

Maja Dubravčić

A View Upon the Distribution of Emphasis in Speech*

1. Introduction

1.0. Although emphasis is recognized as an inherent part of our speech, our thoughts, indeed of our whole life, yet when it comes to defining it there has been a lot of vagueness, vacillation and confusion in terminology.¹

To illustrate the wide range of meanings and usages of emphasis here are some of the definitions from the OED:

Emphasis, by origin a Greek word has the following most important meanings:

2. Special or important significance in a word or phrase.
3. Intensity or force, of feeling, action etc.
4. Stress of voice laid on a word or phrase to indicate that it implies something more than or different from what it normally expresses, or simply to mark its importance.
5. 'Stress' laid upon, importance assigned to, a particular fact or idea.
6. Prominency, sharpness of contour."

"*Emphasize*, trans. To impart emphasis to (anything), to lay stress upon (a word or phrase in speaking); to add force to (speech, arguments, actions etc.); to lay stress upon, bring into special prominence (a fact, idea, feature in a representation, etc)."
"*Emphatical*, 2. Of speech and writing: Strongly expressive,

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¹ Some of the terms often used synonymously with emphasis, emphasize, emphatic are "prominence", "intensity", "importance", "strong-stressed", "throw into relief".

forcible, pointed. Of a word: That has special importance in the sentence; hence that receives the stress in pronunciation."²

1.1. According to the above quoted definitions from the OED, "emphasis" and its derivatives cover a considerably large area. In linguistics alone, emphasis can be said to be a feature of phonetics, syntax, semantics and stylistics. In definition 4. above "emphasis" is clearly stated to be "stress of voice laid on a word or phrase." It follows that it is most probably achieved through phonetic means. But "emphatical", referring to speech and writing, according to the second definition above means "strongly expressive, forcible, pointed." This definition being very general, includes in fact all the devices by which emphasis can be achieved: phonetic, syntactic, semantic and stylistic. Thus the term "emphasis" can stand for various things in linguistics and unless it is very precisely limited a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding can result.

The manysidedness of emphasis, the vagueness of the notion and the seeming irrelevance appear to be the reasons why emphasis has been neglected by linguists. As H. O. Coleman said: "the word emphasis, denoting as it does something subjective on the part of the speaker or hearer, is in the works that deal with objective fact (physiological and acoustic) naturally introduced but incidentally if at all".³

1.2. Phoneticians treat of emphasis oftener and more exhaustively than other linguists. Emphasis has been very early established as "stress of voice".⁴ Phoneticians have made it clear that what should be meant by emphasis is an extra prominence or intensity given to a syllable or to one or more words in an utterance.⁵

1.2.1. At one time emphasis used to be confused with sentence stress i. e. the stress on the words which are the most important for the meaning of an utterance. But as Kenyon said: "The term emphasis, however, is more specifically used not of sense stress,⁶ which is normal and belongs to every expression of thought in

² *Oxford English Dictionary*, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1933, pp. 126, 127.

³ H. O. Coleman, "Intonation and Emphasis", *Miscellanea Phonetica* I., Association Phonetique Internationale, 1914, p. 12, fn. 1.

⁴ see *l. o.*, defin. 4.

⁵ A. Vanvik, *On Stress in Present-Day English (Received Pronunciation)*, Norwegian Universities Press, Bergen, Oslo, 1961, p. 91.

⁶ For Kenyon the term "sense stress" and "sentence stress" are synonymous.

words, but of occasional or special stress⁷ used for the purpose of making specially prominent some one part of the thought".⁸

Thus sentence stress and emphasis are two entirely different notions though they are often referred to by the same word "prominence".⁹ The two phenomena ought to be kept strictly apart because there has been established a certain regularity in the appearance of sentence stress, whereas no regularity has so far been established in the appearance of emphasis. This is because emphasis has always been regarded chiefly as a matter of subjective choice on the part of the speaker. Still the question poses itself as to whether there might be a tendency to emphasize certain parts of an utterance more frequently than others.

1.3. Most of what has been said about emphasis in syntax is connected with changes in word order. The deviation from a fixed word order such as English is often caused by a tendency to emphasize a particular part of an utterance. Sweet thinks that there exists a general principle of positional emphasis "that of making a word conspicuous by putting it in any abnormal — that is — unexpected position".¹⁰

1.3.1. Another phenomenon which is generally said to produce an emphatic effect is the anticipatory "it is". Any noun, pronoun, adverb or adverbial phrase in a sentence can be made emphatic by making it formally the predicate of the sentence introduced by the anticipatory "it is".

1.3.2. Still another syntactic device for giving emphasis is the construction *do/did* + infinitive. It is generally agreed that the construction does not emphasize the verbal idea, but, according to Jespersen "the speaker's belief in the reality of a fact stated".¹¹

1.3.3. The addition of a subject to the imperative is said to increase the "intensity", specially if "do" is added.

⁷ The word "stress" is here used in its wider meaning.

⁸ J. S. Kenyon (P. W. Carhart), "A Guide to Pronunciation", *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second edition, G. and C. Merriam Company Publishers, Springfield, Mass., 1961, p. XXXVII.

⁹ The term is perfectly adequate because both accented and emphasized syllables are prominent, only the emphatic ones are more so. In addition, accent and emphasis in speech are achieved basically by the same kind of phonetic devices.

¹⁰ H. Sweet, *A New English Grammar Logical and Historical*, Part I., Part II., At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1952, p. 3.

¹¹ O. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Parts II., III., V., VII., George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1954, p. 506.

1.3.4. Curme speaks of another way of making a verb more emphatic. It is achieved by forming a predicate clause in which "what" is the subject, and the emphasized verb the predicate.¹²

1.3.5. Guberina thinks that as soon as a tense is used exceptionally (as e. g. present simple for the past in English) it acquires emotional value.¹³

1.3.6. The so-called "absolute superlative" is used emphatically when not the highest but only a very high degree is meant.

1.3.7. There are some other features of structure that are considered as emphatic such as a repeated subject with the auxiliary and not + a personal pronoun at the end of a sentence.

1.3.8. This rather superficial survey of the syntactic means for imparting emphasis poses the question of the relationship between what we called phonetic emphasis and this, structural emphasis. Does every emphatic structure *sound* emphatic in speech?

1.4. An emphatic effect can also be achieved by the choice of words, which can be called stylistic emphasis. Jespersen speaks of "intensives", i. e. the adverbs that are used to intensify the meaning of adjectives and other adverbs.¹⁴ He also mentions "style tertiaries" which serve, "to qualify not the real content signified by the verb, but the stylistic choice of the following word which then is strongly stressed".¹⁵

Bally was the first to introduce the possibility of identifying an affective¹⁶ expression by opposing it to a neutral, the so-called intellectual one.

2. The Aim of the Analysis

2.0. From what has been said about the nature of the phenomenon of emphasis it follows that emphasis is primarily a feature of speech. Hence the principal aim of the present

¹² G. O. Curme, *Parts of Speech and Accidence*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1931, p. 197.

¹³ P. Guberina, *Valeur logique et valeur stylistique*, Zagreb, 1939, p. 69.

¹⁴ O. Jespersen, o. c. p. 401.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, p. 84.

¹⁶ Affectivity and emphasis are not exactly synonymous. On the one hand emphasis can be said to have a narrower meaning than affectivity, it can just be a means of expressing affectivity. On the other hand emphasis covers a much wider area than affectivity because it does not invariably reflect emotions but can also be of intellectual nature (e. g. contrast). Thus emphasis helps to reflect adequately the rational and emotional content of human thought.

analysis will be to examine a given sample of speech from the point of view of emphasis. Our interest in studying emphasis is to find out which are the parts of an utterance that in a given sample bear emphasis, i. e. the distribution of emphasis.

That is to say that the present analysis will not deal with the various devices through which emphasis may be realized, but it will concentrate on the general effect it produces on the listener.

2.1. Thus the listener will be our main criterion in determining what is emphatic in a given utterance. We want to stress this point in case there might be some misunderstanding. We do not pretend that our criterion is the best one or the most accurate one, but we agree with Hammarström when he says: "One might think, then, that it is unnecessary to make effort to determine minute points by ear, since the instruments give us exact information. Such an argument would, however, be misleading . . . The listener's impression is valid as such regardless of what relation it stands in to results from measurements made by electro-acoustic instruments".¹⁷ Thus we have set ourselves the task of examining emphasis on the auditory level only, and whatever conclusions might be reached will refer only to that level of analysis.

2.2. Nor shall we try to determine the differences in the degree, force, of emphasis, which certainly must exist in the material under analysis. We, however, believe that in the majority of cases there exists a clear border line between ordinary accent and emphasis, although there will always be some cases exactly on the border line.

3. The Sample

3.0. The source for our sample was the recorded BBC broadcast "Any Questions", reproduced by the courtesy of the Corporation for the Survey of Educated English.¹⁸ The broadcast is a weekly programme of the BBC. There is usually a panel of four speakers and a chairman who answer questions put to them by members of the audience. Members of the panel are educated people from various walks of life: journalists, scientists, politicians, Members of Parliament and others. They change every week. The language used by the members

¹⁷ G. Hammarström, "Representation of Spoken Language by Written Symbols", *Miscellanea Phonetica III.*, International Phonetic Association, University College, London, 1958, p. 35.

¹⁸ The material has been used by courtesy of Prof. Leonardo Spalatin in whose possession it is found. Dr. Spalatin also marked emphatic itmes under the supervision of Prof. Quirk of the University of London.

of the panel is standard educated spoken English. The situation in which they speak is neither too formal nor too familiar. The speakers are aware of the audience and the microphone, but they do not know the questions they will be asked so that they have to answer spontaneously. The question subjects range from very serious ones to humorous ones which are asked only to elicit humorous responses from the members of the panel.

3.1. This type of speech has several advantages which make it suitable for our analysis: it is not emotionally overcharged; there are a number of different speakers of both sexes and the subject matter varies.

3.2. Since our interest is concentrated on emphatic forms themselves, on the relationships among them and not on the opposition between emphatic forms and the non-emphatic ones, we have decided to operate with an approximately representative but manageable set of emphatic forms taken from the sample.

It has taken seven 45-minute programmes of recorded "Any Questions" broadcasts to collect 1038 emphatic items.¹⁹ Henceforward the word "sample" will refer to wider context, whereas the group of emphatic items gathered from the sample will be referred to as the "set".

4. The Parts-of-Speech Classification

4.0. At the outset we were interested in finding out the relative frequency of emphatic forms in the sample. It turned out to be 2,26%, which represents a sufficient percentage for a linguistic phenomenon to be registered and analysed.

4.1. The parts-of-speech analysis of the set has been undertaken to discover: a) whether any of the parts-of-speech categories are exempt from emphasis; b) which are the most frequently and the least frequently emphasized parts-of-speech in the set; c) whether there is any regularity in the occurrence of emphasis.

4.2. In classifying the emphatic items in our set into parts-of-speech categories we have followed the functional criterion, i. e. we have tried to determine the particular function each emphatic item performs in a given utterance.²⁰

¹⁹ The broadcasts we have used for this analysis were on the air in 1956/57.

²⁰ The reference books for the classification have been: G. O. Curme, o. c.; G. O. Curme, *Syntax*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1931.; C. E. Eckersley and J. M. Eckersley, *A Comprehensive English Grammar*

4.3. Table 1. shows the parts-of-speech membership of the various emphatic items in the set.²¹

Table 1

Parts of Speech	Number	SET %
NOUNS	73	7,0
FULL VERBS	90	8,7
MODAL VERBS	71	6,9
LINKING VERBS	44	4,2
AUXILIARIES	114	11,0
PRONOUNS	112	10,8
ADJECTIVES	210	20,2
ADVERBS	232	22,3
NUMERALS	19	1,8
CONJUNCTIONS	35	3,4
PREPOSITIONS	25	2,4
ARTICLES	5	0,5
PREFIXES	8	0,8
TOTAL:	1038	100,0

4.3.1. If the parts-of-speech categories are rearranged in order of frequency the following picture emerges:

Table 2

Parts of Speech	Number	SET %
1. ADVERBS	232	22,3
2. ADJECTIVES	210	20,2
3. AUXILIARIES	114	11,0
4. PRONOUNS	112	10,8
5. FULL VERBS	90	8,7
6. NOUNS	73	7,0
7. MODAL VERBS	71	6,9
8. LINKING VERBS	44	4,2
9. CONJUNCTIONS	35	3,4
10. PREPOSITIONS	25	2,4
11. NUMERALS	19	1,8
12. PREFIXES	8	0,8
13. ARTICLES	5	0,5
TOTAL:	1038	100,0

for *Foreign Students*, Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1960.; A. S. Hornby, T. E. Gatenby, H. Wakefield, *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford University Press, London, 1955.; G., Sheuerweghs, *Present-Day English Syntax*, Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1959.; R. W. Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1958.

²¹ Our division may seem arbitrary in some places. We have for example not included certain syntactic categories (such as interjections) because they are not represented in our set. On the other hand we have

If, however, we want to know how frequently verbality as such is emphasized, i. e. if all the verbal categories are collected into one then the order changes as shown in table 3.

Table 3

Parts of Speech	SET	
	Number	%
1. VERBS	319	30,8
2. ADVERBS	232	22,3
3. ADJECTIVES	210	20,2
4. PRONOUNS	112	10,8
5. NOUNS	73	7,0
6. CONJUNCTIONS	35	3,4
7. PREPOSITIONS	25	2,4
8. NUMERALS	19	1,8
9. PREFIXES	8	0,8
10. ARTICLES	5	0,5
TOTAL	1038	100,0

4.3.2. If Tables 1. 2. and 3. are carefully examined two conclusions can be drawn. The first and most important one is that there is no significant parts-of-speech category which is totally exempt from emphasis.²² Secondly, there are categories which include the majority of emphatic items, other categories being only very scantily represented. Thus e. g. verbs, adverbs, adjectives, pronouns and nouns make 91,1% of the total. These are, then, the most frequently emphasized parts of speech in our sample.

5. Parts-of-Speech Count

5.0. There is a question which cannot be overlooked when the parts-of-speech distribution of emphasis is being discussed. Is there any correspondence between the order of frequency of emphatic items and the over-all frequency of particular parts of speech in the sample? In order to answer this question it is necessary to know the relative frequency of various parts-of-speech categories in the sample. We have, therefore, undertaken a tentative parts-of-speech count in our sample.²³ In the

included a morphological category (prefixes), which appears in the set. This has been done intentionally to show that emphasis may fall on a prefix alone in order to contrast it with the rest of the word.

²² It is our opinion that interjections are exempt from emphasis in the sample under analysis only accidentally depending on the context and style used by the speakers.

²³ It should be stressed here that the results obtained by our count are not applicable to any other kind of analysis, based on different criteria.

count we have relied on the same criteria which have been used in the classification of emphatic items in the set. In this way we hope to have been able to establish comparable frequency lists of various parts of speech in the sample and the emphatic items in the same sample.

5.1. *Table 4.* shows the parts-of-speech categories in the sample arranged in the order of frequency:

Table 4

Parts of Speech	SAMPLE %
1. NOUNS	19,3
2. PRONOUNS	12,5
3. FULL VERBS	12,3
4. ADJECTIVES	10,4
5. PREPOSITIONS	9,7
6. ARTICLES	8,3
7. ADVERBS	8,2
8. CONJUNCTIONS	7,3
9. AUXILIARIES	4,4
10. LINKING VERBS	3,9
11. MODAL VERBS	1,4
12. NUMERALS	1,0
13. INTERJECTIONS	1,4
14. PARTICLES	0,4
TOTAL	100,0

5.2. If we now compare *Table 3.* (parts-of-speech distribution of the emphatic words in the set) with *Table 4.* (parts-of-speech distribution of the words used in the sample)²⁴ we can see that there is little correspondence between the distribution of emphasis and the frequency of particular parts-of-speech categories in the sample.

The parts-of-speech count has proved, what we suspected beforehand, that the distribution of emphasis must be based on other linguistic principles, if any, than the simple ratio of the frequency of particular parts of speech in a given sample.

6. The Analysis

6.0. Now that the connection between the parts-of-speech frequency and the distribution of emphasis has been eliminated

²⁴ We have not included prefixes in our count because this would mean counting all the morphological categories and confusing levels. The few emphatic prefixes only illustrate still another aspect of emphasis.

there remains the problem of what the distribution of emphasis is governed by. Is emphasis based on purely extra-linguistic considerations as is often supposed; i. e. on the meaning the speaker wishes to convey with an utterance, on the speaker's temperament, sex, way of speaking, the style he uses, or is there perhaps a linguistic trait which might be conditioned by non-linguistic considerations, but still steadily recurs in the system?

A comparative analysis of the over-all parts-of-speech frequency and the parts-of-speech distribution of emphasis will lay bare some interesting facts which speak in favour of linguistically-based distribution of emphasis.

6.1. The category of verbs is perhaps most revealing in that respect. It is of great importance to know whether verbs are treated as a single category or are subdivided into subclasses. If they are dealt with as a single group then they are the most frequently emphasized category in the sample.²⁵ According to *Table 5*. they are also the most frequently used parts-of-speech category in the sample.

Table 5

Parts of Speech	SAMPLE % ₀
1. VERBS	22,0
2. NOUNS	19,3
3. PRONOUNS	12,5
4. ADJECTIVES	10,4
5. PREPOSITIONS	9,7
6. ARTICLES	8,3
7. ADVERBS	8,2
8. CONJUNCTIONS	7,3
9. NUMERALS	1,0
10. INTERJECTIONS	0,9
11. PARTICLES	0,4
TOTAL	100,0

6.1.1. But this agreement remains only on the surface. As soon as we subdivide the group of verbs the picture changes. For the sake of convenience we shall divide verbs into two main subgroups: full verbs which have a clear lexical meaning, and those which are characterized by a total or partial lack of lexical meaning. These are auxiliary, modal and linking verbs, and we shall henceforward deal with them as a single group.

6.1.2. In *Table 6*. the emphatic items in the set are arranged in the order of frequency with verbs split into two subclasses:

²⁵ see *Table 3*.

Table 6

Parts of Specch	SET %
1. ADVERBS	22,3
2. MODAL, LINKING AUXILIARIES	22,1
3. ADJECTIVES	20,2
4. PRONOUNS	10,8
5. FULL VERBS	8,7
6. NOUNS	7,0
7. OTHERS	8,9
TOTAL	100,0

In Table 7. the same is done with the over-all parts-of-speech frequency list:

Table 7

Parts of Speech	SAMPLE %
1. NOUNS	19,3
2. PRONOUNS	12,5
3. FULL VERBS	12,3
4. ADJECTIVES	10,4
5. MODAL, LINKING AUXILIARIES	9,7
6. PREPOSITIONS	9,7
7. ARTICLES	8,3
8. ADVERBS	8,2
9. CONJUNCTIONS	7,3
10. NUMERALS	1,0
11. INTERJECTIONS	0,9
12. PARTICLES	0,4
TOTAL	100,0

6.1.3. If we now compare *Tables 6 and 7*, we can see that full verbs are more frequently used in the sample than MLA²⁶ verbs. On the other hand it is the MLA verbs that are relatively much more often emphasized in the same sample. Thus it can be concluded that those verbal categories which are characterized by lack of lexical meaning attract emphasis more frequently than full verbs.

6.1.4. One would think that emphasis gives special prominence to the meaningfully important parts of an utterance. Consequently one might suppose that nouns and full verbs, being the meaningful core of a piece of information, are the most important parts of an utterance and should bear emphasis more often than other parts of speech. But *Table 6*. speaks to the contrary. According to it the parts of speech which are

²⁶ Short for modal, linking, auxiliary.

much less important or essential for the meaning of a piece of information bear emphasis more frequently than nouns and full verbs.

6.1.5. We shall now subdivide the group of MLA verbs to see which of them are most frequently emphasized.

Table 8

MLA verbs	SET %
1. AUXILIARY	50,9
2. MODAL	31,3
3. LINKING	17,8
TOTAL	100,0

6.1.6. Among the auxiliaries it is the verb "to do" that abounds most with emphatic forms. The analysis of the emphatic forms of the auxiliary "do" has revealed that the structure do/did + infinitive is the most emphasized one of the "do" forms.²⁷ It follows that the structure do/did + infinitive, being a syntactical device for imparting emphasis, almost invariably attracts phonetical emphasis.

6.1.7. The emphatic modals in order of frequency are must, can, would, will, have got to etc. It would be far-fetched to draw any conclusions on the basis of this order of frequency. Since these verbs express attitudes it largely depends on the meaning which is to be conveyed whether there will be an attitude of obligation, possibility or volition.

6.1.8. The only linking verb being emphasized in the sample is the verb "to be".

6.1.9. Frequent emphasis on the MLA forms could also be due to their occurrence with the contracted form of "not". Thus in emphasizing the MLA + n't form the speaker's wish might have been to emphasize his negative attitude towards the piece of information. Be that as it might, yet it is always some function, not lexical meaning, that seems to attract emphasis.

6.2. There are three other parts-of-speech categories besides MLA verbs that precede full verbs and nouns on the frequency list of the emphatic forms. They are adverbs, adjectives and pronouns.²⁸ Adverbs and adjectives, although generally having a lexical meaning of their own, are modifiers and

²⁷ More than 50% of all the emphatic "do" forms belong to the do/did + infinitive structure.

²⁸ see Table 6.

therefore less essential for the meaning of a piece of information. Pronouns, on the other hand, substitute meaningful units. In addition, these parts-of-speech categories, with the exception of pronouns, are placed much lower on the over-all frequency list,²⁹ following nouns and full verbs.

6.2.1. Adverbs are particularly interesting in this respect. They have eighth place in the over-all parts-of-speech frequency list, first place in the frequency list of the emphatic items.³⁰ *Table 9* gives insight into the various constituent subgroups of the category of adverbs:

Table 9

ADVERBS	SET %
1. DEGREE	44,5
2. NOT	34,5
3. MANNER	8,6
4. FREQUENCY	6,0
5. AFFIRMATION	3,0
6. PLACE	1,3
7. TIME	1,3
8. INTERROGATIVE	0,4
9. PROBABILITY	0,4
TOTAL	100,0

6.2.2. *Table 9* reveals the fact that adverbs of degree are most frequently emphasized in our sample. It is also curious to know that amongst the adverbs of degree it is those which pattern with adjectives and adverbs that are most frequently emphasized (65,8%). These are precisely the adverbs with the least amount of lexical meaning, their function being merely to intensify the following adjective or adverb.³¹ "Very," the commonest, most trivial intensifier of all, almost completely devoid of lexical meaning, accounts for almost a third of all the emphatic intensifiers which pattern with adjectives and adverbs.

6.2.3. Because of their function, adverbs of degree or intensifiers give prominence to the words they pattern with. They may be said to be semantically emphatic and this seems to be one of the reasons why they tend to attract emphasis in speech, thus giving extra prominence to the word they modify.

6.2.4. This group of adverbs is on the whole structurally redundant and their omission does not affect the structure of

²⁹ see *Table 7*.

³⁰ Cf. *Tables 6*. and *7*.

³¹ e. g. terribly, utterly, quite, extremely.

an utterance. In the same way emphasis on intensifiers is structurally irrelevant, but it certainly makes speech more vivid and more emotional. According to our observation of the sample and speech in general, emphasis on adverbs of degree seems to vary quite considerably from speaker to speaker, from one situation to another. It is one of the features that contributes to marking off various styles of speech. However unpredictable emphasis on intensifiers may seem it is certain that it will always fall on them rather than on the meaningful words they modify.

6.2.5. It is a little surprising that the adverb of negation is so frequently found in its full form.³² It is usually supposed that "not" should be contracted in speech and used together with *MLA* verbs. But in reality the speaker most probably wants to put more weight on the negation to make sure the listener does not miss it. Because of noise or some other disturbances that are always present when we speak no matter how great the precautions taken, the full impact of the negation may be lost if it is contracted. But even in its full form the negation is a short and insignificant word as regards its sound structure and if it is missed by the listener the meaning of the whole utterance is changed. This is why speakers tend to accent the negation when they use it alone. In addition, "not", being by itself an affective word, attracts emphasis in the same way intensifiers do.

6.3. The category which follows *MLA* verbs on the frequency list of emphatic items in our set is adjectives. If adjectives are subdivided into attributive and predicative ones, it is the attributive adjectives that are far more numerous in the set, which means that in their speech the speakers represented by our sample put more emphasis on attributive than on predicative adjectives.³³ In addition, it is interesting that a great number of the emphatic attributive adjectives are semantically of the same kind as intensifiers. Those are the adjectives such as "awful," "frightful," "terrible," "tremendous," "striking," "faintest," "slightest" and others the meaning of which is intensifying, emotionally charged or indicating a degree of a quality. It is our opinion that just because of these semantic qualities attributive adjectives of this kind tend to become emphatic in speech.

6.3.1. Thus, the frequent use of emphasis on attributive adjectives is another manifestation of the tendency in our sample to emphasize structural words and modifiers, i. e. the words

³² see *Table 9*.

³³ The ratio is 81,2 : 18,8 in favour of attributive adjectives.

around the meaningful units, rather than the meaningful units themselves.

6.4. There is still one category which precedes full verbs and nouns with respect to the distribution of emphasis. It is pronouns.³⁴ To get more insight into the distribution of emphasis on pronouns we shall subdivide them into various subgroups.

Table 10

PRONOUNS	SET %
PERSONAL	52,7
DEMONSTRATIVE	24,1
INDEFINITE	23,2
INTERROGATIVE	0,0
SELF FORMS	0,0
TOTAL	100,0

According to *Table 10* personal pronouns are most frequently emphasized.

6.4.1. In *Table 11* the distribution of emphasis on individual personal pronouns is shown:

Table 11

	SET %
I	64,4
ME	0,0
YOU	5,1
HE	3,4
HIM	0,0
IT	0,0
SHE	1,7
HER	0,0
WE	18,8
US	0,0
THEY	6,8
THEM	0,0
TOTAL	100,0

6.4.2. Several interesting facts emerge from the above table. First, the third person singular personal pronoun "it" has not been emphasized at all. This fact proves something we have suspected, i. e. that "it," owing to its function, is the least likely pronoun to attract emphasis.

6.4.3. Secondly, the objective case of personal pronouns is not at all represented in our set. That is probably accidental, but

³⁴ see *Table 6*.

it might be due to the tendency to emphasize subject pronouns more often than object ones.

6.4.4. Oddly enough, the personal pronoun which is most frequently emphasized is "I." The first person plural "we" is in the second place. It is true that it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions on the basis of a single, rather small sample, particularly because our sample consists mainly of giving answers and expressing personal opinions.³⁵ However, we can draw a negative conclusion. Contrary to the belief that the first person singular personal pronoun is generally very seldom emphasized from a sense of modesty or personal shyness, the results of the above analysis make it possible to state that "I" may be, and is, frequently emphasized if circumstances render it necessary.

6.4.5. An explanation exists for a relatively low frequency of the emphatic third person singular personal pronouns "he" and "she." Whereas "I," "you" and "we" are pronouns without antecedent, "he," "she," nearly always refer to an antecedent previously mentioned. It seems quite feasible that speakers tend to avoid emphasizing antecedent pronouns, because they often forget the antecedent and are afraid of committing an error which would become only too obvious through emphasis.

6.4.6. The second most frequently emphasized group of pronouns is demonstratives, which could have been expected considering their function, which is to draw the listener's attention to something.

6.4.7. Up to this point in the analysis it has been possible to follow a tendency in speakers to emphasize those parts of an utterance which have little or no lexical meaning or those which are syntactically or semantically emphatic. Pronouns are no exception. They have no lexical meaning in the proper sense of the word although they do have the "class-meaning" of the part of speech they substitute. Their number is finite and in that respect they resemble MLA verbs.

6.4.8. Pronouns are an abundantly used parts-of-speech category, specially personal pronouns. They are in the second place of our parts-of-speech frequency list, so that the relative frequency of emphatic pronouns is not exceptionally high.³⁶ But why should personal pronouns which are almost invariably weakly accented in speech make the bulk of emphatic pronouns in the set? The clue to the problem seems to lie in the

³⁵ see 3.0.

³⁶ Cf. Tables 4. and 6.

very fact that they are generally unaccented, but as soon as any importance is attached to them they normally become accented. However, accent on a usually unaccented form very often produces an effect of emphasis.³⁷

6.4.9. There is another explanation that suggests itself to us. Because of their abstract and general "class-meaning" and often very short form, personal pronouns are semantically far less relevant than the various nouns they stand for. Consequently there is constant danger in speech that some one of them might be passed over unnoticed or missed which would distort the meaning and impede communication. To offset this danger speakers emphasize personal pronouns.

7. Conclusions

7.0. We have embarked upon a detailed analysis of the parts-of-speech categories which are emphasized more frequently than nouns and full verbs, the two most important bearers of the meaning of any piece of communication, with the hope of possibly establishing a linguistic trend in the occurrence of emphasis in speech. Now at the end of the analysis we shall try to answer the questions posed in the course of the analysis by drawing the following tentative conclusions:

7.1. Emphasis is a supra-segmental linguistic feature which affects a piece of communication intellectually, affectively, or both. Whatever the function of emphasis on a particular item, the utterance with emphasis and without it is not the same with respect to logical meaning, emotional value or both.

7.2. Emphasis is primarily a stylistic feature, but it is realized on the phonetic, syntactic and stylistic level, very often on two or three levels at the same time. However, it is possible to analyze emphasis on each particular level separately, if its complex nature is constantly kept in mind.

7.3. There is no connection between the frequency of a particular parts-of-speech category in the sample and the distribution and frequency of emphasis.

7.4. Every parts-of-speech category can bear emphasis in a given situation.

7.5. The distribution of emphasis varies greatly as to particular parts-of-speech categories. There are some parts-of-spe-

³⁷ Since our criteria have been purely auditory ones, everything that strikes the listener as extra prominence pertains to emphasis.

each categories that make up the majority of the emphatic items in the set, whereas the others are hardly at all represented.

7.6. The parts-of-speech categories that are most frequently emphasized in our sample are adverbs, MLA verbs, adjectives and pronouns.

7.7. The most frequently emphasized adverbs are the adverbs of degree, the function of which is mainly to intensify the meaningful unit they pattern with. They are in no way essential for the structure of an utterance. By their omission, an utterance loses in colouring and liveliness but not in clarity. Since their function is to make the word they pattern with prominent they are quite often emphasized to give due weight to the meaningful units of an utterance.

7.8. Attributive adjectives which are the most frequently emphasized group of adjectives in the sample are semantically of the same kind as the above mentioned adverbs of degree. They are mostly affective and have an intensifying character. By emphasizing these modifiers speakers actually give prominence to the meaningful units the adjectives pattern with.

7.9. MLA verbs are pure function-words which support the structure of an utterance. By emphasizing these structural units speakers strengthen the structural skeleton of their speech. In this way they also try to fight various disturbances and inadequacies of speech.

7.10. By emphasizing personal pronouns speakers give extra prominence to the part of an utterance which is functionally important but usually inconspicuous with regard to form and otherwise unaccented.

7.11. The structures which are syntactically emphatic, as well as stylistically affective words have been found to attract phonetic emphasis in most cases.

7.12. Emphasis on the words with little or no lexical meaning predominates in the sample under analysis. Thus, there has been established a tendency for emphasis to fall more often on functional than on meaningful linguistic units.

7.13. The fact that functional units are so frequently emphasized in speech can be attributed to the character of spoken language where the transmission of a piece of communication may be hindered by various obstacles outside the speaker and the listener. Emphasis on functionally important parts of an utterance helps to ensure the correct transmission of the structure of a piece of communication.