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### **On the Declarative Intonation Patterns of Two Afro-Hispanic Varieties**

This study employs the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model of intonational phonology to examine the declaratives of *Yungueño* Spanish (YS) and *Choteño* Spanish (CS), two Afro-Hispanic dialects spoken in Bolivia and Ecuador, respectively (Lipski 2008; Sessarego 2011, 2013a, 2014). It addresses gaps in research because: (i) outside of Lipski (2007, 2010) and Hualde & Schwegler (2008), we know little about Afro-Hispanic intonation; (ii) we use free rather than controlled speech.

Ten informants from the rural communities of Los Yungas and Chota Valley participated in the study. All were older than eighty, spent their entire lives in their respective area, and did not speak any other language of their country (e.g. Quechua or Aymara). Data were collected through sociolinguistic interviews in which speakers talked about any topic and were asked follow-up questions, in line with the principle of Tangential Shift (Labov 1984: 37). The goal was to reduce the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972), and thus, obtain naturalistic speech samples. All recordings were done with a laptop computer, Praat software, and a Plantronics DSP-400 microphone.

Our analysis of 1016 stressed YS words, and the prosodic phrases to which they belong, demonstrates phenomena that are not commonly attested in most previous work on Spanish declaratives. Fundamental frequency (F0) peaks, or highs reached by F0 rises from valleys anchored at stressed syllable onsets, are nearly exclusively located within stressed syllables in both nuclear (i.e., final; 100%) and prenuclear (96%) phrase position. The latter is particularly noteworthy, given that in most varieties of Spanish, prenuclear peaks in broad focus show displacement to a post-tonic syllable (L\*+H or L+>H\* pitch accent; cf. Face & Prieto 2007). In AM notation, our alignment findings translate to an overall predominant use of the L+H\* pitch accent, which, in declaratives of most Spanish varieties, is only expected in nuclear position or under prenuclear narrow focus conditions. We also fail to notice the downstepping of peaks typical of most Spanish varieties. Across phrases, peaks and valleys are either at similar F0 levels as preceding ones or upstepped (denoted  $\uparrow$ ) to higher levels. Regarding intermediate phrase (ip) boundaries (i.e., non-terminal juncture), where H- phrase accents are common, our data contain 67% L- accents and only 25% H-. On the other hand, the 89% frequency of L% intonational phrase (i.e., IP; terminal juncture) boundaries, corresponding with final F0 suppression, reflects general Spanish trends. A preliminary analysis of the CS data (analysis in progress) has yielded similar patterns to those just outlined.

In conclusion, we will draw connections between our results and those of Spanish in contact with other languages (e.g. Colantoni & Gurlekian 2004; O'Rourke 2005; Michnowicz & Barnes 2013), after which we will discuss the study's overarching implications. Specifically, we claim that our observations reflect a lack of mastery of the prosody/pragmatics interface, consisting of a simplification of pitch and phrase accent inventories (Zubizarreta & Nava 2011). This supports recent proposals classifying Afro-Hispanic varieties as "advanced conventionalized interlanguages" (Sessarego 2013b), meaning (de)creolization was not a phase in their evolution.

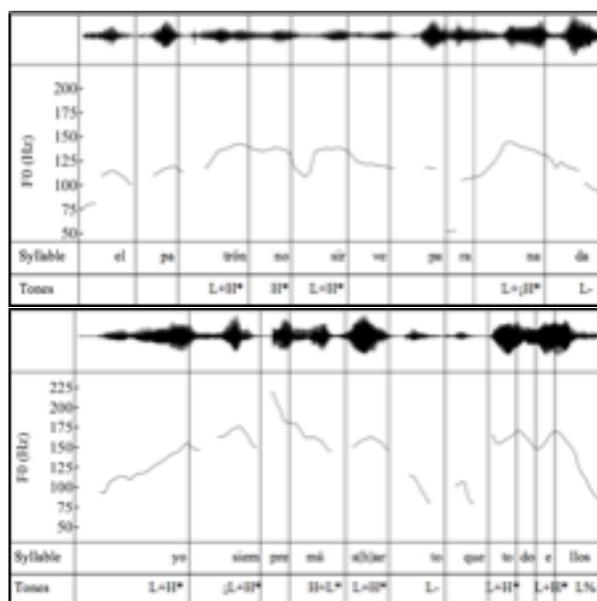


Figure 1: Sample F0 contours from YS data

*El patrón no sirve para nada. Yo siempre más harto que todos ellos.*  
 ('The owner is useless') ('I'm always more fed up than all of them')

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