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THE FALL-RISE: A NEW TONE IN THE SLOVENE SENTENCE INTONATION

SUMMARY

The traditional model of the Slovene sentence intonation, developed in the 60s on the analysis of the reading of written literary texts, distinguishes among three nuclear tones: the fall, the rise and the level. One of the most surprising finds of the contrastive Slovene-English analysis, for which a British discoursal approach to intonation and its meanings was used, is that in the spontaneous Slovene speech speakers also use the fall-rise tone as it is the case in British Eglish. It has been established that the use of the fall-rise tone is on the increase mainly in TV news and sport broadcasts.

The analysis of the actual realization of the fall-rise tone in an intonation unit has shown that the tone has three possible realizations:

- within one polysyllabic word,

- within one phrase,

- as a split fall-rise, i.e. the falling part is realized at the beginning of the intonation unit, whereas the rising part comes towards the end of it.

Contrary to Received Pronunciation (RP), the realization of the fall-rise on one polysyllabic word is very rare in Slovene and can be regarded as more of an exception than a rule. The other two realizations are much more frequent and exhibit some typical patterns of occurrence.

Analysing the communicative value of the fall-rise, we can conclude that when it is realized within a single phrase, then the falling part introduces new information and the rising part highlights something which is already known to the speakers but is important for a complete transfer of the message. If the tone is not realized within a single phrase, then the rising part simply indicates the syntactical and semantical non-finality, whereas the falling part carries the main message.

Key words: Slovene language, intonation

1. A NEW APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF SLOVENE SENTENCE INTONATION

In the seventies discourse has become the focus of linguistic research. Consequently, phonologists researching intonation have switched their interest from mere description of pitch contours of individual clauses and sentences to larger chunks of speech. They have tried to establish the function of different prosodic features in the development of spoken interaction, their influence upon the speaker/hearer convergence and the context of interaction. In other words, they were no longer interested in the emotional, attitudinal and grammatical functions of prosodic features but rather in how they contribute to the ever-changing nature of spoken discourse and its understanding.

In the British linguistic tradition a discourse analysis school was established in Birmingham. Starting with discourse analysis of teacher/pupil interaction in a classroom situation John Sinclair and Malcolm Coulthard (1975) developed an interactional model applicable to any spoken interaction. The analysis of discourse functions of different prosodic features was carried out by David Brazil and resulted in an intonation model different from previous ones (O'Connor & Arnold 1973; Halliday, 1967) in that it related communicative meanings and values to tones, keys and pitch sequences valid in all occurences of these prosodic features (Brazil, 1985).

1.1. The disadvantages of the traditional model of Slovene sentence intonation

The traditional model of Slovene sentence intonation was developed by Jože Toporišič (1967) on the basis of the analysis of the reading of literary texts. Thus his model is not a description of spontaneous speech but rather a prescription of an ideal sentence intonation which can nowadays only be heard on stage or in carefully prepared texts read by professional readers. The application of the model to the analysis of spontaneous speech must necessarily reveal several prosodic features which the model could have accounted for had it been developed on the analysis of spontaneous speech.

Furthermore, the model mainly deals with the description of pitch movements in individual clauses or sentences, emphasizing the influence of word intonation, i.e. the tonemic accent, upon the pitch contour of a clause or a sentence. Consequently, Toporišič distinguishes among different types of pitch contours typical of statements, commands and questions thus giving preference to the grammatical function of intonation above all.

Having developed the intonation model well before discourse analyses have taken their full swing, Toporišič does not grant prosodic features any functions they might play in the development of spoken interaction or influence the speaker/hearer relationship. He marginally admits that intonation may have emotional and attitudinal functions mainly expressed in the change of key, tempo and timbre.

1.2. The reasons for the application of the British model

The Slovene intonation model as developed by Toporišič is the only valid intonation model which has not been publically challenged yet. As a matter of fact, phonological and prosodic research has stagnated. It has been due to the Slovene-English contrastive analysis that some prosodic research has been carried out lately. The purpose of my doctoral thesis (1996) was to find out which prosodic features play the key role in the modelling of the acoustic image of spoken interaction, how they influence the meaning and the communicative value of utterances and how intonation contributes to the cohesion of the message.

The existing Slovene intonation model and Brazil's communicative approach to the analysis of prosodic features are incompatible both in the structure of intonation units, as well as in the meanings associated to different prosodic features. Thus only one of the models had to be used for the analysis of both languages. I chose Brazil's intonation model (1985) and applied it to the analysis of Slovene corpus which consisted of interviews with public people (politicians, government administrators etc.). Recently the corpus has been enlarged and recordings of TV anchormen and sport commentators were added.

2. THE FALL-RISE IN RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION

Cruttenden (1994) claims that in all styles of speech simple falls account for the majority of nuclear tones (60 - 70%), while the fall-rise accounts for 20% on average. Since this is a compound tone, its realization exhibits three typical patterns:

1. the fall and rise both occur within one syllable, e.g. *Its* ⩗ *true.*
2. when an unaccented tail follows, the fall occurs on the nuclear syllable and the rise is spread over the tail, e.g. *Its* ⩗ *raining.*
3. when full vowels occur in the tail, the fall occurs on the nuclear syllable and the rise on the last syllable containing a full vowel, e.g. ⩗ *Come along.*

The third realization is acoustically similar to what O'Connor and Arnold (1973: 28) call »Fall plus Rise tune«, e.g. *I* ⩘ *like* ⩗ *chocolate.* Since the difference between them is in their meanings, O'Connor and Arnold insist on keeping them apart.

2.1. The communicative value of the fall-rise

Different descriptions of intonation have emphasized grammatical meanings (Halliday, 1967), attitudinal meanings (O'Connor & Arnold, 1973), or discoursal meanings (Brazil, 1985). Descriptions of the meanings of tones in

English also vary according to their local or abstract nature. The attitudinal approach is said to exhibit local meanings of tones when they are used in different types of sentence. A description which seeks the common factor in all the uses of a particular tone is said to be an abstract one. Such is Brazil's (1985) discoursal approach to intonation in which he tries to define how different prosodic features (tone, key, termination) affect the communicative value of an utterance. Discoursal meanings of different tones deal with concepts like shared knowledge of a speaker and listener(s), the desire of a speaker to dominate and the expectations that a speaker has about the addressee's reply.

Since it is usually very difficult to separate local meanings from abstract, attitudinal approach from a discoursal one, both types of meanings will be briefly presented.

O'Connor and Arnold (1973), Cruttenden (1986) and Tench (1996) all agree that meanings of the fall-rise vary according to whether the tone appears in a final or a non-final intonation unit.

In non-final intonation units the fall-rise highlights the theme, e.g. *All of a ↘↗ sudden / it's become very cold.* It also draws attention to one element with the purpose of contrasting it with another, e.g. *On ↘↗ weekdays / I work.* When used with adjuncts it draws attention specifically to the adjunct, e.g. *Un ↘↗ fortunately / he can't come.*

It has been generally agreed that in final intonation units the fall-rise indicates some kind of implication. Halliday (1967: 27) wrote that »there is a *but* about it«, e.g. *She has a lovely ↘↗ voice. (But she is a bad actress.).* O'Connor and Arnold add other emotional meanings, such as *reproach, concern, grudgingly admitting, reluctant or defensive.*

O'Connor and Arnold claim that in spite of acoustic resemblance, there is an important difference in meaning between the third realization of the fall-rise and the fall-plus-rise tunes. In the example *I ↘↗ like chocolate* the fall-rise on *like* expresses a contrast between *like* and some other idea. In other words, the fall-rise implies a reservation. If the same utterence is pronounced with the fall-plus-rise, *I ↘ like ↗ chocolate*, no such reservation is implied. This is a plain statement in which a speaker chooses two lexical items as prominent. The falling tone is put on the item which is more important and new. O'Connor and Arnold (1973: 83) provide two reasons for a speaker's choice of the rising tone on the last lexical item: first, the speaker wants to »give some importance« to that item, and second, he is »able to avoid creating the impression, …, that he is bringing the conversation to an end«.

Brazil's discoursal approach to the meaning of intonation distinguishes between two basic tones, the fall and the fall-rise. The former is »proclaiming«, the latter »referring«. The term »referring« means that the fall-rise marks the matter of the intonation unit as part of the shared, already negotiated, common ground occupied by the participants in an on-going interaction. The fall, on the contrary, presents the matter as new, i.e. not yet part of the common ground.

3. THE FALL-RISE IN SLOVENE PUBLIC SPEECH

The analysis of Slovene spoken corpus has shown that the use of the fall-rise tone is on the increase mainly in TV news and sport broadcasts.

The analysis of the actual realization of the fall-rise tone in an intonation unit has shown that the tone has three possible realizations:

-it can be realized within one polysyllabic word, *Vozil ni mogoče premakniti zato, ker so to večinoma kolesna vozila, /v ↘↗ bojih/ pa so pnevmatike prerešetane ...*

-it can be realized within one phrase, *Andrej ima zelo /↘ netipično po↗ škodbo kolena;*

-it can be realized as a split fall-rise, i.e. the falling part is realized at the beginning of the intonation unit, whereas the rising part comes towards the end of it, */Če pro↘ daja britanskega blaga v Slo↗ veniji / nima prav dolge tradicije ...*

Contrary to RP, the realization of the fall-rise within one plysyllabic word is very rare in Slovene and can be regarded as more of an exception than a rule. The other two realizations are much more frequent and exhibit some typical patterns of occurrence.

3.1. The fall-rise in phrases

The realization of the fall-rise within one phrase usually occurs in nominal phrases with the pre-modifier being either an adjective, a pronoun or a numeral. The pre-modifier takes the falling pitch movement, whereas the head word takes the rising one.

Examples
a) da je šlo zelo │ za ↘selektivno upo↗rabo ││
b) Na ta način │ se formirajo ↘enonacionalne enote Jugoslovanske ar↗made │
c) ... je skoncentriran 'velik del tran↘sportnih kapacitet jugoslovanskega vojaškega le↗talstva │
d) ... poveljstva dala ↘svojim podrejenim or↗ganom │
e) ... kaj dela tam zadnji stavek │ ki govori o ↘moji deponirani ↗knjižici │
f) Vendar je tudi že │ v tem času premirja │ prišlo do ↘mnogih kršitev slovenskega zračnega pro↗stora │ ...
g) ↘Sedem od teh vo↗zil │ ...
h) Dejstvo, da je hkrati tudi soprog najbolj ↘ slavne ženske na ↗svetu
i) ↘Vzhodnoevropska tur↗neja
j) Ogledala sta si eno ↘najlepših alpskih ledeniških ↗dolin
k) V Britaniji je ↘štirinajst narodnih ↗parkov
l) ↘Slavnostni ↗del │ prestolonaslednikovega obiska
m) Andrej ima zelo ↘netipično po↗škodbo
n) vendar je v ↘maksimalno dobri ↗skrbi

o) Zanimivo, da si je na zadnji tekmi sezone aprila na Japonskem | potrgal ↘stranske kolenske ve↗zi
p) Če malo polaskamo Hrvatom | tudi pravi festival ↘srednjeevropskega
q) ↗smučanja |z Avstrijo, Slovenijo in Hrvaško na stopničkah.
r) Slovenija si je vseskozi prizadevala, da bi se pristopna pogajanja | vsaj v nekaterih ↘najlažjih po↗glavjih | začela že letos

Analysing the communicative value of the fall-rise, we can conclude that when it is realized within a single phrase, then the falling part introduces new information and the rising part highlights something which is already known to the speakers but is important for a complete transfer of the message.

3.2. Two-nuclei intonation units or the split fall-rise

The third realization of the fall-rise, which I decided to call *the split fall-rise*, does not take place within one phrase. In fact, it resembles O'Connor and Arnold's *fall-plus-rise* realizations in English (1973). In Slovene these two-nuclei intonation units fall into four major groups according to the distribution of the falling and the rising parts within the intonation unit. Thus we distinguish the following groups:

A) ↘ on the negative adverb or a pronoun ... ↗ on the last lexical item

Examples
a) Dokler | ↘ne bodo ustavljene vojaške e↗note | in 'dokler se ↘ne vrnejo na izhodiščne polo↗žaje | ...
b) No↘benih posebnih novic nimamo iz drugih ↗republik ||
c) ... ki ga ni↘kakor ne moremo pre↗seči ||
d) No↘benega namena ↗nimamo | da bi mi povzročali konflikte ||
e) Jaz v ni↘kakršnem sporu z gospodom ministrom nisem sodelo↗val |
f) Škoda je, da danes na startu ↘ ni Andreja ↗ Miklavca
g) V zadnji sezoni mu ↘ni šlo naj↗bolje
h) Škoda, da Reneja danes ↘ni ↗zraven
i) No↘bena ni ↗bila

B) ↘ on a lexical verb ... ↗ on a noun or a pronoun

Examples
a) da je število pripadnikov Jugoslovanske armade | ki so zapu↘stili svoje e↗note |
b) Sedem od teh vozil | je medtem obti↘čalo na različnih ↗koncih | ....
c) Za↘nima ↗me |...
d) ... ne ↘mislim tu na trditev dr. ↗Rupla |...
e) Mi ↘smo ·država v pre↗hodu ||
f) Ja, Mayer ↘je v ↗formi

g) in mu je bila proga │ in predvsem razmere ↘pisane na ↗kožo
h) Tekmovalec, ki je v sezoni 95/96 │ **do↘bil slalomski seštevek svetovnega po↗kala**
i) Čeprav Slovenija v Bruslju danes uradno │ **za↘čenja po↗gajanja za vstop v Evropsko unijo**
j) Bi nam lahko najprej čisto na kratko strnil, kaj se je od včeraj, │ ko je ministrski svet po↘trdil svoja pogajalska izho↗dišča
k) Torej, │ ko boste uve↘ljavili vsa ta pra↗vila

C) ↘ on an adverb ... ↗ on the last lexical item

Examples
a) kar zadeva načelno │ utemeljenost │ zaustavljanja vozil │ ali ne │ sem vam že ↘prej po↗vedal │ ...
b) Tako se je že po↘noči do↗gajalo │ ...
c) ↘dostikrat sem zadnje dneve slišal vpra↗šanje │ ...
d) Pa ↘vedno obe↗tavni │ Drago Grubelnik.
e) in za spoznanje ↘manj ostro tudi ↗Češko
f) Za uvod pa predlagam, da najprej prisluhnemo zunanjemu ministru Frlecu, │ ki nam je ↘tik pred odhodom v ↗Bruselj │

D) ↘ on a noun ... ↗ on a noun.

Examples
a) Kar zadeva zvezno vlado │ je ta │ predlagala po↘govore za ↗danes │
b) **Pre↘stop v teritorialno o↗brambo** │ pomeni prostovoljen izhod │ ...
c) In šlo je za ↘vzlet helikopterjev v ↗Zagrebu │ ...
d) **Bri↘tancem slovenska ↗vina** │ niso popolnoma tuja.
e) **↘princa in pred↗sednika** │ so občinski može │ pred vz↘ponom na dvainpetdeset metrov visoki ↗slap │ opremili tudi s tradicionalnimi planinskimi palicami.
f) Če pro↘daja britanskega blaga v Slo↗veniji │ nima prav dolge tradicije ...
g) Morda se bodo razglabljanja │ o po↘menu obiska welškega ↗princa │ še nadaljevala.
h) njena priza↘devanja za zbliževanje z za↗hodom
i) Že Olle Christian je imel tam │ prve za↘metke teh ↗robov
j) Po oceni Ev↘ropske komisije izpred nekaj ↗dni
k) Tako da, sam ocenjujem, │ da je referendum na ↘koncu tega pro↗cesa

When the tone is not realized within a single phrase, then the rising part simply indicates the syntactical and semantical non-finality, whereas the falling part carries the main message. Thus the discoursal function of the split fall-rise is to inform the listener(s) and not to make reference to something which is shared or

old information. This is easily proved if we try to replace the split-fall rise by either the simple fall or the simple rise. If in the example

| |Kar zadeva izjavo, |da bomo v obrambi |barikad uporabili tudi orožje, |moram reč |da je šlo zelo za ↘**selektivno upo**↗**rabo.** | |

the two-nuclei intonation unit is changed into a unit with the rise on the last lexical item, we get an unacceptable intonation pattern:

| |Kar zadeva izjavo, |da bomo v obrambi |barikad uporabili tudi orožje, |moram reč |da je šlo zelo za ↗**selektivno uporabo.** | |

We can conclude that in the given context the only approapriate tone is the simple fall which not only informs but also represents a choice from an existential paradigm in which there are other adjectives that could stand in place of *selektivno*:

| |Kar zadeva izjavo, |da bomo v obrambi |barikad uporabili tudi orožje, |moram reč |da je šlo zelo za ↘**selektivno uporabo.** | |

3.3. The communicative value of the fall-rise in Slovene

There is one explanation for the occurence of the fall-rise in Slovene public speech (mainly in media and politics) recently. The fall-rise pitch movement is basically a stylistic device which speakers use for two different purposes. First, the tone enables them to convey two things at the same time: they introduce new information (the fall) and point to the semantical and syntactical non-finality (the rise). Second, the fall-rise enables them to emphasize the semantic link which exists between the head word and its pre-modifier.

Comparing the occurrence of the fall-rise in Slovene and RP, we find out that in Slovene the tone cannot occur in final intonation units or questions, whereas in RP this is frequently the case. In addition, the discourse functions of the tone in Slovene and RP are completely different: in RP the tone expresses reference to common ground that exists between the speaker and the listener, in Slovene it is primarily a proclaiming tone whose communicative function is to expand the common ground with new information.

Considering these differences it would be difficult to assume that the fall-rise tone in Slovene has been borrowed from the English language. Its recent appearance in Croatian (Ivas, 1996) in similar interactional contexts as in Slovene underlincs the tone's stylistic character.

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SILAZNO-UZLAZNI TON: NOVINA U REČENIČNOJ INTONACIJI SLOVENSKOG JEZIKA

SAŽETAK

Tradicionalni model rečenične intonacije slovenskog jezika, razvijen šezdesetih godina na temelju analize čitanja pisanih književnih tekstova, razlikuje tri jezgrena tona: silazni, uzlazni i ravan. Jedan od najviše iznenađujućih rezultata kontrastivne analize slovenskog i engleskog jezika, u kojoj je korišten britanski diskursni pristup intonaciji i njezinim značenjima, jest da u spontanom govoru slovenski govornici također koriste silazno-uzlazni ton, kao što je to slučaj u britanskom engleskom. Ustvrđeno je da je uporaba silazno-uzlaznog tona u porastu uglavnom u vijestima i sportskim prijenosima na televiziji.

Analiza konkretne realizacije silazno-uzlaznog tona u intonacijskoj cjelini pokazala je kako taj ton ima tri moguće realizacije:
- unutar jedne višesložne riječi
- unutar jedne fraze
- kao razdvojeni silazno-uzlazni ton, tj. silazni se dio realizira na početku intonacijske cjeline, dok uzlazni dio dolazi pri kraju.

Nasuprot standardnom britanskom izgovoru (received pronunciation - RP), realizacija silazno-uzlaznog tona na jednoj višesložnoj riječi vrlo je rijetka u slovenskome i može se smatrati više iznimkom nego pravilom. Druge dvije realizacije mnogo su češće i pokazuju neke tipične obrasce pojavljivanja.

Analizirajući komunikacijsku vrijednost silazno-uzlaznog tona možemo zaključiti da kad je realiziran unutar jedne fraze, silazni dio uvodi novu informaciju, a uzlazni dio naglašava nešto što je već poznato govornicima, ali je važno za potpuni prijenos poruke. Ako ton nije realiziran unutar jedne fraze, uzlazni dio upućuje na sintaktičku i semantičku nedovršenost, dok silazni ton nosi glavnu poruku.

***Ključne riječi:** slovenski jezik, intonacija*