The intonational patterns of Yes-No questions in the Amazonian Spanish of Shipibo-Konibo speakers

Padrões entoacionais das perguntas sim-não no espanhol amazônico do povo Shipibo-Konibo

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Abstract: In this article I present a study of the intonation of absolute questions in a bilingual variety of Peruvian Spanish used by speakers of Shipibo-Konibo. This variety has emerged as part of the contact between Peruvian Amazonian Spanish and the Shipibo-Konibo language (Pano). Employing the theoretical tenets of intonational phonology and the transcription system known as ToBI, I describe and analyze those intonational patterns and compare them to those found both in the monolingual Spanish dialect we find in the region where Shipibo-Konibo is spoken and in the indigenous language itself. The results of this research indicate that although Shipibo-Konibo Spanish shares some characteristics of the L1 of their speakers, who in this study are highly advanced bilinguals, most of the properties, however, can be recognized in the intonational patterns of the monolingual Spanish here we refer to as Pucallpa.

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Spanish. In particular, Shipibo-Konibo Spanish has exactly the same nuclear configuration for yes-no questions as Pucallpa Spanish does. Most of the differences we report between those intonational systems and Shipibo-Konibo are located in the behavior of the pre-nuclear accents.

**Keywords:** Amazonian Spanish; Intonation; Shipibo-Konibo.

**Resumo:** Neste artigo, apresento um estudo da entonação de questões absolutas na variedade de Espanhol Peruano usada como segunda língua por falantes de Shipibo-Konibo. Esta variedade emergiu como parte do contato entre o Espanhol Peruano Amazônico e a língua Shipibo-Konibo (Pano). Empregando os referenciais teóricos da fonologia entoacional e o sistema de transcrição conhecido como ToBI, descrevo e analiso esses padrões entoacionais e o comparam, tanto com os encontrados no dialeto Espanhol da região em que se fala o Shipibo-Konibo, quanto com os da própria língua indígena. Os resultados dessa pesquisa, que analisou falantes bilingues com grau bem alto de fluência, indicam que, embora o Espanhol Shipibo-Konibo compartilhe algumas características com a L1 de seus falantes, a maioria de suas propriedades, porém, pode ser reconhecida nos padrões entoacionais da variedade de Espanhol que aqui se denomina Espanhol de Pucallpa. Em particular, o Espanhol Shipibo-Konibo apresenta exatamente a mesma configuração nuclear em questões sim ou não que o Espanhol de Pucallpa. A maioria das diferenças identificadas entre esses sistemas entoacionais e o Shipibo-Konibo se encontra no comportamento dos acentos pré-nucleares.

**Palavras-chave:** Espanhol amazônico; Entoação; Shipibo-Konibo.

**1 Introduction**

The main objectives of this article are two-folded. First, it documents and offers a qualitative characterization of the intonational patterns associated with absolute questions of a variety of Amazonian Spanish spoken in Peru by Shipibo-Konibo speakers. Second, it compares those intonational patterns to the ones found both in monolingual Amazonian Spanish spoken in the city of Pucallpa (Peru) and in the native language of the Shipibo-Konibo
people (henceforth SK). Absolute questions are interrogative sentences that can be answered with a yes or a no (that is why they are also known as yes-no questions). For example, did Mary come to the party? Do you go to work on Mondays? Would you like a glass of water? Absolute questions can encode actual requests that seek to confirm information (as in: do you speak Portuguese?) but they can also be used in a number of other pragmatic contexts (for instance, in making invitations or requesting a favor: Please, would you come with me to the reception?).

This article is a contribution to the study of the intonation of varieties of Latin American Spanish that have emerged through contact with indigenous languages. I will focus on the Spanish spoken by Shipibo-Konibo speakers, which I will refer to as Shipibo-Konibo Spanish (SKS). SKS is a variety of bilingual Peruvian Amazonian Spanish that emerged from contact between the SK language, and Spanish spoken in the region of the Ucayali River (represented in this study by Pucallpa Spanish, that is, the Spanish spoken in the city of Pucallpa). SK belongs to the Panoan linguistic family. It is spoken by nearly 26000 speakers (Lewis et al. 2014). Although it is still possible to find SK speakers with a basic or intermediate command of Spanish (generally older speakers), most SK speakers are native speakers of Spanish as well, and more precisely, native speakers of SKS.

While there is a fast-growing literature focused on the intonational patterns of different dialects of Latin American Spanish, studies of the intonation of Peruvian Spanish are few and far between. To my knowledge, there are only three: O’Rourke 2005 examines Andean Spanish (Spanish that emerges from contact with Quechua), O’Rourke 2012 surveys the intonational properties of contrastive focus on Peruvian Spanish; and Garcia 2011 analyses the phonetic and phonological properties of the intonation of declarative sentences in Pucallpa Spanish. The work I present here not only adds to what we know about Peruvian Spanish but also expands it to the unexplored realm of contact varieties of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish. It supplements the study of Garcia 2011 on Pucallpa Spanish declaratives by providing an intonational characterization of absolute questions from the same dialect since it is the variety of Peruvian Spanish with which SK speakers are in contact.

This article is organized as follows. In section §2, I discuss the methodology used to collect data and in section §3, I review the criteria used in analyzing them and present the results. In order to obtain a broader picture of the intonation of SKS in absolute questions, I will present a comparison to the intonational patterns found in SK as well as in Pucallpa Spanish, the closest variety of Amazonian Spanish to SKS. This comparison is undertaken in section §4. Finally, in section §5, I present the conclusions.
2 Methodology

All the data presented in this study come from female speakers. The first three speakers in Table 1 are native speakers of SK and SKS. The three female SK speakers interviewed had completed their high school before the interview (May-July 2012). Their ages ranged from mid-20s to mid-30s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker Code</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Monolingual</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>SKS/SK</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>High school</td>
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<tr>
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<td>SKS/SK</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>Pucallpa Spanish</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPK05</td>
<td>Pucallpa Spanish</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPK06</td>
<td>Pucallpa Spanish</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 1: Participants information.

Speakers SPK04 to SPK06 are monolingual in Pucallpa Spanish. All three were born in the city of Pucallpa and completed primary and secondary education there. They were in their early twenties at the time of the interviews (July 2012) and were university students.

All audio recordings for this study were made using digital recorders Zoom H4N and external Shure WH30 Condenser Headset Microphones with XLR connectors. The audio files are in PCM WAV format (44,100 Hz, 16 bit). The data were then examined using the program for acoustic analysis Praat (v. 5.4.03 – Boersma and Weenink 2014).

The data were collected through two elicitation exercises. In the first task, speakers were presented with slides describing a number of situations created to elicit specific types of intonational patterns through the utterance of declarative sentences, interrogatives, focused phrases, etc. For each situation, participants were asked to react verbally according to the context given. This task was inspired and adapted from a similar elicitation tool called “Guided Questionnaire” developed by Prieto & Roseano 2010 for the collection of intonational data in Spanish\(^2\). Here are some examples of those slides used to elicit absolute questions for this study.

\(^2\)This guided questionnaire has been adapted to several dialects of Spanish. Some of those adaptations can be found in http://prosodia.upf.edu/atlasentonacion/metodologia/.
(1) Entras a una tienda. ¿Cómo le preguntas al que atiende si tiene mermelada?
   (You go into a grocery store. How would you ask the shop assistant if he has jam?)

(2) Pregúntale a un amigo si quiere venir a tomar limonada contigo.
   (Ask a friend if he would like to come and have lemonade with you).

This task was undertaken by all speakers, of both SKS (SPK01 to SPK03) and Pucallpa Spanish (SPK04 to SPK06). The same slides but with the content translated into SK were also presented to SPK01 to SPK03. The equivalent in SK to (1) and (2) is shown in (3) and (4). Since SK speakers do not have much experience reading and writing in their own language, and this could affect their performance during the elicitation task, I added audio to their slides. The audio contained the same messages but recorded in SK by a native speaker (who did not participate in the elicitation task).

(3) Miara jikiai tiendanko. ¿Jawekeskaxonka min yokatai jan meniai jakia mermelada?
   (You go into a grocery store. How would you ask the shop assistant if he has jam?)

(4) Yokawe min amigo limonada xeaika jokasai mibe.
   (Ask a friend if he would like to come and have lemonade with you).

The task was created to elicit ten yes-no questions. The study expected to have thirty yes-no questions in SKS to analyze (10 questions * 3 participants) and another thirty yes-no questions in Pucallpa Spanish (10 questions * 3 participants). The study also expected thirty yes-no questions in SK (10 questions * 3 participants). However, on some occasions, participants did not give an absolute question as expected. Those answers were not analyzed (5 tokens were discarded for SKS, 9 for Pucallpa Spanish, and 2 for SK). The instructions in each slide gave participants a context in which to react. This way we could control the lexical items used in the response and indirectly, and try to avoid the occurrence of voiceless segments whenever possible. However, since in this type of task, the answers are not scripted, participants give similar but not completely identical responses. In (5), I show, as an example, the answers I got to the context given in (2). The answers are quite alike.

(5) Pregúntale a un amigo si quiere venir a tomar limonada contigo.
   (Ask a friend if he would like to come and have lemonade with you).
a. SPK01
¿Usted puede venir a tomar limonada conmigo?
(Would you like to come and have a lemonade with me?)

b. SPK02
¿Quiere venir a tomar una limonada conmigo?
(Would you like to have a lemonade with me?)

c. SPK03
¿Quieres a tomar una limonada?
(Do you want to have a lemonade?)

d. SPK04
¿Quieres venir a tomar limonada conmigo?
(Do you want to come for lemonade with me?)

e. SPK05
¿Quieres venir a mi casa tomar una limonada?
(Do you want to come to my place for a lemonade?)

f. SPK06
¿Vienes a tomar una limonada?
(Would you come for a lemonade?)

The second elicitation task was only applied to the speakers of Pucallpa Spanish. They were given seven short stories. Each story contains several target sentences: declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, etc. However, the participant did not know what those target sentences were since they appeared mixed up with other utterances as part of the story. Unlike the first task, which involved elicitation of semi-spontaneous speech, here all participants uttered exactly the same target sentences in the same linguistic context. This task allows us to have better control over the occurrence of voiceless sounds but sometimes it was impossible to avoid them. In this article, I include data collected from the story “La guaraná de Lorena” (Lorena’s guaraná) that contains seven absolute questions (7 yes-no interrogatives * 3 participants = 21). However, in some few instances, participants added a pause within the sentence, misread some words, coughed, etc. Those tokens were not taken into consideration (a total of 4 tokens were discarded for those reasons). In (6), I show an excerpt from that story. It ends with a target yes-no question.
La guaraná de Lorena

Lorena, un poco asustada por la pregunta, le respondió: ¡No sé quién fue, papá! Creo que fue mi hermanito Lalo y la dejó olvidada en tu escritorio. Lalo que estaba escuchando inmediatamente aclaró: ¡Yo no hice nada! Yo he estado haciendo mi tarea desde que vine del cole. Entonces Bernabé le preguntó a su esposa Débora: ¿Se ha portado bien?...

In general, this second task was more successful in collecting intonational data since the tokens obtained were completely comparable (they were identical and produced under the same linguistic environment). However, it could not be applied to SK speakers, neither in their Spanish nor in their native language, because the task requires an upper level reading skill and this was not found in most cases.

These are the instructions I gave each participant to carry out the second task. First, they were asked to read those stories in silence so they can process the information and after they indicated they did not have any question about the storyline, they were asked to read them aloud as if they were experiencing it in real life. The only variation found in this task was on the degree of liveliness with which each participant decided to narrate the stories. The data from participants that showed poor reading skills were discarded. SPK04 to SPK06 have good reading skills and they show a similar degree of liveliness in reading and “playing” the stories.

Given the small sample of data collected, this study should be considered a first qualitative approximation to the intonational patterns of SKS, a research topic that has not been undertaken before. The patterns that will be presented here are valid for the data analyzed but given the small size of the data sample collected I cannot make any generalization. This is why I will refrain this time from making any quantitative assertion. One important contribution of this study is to identify a number of objectives that will inform future research about the contact varieties of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish.
3 Intonation of absolute questions in Shipibo-Konibo Spanish

Following the basic tenets of intonational phonology, as proposed by Beckman et al. 2002; Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986; Ladd 2008, I assume that intonational contours can be phonologically modeled as a discrete sequence of tonal units, pitch accents and edge tones, associated with stressed syllables and phrase boundaries, respectively. Traditionally, the word that contains the last stressed syllable of a phrase is known as the nuclear position and all the other words containing stressed syllables are referred to as pre-nuclear positions. I show this in Fig. 1. Stressed syllables (i.e. the sites where pitch accents are anchored) appear underlined. The brackets represent phrase boundaries.

![Fig. 1: Intonational positions.](image)

Thus, to describe and analyze the intonational patterns of absolute questions in SKS, I will examine the tonal events that occur in those three sites shown in Fig. 1. In (7), I list the tonal units that are expected to occur in those positions.

(7) Distribution of tonal units

a. Boundary tone associated with question final phrase boundary.

b. Pitch accent associated with the nuclear position of the phrase.

c. Pitch accents associated with the pre-nuclear positions of the phrase.

I will follow the basic conventions used in Sp_ToBI (Tones and Break Indices version for Spanish - Beckman, et al. 2002; Beckman et al. 2005; Estebas Vilaplana and Prieto 2009; Hualde 2003; Prieto & Roseano 2010; Sosa 1991, 2003) to represent the tonal units associated with the positions indicated in Fig. 1. Generally speaking, ToBI recognizes two tonal units: ‘L’ for low tones and ‘H’ for high tones. Contour tones result from combining those two units: LH, HL, LHL, etc. Pitch accents (i.e. tonal units associated with stressed syllables) are marked with a star: L*, H*. Boundary tones are
marked with a percentage symbol following the tonal unit in the case of a final boundary tone: L%, H%.

The star used in pitch accents has a double meaning. It signals the tonal unit is a pitch accent (as opposed to a boundary tone) but in the case of complex pitch accents, it also indicates which of the tones is considered the head of the tonal complex. Thus, for instance, L*+H means that both tones behave phonologically as a single unit (this is marked by the plus symbol) and that the low tone, L, is the head of that phonological unit.

Pitch accents and boundary tones can undergo phonological phenomena known as ‘downstepping’ and ‘upstepping’. A tone is downstepped, indicated by a downward exclamation mark (!), when it is realized conspicuously lower in pitch height than a previous tone of the same category. This is how a downstepped high tone is transcribed: !H. A tone can also appear upstepped, indicated by an upward exclamation mark (¡). This occurs when a tone is realized higher than a previous tone of the same type. A high tone that is realized noticeably higher in pitch height than a previous one is transcribed as: ¡H. In intonational systems we usually find that tonal downstepping and upstepping are used to distinguish between known/given information versus new information, different types of focus, sentence types, or to encode pragmatic meanings, and even paralinguistic phenomena (Hualde 2005; Ladd 2008).

It is necessary to distinguish downstepping from a phonetic phenomenon known as pitch downtrend by which high and low tones that occur early in an utterance are higher in height than those that occur later (Gussenhoven 2005; Ladd 1988, 2008). Thus, unlike downstepping or upstepping, which are phonological phenomena controlled by the speaker, pitch downtrend is an automatic phenomenon by which tones slowly decrease in height. Any dramatic or unexpected change in tone height indicates the occurrence of downstepping or upstepping.

Complex pitch accents can also show different types of peak alignments. For instance, the peak of a rising pitch accent can be realized within the stressed syllable to which the pitch accent is anchored (early-peak alignment: L+H*) or it could be obtained post-tonically (late-peak alignment: L+>H*)3.

3 Some dialects of Spanish, like the one from Dominican Republic, have also been reported to make distinctions with regard to where the high tone begins rising. Thus, the high tone of L*+H can start rising during the stressed syllable or at the beginning of the following post-tonic one and this is correlated to different types of focus (see Estebas Vilaplana & Prieto 2009; Face 2001, 2002; Face & Prieto 2007; Prieto et al. 1995; Willis 2003). Since SKS does not seem to resort to this distinction, I will ignore it in this article.
Both possibilities are schematically represented in figures in 2 and 3. The grey areas represent the stressed syllables that host the tonal units\(^4\).

Fig. 2: L+H*  
Fig. 3: L+>H*

Finally, stressed syllables can undergo a process known as deaccentuation (Beckman, et al. 2002; Ladd 2008; O’Rourke 2005; Willis 2003). That is, they preserve their metrical status as ‘stressed’ (i.e. the heads of their metrical constituent) but they do not appear associated with a pitch accent. Deaccented syllables can still cue their status as stressed. The duration of their vowels is longer than the vowels of unstressed syllables. In Spanish, deaccentuation tends to occur in stressed syllables that do not carry any informational prominence. Spanish speakers tend to avoid deaccentuation and downstepping when they want their speech to sound lively (Hualde 2005). The pitch that a deaccented syllable obtains results from the interpolation between the previous tonal target and the tonal target that follows the deaccented syllable.

### 3.1 Nuclear configuration of Shipibo-Konibo Spanish absolute questions

With the theoretical tools assumed above, let us begin the description and analysis of the intonational patterns of absolute questions of SKS. The first thing to say is that yes-no questions in SKS always end in an upstepped high tone that I will represent as: ¡H%. The high tone associated with the final boundary of this type of questions is not only high, it is normally higher than a previous high tone and even if there is no previous high tone, the pitch range used to indicate the end of a yes-no question is visibly higher than expected for a regular high tone. This, however, is a fairly common characteristic of absolute questions in Spanish (Hualde 2005; Navarro Tomás 1974; Quilis 1981, 1993; Sosa 1999; c.f. Robles-Puente 2011).

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\(^4\)Figures 2, 3, 16, 17 and 18 are based on the schematic representations used by the Pompeu Fabra University website: “Sp_ToBI training materials” (http://prosodia.upf.edu/sp_tobi/).
In all the graphs I show in this study, the grey areas shown on the pitch contours indicate where the stressed syllables of the phrase are located. The upper transcription tier shows the tonal units I use to represent the pitch contour phonologically. The second tier shows a word-by-word transcription of the question and stressed syllables appear in italics. The fourth tier has the transcription of the entire yes-no question and its translation into English.

Fig. 4 shows the pitch contour of a yes-no question in SKS: ¿te sientes bien? (Do you feel well?) It can be readily observed that at the end of the phrase, the pitch rises and its peak gets higher than the peak of the high tone associated with the previous stressed syllable: an upstepped high tone. The nuclear position of absolute questions in SKS is associated with a low pitch accent: L*. Sometimes L* is realized as a short valley and immediately after that the pitch rises to realize the upstepped high boundary tone that follows. This case can be seen in figure 4. However, it is more typical for that L* to be realized phonetically as a level low tone throughout most of the stressed vowel. See figure 5. The pitch accent associated with the nuclear position and final boundary tone form the nuclear configuration of absolute questions: [L* ¡H%]. This nuclear configuration has been reported for absolute questions in several dialects of Spanish (Prieto & Roseano 2010; Toledo & Gurlekian 2009) and also for Peruvian Spanish from Lima (O’Rourke 2005).

3.2 Pre-nuclear positions in SKS absolute questions

In this section, I present the tonal units that occur in pre-nuclear positions and assign them a phonological representation. I start by examining the first pre-nuclear position. Figures 4 and 5 already showed that these positions are typically associated with a rising bitonal unit: L+H*. The valley of the low tone is usually phonetically realized at the beginning of the stressed syllable. The peak of the high tone also occurs within the tonic syllable, usually towards the second half of the syllable nucleus.

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5ToBI uses the symbols HH% (or H-H%) to represent the pitch final rising typical of absolute questions. The idea behind that representation is that at the end of phrases there are actually two boundaries, each associated with a tone: a phrase tone (H-) and a boundary tone (H%). Since this study represents an initial exploration of the intonational properties of SKS absolute questions, I prefer to use the notation ¡H% for the time being because I consider it phonetically more transparent and it carries less theoretical assumptions for which I have not yet found evidence in favor or against.
In addition to L+H*, the initial pre-nuclear position can also show a L+>H* pitch accent. As shown in Fig. 3, the symbol ‘greater than’ (>) in L+>H* is used to indicate a high tone has a late-peak alignment; that is, its peak is achieved post-tonically. L+>H* is less frequently found than L+H* but it is not uncommon. Fig. 6 shows an instance of an initial pre-nuclear position associated with a L+>H* pitch accent. In other pre-nuclear positions of SKS absolute questions, stressed syllables tend to appear deaccented. That
is, although they are metrically stressed, they do not occur associated with any pitch accent. This scenario can also be observed in the second stressed syllable of the phrase in Fig. 6.

Although not as frequent as the case in Fig. 6, we can also find occasions where non-initial pre-nuclear positions do receive a pitch accent, as in the second stressed syllable depicted in Fig. 7. However, this difference does not seem to correspond to any linguistic distinction.

Fig. 5: SKS: Low pitch accent in nuclear positions of Yes-No questions.
In figures 4, 5 and 7, the first pitch accent of each utterance has a peak with early-alignment; that is, the highest point of the high tone in L+H* occurs within the stressed syllable. However, these cases raise the question whether this alignment might be related to the fact that in each case the stressed syllable is a diphthong or a closed syllable. In other words, one might suspect it is the number of moras that makes the early-alignment of the rising pitch accents possible. However, the case presented in Fig. 6 already rules out that hypothesis since the first L+>H* pitch accent shows a late-peak peak.
alignment even though the stressed syllable hosting it has a diphthong. To be exhaustive, in Fig. 8, I present a case where the first pitch accent has an early-peak alignment but, this time, the stressed syllable contains a monophthongal stressed vowel. This completely rules out any correlation in SKS between peak alignment and the number of moras of the hosting syllable.

I end this section showing an instance of a declarative sentence in SKS. See figure 9. It allows for a quick comparison of the differences and similarities between an absolute question and a declarative. The sentence in Fig. 9 was

Fig. 7: SKS: L+H* in non-initial pre-nuclear positions of Yes-No questions.
uttered as a reply to the request: Di qué está haciendo la mujer (tell me what the woman is doing). Unlike yes-no questions, the declarative sentence below, ‘la mujer está preparando limonada’ (the woman is preparing lemonade), shows a downstepped boundary low tone (!L%). This is in sharp contrast with the upstepped high tone we find in absolute question final boundaries (¡H%).
Furthermore, the pitch accent associated with the nuclear position is a rising tone with its peak downstepped: $L^+!H^*$. Thus, while the nuclear configuration in absolute interrogatives is $[L^* ¡H\%]$, in declaratives, it is $[L^+!H^* !L\%]$.

All pre-nuclear positions appear associated with a $L^+!H^*$ pitch accent; that is, a rising tone with its peak occurring within the stressed syllable that hosts it. However, with the exception of the first peak, all the others appear visibly downstepped (or alternatively deaccented in other instances). However, both yes-no questions and declaratives share the preference for $L^+H^*$ pitch accents in their pre-nuclear positions.

4 Comparison to the intonation of absolute questions of Pucallpa Spanish and the Shipibo-Konibo language

This section provides a comparison of SKS with the intonational characteristics of absolute questions of SK and Pucallpa Spanish. This allows us to obtain a better understanding of how similar the Spanish of SK speakers is to their native language, SK, and to Pucallpa Spanish, one of the closest varieties of Amazonian Spanish to SKS. First, I will compare it to Pucallpa Spanish and then to SK.

4.1 Pucallpa Spanish

Impressionistically, three main types of Spanish can be distinguished in Peru (Perez Silva et al. 2004): Coastal Spanish (CS), Andean Spanish (AnS) and Amazonian Spanish (AS). Each of these regional Peruvian Spanishes has several variants. Pucallpa Spanish is a type of Amazonian Spanish spoken in the city of Pucallpa, the most important urban center of the Ucayali region, where most SK communities are located, particularly along the banks of the Ucayali River.

SKS is very similar to Pucallpa Spanish. The intonational differences between the two varieties of Amazonian Spanish seem to be related to the frequency with which certain tonal units occur in pre-nuclear positions. Figures 10 and 11 show typical intonational contours of absolute questions in Pucallpa Spanish. The nuclear configuration of absolute questions in Pucallpa Spanish is the same we have observed in SKS: $[L^* ¡H\%]$. That is, the nuclear position obtains a low tone, $L^*$; and the boundary at the end of the question receives an upstepped high tone, $¡H\%$.

In initial pre-nuclear positions of absolute questions, both Pucallpa Spanish and SKS share a preference for the pitch accents: $L^+>H^*$ and $L^+H^*$. The
latter is a rising tone with its peak attained during the stressed syllable. The former, also a rising tone, has its peak occurring in the post-tonic syllable. The main difference between SKS and Pucallpa Spanish, however, seems to be the preference for these pitch accents. In Pucallpa Spanish, the favorite pitch accent seems to be L+>H* while SKS prefers L+H*. Non-initial pre-nuclear
positions of absolute questions in both Pucallpa Spanish and SKS generally occur unaccented or downstepped.

For the sake of comparison, in Fig. 12, I show a declarative sentence from Pucallpa Spanish. It has a nuclear configuration similar to the declaratives in SKS: \([L+!H^* \text{ L}^\%]\). The first pitch accent in Pucallpa Spanish has a preference for showing a late-peak alignment (that is, the peak of the high tone occurs on the post-tonic syllable). Rising-pitch accents in the first pre-nuclear position can also appear with an early-peak alignment in Pucallpa Spanish, but this is somehow not as frequent as in SKS. Garcia 2011 provides an in-depth
study of declarative sentences in Pucallpa Spanish. The description I provide for declarative sentences in Pucallpa Spanish is compatible with that Garcia reports in his study. The only difference I find is that Garcia 2011 indicates that the pitch accent L+>H* is not very frequent in Pucallpa Spanish declarative sentences. This contrasts with the data I collected for absolute interrogatives and the difference should be studied further. It might be that interrogatives prefer L+>H* while declaratives prefer L+H*. Since this is outside the scope of this work given that the main concern here is to provide a first approximation to the intonational patterns of absolute questions in SKS, I leave this issue for future research.
The intonational patterns of Yes-No questions in...

Padrões entoacionais das perguntas sim-não no...

In figures 13 and 14 I compare a typical intonational contour for absolute questions in SKS and Pucallpa Spanish. The questions, in order of appearance are: ¿Marina está entrando? (Is Marina coming in?), and ¿Lalo ganó el regalo? (Did Lalo win the present?). Next to each graph I provide a bullet-list summary of the main properties of the intonational properties of yes-no questions in that variety with regard to its nuclear configuration (nuclear position and final boundary), initial pre-nuclear position and non-initial pre-nuclear positions.

Fig. 12: SKS: Low pitch accent in nuclear positions of Yes-No questions.
Both variants are alike. They have the same nuclear configuration: L* ¡H%. However, they tend to diverge in their treatment of pre-nuclear positions and specially the initial pre-nuclear position. There, the two varieties tend to display a rising pitch accent. However, the particulars of the peak alignment and height of that pitch accent vary. Pucallpa Spanish tends to align the peak with a post-tonic syllable while SKS tends to align it within the vowel of the stressed syllable. In figures 13 and 14, I list, in order of preference, other alternatives each of those varieties of Peruvian Spanish could exhibit.

(8) Intonation of absolute questions in SKS and Pucallpa Spanish

a. Shipibo-Konibo Spanish (SKS) (see Fig. 13)
   i. Bilingual variety of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish.
   ii. Nuclear configuration: L* ¡H%.
   iii. Initial pre-nuclear position: L+H* (alternetively: L+>H*).
   iv. Other pre-nuclear positions: usually deaccented or downstepped but they can also show: L+H*.

b. Pucallpa Spanish (see Fig. 14)
   i. Monolingual variety of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish.
   ii. Nuclear configuration: L* ¡H%.
   iii. Initial pre-nuclear position: L+>H* (alternetively: L+H*).
   iv. Other pre-nuclear positions: usually deaccented or downstepped but they can also show: L+>H*.

4.2 Shipibo-Konibo (SK)

This section describes the intonation of yes-no questions in SK. Figures 13 and 14 depict a typical intonational pitch contour for this type of questions: ¿Ikonri Marina ransaikai? /ikunqži marina dzansaikai/ (Is it true that Marina is going to dance?).

In SK, absolute questions end in a rising boundary tone with an upstepped peak: L¡H%. In figure 15, we can see clearly that at the end of the yes-no question, the pitch falls after the last stressed syllable and then rises. This is different from what we found in SKS, where the boundary tone was simply an upstepped high tone.

The nuclear position in SK is also different from that of SKS. While in SKS, the nuclear position receives a low tone (L*), in SK, the nuclear position shows a rising tone with an early-peak alignment (L+¡H*). Thus, the nuclear
configuration in SK is structured out of two rising tones: \(L+!H^* L_iH\%\) (as opposed to the SKS nuclear configuration: \(L^* ñH\%\)).

Furthermore, it should be noted that syllables carrying main stress in SK always attain a rising pitch accent with an early-peak alignment: \(L+H^*\). This is a consistent phenomenon in SK even in non-initial pitch accents (c.f. SKS - see the case depicted in Fig. 7). Finally, it is worth observing that there is a consistent difference between the peak height of \(L+H^*\) when it occurs in the initial pre-nuclear position compared to other stressed syllables. All the high tones of the pitch accent \(L+H^*\) that follow the one in the initial pre-nuclear position usually appear noticeably downstepped: \(L+!H^*\). This difference is not just the result of the pitch contour phonetic downtrend.

**Fig. 13**: SKS: Low pitch accent in nuclear positions of Yes-No questions.
Fig. 14: Pucallpa Spanish: Declarative sentence.

5 Conclusions

Shipibo-Konibo Spanish is a bilingual variety of Peruvian Amazonian Spanish. It shares many intonational characteristics with Pucallpa Spanish. In order to study the intonational patterns of absolute questions, we divided them into two parts: the nuclear configuration and the pre-nuclear positions. The results of this study suggest that the nuclear configuration can be regarded as the place where most of the crucial features of yes-no questions reside. In this position, we do not find any discrepancy between SKS and Pucallpa Spanish. They show a low pitch accent associated with the stressed syllable of the phrase-final word followed by an upstepped high boundary tone. I have represented this nuclear configuration as: L* ¡H%.
That fact is, in itself, a striking finding since we have also found out that in SK the nuclear configuration is quite different: [L+!H* L¡H%]. This nuclear configuration is completely absent in SKS. All the variation we found between SKS and Pucallpa Spanish occurs with regard to the pre-nuclear positions.

There is also another common characteristic between SKS and Pucallpa Spanish: deaccentuation (that is, stressed syllables that appear without a pitch accent associated with them.). SKS has a tendency to deaccentuate non-initial pre-nuclear positions as does Pucallpa Spanish. However, deaccentuation is more common in Pucallpa Spanish than in SKS. This is probably a feature SK speakers still transfer onto their Spanish from SK where deaccentuation in general seems to be an unusual phenomenon.

Fig. 15: SK: Intonational contour of absolute questions.
In the pre-nuclear positions, we can see another type of influence of SK onto SKS: the alignment of pre-nuclear rising pitch accents. In SKS, they tend to appear with their peak aligned with the stressed syllable that hosts them; that is, they have early-peak alignment. That is unlike Pucallpa Spanish where the peak tends to be aligned with the next unstressed vowel.

Table 2 lists, by their intonational positions, the tonal units we have found in SKS in absolute questions. It shows both the preferred SKS intonational contour as well as other positional alternatives, if there is one available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferred</th>
<th>Pre-nuclear positions</th>
<th>Nuclear configuration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>L+H*</td>
<td>L*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-initial</td>
<td>L+&gt;H*</td>
<td>Deaccentuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear position</td>
<td>L+H*</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final boundary</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 2: Tonal units found in SKS absolute questions.

Figures 16, 17 and 18 offer a schematic representations of each of the tonal units listed in Table 2.

Fig. 16: L+H*

Fig. 17: L+>H*

Fig. 18: Nuclear configuration: L* ¡H%

The picture that has emerged from this study is that SKS, although not intonationally identical to Pucallpa Spanish, is similar. However, the general impression of two dialects as being similar or different is not only based on their intonational patterns. There are other linguistic and non-linguistic aspects that contribute, as well. The intonational contour is just one piece in a complex sound system. Other bits of this sound system that I have not talked about in this article are, for instance, the phonological behavior and phonetic realization of segments and its interaction with prosody in SKS.
is an important factor that must be addressed in the future to have a more complete depiction of what makes SKS unique. Figures 16, 17 and 18 show schematic representation of the tonal units found in SKS absolute questions.

A final topic for future research I would like to suggest is the study of the correlation between the intonational patterns of SKS and the degree of bilingualism in Spanish of SK speakers. The data presented in this article came from SK speakers that are highly advanced bilinguals. It would be interesting to see what the results would be in SK speakers that have an intermediate or more basic knowledge of Spanish. Those topics remain to be investigated.

References


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