch accent.

As is shown in figure 9, when the echo element is made up of a yes-no question, i.e. ¿Qué has dicho? ¿Qué son las nubes? ‘What did you say? It’s nine o’clock?’, a high tone is maintained until the end of the tonic syllable with a \( H^* \) nuclear accent, consistent with the characteristic intensification of this type of sequence. From this point, there is a rise in the \( F_0 \) until the middle of the posttonic syllable, where it starts a descent towards a low tone (HL\%).

Since echo questions express the speaker’s attitude toward what has been said, it is common to find surprise or disbelief in pragmatic meanings associated with this type of structure.
Figure 9: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the echo yes-no question ¿Qué has dicho? ¿Qué son las nueve? ‘What did you say? It’s nine o’clock?’ produced with a H* HL% nuclear configuration.

Figure 10: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the counterexpectational echo question ¿Qué dices? ¿Qué Mario se presenta por alcalde? ‘What are you saying? Mario is running for mayor?’ produced with a L+H* prenuclear accent followed by a L+H* HL% nuclear configuration.
Just as in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008 and this volume), the nuclear pitch accent of these sentences is L+H* (figure 10, ¿Qué dices? ¿Que Mario se presenta para alcalde? ‘What are you saying? Mario is running for mayor?’), sometimes produced with an upstep. After that, the contour ends in a final rising-falling to a mid tone, the phonetic realization of HL%; this edge tone characterizes questions in this variety of Spanish, as opposed to HH%, which is attested in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008 and this volume) and in Chilean Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume).

In sentences that produce a conflict between the active assumptions of speaker and listener (i.e. ¿Marina? ¿Quiere ir? ‘Marina? Does she want to go?’), a L+H* HH% intonation scheme can be found in both traditional and standard subvarieties of Cantabrian Spanish. In those cases where there are two intonation units, the former is generally characterized by a L+H* pitch accent, with the frequency sustained till the end of the sentence. In other cases, there is a slight fall to a mid tone (M-).

This nuclear accent also characterizes counterexpectational exclamative yes-no questions of this variety. Figure 11, which represents the sequence ¿¡Aún no ha llegado!? ‘S/he still hasn’t arrived!?!’, shows a clear upstepping in the nucleus (L+¡H*) though it presents a HL% boundary tone.

![Figure 11: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the counterexpectational exclamative yes-no question ¿¡Aún no ha llegado!? 'S/he still hasn’t arrived?!' produced with a L+¡H* prenuclear accent followed by a L+¡H* HL% nuclear configuration.](image-url)
**Figures 12a and 12b:** Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the imperative yes-no question ¿Queréis callar!? ‘Would you please be quiet!’ in the traditional variety (upper panel), with L+¡H* M%, and H+L* M% in the standard variety (lower panel).
3.2.2. Imperative yes-no questions

An imperative pragmatic use of questions introduces some modifications in the nuclear accent with respect to the characteristic configuration of information-seeking questions. Just as happens in the case of non-question imperatives, the Cantabrian Spanish standard subvariety has a nuclear H+L* pitch accent.

Beyond the valley, the main frequency is slightly increased until it reaches a mid boundary tone M%; by contrast, in Castilian Spanish these sequences present H+L* L% (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008 and this volume). This mid-boundary tone shows the interrogative character of these utterances, clearly contrasting with the L% of non-question imperatives (see 3.3). Figure 12b shows an example of an imperative yes-no question in the standard subvariety.

However, the traditional subvariety exhibits a clear upstepping in the nucleus (L+iH*) and a monotonal boundary tone M% (illustrated in figure 12a). In both cases, the prenuclear accent of these two types of sentences is L+>H*.

In questions which entail an invitation or offer (¿Te vienes a tomar una limonada? / ¿Queréis caramelos? ‘Are you coming for a lemonade?’ / ‘Would you like some sweets?’), the nuclear configuration in the traditional Cantabrian subvariety is similar to that of exclamatives, as can be seen in figure 13. Therefore, the L+iH* HL% pattern of these sentences coincides with the one documented in Argentinian Spanish (Gabriel et al. this volume) and differs from the nuclear configuration L+H* HH% attested for this kind of sentences in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008) as well as in the standard subvariety of Cantabrian Spanish.

3.2.2.3. Confirmation yes-no questions

Confirmation yes-no questions, i.e. questions that seek confirmation of the expected answer, are provided with varied intonational configurations linked to two different grammatical structures. In sequences like Vendrás a merendar, ¿no? ‘You’ll come to tea, won’t you?’ or No te encuentras bien ¿eh? /¿verdad? ‘Not feeling well, are you?’, which imply the appearance of two intonation units, the element that is really being interrogated is the incidental one. The first unit shows the traits of an enhanced assertion, confirmation of which is sought by the incidental. This explains why this configuration is identical to that seen in narrow focus statements, i.e. L+H* L%. The second unit has the same configuration as an information-seeking yes-no question of the standard subvariety (L* HH%), similar to the pattern found in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume).

On the other hand, confirmation yes-no questions (figure 14) where the interrogated element is not an independent unit (¿Verdad que vendrás? ‘You are coming [aren’t you?]’) have the same configuration as invitation questions, i.e. L+H* HL%, probably because in the two cases the pragmatic meaning is similar. L+>H* and H+L* can be attested as first and second prenuclear accents respectively.
Figure 13: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the invitation yes-no question (traditional subvariety) ¿Te vienes a tomar una limonada? ‘Are you coming for a lemonade?’

Figure 14: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the confirmation yes-no question ¿Verdad que vendrás? ‘You are coming [aren’t you]?’ with a L*+H prenuclear pitch accent and L+H* HL% nuclear configuration.
3.2.3. Wh-questions

As in other Spanish varieties described in this volume, information-seeking wh-questions in Cantabrian Spanish are produced with two patterns. H+L* L% is the nuclear configuration found in most cases. It can also be observed in wh-questions in Puerto Rican Spanish (Armstrong, this volume) and Venezuelan Andean Spanish (Astruc et al. this volume). Nevertheless, L* HH% configuration appears in some tokens from our corpus and in other varieties of Spanish, such as Castilian, Ecuadorian and Chilean Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume, O’Rourke this volume, Ortiz et al. this volume).

The intonation contour of information-seeking wh-questions is quite different from the one observed in information-seeking yes-no questions: after the wh-word, which usually carries a high tonal H* accent, the path of the F0 is similar to the one of declarative sentences. Moreover, unlike the L* L% configuration of broad focus statements, information-seeking wh-questions exhibit H+L* L%. In any case, it must be pointed out that on those occasions where there is a syllabic clash, the wh-word is unstressed. It seems that this nuclear configuration (H+L* L%) characterizes information-seeking wh-questions in Cantabrian Spanish. This pattern differs from the one attested in other Spanish varieties: L* L% in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume), Argentinian Spanish (Gabriel et al. this volume) and Chilean Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume), ¡H* L% in Canarian Spanish (Cabrera Abreu and Vizcaíno Ortega this volume), L+H* HL% in Mexican Spanish (Dela-Mota et al. this volume) and L* M% / L+H* M% in Ecuadorian Spanish (O’Rourke this volume).

Sentences with more than one intonation unit offer a different nuclear configuration depending on the grammatical relationship established among its units: coordination or subordination. When a question is made up of two coordinated wh-questions, headed by a wh-word with pitch accent H*, the last unit presents the same nuclear configuration (H+L* L%). Similarly to the first unit of coordinated statements, the intermediate phrase has L+H* H-.

Information-seeking wh-questions formed of two clauses with a subordination relationship show the same configuration in each clause (i.e. ¿Qué le dirás si vuelve? ‘What will you tell her/him if s/he comes back?’). However, the first one bears H* on the wh-word, followed by a !H* pitch accent. The subordinate unit has two realizations: H+L* L% as in information-seeking wh-questions (illustrated in figure 16) and L* HH%, when the interrogative character is emphasized.
Figure 15: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the information-seeking wh- question ¿De dónde has salido? 'Where have you come from?' with a H+L* L% nuclear configuration.

Figure 16: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the information-seeking wh- question ¿Qué le dirás si vuelve? 'What will you tell her/him if s/he comes back?'
3.2.4. Biased wh- questions

The intonational behaviour of biased wh- questions is generally conditioned by their pragmatic-semantic features. Thus they show a wide variety of intonation contours and few similarities with information-seeking wh- or information-seeking yes-no questions.

3.2.4.1. Echo wh- questions

As can be seen in figure 17, the insertion of a wh- question into an echo structure modifies its intonation contour substantially since a high tone is maintained throughout virtually the entire unit. The fundamental frequency rises, coinciding with the start of the last tonic syllable; later on, it starts a light descent until it reaches a mid tone. Therefore, unlike other Spanish varieties (see the other chapters of this volume), the configuration for this type of sequence is L+H* M%.

In those cases where the echo elements are made up of two coordinated wh- questions, i.e. ¿Qué me has preguntado? ¿Qué a dónde voy y cuándo volveré? ‘What did you ask me? Where am I going and when am I coming back?’, the intonation contour in both cases is identical to that of wh- questions made up of one unit, since both units preserve their interrogative character.

On the other hand, echo disjunctive questions, i.e. ¿Qué me has preguntado? ¿Por dónde he llegado o por dónde he entrado? ‘What did you ask me? How did I get here or how did I get in?’, bear a different intonation contour in the second intonation unit. As has been pointed out in the case of other disjunctive structures, this element represents the alleged affirmative and therefore exhibits a L* L% nuclear configuration, even though the wh- word keeps a high tone H*, which is typical of wh- questions. However, the first unit ¿Por dónde he llegado...? presents the characteristic nuclear pitch accent of echo questions (L+IH*); at the same time, contrasting with M-, which is the standard endpoint in some cases of echo yes-no questions, in this case the frequency rises until it reaches a H- edge tone.

As was noted in Section 3.2.2.1 of this chapter, as well as in the chapter on Castilian Spanish in this volume, some sort of counterexpectational meaning (surprise, incredulity, disapproval, etc.) is commonly associated with echo questions. They are intended to show that the situation is at variance with the speaker’s expectations. Although the syntactic structure of a echo wh- question expressing incredulity is similar to neutral echo questions, its intonation contour is closer to that of information-seeking yes-no questions in the standard subvariety. As can be seen in figure 18 (¿Qué dices que te dieron? ‘What did you say they gave you?’), after the prominence associated with the first prenuclear accent (L+IH*), the tone is kept relatively low until the last syllable of the sentence, where we find a L* nuclear accent. Finally, the contour ends in a HH%. This pattern is very similar to the one attested in Venezuelan, Dominican and Chilean Spanish (Astruc et al. this volume, Willis this volume, Ortiz et al. this volume). However, in these varieties, the nuclear accent is L+H*.

Note that this token is unusual in that it presents one single intonation unit. This is due to the particular structural and typological features of the second element of the reiterative.
Figure 17: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the echo wh-question ¿Qué me has preguntado? ¿Qué a dónde voy? 'What did you ask me? Where am I going?' It presents a L+H* M% nuclear configuration.

Figure 18: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the counterexpectational echo wh-question ¿Qué dices que te dieron? 'What did you say they gave you?' with a L* HH% nuclear configuration.
3.2.4.2. Imperative wh-questions

As Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto (2008, this volume) state for Castilian Spanish and Willis (this volume) for Dominican Spanish, imperative sentences exhibit a (!)H+L* L%. Likewise, !H+L* is the characteristic nuclear accent of gentle and strong commands, as well as non-interrogative requests. In the prenuclear area, the wh-word presents not H*, but L+>H* (L+H* in the irritated imperative wh-question). The nuclear configuration found in Cantabrian Spanish (figures 19a and 19b ¿¡Cuándo lo harás!? ‘When are you going to do it?!’ / ¿¡Qué quieres!? ‘What do you want?!’) contrasts with the configurations L* L% seen in Canarian Spanish (Cabrera Abreu and Vizcaíno Ortega this volume) and Ecuadorian Andean Spanish (O’Rourke this volume), L+H* L% attested in Mexican Spanish (de-la-Mota et al. this volume) and Chilean Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume).

However, the predominance of their interrogative character over any other pragmatic meaning in some dubitative wh-questions explains why their intonation contour does not differ from that of information-seeking wh-questions, with a H+L* L% nuclear configuration.

3.2.4.3. Rhetorical wh-questions

Rhetorical wh-questions are closer to some statements than to questions (Escandell Vidal 1986: 502 ff.) due to the fact that the answer is implicit in the sentence itself and the speaker is merely seeking the listener’s acceptance or confirmation of the affirmative presumption contained in the question (Navarro Tomás 1991[1944]: 108-109 and 114-117, Escandell Vidal 1986: 502 ff., Escandell Vidal 1999: 3985 ff.). These pragmatic-semantic characteristics may explain the presence of a nuclear L* L% configuration (as illustrated in figure 20). In addition, this behaviour differs from what is described for information-seeking wh-questions, which present H+L* L% (see 3.2.3).

This pattern is similar to the one attested in Argentinian Spanish (Gabriel et al. this volume) but contrasts with the configurations found in other varieties: !H* M% in Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume), H+L* L% in Canarian Spanish (Cabrera Abreu and Vizcaíno Ortega this volume) and L+H* L% in Chilean and Puerto Rican Spanish (Ortiz et al. this volume, Armstrong this volume).

3.3. Imperatives: commands and requests

Let us now describe the intonation patterns of imperatives. These sentences are directive speech acts so they are used to tell someone to do something. The intonation contour of imperative sentences in this variety of Spanish differs depending on the illocutionary force with which the speaker conveys this speech act. It shifts between two pragmatic extremes: the command and the gentle or polite request.
Figures 19a and 19b: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the imperative wh-question ¿Cuándo lo harás!? ‘When will you do it?’ (upper panel) and the irritated imperative wh-question ¿Qué quieres!? ‘What do you want!’ (low panel). This types of sentences are prototypically characterized by a !H+L* L% nuclear configuration.
3.3.1. Commands

Commands are directive speech acts exhibiting the highest level of illocutionary force. In these utterances, the first prenuclear accent is characterized by a very prominent rising pitch accent (L+H*) with its peak falling on the tonic syllable. After that, an initially sharp descent continues until the end of the sentence, yielding a H+L* L% nuclear configuration (figure 21). The downstepping feature seems significant as it differentiates these sentences from wh-questions described above. Cantabrian Spanish shares with Argentinian and Dominican Spanish (see Gabriel et al. this volume and Willis this volume) this nuclear configuration.

3.3.2. Requests

At the other end of the illocutionary force we find requests. This kind of sentence can be defined not as commands but as the speaker’s expression of his/her desire for the listener to do something that in some cases could be interpreted as a suggestion. The nuclear configuration is not different from that observed in commands (see 3.3.1), i.e. IH+L* L%, but the prenuclear pitch accent seems to establish the difference between them, since the L+H* in requests contrasts with the L+H* found in commands. The stronger illocutionary force of the latter is, in our opinion, the source of the peak’s alignment with the accented syllable. Figure 22 sheds some light on the typical behaviour of a request (Rellenen este formulario, ‘Fill in this form’), whose F0 trace shows again a strong resemblance with some imperative wh-questions. The same nuclear pattern to express requests has only been found in Dominican Spanish (Willis this volume).

On the basis of the available data we can conclude that this Spanish dialect seems to make no intonational distinction between strong and soft commands. However, in contrast with what has been described about requests, polite requests exhibit a L+H* L% nuclear configuration.
Figure 21: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the command ¡Ven aquí ahora mismo! ‘Come here at once!’ This type of sentence is characterized by a !H+L* L% nuclear configuration.

Figure 22: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the request Rellenen este formulario ‘Fill in this form’. This type of sentence is characterized by a !H+L* L% nuclear configuration.
Figure 23: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the tentative call ¡Marina! with the nuclear configuration L+H* M% that characterizes a calling contour.

Figure 24: Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace for the insistent vocative ¡Luna! produced with a L+H* HL% nuclear configuration.
3.4. Vocatives

As happens in other Spanish dialects as well as other languages, there exist a range of intonation contours in the linguistic varieties studied in this chapter for the calling utterances linked to various pragmatic meanings. Figure 23 represents the unmistakable calling contour that pragmatically works as a tentative call when you enter a house and call out someone’s name. This kind of vocative is characterized by a rising contour throughout the tonic syllable (L+H*). From then on, F0 is kept at a sustained mid tone to the end of the sentence (M%).

This nuclear configuration is quite common in other varieties of Spanish, such as Castilian, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Argentinian, Chilean and Venezuelan Andean Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume, de-la-Mota et al. this volume, Armstrong this volume, Gabriel et al. this volume, Ortiz et al. this volume, Astruc et al. this volume).

The other two varieties of vocative sentences included in our corpus, a vocative used to call over a long distance and an insistent call, whose pragmatic meaning seems to be closer to a command, present a different configuration from anything seen thus far in this chapter. As has been noted for Castilian (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto this volume), Mexican (de-la-Mota et al. this volume), Canarian (Cabrera Abreu and Vizcaíno Ortega this volume), Venezuelan (Astruc et al. this volume) and Puerto Rican Spanish (Armstrong this volume), these sentences show a nuclear rising pitch accent L+H*, closely followed by a HL% bitonal boundary tone. This vocative contour nevertheless shows a wider pitch range in insistent calls (see figure 24). Due to its emphatic character, this kind of sentence would be pragmatically inappropriate if used as a first call or soft request for attention. It is important to underline that in all cases the vowel of the last syllable of these sentences undergoes significant lengthening.

However, the configuration of the vocative used as a call, whether insistent or not, diverges from the standard structure of this unit when it is embedded in wider structures. In these cases, the great structural independence of vocatives as well as their semantic-pragmatic characteristics explain the presence of a L+H* nuclear accent combined with L%.

4. Conclusions

This chapter offers a description of the intonation contours of Cantabrian Spanish. The different kinds of sentences that make up our corpus (statements, yes-no and wh-questions, echo questions, commands, requests and vocatives) may involve a neutral realization in the context as well as different pragmatic meanings. Our analysis allows for the comparison of Cantabrian Spanish with the other Spanish dialects described in this volume.

As can be concluded from previous research (López-Bobo and Cuevas-Alonso 2009, Cuevas-Alonso and López-Bobo in press), this Spanish dialect shows two intonation diasystems, one of them with melodic patterns similar to those found in other Romance varieties of the north-west Iberian Peninsula, and the other with intonation contours that resemble those of Castilian Spanish.
As regards pitch accents and boundary tones, the ones proposed for Castilian Spanish (Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008), with the exception of LHL%, have all been documented in Cantabrian Spanish. Generally speaking, broad focus statements show a L* L% configuration, which contrasts with the L+H* L% of narrow focus statements, with upstepping in some sentences in the traditional subvariety.

Greater differences are to be seen between the intonation of questions in the two Cantabrian linguistic subvarieties. Thus, information-seeking yes-no questions show L* HH% and H* HL% configurations in the standard and traditional subvarieties respectively. However, as may be seen in table 3, the diverse pragmatic meanings of questions involve different nuclear contours. The scheme of information-seeking wh- questions (H+L* L%) does not coincide with what is seen in other Spanish dialects, which is generally L* L%. In addition, the downstep in the H+L* tone is important because it establishes a contrast between imperative wh- questions, which show this downstep, and non-imperative wh-questions, which do not. This idea is reinforced by the fact that all other statements with an imperative nuance within our corpus also present a !H+L*. Echo questions maintain a high tone throughout the sequence. Their nuclear configuration is L+¡H* M% or H* HL%, depending on the echo element (i.e. depending on whether it is a wh- or yes-no question). In each case, it is important to point out that the nuclear configuration is very similar to that seen in the corresponding non-echo question.

The characteristic contour of a calling utterance is L+H* M% but in those cases where the pragmatic nuance is one of insistence, L+H* HL% appears as a standard configuration. All these nuclear configurations have also been found in other varieties of Spanish.

By way of a concluding summary, the nuclear configurations of Cantabrian Spanish and their schematic representations are shown in table 3.

Table 3: Cantabrian Spanish nuclear configurations by utterance type and their schematic representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Nuclear Configuration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broad focus statements</td>
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<td>Biased statements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narrow focus statements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contradiction statements</td>
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<td>Uncertainty statements</td>
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**Information-seeking yes-no questions**

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**Biased yes-no questions**

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**Wh- questions**

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**Imperatives: commands and requests**

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**Vocatives**

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<td>Insistent calls</td>
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