

Introduction to the special issue*

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For the past few years there has been an intense and increasing collaboration effort between researchers working on the Iberian languages, and this is particularly true in the realm of phonetics and phonology. The *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* has played a role in contributing to stimulate such a collaborative research focusing on the Iberian languages: first with a Special Issue on *Variation and Change in the Iberian Languages: the Peninsula and Beyond*, and now with a Special Issue on the *Prosody of Ibero-Romance and Related Languages*. In fact, to broaden its scope of coverage to the Iberian languages has become an explicit goal of the journal. As guest-editors of this issue, we are very pleased to be able to contribute to this objective, which we find an extremely fruitful one.

The present volume focuses on the prosody of Iberian(-related) languages, in particular of European and Brazilian Portuguese, the Portuguese- and Spanish-based creole Papiamentu, Spanish, and Catalan. The topics investigated include word stress, tone and intonation, the interpretation of ambiguous sentences, and the prosody-syntax interface.

Leo Wetzels' contribution, "Primary Word Stress in Brazilian Portuguese and the Weight Parameter", offers a very thorough investigation on the conditioning factors for the assignment of Brazilian Portuguese (PB) word stress. It addresses a long-standing debate on the role of morphological structure versus syllable weight on stress assignment, both in verbs and non-verbs, in Portuguese. The first part of the paper is devoted to dismiss the arguments found in the literature against the weight sensitivity hypothesis. Then, several arguments of different kinds are brought together to support the view that syllable weight is the relevant factor for stress location in this

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language variety for non-verbs. By contrast, and along the lines of previous work on Portuguese word stress distribution, in verbs morphological information is seen to play a major role in the prediction of stress location. A formal account of BP word stress is further proposed in OT (Optimality Theory) terms.

José Ignacio Hualde (“Stress removal and stress addition in Spanish”) provides a description of the accentuation patterns of function words in Spanish, namely the distinction between stressed (or accented) and unstressed function words, and he establishes a connection between this distinction and the one that can be observed between compounds in Spanish, some of which display only one accent in one of its members and some of which maintain one accent per member (i.e., two accents in the compound). Hualde holds that the contrast between word-level and phrase-level compounds postulated by Liberman & Sproat (1992) to account for the different patterns of English compounds can be extended to Spanish as well. In word-level compounds there is just one accent, and in phrase-level compounds there would be two accents (one accent per member). The difference between English and Spanish is that in word-level domains it is the leftmost stress that survives in English whereas in Spanish it is the rightmost stress that surfaces. Hualde makes a parallelism between the stress properties of compounds and function words, and argues that unstressed function words are included in the prosodic word together with a following content word, whereas stressed function words form a phrasal domain with a following content word.

Flaviane Fernandes’ paper (“Tonal association of neutral and subject-narrow-focus sentences in Brazilian Portuguese: a comparison with European Portuguese”) presents the first account of focus intonation in BP within the Autosegmental-Metrical approach to intonation. A description and analysis is proposed based on recorded data, consisting of neutral sentences and sentences with narrow focus on the subject. In line with previous descriptions of BP intonation, she concludes that in neutral sentences each prosodic word (ω) is usually assigned a pitch accent, and no phrasal accents are found. By contrast, the right boundary of the phonological phrase that includes the focused element may be assigned a phrasal tone. As to the focused element, the types of pitch accent that it bears are the same as those occurring in neutral sentences. Comparing her results with those found in the literature on the intonation of European Portuguese (EP), she concludes that most of these features are distinct in the two varieties, as in EP sentence internal ω s do not usually bear a pitch accent in neutral sentences, there are no focus-related phrasal accents, and the pitch accent assigned to the focused element does not occur in neutral sentences.

In their article, “Rising accents in Castilian Spanish: A Revision of Sp_ToBI”, Timothy L. Face and Pilar Prieto show that the standard bipartite distinction between L^*+H and $L+H^*$ pitch accents is too restrictive. It cannot account for a third type of accent found in certain types of utterances in

Dominican Spanish and Castilian Spanish, in which the pitch stays low for most of the accented syllable and rises at the end of it, the peak being realized on the posttonic syllable. The label L*+H would not distinguish it from the one found in prenuclear position in broad focus utterances in most Spanish varieties. Face & Prieto suggest a revision of starredness in bitonal accents in the AM framework: the star should be assigned to the tone that represents how that accent is perceived (L* if the accent is perceived low, H* if the accent is perceived high), and tones might be secondarily associated to edges of prosodic constituents. L*+H would be reserved for the third type of accent mentioned above, and the two most common accents in Spanish would both be L+H* (as they are perceived high). The distinction between these two would be achieved by assuming that in the accent of narrow focus or nuclear position in focus declaratives has a secondary association of the H tone to the end of the syllable.

Maria del Mar Vanrell's article ("A tonal scaling contrast in Majorcan Catalan interrogatives") provides additional evidence in favour of the linguistic relevance of differences in tonal scaling within a language or dialect, by showing that the scaling differences of the leading H tone in nuclear accents in yes-no and what-questions in Majorcan Catalan are contrastive phonologically. A perception experiment in which four stimuli were created from yes-no and what-questions by decreasing and increasing the tonal level of the leading H tone by 15 Hz from the base stimulus revealed that the scaling of this tone is relevant for perceiving yes-no and what-questions as two different categories. Yes-no questions in which the pitch of the leading H tone in the nuclear accent was between 233 and 218 Hz (i.e., 30 to 45 Hz lower than in the base stimulus) started to be perceived as a what-question, even in the absence of an accented wh-word. What-questions in which the pitch of the leading H tone in the nuclear accent was between 218 and 233 Hz (i.e., 30 to 45 Hz higher than in the base stimulus) started to be perceived as yes-no questions, even in the presence of an accented wh-word.

Erik Willis's "Utterance signaling and tonal levels in Dominican Spanish declaratives and interrogatives" examines the intonational differences between declaratives, absolute interrogatives, and pronominal interrogatives in Dominican Spanish (DS). Unlike other dialects of Spanish, declaratives and absolute interrogatives in DS are not distinguished by a final boundary tone, as both types of sentences may end with a rising tonal movement. Willis shows that the main difference between declaratives and absolute interrogatives in DS lies in the higher tonal value of a nuclear L* tone in absolute interrogatives, which Willis transcribes as an upstepped \downarrow L* accent. According to the author, this upstepped tone is responsible for the phonetic upstepping of the prenuclear H tone found in absolute interrogatives. Pronominal interrogatives have a higher initial tonal value than declaratives and absolute interrogatives, and Willis attributes this to an initial %H boundary tone. This conclusion is only tentative, but the higher tonal value of

the first prenuclear H tone in pronominal interrogatives compared to declaratives and absolute interrogatives might support this analysis.

Silvia Kouwenberg's article ("The prosody-syntax interface and the status of pronouns in Papiamentu") investigates the prosodic and syntactic status of pronouns in Papiamentu. She argues that pronouns do not form a homogeneous class. Evidence is offered for the separation between weak and strong pronouns, a classification not previously recognized in the literature, with both prosodic and syntactic correlates: weak (singular) pronouns are clitics (from a prosodic as well as a syntactic point of view) and syntactic heads, whereas strong pronouns form prosodic words on their own and have a phrasal syntactic status. The paper further argues for a different prosodization of enclitics and proclitics, based on stress shift facts.

The paper by Marcus Maia, Eva Fernández, Armanda Costa and Maria do Carmo Lourenço-Gomes ("Early and late preferences in relative clause attachment in Portuguese and Spanish") systematically reviews the existing evidence for the attachment preferences of relative clauses (RC) in a number of Romance languages. The data suggest that different attachment preferences may emerge depending on the type of task: in question-based experiments, where speakers have been presented ambiguous sentences of the type "Someone shot the maid of the actress who was on the balcony", Romance language speakers seem to prefer higher attachment (*the made* instead of *the actress*); however, the results are contradictory if the measurement of attachment is timed, or on-line (such as the one obtained from the eye-tracking technique). It further reports on a new experiment comparing the behaviour of Brazilian and European Portuguese speakers on a self-paced reading task involving sentences containing restrictive RCs that are unambiguous as to the modified element. The paper raises interesting questions on the relation between speakers' attachment preferences and the prosodic properties of their respective languages.

Each paper was subject to at least two reviews. We are deeply grateful to the authors who have accepted contributing with their work to this volume, as well as to the reviewers who kindly accepted to collaborate with us in this valuable task. We wish to also thank the editors of the *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* for having invited us to guest-edit the present volume, a stimulating and extremely rewarding undertaking.

Before we conclude, we feel that a word is due on the special meaning that this volume has in the life of the *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*. This is the tenth issue of a five-year-old journal. Anyone who knows the field of Portuguese linguistics and the editorial context in this part of the world must be led to sincerely congratulate the editorial team of the journal and all those involved in its making for a remarkable accomplishment: a high-quality journal, which has been published on a regular basis, in a consistent way. Over fifty papers have been published so far. The areas of linguistics that have been covered spring from all branches of descriptive and theoretical

linguistics, seen from various perspectives, focusing on adult contemporary language, on language variation in time and space, and on language acquisition; many of them integrating the findings crosslinguistically and some also following a laboratory approach. The languages or language varieties specifically addressed – in most cases underrepresented in the literature – are also noteworthy, as they include Brazilian Portuguese, European Portuguese (Standard and Northern varieties), Portuguese-based creoles, such as Papiamentu, Saramaccan, and Santome, Basque, Castilian Spanish, Andean Spanish, Dominican Spanish, Central Catalan, and Majorcan Catalan, among others. In this special occasion, we wish the journal to continue to grow for many years to come.

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