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THOUGHTS ON FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE, INTONATION AND EMOTIVENESS

Jan Firbas

In the present paper, I propose to take up the problem of the interrelations between functional sentence perspective (= FSP), intonation and emotiveness and discuss it within the framework of my inquiries into FSP.¹ These inquiries were first concerned with FSP at the level of written language, but later turned to examining its operation at the level of spoken language as well, naturally concentrating on the relation between FSP and intonation. Understandably, this examination predominantly paid attention not to emotive, but to non-emotive phenomena, for the former can be properly understood only against the background of the latter. The present paper takes the inquiry a step further, extending it to cover the relation between FSP and emotive intonation. It will not deal in an exhaustive way with this relation, which represents an area so vast that it will be possible only to outline the main network of systemic connections. Nevertheless, it is hoped that some light will be thrown on the place of intonation in the interplay of factors determining the distribution of degrees of communicative dynamism (= CD) over the sentence, this distribution making the syntactic and semantic **sentence structure function** in a definite kind of **perspective** in the very act of communication.

The distribution of degrees of CD over a sentence, i. e. its functional perspective, is the outcome of an **interplay** of factors, non-prosodic at the level of written language, non-prosodic and prosodic at the level of spoken language. The principles of this interplay as well as its operation have been discussed in detail in my previous writings, which also contain definitions of the concepts used in the framework of my inquiries into FSP. I have to refrain from going over all these problems previously dealt with and must beg the interested but uninitiated reader to refer at least to Firbas 1979, 1981 and 1983, all papers concerning the basic issues of the theory of FSP. Of immediate relevance to the inquiry into the relation between FSP and intonation are, for instance, Firbas 1972, 1975a and 1980.

The papers Firbas 1975a and 1981 contain analyses of a short spoken text and a short written text, respectively. It was my original intention to include an

¹ They have been listed in a bibliography by Golková (1981); cf. also the analytical bibliography compiled by Firbas and Golková (1975).

analysis of a short text even in the present paper. Regrettably, this plan could not be carried out for lack of space. My analysis, however, is based on the tonetically transcribed conversations offered by G. F. Arnold and Olive M. Tooley's reader *Say it with rhythm 3* (Longman, London 1972), and all the examples taken from this source are accompanied by exact references, stating the page and line on which each example begins. This makes it possible to study the examples in wider contexts, which — again for lack of space — cannot be printed here at full length.

The objection may be raised that the chosen text is meant for language learning purposes and does not reflect genuine spontaneous conversation. This is certainly true. Nevertheless, this reader has been prepared by experienced and well-known British phoneticians and uses the style of pronunciation called by them *colloquial*, which 'presupposes a somewhat more rapid, less deliberate delivery than that of the *formal colloquial*' (Arnold and Tooley 1972.v). The reader undoubtedly faithfully preserves the most characteristic features of present-day colloquial standard English. The fact that it contains practically no fragmentary, truncated, or ill-formed bits of, sentences and other phenomena, so typical of spontaneous conversation, appears to be an advantage at this stage of research. After establishing the 'regular' traits of the relationship between FSP and intonation in colloquial English, it will be possible and necessary to turn one's attention to the 'irregularities' of spontaneous or impromptu² conversation, reliably recorded in Svartvik and Quirk's invaluable *Corpus of English conversation* (1980).

Coming back to the basic issues of the theory of FSP, let me mention four points before opening the discussion of the problem proposed.

At the Warsaw conference on text linguistics in October 1983, Professor Boguslawski raised the query whether the three non-prosodic factors participating in the interplay determining the degrees of CD at the level of written language, i.e. context, semantics and linear modification, are not heterogeneous items. At first sight, this may indeed look so. Yet it must be borne in mind that ultimately FSP is a dynamically viewed semantic phenomenon.³ In the flow of the communication, semantic contents and semantic relations form into naming units and combine into sentence structures in order to satisfy the communicative needs of the speaker and to fulfil his communicative purposes.⁴ This purpose-oriented process is not a static but a dynamic phenomenon. According to their characters, the semantic contents and the semantic relations into which they enter attain,

² For an incisive discussion of problems connected with impromptu speech, see Enkvist 1982a. Just as perceptive is Enkvist 1980; moreover, it is highly relevant to the problems discussed in the present paper, though dealing with them within another framework of concepts.

³ This is not at variance with the three-level approach to syntax (Daneš 1964), which distinguishes between the level of semantic structure, the level of grammatical structure and the level of FSP. It must be borne in mind that grammatical structure does not merely combine forms as such, but with the aid of formal relations effects a semantic connection, i. e. a connection of meanings (cf. Reichling 1961. 1, Daneš 1968. 55). Thus grammatical structure is rooted in semantic structure (cf. Poldauf 1954). In the act of communication, the semantic and grammatical sentence structure is made to function in a definite kind of perspective to fulfil a certain communicative purpose. — In enumerating the three levels, I have intentionally mentioned the semantic level first and the FSP level last in order to observe the sequence indicated in the present brief note, a sequence leading from the statically viewed semantic structure to its dynamic operation at the level of FSP.

⁴ Cf. Mathesius' distinction between functional onomatology and functional syntax (Mathesius 1975).

come close to, or approach, the point at which the communicative purpose imposed upon the sentence structure is achieved in the course of the development of the communication and correspondingly have their communicative values **modified**; according to their characters, they have or have not their communicative value **modified** by the very line (linearity) along which the communication necessarily and compulsorily develops; as they operate under certain contextual conditionings, they have or have not their communicative values **modified** by these conditionings. At the level of spoken language, they are further exposed to the **modificatory** power of intonation. In this way, semantics, linear modification, context and intonation participate in modifying the communicative value that a semantic content or a semantic relation acquires in the development (flow) of the communication. In this manner, seemingly heterogeneous factors can be brought to a common denominator. In accordance with the communicative value acquired in the development of the communication towards a communicative goal, semantic contents contribute towards this development to varying extents. In other words, they show different degrees of communicative dynamism (= CD). By a degree of CD I understand the relative extent to which a linguistic element contributes towards the further development of the communication.

The operation of the factors has been explained in my previous writings. Let me only emphasize that a piece of information is context-dependent if it or its referent actually occurs in the immediately relevant preceding verbal and/or the immediately relevant situational context; in the negative case, it is context-independent. This narrow conception of context-dependence and context-independence has also been explained in my previous writings (see, e.g., Firbas 1981.39–48; 1983.18–20, 29–33). I hope to demonstrate that this narrow conception stands the analyst in particularly good stead in the interpretation of FSP at the level of spoken language.

Following Vilém Mathesius, František Daneš further developed the conception of three functional spheres of sentence intonation: (i) that of the structuration function, (ii) that of FSP⁵, (iii) that within which 'intonation represents a steady subjective commentary on the utterance, mostly with an emotive or emotional colouring'. As language is a system of systems (Vachek 1958), it may be legitimately asked how the three spheres are interrelated (Daneš 1984.11–2). The present study concentrates mainly on sphere (ii) and sphere (iii), investigating the relation between the two. The subjective commentary is a special type of information. In fact, it is an integral part of oral communication (cf. Uhlenbeck 1983.17). In consequence, it will affect the degrees of CD carried by the sentence elements and their distribution over the entire sentence — in other words, the FSP of a sentence.

The title of the present paper starts with the word 'thoughts'. This is in harmony with what has been stated in the opening as well as in the preceding paragraphs of the paper. Let me emphasize again that I shall not cover the vast field of problems connected with emotiveness in language, but merely open an inquiry into the ways the distribution of degrees of CD is affected by emotiveness in colloquial English. As for a delimitation of the emotive component of an utterance, i.e. a sentence serving a definite communicative purpose in the act of communication,

⁵ A pioneer monograph concerning the relation of intonation and FSP in Czech has been written by Daneš (1957). Another monograph of similar significance for English linguistics was written by Schubiger as early as 1935.

I am in essence adopting Miroslav Grepl's definition. By the emotive component of an utterance I understand the emotional attitude taken up by the speaker in regard to the reality conveyed and expressed by him with linguistic means. (The expression 'linguistic means' is meant to cover both the devices of written language and those of spoken language. The means used by the speaker are described by Grepl in his definition as 'linguistic and phonic'; cf.: 'Emocionální stránkou (složkou) výpovědi rozumíme jazykovými a zvukovými prostředky vyjádřený citový postoj mluvčího k sdělované skutečnosti'. See Grepl 1967.09, Bauer and Grepl 1980.210.) I agree with Grepl that the emotional attitude referred to is that assumed by the speaker at the very moment of utterance (Grepl 1967.10, Bauer and Grepl 1980.210).

After these introductory remarks I can now start dealing with the problem proposed for discussion. I will first deal with some basic facts linked with the gamut of the degrees of CD and the gamut of the degrees of prosodic weight.

THE GAMUT OF COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM AND THE GAMUT OF PROSODIC WEIGHT

In accordance with what has been said in the introductory remarks, the sentence is here viewed as a **field of syntactic relations** rooted in **semantic contents and relations**, a field that in the act of spoken communication serves not only as a **distributional field** of degrees of communicative dynamism (= CD), but also as a **distributional field** of degrees of **prosodic weight**.

As for the degrees of prosodic weight, O'Connor and Arnold's interpretation of the English system of intonation and their system of tonetic transcription (O'Connor and Arnold 1973) allows of the following conclusions. In the first place, the very configuration of prosodic features within what may be termed a **tone-unit**⁶ suggests the hierarchy of prosodic weight: the section constituted by the head and the nucleus is prosodically weightier than the sections serving as pre-head and tail. Within the head, and in consequence within the entire tone-unit, the weightiest feature is the nucleus. On the other hand, the lightest feature, occurring both outside and inside the head, is represented by absence of stress. In harmony with the prominence of the head and the nucleus, O'Connor and Arnold regard the stresses inside the head as well as the nucleus as accented, whereas the stresses occurring in the pre-head and tail are considered unaccented (O'Connor and Arnold 1973.31—6). All this suggests at least four degrees of prosodic weight: (i) absence of stress (occurring on unstressed syllables inside and outside the head), (ii) stress not combined with accent (occurring on stressed syllables in the pre-head and the tail), (iii) stress combined with accent (occurring inside the head), (iv) nucleus.

In regard to degrees of CD, it may be expected that the section of the sentence implementing the head and the nucleus, thrown by the configuration of prosodic features into relief (and regarded by O'Connor and Arnold as the accented section of the sentence), will carry higher degrees of CD than the sections implementing the pre-head and the tail. The highest degree of CD will be signalled by the nucleus.

⁶ A term not actually used by O'Connor and Arnold.

It may also be expected that not only at the level of written language, but also at that of spoken language linear modification will manifest itself. It is assumed that, provided there are no other factors at work, prosodic features of the same rank (i, ii, iii or iv, cf. above and note⁷) will gain in communicative importance (communicative value), and hence in CD, in the direction from the beginning to the end of the distributional field.

Let me take a simple example first. The sentence

1. It should be 'good. - 11.04

contains a nucleus and a pre-head. As for the distribution of CD, the highest degree is carried by *good*, the lowest by *it*; *should* and *be* rank between the two. *It* is thematic, serving as theme proper. *Good* is rhematic, serving as rheme proper. *Should be* serves as transition proper through its TMEs, the weak notional component of *be* serving as a weak transition. It can be seen that the distribution of CD is not at variance with the distribution of prosodic weight.

In addition to a pre-head and a nucleus, the following sentence also contains a head:

2. We shall 'have to *get him a \present. - 21.30

As for the distribution of CD, the lowest degrees are carried by *we* and *him*. A further gradual rise in CD is shown by *shall*, *have*, *to get* and *a present*.⁸ As for the FSP functions of these elements, *We* and *him* are thematic, *we* serving as theme proper. *A present* is rhematic, serving as rheme proper. *Shall* and *have* constitute

⁷ I assume that the reader is acquainted with O'Connor and Arnold's system of tonetic transcription and is able to read it. I shall therefore recall only the features most relevant to the present discussion. The following symbols (numbered by me) occur in the examples adduced here:

1. ◦_m, 2. 'm, 3. ı_m, 4. ˘_m, 5. ˆ_m, 6. ˘_m, 7. ˘_m, 8. ^_m, 9. ˘_m, 10. ˘_m,
11. ˘_m, 12. ˘_m, 13. ˘_m, 14. |_m.

Let me also remind the reader that (i) absence of stress is left unmarked. (ii) Stressed syllables occurring within the pre-head or within the tail are preceded by a little circle (see No. 1). (iii) The first syllable of the head, which is regarded as accented, is marked by one of the following symbols: No. 2, indicating a high head; No. 3, indicating a low head; No. 4, indicating a falling head; No. 5, indicating a rising head. The other stressed syllables within the head, which are equally regarded as accented, are marked by a little circle (see No. 1). It follows that they are marked in the same way as the stressed syllables within the pre-head and the tail. It must be remembered, however, that as they occur within the head, i. e. between the first stressed syllable of the head and the nucleus, they are to be regarded as accented. (iv) A nucleus is marked by one of the following symbols: No. 6, indicating a low fall; No. 7, a high fall; No. 8, rise-fall; No. 9, low rise; No. 10, high rise; No. 11, fall-rise; No. 12, mid-level. In this way the four basic degrees of prosodic weight are indicated in O'Connor and Arnold's system of tonetic transcription. It should be added that the symbol No. 13 indicates a high pre-head; it does not, however, indicate stress. For a more detailed explanation of the significance of the symbols adduced, the reader is referred to O'Connor and Arnold 1973. It should also be added that in the examples a vertical stroke (see No. 14) indicates the end of one, and the beginning of another, tone-unit. The capital letter of the first word of a sentence and the full stop may be taken to indicate the beginning and the end of a tone-unit, respectively. The vertical stroke is not used in these cases.

transition proper, *to get* is transitional. Once again, it can be seen that the distribution of CD is not at variance with the distribution of prosodic weight.

The following example contains not only a pre-head, a head and a nucleus, but also a tail.

3. ... we've 'finally \made it. - 53.26

In regard to degrees of CD, the interpretative arrangement is the following: *we, it, 've, finally* and *made*. As for the FSP functions of these elements, *we* and *it* are thematic, *we* serving as theme proper. The auxiliary element *'ve* serves as transition proper; *finally* is transitional, coming comparatively close to transition proper. *Made* constitutes rheme proper.

The example just discussed implements all the possible constituents of a tone-unit. The two examples preceding it show that such full implementation does not always occur. As is well known, with the exception of the nucleus, any constituent — prehead, head or tail — may be absent (cf. O'Connor and Arnold 1973: 39). The following example only contains the nucleus.

4. 'Coming? - 59.35

From the point of view of FSP, a verbal or non-verbal sentence structure that is to fulfil a communicative purpose must contain an element performing the function of rheme proper. But this is not all. I agree with Aleš Svoboda's observation (made in a private communication) that in addition to rheme proper, transition proper must be present as well. Let me recall that in a verbal sentence this function is performed by the TMEs. In their absence, their role is at least partly taken over by intonation if the non-verbal sentence occurs in spoken language. In the absence of intonation (when the TME-less sentence structure occurs in written language), the role of the TMEs is not to be regarded as totally unimplemented, but merely as ellipsed.⁹ (Svoboda is right in maintaining that in fulfilling a communicative purpose the sentence structure is always related to the extralinguistic reality, concrete or abstract.)¹⁰

⁸ The arrangement in accordance with the gradual rise in CD may be termed '**interpretative arrangement**'. It may or may not be identical with the actual **linear arrangement**.

⁹ Ellipsis is to be understood here in the widest sense of the word; it need not be indicated in such an explicit way as in *Coming*, discussed below.

¹⁰ To enable an appreciation of the above argument, let me briefly remind the reader of what the role of the TMEs consists in. Expressing the most essential predicative categories, those of tense and mood, the TMEs constitute the core of the predication. In expressing temporal and modal indications, they relate the content of the sentence to a particular section of the extralinguistic sphere, including the sender and sometimes also the receiver of the message. Within what has been termed first instance, they invariably serve as a link between the thematic and the non-thematic sections of the sentence.

As to the thematic, transitional and rhematic functions, let me recall that they are determined by the interplay of FSP factors and against the background of the verbal sentence type, which is to be regarded as the central sentence type within the system of an Indo-European language. Against the background of the central sentence type, it becomes clear that the formal elements serving as TMEs can also serve as exponents of person and number (i. e. PNEs). The latter function is, of course, usually thematic.

The role of the TMEs has been dealt with in greater detail, e. g., in Firbas 1965. The thematic, transitional and rhematic functions viewed against the background of the central

Seen in this light, *Coming?* expresses rheme proper, at the same time also conveying transition proper, signalled by *-ing*, an ellipsis of *are(you)* and intonation. The nucleus is in perfect harmony with the rhematic function.

The four examples discussed above may create the impression of perfect correspondence between the gamut of CD and the gamut of prosodic weight. The correspondence between the two gamuts as displayed by the four examples is indeed well-nigh perfect. It has, however, never been claimed that such perfect correspondence is displayed by every sentence. On the contrary, it has been emphasized that perfect correspondence between the two gamuts would even impede language in performing its varied tasks (cf. Firbas 1972.86). Intonation is merely an FSP factor that enters into the interplay of factors of FSP at the level of spoken language. It can therefore be expected that there will be a certain amount of lack of correspondence between the two gamuts, and that to a high degree this lack will be compensated for by the interplay of FSP factors. In order to assess the correspondence between the two gamuts, a number of facts must be taken into consideration. The present paper will endeavour only to offer a survey of these facts. A detailed account of them, and perhaps an extension of the survey, must be left to further research.

The four examples adduced above demonstrate the basic pattern of relations obtaining between the gamut of CD and the gamut of prosodic weight. Against this background, seemingly more complex relational patterns can be accounted for. Thus a communicative unit¹¹ can display more than one prosodic feature. If this is so, it is the weightiest of these features that determines the prosodic weight of the unit in relation to the prosodic weights of the other units occurring within the same distributional field. The following example will illustrate.

5. I 'll 'play my °new 'Squallies °record. - 7.09

The object *my new Squallies record* constitutes one communicative unit, but displays all four degrees of prosodic weight: absence of stress (*my*), stress (*record*, occurring in the tail), stress combined with accent (*new*) and nucleus (*Squallies*). It is the nucleus that serves as the **representative** feature, i.e. such as represents the unit in relation to the other units.

As for the distribution of CD, the units *I*, *'ll*, *play* and *my new Squallies record* show a gradual rise in CD. They respectively serve as theme proper, transition proper, transition, and rheme proper. It follows that if the nucleus is regarded

sentence type have been discussed in Firbas 1982. In the latter paper I have come to the conclusion that there can be themeless sentences and transitionless sentences, but that the sentence cannot be rhemeless. In the light of the present discussion I must modify this conclusion in that (i) 'transitionless' does not cover the entire transition, but is to be understood to cover 'the transition to the exclusion of transition proper' and (ii) the sentence must contain at least the rheme proper and the transition proper, the latter being either explicitly or vicariously signalled or merely indicated through ellipsis.

¹¹ As has already been pointed out, a sentence (clause), which is regarded as a field of syntactic relations, serves as a distributional field of CD. Within it, the sentence elements — Subject, Object, Subject Complement, Object Complement, Adverbial — function as communicative units, carrying degrees of CD (cf. Svoboda 1968). Two further communicative units are constituted by the finite verb, i. e. by its notional component and the TMEs, the latter having been granted special status on account of their unique function in FSP (cf. here note⁹; Firbas 1965, Svoboda 1968).

as the representative feature of the unit constituted by the expanded object, the sentence under discussion displays perfect agreement between the two gamuts at the level of communicative units.

As a distributional field of prosodic weight, the sentence may coincide with a tone-unit, but not necessarily so, for it may contain more tone-units than one. It follows that a sentence may have more than one nucleus. Recalling what has been said about linear modification manifesting itself also at the level of spoken language (see here p. 12), I consider the nucleus that follows weightier than the one that precedes.

6. I'll be 'taking the 'entrance e_oxam | in No'vember. So I shall
'stay on at 'school | at 'least until 'Christmas. - 11.26

Each sentence contains two nuclei. In each case, the nuclei accompany rhematic communicative units, but the nucleus occurring last signals rheme proper, which expresses a temporal specification. Let me add that *I* is in each case thematic, the TMEs (*'ll*, *be*, *-ing*; *shall*) serve as transition proper, and the notional components of the verb (*tak-*, *stay on*) are transitional. In these terms, the correspondence between the two gamuts is once again perfect.

Special mention must be made of communicative units that provide distributional subfields of CD and simultaneously serve as distributional subfields of prosodic weight. Under this heading come subordinate clauses and attributive constructions, consisting of a headword and some attributive element(s). The subfields have their own communicative units, which are to be looked upon as communicative units of lower rank than the units of the basic distributional field (Svoboda 1968). Let me add that a distributional semi-subfield, or semi-field for short, is provided by a semi-clause, constituted by an expanded infinitive, participle or gerund.

In the following sentence,

7. He'll 'come round with 'Marjorie, he _osays. - 5.27

the subordinate clause constitutes one unit within what has been termed the basic distributional field. Within this field it serves as rheme proper (note the representative prosodic feature, the nucleus), *he* (unstressed) serving as theme proper, and *says* (stressed) as transition proper (through its TME) and as transition (through its notional component). At the same time, the subordinate clause provides a distributional subfield, in which *he* (unstressed) serves as theme proper, *'ll* (unstressed) as transition proper, and *come round* (stressed) as transition, *with Marjorie* (bearing a nucleus) as rheme proper. In this way, the nucleus performs a double function: it signals the rheme proper within the subfield, and in its representative function the rheme proper of the entire basic field.

It should be noted that the term 'subfield' has been suggested by the term 'subordinate clause' and motivated by the fact that within the basic field the structure constituting the subfield operates as one communicative unit. This does not mean, however, that the subfield may not function in a communicative perspective in which it will become rhematic. The same applies to a distributional semi-subfield (or semi-field, for short). The following sentence contains two semi-fields, provided by expanded infinitives.

8. I'm 'hoping to go to 'Cambridge | to read 'chemistry. - 11.25

Each semi-field has its rheme proper, signalled by a nucleus, the infinitive serving as transition. It contains no explicitly stated thematic element. It may, of course, be assumed that the theme is at least implicitly present. (The use of the infinitive presupposes a subject identical with that of the principal clause. Under the circumstances, the implicitly present subject feature is thematic.) Within the basic field, both semi-fields are rhematic, the one coming last serving as rheme proper.

In the following sentence, the semi-field occurs as a unit of a subfield.

9. I could 'help to re°organize the °school 'library, he, says. - 11.31

In consequence, the nucleus on *library* performs a treble function: it signals the rheme proper of the semi-field, it representatively marks the semi-field as rheme proper of the subfield, and eventually the subfield as rheme proper of the basic field.

The correspondence between the two gamuts within an attributive construction (headword plus attribute) deserves a special study and will only be touched upon here. An attributive construction creates a special problem, because an attribute cannot constitute a separate sentence element; it can only form a component of another sentence element.

It appears appropriate to insert at this point a note on the prosodic weight of a nucleus that, within a distributional field, occurs last in a sequence of (at least two) nuclei. It contains a modification of the basic observation that the last nucleus within a distributional field bears the IC of this field¹² (see here p. 18).

It has been known for some time that a low rise after a fall does not exceed the latter in prosodic weight (cf. Firbas, e.g., 1980.126; but also, e.g. Halliday 1970.38; O'Connor and Arnold 1973.82). Though occurring last, such a low rise will not signal a rheme. I agree with Chamonikolasová (1985.52), who in the gamut of prosodic weight places such a low rise between the stress combined with accent and the (unspecified) nucleus. Likewise, the stressed syllables that may form the head preceding the low rise will not exceed in prosodic weight the stressed syllables that normally form a head. Let us examine the following two examples.

10a. It'll be 'on | in a ,few ,minutes. - 9.32

10b. I was 'talking to Mrs 'Jones | at the 'paper °shop | the ,other ,day. - 19.14

Neither of the two tone-groups occurring after a high fall is rhematic. Each occurs on an adverbial element of time functioning as a temporal setting. As such the adverbial element is thematic, serving as a diatheme.¹³ Theme proper is ex-

¹² The term 'intonation centre' (=IC) is used here only for the the functionally weightiest prosodic feature within a distributional field of any rank. I owe this term to Daneš (cf. 1957. 27, 153).

¹³ 'Diatheme' is a concept and term introduced by Svoboda (1981, 1983), who has made a significant contribution to the theory of FSP with his detailed analysis of the functions performed by the thematic elements (cf. Uhlířová 1982). Roughly speaking the least dy-

pressed in the first sentence by *It*, in the second by *I*. The elements 'll *be* and *was talking* are transitional, the TMEs serving as transition proper. The rhematic units *on*, *to Mrs Jones*, *at the paper shop* are marked by high falls, the high fall coming last duly signalling rheme proper (*on*, *at the paper shop*).¹⁴ It is worth mentioning that adequate Czech translations of the two sentences will not place the adverbial elements of time in end position, for a non-emotive sequence of words would mark a final adverbial as rhematic. The correct Czech translations of the two English sentences would therefore run: *Za několik minut (In a few minutes...)* *to přijde*, *Onehdy (The other day...)* *jsem mluvil s paní Jonesovou v papírnictví*.

The note just presented expresses perhaps the most important modification of the basic observation that within a distributional field it is the last nucleus that represents its functionally weightiest feature. Further research may be expected to add other modifications (see Firbas 1980.130–1). One such further modification is suggested by the examined corpus: if a fall-rise is followed by a low rise (a tone-unit with a 'switchback' feature¹⁵ followed by a tone-unit with a 'take-off' feature¹⁵), it is the fall-rise that bears the IC of the distributional field.

11. [That's the 'trouble. I ,don't really \know. - 'Don't say you
 °wanted to be an \air-°hostess.] 'That's what °girls \usually
 °want | when they ,say they °don't ,know. - 63.35
12. If a \second-year °cares to be °seen with us \first °years, |
 ,that is. - 71.10

The information conveyed by the *when*-clause is evidently context-dependent. The low communicative value of *that* is perhaps evident as well.

dynamic element within the theme is theme proper; the most dynamic element of the theme is the diatheme (Svoboda 1983. 50). Other types of thematic elements display either characteristics similar to theme proper or those standing close to the diatheme (ib). A detailed description of thematic elements, paying revealing attention to ellipted elements, is to be found esp. in Svoboda 1983. Of the non-ellipted elements, theme proper is the most established element within the theme and shows a marked tendency to become a hypertheme; the diatheme, on the other hand, is a foregrounded element, being the least established constituent of the theme (Svoboda 1983. 78–9). Svoboda's discussion has convincingly shown that the semantic, grammatical and contextual features of diathemes differ considerably from those displayed by themes proper. Hence in clauses with only one thematic element, Svoboda is justified in regarding this element either as diatheme or theme proper (79).

¹⁴ The attentive reader may have noticed that the prosodic weight of the thematic adverbial elements exceeds that of the transitional elements 'll *be* and *was*. This indicates a lack of perfect correspondence between the gamut of CD and the gamut of prosodic weight, a point I will take up presently (see here pp. 22–5).

¹⁵ Cf. O'Connor and Arnold 1973. 143 and 170.

INTENSIFICATION IMPOSED ON A PERFECT CORRESPONDENCE OF THE GAMUTS

In discussing examples of perfect correspondence between the gamut of CD and the gamut of prosodic weight, I only concentrated on the problem of the presence, or the degree of absence, of correspondence between the two gamuts. In order not to discuss too many problems at a time, I did not pay special attention to the type of tune used. The type of tune, however, cannot be left out of consideration, for a tune may convey additional meaning, or rather emotively colour, or merely emphasize the meaning conveyed by non-intonational means. I cannot discuss these phenomena in detail. As to the meanings of the tunes, or rather the meanings the tunes can convey in cooperation with semantic structure, they are described, for instance, in O'Connor and Arnold 1973 and in a number of other monographs on English intonation (e. g., Palmer 1924, Schubiger 1935, 1958, Kingdon 1958, Bolinger 1965, Halliday 1967, 1970, Crystal 1969, 1975), which seems to be the best described intonation of an Indo-European language. For the purposes of the present paper, I shall therefore confine myself to the following observations.

The additional meaning, the emotive colouring, or the mere emphasis supplied by a tune can be regarded as an **intensification** of the meaning conveyed by non-intonational means. This intensification naturally involves a rise (rises) in CD, for intensified meaning contributes more to the further development of the communication than meaning that has not been intensified. It is signalled by evidently marked tunes or by evidently marked configurations of prosodic features. It must be emphasized that the type of intensification now under discussion preserves the perfect correspondence between the two gamuts. As the presence or absence of perfect correspondence is the main concern of the present paper, I shall not attempt to draw a clearcut distinction between unmarked and marked tunes, concentrating on cases the markedness of which is evident.

The following examples will demonstrate what is meant by an intensification of prosodic features that preserves a perfect correspondence between the two gamuts.

13. [We'd have been \much too o,late | for the ,last ,ferry.]¹⁶
It \leaves the \mainland | about \eight - 53.25

The distribution of prosodic features (weight) is in harmony with that of the degrees of CD. The thematic *it* is unstressed, the transitional *leaves* is stressed and the two rhematic elements, *the mainland* and *about eight*, are nucleus bearers, the last nucleus signalling rheme proper. The fall-rise is an intensification.

With due alterations, the same applies to the following examples.

¹⁶ To facilitate a better appreciation of the meaning conveyed by the sentence under discussion, the bracketed sentence provides the minimum preceding context. For an explanation of the intonation of the bracketed sentence, see esp. p. 34.

14. [!Even ^Andrew was 0pleased. And !he's ^difficult to 0please.]
He's !such a per^fectionist. - 59.17
15. [Your !old 0banger \did col_0lapse under 0Frank's 0weight.] -
!No, it ,didn't. It be ,haved very \well. [It was !our silly
0fault.] We ,ran out of \petrol. - 53.08

The nuclei duly occur on elements marked out by the interplay of non-prosodic factors of FSP as rhemes proper. But the chosen tunes, namely the 'jackknife', the 'take-off', and the 'long jump', convey in addition that the speaker is impressed by another person's reaction (cf. O'Connor and Arnold 1973:78, 274), that he resentfully contradicts his interlocutor's statement (ib. 58) and voices his protest (ib. 73, 191), respectively.

INTENSIFICATION THROUGH PARTIAL ABSENCE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GAMUTS

The types that have been discussed so far show perfect correspondence between the gamut of CD and the gamut of prosodic weight. I will now turn to types that do not show such perfect correspondence. Let me first analyze the following string of three sentences.

- 16a. Well, !I'm going to \scout 0camp. !Joan'll be in \Skye. And
!Mum and \Dad | are !talking about 0going to \Plymouth, |
to !see Aunt \Susan. - 45.06

The interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP does not permit the verb to carry the highest degree of CD. The verb cannot do so because of the presence of a context-independent goal of motion (*to scout camp*), a context-independent localization (*in Skye*), a context-independent particularization of the content of the talk (*about going to Plymouth*), and a context-independent purpose (*to see Aunt Susan*). In each case, the verb will carry a lower degree of CD than the respective context-independent element. In terms of the scale of dynamic semantic functions, it can be said that the verb serves to express a quality, whereas the prepositional object and the adverbial elements serve to express specifications. On the other hand, being itself context-independent, the verb will exceed in CD an agent (*I, Mum and Dad*), or a bearer of a state (*Joan*), both of which, in terms of the scale of dynamic semantic functions, serve to express a quality bearer and hence are thematic. In each case, the verb is transitional. Under the circumstances, it carries a higher degree of CD than the thematic subject on the one hand and a lower degree of CD than the rhematic object and/or the rhematic adverbial on the other.

As for the correspondence between the two gamuts, it is perfect in the transition-rheme direction¹⁷, but imperfect in the transition-theme direction^{17, 18}. The the-

¹⁷ Direction is not to be understood as a concept of linear arrangement, but as one of interpretative arrangement (cf. note⁹).

matic subject bears a prosodically weightier feature (cf. the stresses on *I* and *Joan* and the fall-rise on *Mum and Dad*) than the transitional verb (which is unstressed). In this way, the thematic subject becomes prosodically **intensified** (cf. Firbas 1968.21—3). Its prosodic intensification, however, is not strong enough to cause a revaluation of the distribution of CD. In spite of its intensification, the subject continues to bear a prosodically lighter feature than the respective context-independent rhematic object and/or the respective context-independent rhematic adverbial element. Under the circumstances, the transitional function of the verb is so evident that it continues to perform this function. It does so in spite of the prosodic intensification of the subject, which in its turn remains thematic.

As the intensification of the subject just described does not reevaluate the distribution of CD resulting from the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP, it can be termed **non-revaluating**. A non-revaluating intensification par excellence is, of course, such an intensification as preserves a perfect correspondence between the two gamuts.

A prosodically intensified thematic subject will naturally carry a higher degree of CD than a thematic subject that has not been prosodically intensified. But a rise in CD affecting a thematic subject entails a corresponding rise in CD throughout the non-thematic section of the sentence. On a foundation (provided by the theme) carrying an intensified degree of CD, the essential information (the non-thematic section) continues to be built up, its constituents showing a gradual rise in CD in accordance with the positions assigned to them by the interpretative arrangement (cf. Firbas 1968.21 and Svoboda 1968.71—2).

Returning to the string of the examined sentences and examining their preceding context (part of which is adduced below), we find that the intensification of the prosodic features of the thematic subjects (especially the accent on *I* and the fall-rise on *Mum and Dad*) has been resorted to for a good reason.

- 16b. ˈCɒlɪdn̩t ˈfrʌŋk ɡoʊ əs ˌweɪl? He ˈd be ˈhɪə ɒn hɪs ˈaʊn |
 ˌoʊðəwaɪz. - ˌhaʊ d ˈju ˈmiːn? - 45.03

Prompted by the tone of puzzlement and surprise conveyed by the question *How d'you mean?* (cf. O'Connor and Arnold 1973.73), the speaker explains that Frank will be *on his own* because the others (*I, Joan, Mum and Dad*) will be away. The prosodic intensification of the subjects, enumerating those who will be absent, participates in bringing out the loneliness Frank might experience.

Prosodically weak transitional verbal elements are by no means a rare phenomenon. This applies not only to the TMEs implemented as auxiliaries and serving as transition proper, but also to the notional component of the finite verb form functioning in the rest of the transition, although the latter is subjected to prosodic weakening far less often than the former (cf. Firbas 1968, 1975a). Let me add a few examples to further illustrate this point.

17. ˈɔːl ðɪs ˌtrʌvəlɪŋ | meɪks mi ˈrævnəs. - 25.17
 18. ˈdɒn̩t bi ˌruːd, jʌŋg ˌsɪmən. ðə ˈtrʌbl̩ wɪð ˌju ˌɪz | juːv̩
 ɡɒt ˈnɒ reˈspekt fɔː jʊə ˈeldəz. - 47.22

¹⁸ The function of the prosodic features borne by the English finite verb has been discussed in Firbas 1969 and 1972.

19. [No.] Oh, this is 'dreadful. - 31.07

20. And the 'hospital othinks | I 'need to catch °up on my 'sleep. -
85.04

21. The 'poor old 'banger | will col'lapse under the 'strain. - 51.30

22. It's the 'tax-payers' money. And some of 'that | comes from 'me.
- 69.07

All the above examples answer the description offered above. All the subjects show prosodic intensification, which may be quite conspicuous. It seems that the prosodic intensification either underlines the diathematic character of the subject or renders it diathematic. This means that if the subject is not diathematic at the level of written language, it may become so at the level of spoken language owing to the additional meaning or emotive colouring evoked by the prosodic intensification. The extent to which this tendency actually asserts itself will have to be determined by further research.

It is important that the intensification of the subject just described does **not reevaluate** the theme-rheme relationship. Owing to the interplay of all the factors of FSP, non-prosodic and prosodic, the transitional character of the finite verb continues to be signalled with sufficient adequacy. It is worth noticing that the prosodic weakening of the verb and the prosodic weakness of the TMEs are not at variance with their serving as a link (and simultaneously as a boundary) between the thematic and the non-thematic sections of the sentence. (This especially applies to the TMEs that constitute such a boundary-link element par excellence, cf. Firbas 1975a.330.) They seem to be in harmony with the tendency to underline the theme-rheme relationship by giving relative prosodic prominence to the diatheme (the element carrying the highest degree of CD within the theme) and rheme proper (the element carrying the highest degree of CD within the rheme)¹⁹. To what extent this tendency can assert itself will once again have to be determined by further research.

A thematic subject is not the only element that may be prosodically weightier than a transitional verb, although in colloquial English it may represent the most frequent case of prosodic intensification of a thematic element occurring before a prosodically weaker transitional verb. Various adverbial types could be adduced in illustration.

23. 'Talking of 'camps, | have you 'got all the °things you'll ,need,
you °two? - 49.29

24. 'When we °got to 'Glasgow, | we 'seemed to have °quite a 'lot in
o hand. - 53.13

25. So to 'be on the 'safe o side | he 'rang the 'depot | 'yesterday
'morning. - 55.01

26. And 'one o day | Cousin Jeannie 'borrowed some 'horses. - 57.17

¹⁹ This observation was first made by Aleš Svoboda (in a private communication).

It is the semantic characters of the TMEs and the notional component of the finite verbs themselves that play a significant role in the interplay of FSP factors. As has already been pointed out, it is especially the TMEs that show a high degree of congruence between their predicative function and their linking (and simultaneously delimiting) function in FSP. Apart from the TMEs there are other elements displaying a similar high degree of congruence between their syntactic and their FSP functions. Without attempting to give an exhaustive list of such elements or to state the limitations on the congruence they are capable of displaying, let me mention as examples the negation particle *not*, the elements signalling interrogation (or interrogative elements, for short)²⁰, sentence adverbs and conjunctions.

REVALUATING INTENSIFICATION

Revaluation through a shift of the IC and the creation of a post-IC prosodic shade

1. The principle of revaluation and revaluated pronouns

The correspondence between the gamut of CD and the gamut of prosodic weight has been chosen as a criterion in mapping out the ways intonation can participate in the interplay of the factors of FSP. Seen in this light, a special case is represented by a sentence in which (i) the IC is shifted onto an element that according to the interplay of non-prosodic factors of FSP is non-rhematic, and (ii) the element that according to this interplay is the rheme proper appears in the post-IC prosodic shade. Let me adduce three very simple examples first.

27. √That's a ◊ laugh. - 7.16

28. Now, \there's a co◊ incidence! - 43.26

29. \Goodness! √You've been ◊ quick, Simon - 15.06

Now *a laugh*, *a coincidence* and *quick* are all elements that in the contexts under examination and in the light of the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors would be regarded as context-independent, in fact as carriers of the highest degree of CD, serving as rhemes proper. Yet none bear the IC; on the contrary, they occur in the post-IC prosodic shade. In each sentence, the IC occurs on an element that in the light of the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors is context-dependent and hence thematic.

The comments just offered suggest the conclusion that the examples display an absence of correspondence between the two gamuts — a discrepancy disproving the existence of such correspondence. A closer analysis of the discussed examples, however, reveals that the shift of the IC onto the non-rhematic element and the placement of rheme proper in the post-IC shade renders the sentence highly emotive, forcibly intensifying the emotive colouring already conveyed or adding some

²⁰ The prosodic features of interrogative elements and the function of these elements, however, have been discussed in some detail in Firbas 1976.

new shade of emotive meaning altogether. (In this way, the first sentence underlines the strongly depreciatory character of the speaker's remark, the third his appreciative astonishment. The second emphasizes the importance of the concurrence of circumstances for the matter under discussion.) The shift causing the discrepancy proves to be highly functional. This raises the question whether it is at all legitimate to speak about a discrepancy.

As will be borne out also by further examples, the difference in the distribution of degrees of CD just described and the distribution of degrees of prosodic weight is linked with strong emotive colouring (emotiveness), which comes to form an important and weighty part of the information conveyed. Its importance and weightiness is transmitted by intonation, which brings about an emotive **revaluation**. I shall term it **revaluating intensification**. The revaluation consists essentially in the CI being placed on an element that, owing to the interplay of non-prosodic factors of FSP, is non-rhematic but is revaluated to rheme proper, whereas the element that, owing to this interplay, becomes rheme proper is revaluated to a thematic element of diathematic status.

In contrast with the type of intensification just established, the types of intensification discussed earlier do not cause a revaluation of the rheme proper determined by the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors; in other words, they do not cause a revaluation of the theme-rheme relationship. This is why the types discussed earlier come under the heading of **non-revaluating intensification**.

The emotive revaluation does not obliterate the correspondence between the two gamuts. On the contrary, it can be understood only against the background of this correspondence, and in this way bears out its existence. From this point of view, revaluating intensification cannot be looked upon as a discrepancy, for it is a fully systemic phenomenon. It fits in perfectly with the language system.

Having presented the principle of revaluating intensification, I will adduce some more complex examples and point out additional characteristic features. I shall not be able to discuss all the possible types of revaluating intensification, the main purpose of the present discussion being the establishment of the phenomenon.

In the simple examples above, the IC occurs on the grammatical (formal) subject implemented by a pronoun or the existential pro-adverb *there*. It may, of course, appear on another sentence element as well. In each of the three following sentences the IC is placed on a pronominal object.

30. 'He gave ^us a 0concert 0last 0night. - 19.33

31. Oh, here's \Frank. 'Let's ask \him about 0Robert's 0present. -

23.08

32. 0What s brought \you round 0here so 0early? - 39.20

Once again, it is the IC bearer and the elements occurring in the post-IC prosodic shade that reflect revaluation. The IC bearer has come to serve as rheme proper, while the shaded elements are thematic. Even after the revaluation the shaded elements proportionally preserve the original differences in degrees of CD. In this way, the element that according to the interplay of the non-prosodic factors would carry the highest degree of CD and be rheme proper (*a concert, about Robert's present, so early*) comes to function as the carrier of the highest degree within the theme and becomes diathematic.

The elements occurring before the IC bearer are not affected by revaluation. They continue to perform their thematic and transitional functions. It should be added that, provided it does not come to bear the IC, an element that according to the interplay of non-prosodic FSP factors is thematic remains so even after the revaluation no matter whether it occurs before or after the IC-bearer (cf. the shaded thematic elements *last night* and *round here*). With due alterations, the same applies to the TMEs and the question focus and the negation focus anticipators. The TMEs continue to function as transition proper (cf. the three examples, 30—2, and the added comment on p. 26) and the focus anticipators retain their rhematic feature orienting them to and linking them with the respective rhemes proper (cf. the anticipator *what* in the last of the three examples above and the anticipator *-n't* in ex. 33 below).

33. [ʌRobert's ɔcoming.] ʏHe musn't ɔsee it yet. - 39.07

2. Revaluated adverbs of indefinite time

Another group of elements that can become IC-bearers on account of revaluating intensification is formed by adverbs of indefinite time such as *always*, *ever*, *soon*, *still*. Their unmarked place in the sentence is the not-position and their unmarked function in FSP is transitional. Performing this function, they come close to the TMEs, which in their unmarked use serve as transition proper.

34. It'll ʌsoon get to ɔnumber ɔone in the ʏcharts, | ʌI bet. - 9.10

35. So there are ʌstill some ɔhonest people aɔbout, thank ɔgoodness.
- 37.31

36. They're ʌalways ɔready to ɔstart an ʏargument. - 61.15

The shaded elements are context-independent. But for the revaluation, the elements *in the charts*, *honest people* and *to start an argument* would carry the highest degrees of CD and function as rhemes proper. In consequence of revaluation, they have become diathematic.

3. Revaluated auxiliaries

Another group of non-rhematic elements that can come to bear the revaluating IC is formed by the auxiliaries, i.e. by the anomalous finites. In their unmarked use, they serve as transition proper. What exactly is their function in a sentence (distributional field of CD) that has undergone revaluating intensification? Let me first give some examples.

37. You ʌare ɔmean, ɔSimon. - 23.07

38. Oh, ʌMarjorie, you ʌare a ɔdear! - 33.23

39. [ʌLet's ask the ɔmanager ʌfirst.] We ʏmight be ɔlucky. - 35.06

40. ʌYou ʌwere ɔlucky. - 37.32

41. [!Poor old \Robert!] He \will have a oshockl - 27.23
42. It \won't take /long | to put the ,table oup in the ,garage. - 7.05
43. Joan, \do have a obit of /sense. You \can't lose omoney | by
/sneezing. - 37.02
44. You know, that \does make me /envious. - 45.31
45. [I sup|pose Simon \was oright.] Your 'old obanger \did col|lapse
under oFrank's oweight. - 53.08

As has been demonstrated elsewhere (Firbas, e.g., 1976.50), the semantic content of a TME is rather complex. The complexity is increased by the fact that a form serving as a TME may simultaneously serve as a PNE (= exponent of person and number). This contributes to the heterogeneity of the form in regard to degrees of CD. It is not on account of its entire semantic content (i.e. of all the semantic features conveyed) that the form serving as a TME (and a PNE, for that matter) comes to bear the IC. It is not on account of the temporal or the modal indication, nor on account of the indication of person or that of number, that the form comes to bear the IC. It is on account of the polarity 'positive/negative' that the IC is placed on the anomalous finite. The speaker utters either an emphatic assertion or an emphatic denial, the particular emotive colouring depending on the meaning of the co-text. In this way, it is the polarity feature that comes to be the rheme proper of the sentence. The temporal and the modal indication continue to serve as transition proper. In this respect, the TMEs continue to perform the function of the boundary (and simultaneously that of the link) between the thematic and the non-thematic section even after the emotive revaluation.

The sentences under discussion may come close to the second instance sphere, but they are not genuine second instance sentences. As has been explained in greater detail elsewhere (Firbas, e.g., 1968.15-8) a genuine second instance sentence comes to stand in sharp contrast on account of one semantic feature, all the rest of the semantic content of the sentence conveying context-dependent information. In this way, the second instance sentence shows a maximum degree of context-dependence, which does not apply to exx. 37-45; cf., e.g., *I am not saying that you were mean, Simon. You ARE mean. Right now. At this very moment.* Needless to say, second instance sentences are a very rare phenomenon indeed.

4. Revaluated notional component of the finite verb

Among the elements that come to bear the IC in consequence of an emotive revaluation of the distribution of CD, we can also find the notional component of the finite verb. As has been established elsewhere (cf. Firbas, e.g., 1968, 1975), the notional component of the finite verb shows an unmistakable tendency to perform the transitional function, and it is quite in agreement with this fact that the cases in which it comes to bear the IC in consequence of revaluation are very rare. The unusualness of the phenomenon heightens the effect of revaluation.

46. [It's 'such an at|tractive ocity. They a\dored the ca|thedral.
- Yes, it 'is obautiful, | 'ien't it?] 'I'd \love to osee it
oagain. - 87.06

47. [Oh, 'come on, | /somebody.] 'Come and help ofind the /ball.

[It's the 'last °decent one we've 'got.] - 13.13

48. [But it's 'rather disap'pointing, | 'isn't it?] I was looking
'forward to a /swim in the /Mediter/ranean. - 41.04

The objects, implemented by an infinitive construction in 46 and by a prepositional object in 48, convey information underivable from the immediately relevant context. Under normal conditions, each would exceed its verb both in CD and in prosodic weight (see Firbas 1969, Chamonikolasová 1985). With due alterations, the same applies to the entire expanded imperative construction in 47; it follows an imperative which has a genuine predecessor²¹ in the immediately preceding relevant context and consequently conveys context-dependent information. It could in fact be argued that even *love* in the first sentence has its synonymic predecessor in the immediately relevant context — the verb form *adored*. It is evident that the IC occurs on the verb-forms owing to emotive revaluation. The intensified emotive values are a desire to see something beautiful (46), a plea for assistance (47) and disappointment in one's expectations (48).

Perhaps a special group is represented by such verbs as *wish*, *hope* and such predicative adjectives as *sure*, *sorry*, *glad*, which all express some attitude of the speaker and are attitudinal words par excellence. Under unmarked conditions, they can be expected to be exceeded in CD by the context-independent section of the sentence specifying what the attitude relates to. The shift of the IC onto the attitudinal word causes emotive revaluation, which throws into relief the very kind of attitude the speaker has assumed.

49. I 'wish you /two would stop /gossiping | [and 'concentrate on the
'game]. - 13.02

50. 'Hope I haven't de'pressed you too °much. - 73.13

51. [Cuff-links, /then.] I'm 'sure he'd /like some /new ones. - 23.17

52. 'Sorry we're /later than we /planned. - 53.06

53. You know, I'm 'glad William sug'gested /going to the /Lake District
'first. - 47.14

5. Revaluated nominal subjects

Apart from the notional component of the predicative verb, even the nominal subject deserves special attention. But before concentrating on it, let me briefly recapitulate the results of the inquiries into the ways a subject, nominal or pronominal, is treated by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP.

²¹ 'Predecessor' is a concept and term introduced by Aleš Svoboda (1981, 1983). By a genuine predecessor I mean an element in the preceding context that from the static point of view is identical in content and form with an element in the sentence under examination (cf. *come* in 42). The qualification 'from the static point of view' is important, for in regard to the dynamics of communication, the two elements need not be identical in function nor in prosodic implementation.

Inquiries at the non-prosodic level have shown that there is a strong tendency to make the subject express the theme (Mathesius, e.g., 1975.101—3, 186). It has also been shown, however, under which conditions the subject expresses the rheme. This is especially the case if the subject is context-independent and accompanied by a verb expressing existence or appearance on the scene and possibly also by a context-dependent or context-independent adverbial element expressing a setting (local or temporal). In such a case, the subject expresses a context-independent phenomenon appearing on the scene and serves as rheme proper. It is worth noticing that under favourable conditions a context-independent subject tends to become rheme proper even if the verb does not explicitly or implicitly express existence or appearance on the scene. This can happen if the sentence does not contain a context-independent object nor a context-independent subject or object complement nor a context-independent adverbial element serving as a specification. From the point of view of FSP the verb can in such a case be viewed as a device introducing the notion conveyed by the subject into the flow of the communication, in other words introducing it onto the communicative scene provided by the sentence serving as a distributional field of CD. All this has been discussed and illustrated in my previous papers (see esp. Firbas 1966, 1956).

Against the background of the strong tendency to make the subject express the theme, the emotive revaluation of a thematic pronominal subject into a rhematic element stands out very clearly (see here p. 25).

Cases in which a nominal thematic subject is revaluated into a rhematic element are certainly less frequent. Moreover, at the present stage of research it is not always easy to draw a distinct line between a rhematic subject serving to express a phenomenon appearing on the scene (understood in the sense of the communicative scene provided by the sentence viewed as a distributional field of CD) and a rhematic subject that has acquired rhematic status owing to emotive evaluation. The following examples will illustrate.

54. [But there 'must have been °something \wrong | with the \petrol
 °gauge, | because the \next we °knew, |] the \engine had °stopped.
 - 53.15
55. The \ball's making a °very °queer °sound, | \isn't it? - 15.20
56. The \sound's all °right. - 15.29
57. You \know you °said the \tube was giving °trouble, Dad? - 17.22
58. And the \screen's so °small. - 19.02
59. \That one on the \counter isn't °bad. - 29.18

The subject of 54 answers the characterization of a rhematic subject drawn up above. It is context-independent and introduced by the verb into the flow of communication as a phenomenon appearing on the scene (on the communicative scene provided by the sentence viewed as a distributional field of CD, that is). This explanation, however, is not fully applicable to the subjects of the other sentences under examination, although some of the subjects are unmistakably

context-independent, and it might be argued that the copula and the predicative adjective (or even the predicative prepositional phrase) can exceptionally take over the introductory function of the verb. Nevertheless, all these subjects admit of a unifying interpretation.

In terms of the scale of dynamic semantic functions, they serve as quality bearers. Now according to the interplay of non-prosodic factors of FSP, this function is thematic— in contrast with the rhematic function of expressing a phenomenon appearing on the scene. At the same time, they share another characteristic: each of them is ascribed a distinctly positive or a distinctly negative feature. The emotive colouring of this positive or negative assessment has been forcibly enhanced by the revaluating shift of the IC, which emotively reevaluates the original thematicity of the subject into rhematicity. Under the circumstances, even the subject of 49 is ascribed a distinctly negative feature and can be brought to a common denominator with the subjects just discussed. It must be remembered, however, that it has not become an IC bearer on account of emotive revaluation. This demonstrates that it may not always be easy to draw a distinct line between primary (originally non-emotive) and secondary (emotive) rhematicity.

Further research may establish other types of emotive revaluation affecting nominal subjects.

6. Intensives

A very important group of elements that frequently become involved in prosodic intensification is formed by adjectives, adverbs and nouns that in various ways express a high grade of quality or a high frequency of a phenomenon. Their semantic content lends itself to prosodic intensification and they will be referred to as 'intensives' here. I shall deal with them only summarily, not attempting a detailed enumeration, description and classification of them.²² In the comments that follow the examples I shall point out in what manner they can be related to revaluating intensification.

In the first group of examples (60—81) the intensives are nucleus bearers and have been underlined. In the second group (82—91) it is the word qualified by the intensive that bears the nucleus and has accordingly been underlined.

First group:

60. 'Doubles is °always \great fun. - 7.07

61. \Your new \tape-re_corder | gives \smashing °quality, | \doesn't it, °Marjorie? - 9.2

62. The \London \Symphony °Orchestra | was in \splendid °form. - 17.19

63. Yes, and we've had a \marvellous °day. - 35.09

64. An I'talian in a °three-ton \lorry |'gave him a fan\tastic °lift.

- 45.28

²² A proper treatment of the intensives would have to discuss the relation of the intensives to what Quirk et al. term 'amplifiers' (Quirk et al. 1972. 444—52; cf. also Crystal 1975. 114—5).

65. We 'had to get 'up | at some unearthly hour. - 59.05
66. ...well it's an unbelievable sight. - 59.07
- It was such a relief | to get your telegram, Mum. - 59.14
67. And somehow 'four 'wheels | seem much more manageable | than
'four 'legs. - 9.26
68. 'That'd be much too expensive. - 23.25
69. We'd have been much too late|for the last ferry. - 53.25
70. She was much too quick for me. - 57.05
71. Yes, it's very popular. - 9.11
72. He's made very quick time. - 45.28
73. [Now, 'be 'fair.] It was a very good journey. - 55.16
74. He's 'looking at you very suspiciously. - 31.15
75. I've still got loads of revision to do. - 9.24
76. 'Yes, | she sneezed hundreds of times. - 37.11
77. And of 'course, | it was miles | to the nearest filling station.
- 53.20
78. [While 'I'm 'rotting away 'here, || 'they're 'gaining ex'perience.]
They'll be miles ahead of me | by the time I graduate. - 73.06
79. They'll be awfully pleased. - 25.32
80. And if 'I'd said 'No, | they'd have been awfully disappointed.
- 63.32
81. It 'isn't quite right, | but it's the 'best I can 'see. - 29.18

Second group:

82. Only, it 'dries much quicker | if you 'spin dry it 'first. - 63.12
83. Oh, I 'do hope they come quickly | before the fire gets much
'worse. - 73.33
84. [Oh, 'don't be 'hard on the 'lad.] 'After 'all, | he's been 'very
'helpful. - 47.24
85. Yes, he's 'very trusting. | 'isn't he? - 21.23
86. That's 'quite an i'dea. - 47.10
87. It was 'still quite 'dark. - 59.06

88. He's 'such a per[^]fectionist. - 59.18

89. [The 'masters at >school | 'told me how \wonderful it would ,be. |
'Excellent \prospecte. - 71.32

90. 'Splendid \jobe. - 71.34 ²³

91. What a 'gorgeous \colou^r. - 63.06

With the exception of *miles* in 77 and 78, the intensives do not constitute separate sentence clause constituents, nor do they constitute separate communicative units at the level of FSP. They merely form part of a sentence constituent/communicative unit. It is worth noticing that this communicative unit can be regarded as a distributional *subfield* of CD. I shall not discuss the question of the degrees of CD in the subfields in greater detail. But let me mention at least four points.

(i) If the nucleus falls on the intensive, the latter evidently carries the highest degree of CD within the subfield on account of having its emotive value foregrounded.

(ii) The intensive will carry the highest degree of CD and bear the nucleus if the rest of the subfield is context-dependent (see exx. 92, 93, 94).

92. [!O. K. ...!Play that one a\gain ,Frank. It was a 'net \ball
I ,think ...] Oh \excellent ,service. [I 'didn't stand a \chance. |
- 15.17 ²⁴

93. [Banger, in,odeed!] It's a ,very re\liable ,car. - 51.32

94. [Mental >stimulus | from one's 'fellow \students. \So they \say.]
But \lots of the ,students ,here | are 'pretty \dull. - 61.25

Even in such a case, it will have its emotive value foregrounded, but without simultaneously weakening (moderating) the degree of CD of the rest of the subfield. This has in fact been weakened by the dedynamizing operation of the context.

(iii) It remains to account for those cases in which the subfield is entirely context-independent and the nucleus does not fall on the intensive.

The situation appears to be clear as far as the attributive constructions of the type headword (noun) plus attributive adjective are concerned. In the first place, points (i) and (ii) naturally apply to them as well. Second, in regard to written language it has been established by Svoboda (1968) that as long as the attributive adjective is context-independent, it will carry a higher degree of CD than its headword.

Now it is remarkable that if in unmarked use the entire subfield (headword plus attributive adjective) is context-independent, the carrier of the higher (under the circumstances the highest) degree of CD within the subfield does not simultaneously bear the weightier (under the circumstances the weightiest) prosodic

²³ A continuation of 84.

²⁴ *Service* is derivable from the immediately relevant situational context and is therefore context-dependent.

feature within the subfield. It comes to bear it only in marked use. Revaluating intensification seems to operate here in the opposite direction; cf. exx. 60—6. Needless to say, its operation is made possible by the stress not being invariably linked with one component of the subfield.²⁵

Types like 89 and 90, and 91 (also representing entirely context-independent subfields) may and certainly do create emotive effects, but they do not do so on account of the revaluating force of intonation. Other factors are in play, such as the character of the semantic content, the type of grammatical sentence structure (verbless sentences as in 89 and 90; exclamation as in 91) and possibly also non-revaluating prosodic intensification (which, however, does not seem to apply to 89, 90 and 91).

(iv) In any case the nucleus occurring on the subfield performs the representative function. It reflects the relative degree of CD carried by the subfield within the superordinate distributional field.

By way of concluding the section on intensives, let me add a few notes concerning the relation of the type of subfield just discussed to the other units of the distributional field, a matter already touched upon in point (iv).

If the subfield constitutes the last communicative unit and its nucleus serves as IC, it does not cause any other unit to occur in the post-IC prosodic shade. A post-IC prosodic shade can be implemented only within the confines of the subfield. If the IC is associated with revaluating intensification, the latter is equally confined to the subfield. This characterization applies to the overwhelming majority of the examples adduced.

Even if the nucleus occurs in a medial communicative unit and is associated with revaluating intensification, the latter need not necessarily affect the following unit(s). In that case, the IC occurs on one of the following units (ex. 82). Revaluating intensification is then confined only to the medially positioned subfield and can create only a mid-sentence post-nuclear shade (ex. 67).

Without going into further detail let me just conclude that in other cases, i. e. if the nucleus of a medial communicative unit serves as IC, a post-IC prosodic shade necessarily occurs. If the IC results from revaluation and a shaded unit does not appear in the shade on account of the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors, it is affected by revaluation as well (see ex. 69). In ex. 70, the unit *for me* has not been shaded on account of revaluation, but is a context-dependent element.

7. More notes on the IC shift and shading

It is not claimed that all the possible types of revaluating intensification associated with shading have been covered. Three more examples illustrating three different types will therefore perhaps not be out of place.

95. [But it's \dreadful. \No present for ,Robert. \No special ,lunch.]
And it's \all \my of fault. - 33.17

²⁵ Cf. the invariable occurrence of stress on *French* in *French teacher* if the meaning 'teacher of French' is to be expressed (Quirk et al. 1972. 1040.) Cf. also the note on stereotyped intonation here on p. 36.

96. [And *ʌ*one *ə*day | Cousin Jeannie *ɪ*borrowed some *h*orses. And we
*ɪ*did some *ɹ*iding. - What, *ə*ll of you? *ɪ*Joan, as *ə*,well?] She's
*ɪ*never been *ɒ*n a *ə*horse | in her *ɹ*life. - 57.17
97. [Fine! | *ʌ*What with *θ*ose | and the *θ*Smiths' *ə*ncient *ɹ*primus
*ə*stove, | we *ʌ*shan't *ə*ctually *ɹ*starve, | *ɒ*r *ə*die of *ə*thirst.
 - 47.36

Ex. 95 illustrates the revaluating intensification of *my*, a possessive pronoun. Like a personal pronoun the possessive is primarily 'predestined' to function as a context-dependent element. If concurring with a context-independent headword and yet bearing the IC, it becomes an efficient vehicle of emotion. Both exx. 96 and 97 contain nucleus bearers (one of which even functions as IC bearer), the preposition *on* and the conjunction *or*, which because of their synsemantic character usually convey a low degree of CD. From the point of view of revaluating intensification, however, this very characteristic marks them as potential bearers of emotional loads.

An observation that is more important in character than a mere note should be added at this point. In discussing the FSP and the intonation of interrogative sentences (Firbas 1976), I have adopted Quirk et al.'s term 'question focus' (cf. Quirk et al. 1972.52-3). I understand by it the element carrying the highest degree of CD within an interrogative sentence. The interrogative word (for example, the interrogative pronoun or the auxiliary *do*) has been described as the question focus anticipator. Similarly, the element carrying the highest degree of CD within a negative sentence has come to be termed the negation focus (Firbas 1976.49; cf. Quirk et al. 1972.382) and the negating element the negation focus anticipator. On the analogy of the interrogative sentences and the negative sentences, we could speak of the imperative focus; this term would designate the element carrying the highest degree of CD in an imperative sentence. (An idea expressed by Aleš Svoboda in a private communication.) The analogy could be extended even to declarative sentences, so that we could speak of the declarative focus, designating with this term the element carrying the highest degree of CD in a declarative sentence.

The question may be raised whether the element that on account of intonational revaluating intensification comes to bear the IC could not be described as the emotive focus. Now, in principle, the question focus, the negation focus, the imperative focus and the declarative focus are determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP. What could be termed the emotive focus, however, comes into existence on the ground of a 'discrepancy' consisting in the placement of the IC on another element than the carrier of the highest degree of CD as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP (for instance, in the case of the declarative sentence, on another element than the declarative focus). The speaker may or may not resort to such a discrepancy-producing placement of the IC. In this respect, the IC signalling what could be termed the emotive focus differs from an IC that also occurs on another element than that carrying the highest degree of CD but does not produce intonational intensifying revaluation. ICs that in some languages and under certain contextual conditionings show a regular occurrence on interrogative words (i.e. on the interrogation focus anticipators, and

not on the interrogation foci) would come under this heading. The stereotyped regularity of the placement of the IC prevents the IC from becoming a signal of intonational intensifying revaluation. In other words, the fact that under the same contextual conditioning the IC cannot be shifted onto another element excludes the possibility of producing an emotive effect. (Let me add that as has been shown in greater detail in Firbas 1976, the IC can occur on the question focus anticipator only provided the question focus continues to be signalled by the non-prosodic factors of FSP with sufficient adequacy.) It follows that the 'discrepancy' between the outcome of the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP and the placement of the IC is an essential feature of the intensifying revaluation, but not every 'discrepancy' necessarily makes the IC signal intensifying revaluation. Stereotyped regularity prevents the IC from becoming a signal of what could be termed emotive focus.

I believe that the question raised at the beginning of the preceding paragraph can be answered in the positive: the element that on account of intonational revaluating intensification comes to bear the IC could be described as the emotive focus. It has, however, to be borne in mind that the emotive focus differs in character from the other, non-emotive foci, mentioned above. Its operation can in fact be established only against the background of the operation of the other, non-emotive foci. I do not claim to have presented an exhaustive picture of the relations between the emotive focus and the non-emotive foci, but I believe I may say that an inquiry into the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors and the prosodic (intonational) factor of FSP bears out the existence of the emotive focus.

At the moment, it remains to be emphasized that the expression 'emotive focus' has been used here as an FSP term, i.e. as one denoting an emotive phenomenon primarily effected by means of FSP. Needless to say, emotiveness can be brought about by other linguistic means as well. (Cf. the section on FSP and emotiveness; see here pp. 43—5.)

Deshading

As has been shown in the preceding section, shifting the IC on an element rendered by the interplay of non-prosodic factors of FSP thematic or transitional, and putting elements rendered by this interplay rhematic in the post-IC prosodic shade — in other words, **shading** them —, produce an emotive revaluation of FSP. It may be asked whether English can also have recourse to a reverse procedure. Such a procedure can indeed be established.

The procedure consists in conspicuously intensifying the prosodic weight of an element that may be expected to occur in the post-IC prosodic shade. The element can be expected to occur there for two reasons: because of carrying a low degree of CD and because of occurring after a unit qualifying for the highest degree of CD and the IC. Instead of shading it, the reverse procedure makes the element **bear** the IC and in this way **deshades** it.

Deshading may serve different purposes. The common denominator to which the cases of deshading can be brought is the following: the deshaded element, which bears the IC, comes to express some additional, usually attitudinal, meaning. On account of this additional meaning, it is regarded as a carrier of context-independent information. In this way deshading is associated with a revaluating shift of the IC and is in fact a kind of revaluating intensification.

A fairly frequent cause of deshading is what may be termed the recapitulatory or summarizing effect. For instance, in the following conversation

98. [✓Frank, | 'what shall we give °Robert for his \`birthday?
- 'What about a ciga\`rette-°lighter? - ✓That's no °good.]
He's 'given up \`smoking. - [I'd for\`gotten. 'So he \`has.
- We must 'think of something \`else, °then.] - 23.09

Smoking may be regarded as context-dependent. It is implied in *cigarette-lighter*, which may therefore be taken for its implicative predecessor²⁶. It would certainly be possible to place the IC on the verb: He's GIVEN UP smoking. But by placing the IC on *smoking* the speaker sums up the case, as it were. In consequence, it is necessary 'to think of something else'.

A summarizing effect is also produced by the ICs on *an electric guitar* and *bag* in the following two examples. The two elements have genuine predecessors in the immediately relevant preceding context and yet become IC bearers.

- 99a. [Yes, but I can 'see some e\`lectric gui\`tars ... Well, 'you
three go \`on.] ✓I'm going to °try|°an e\`lectric gui\`tar. - 27.31

In the omitted part of the conversation (replaced by the three dots), the other three interlocutors voice their disagreement with the speaker's enthusiasm for electric guitars. In the sentence under discussion, the deshaded *an electric guitar* becomes part of a resolute decision arrived at and uttered by the speaker. Note the prosodic intensification both of *I* and of *an electric guitar*. The speaker continues:

- 99b. I 'shan't get a °nother °chance like ✓this | for \`ages. - 29.02

Similarly, conclusiveness is achieved by deshading *my bag* in the following example.

100. [You 'keep such a °lot of \`rubbish in your °bag ... - But
'this is \`serious. I really \`can't find my °notecase.]
'It isn't in my ✓bag, | I'm \`sure. - 31.02

The speaker announces the result of her search. The conclusiveness of the statement is further underlined by the words *I'm sure*.

The deshading of the first *then* (which in marked use would function here as a temporal setting) and of *Cup Final* in the dialogue adduced below forcefully underlines the speaker's firm persuasion that the TV set must be in good order on the particular day.

101. [!After \`all, | we've \`got to have a re\`liable °set | for \`next
°Saturday ✓week. ✓Mustn't have the °service inter\`rupted ✓then, |
\`must we? - 'Why not °then in par\`ticular?] - 'That's \`Cup
Final °day. We \`can't miss the ✓Cup °Final. - 19.26

²⁶ *Cigarette-lighter* is not a genuine predecessor (cf. note²¹), but it implies smoking.

The deshading of *Cup Final* represents a special type of deshading that is associated with *emotive repetition*, an interesting case of reevaluating intensification. Further examples follow.

102a. [˘Sorry, Mr. °Smith. We must ˘go ˘now. Or ˘Mum´ll be °gin to
 °think | ˘Andrew´s °blown us ˘up | in the ^˘potting-shed!]
 - ˘Potting-shed?! ˘Potting-shed?! [La˘boratory, ^˘please!] - 83.26

Potting-shed has its genuine predecessor in the immediately relevant preceding context, but it becomes context-independent on account of the disagreement and irritation it conveys. Just note the soothing effect of the immediately following reaction of another participant in the conversation.

102b. Oh, ˘take no °notice of ˘him, °Andrew. He´s ˘always °putting his
 °foot in it. - 83.31

The emotive character of the soothing words is signalled by the reevaluating devices (cf. the shifting of the ICs on *him* and *always*, respectively associated with the deshading of *him* and the shading of *putting his foot*).

Perhaps no special comment is needed on the repetition of *Manchester* occurring in the following excerpt.

103. He ˘rang up from ˘Manchester! - ^Manchester! [He´d ˘have
 to be ˘quick | to ˘get to St. °Albans in °half an ˘hour
 - ˘It´s a ˘hundred and °fifty ˘miles or more.] - 93.30

The occurrence of the rise-fall on *Manchester* is quite in keeping with O'Connor and Arnold's observation that the rise-fall 'is very often used in echoing an immediately prior remark, in order to show how impressed the speaker is, whether favourably or not' (1973:78). Once again, it is the conveyance of the speaker's attitude that renders *Manchester* context-independent. Another effective case of emotive repetition is represented by the following example.

104. [And we ˘did some ˘riding. - What, ˘all of you? ˘Joan, as ˘well?
 She´s ˘never been ˘on a °horse | in her ˘life!] - ˘Even ^Joan.
 [And ˘what´s ˘more, | I ˘didn´t fall ^off.] - 57.18

It is Joan herself who repeats her own name in confirmation of what has been said about her!

105. [We ˘ran out of ˘petrol.] - ˘Ran out of ˘petrol? - [˘Yes.
 Ri˘diculous, | ˘isn´t it?] - 53.11

Each element of the sentence under examination has its genuine predecessor. Nevertheless, the sentence comes to serve as a vehicle of new information. It conveys the speaker's incredulity, his surprise at the absurdity of the event, or perhaps even his low estimation of the other person's efficiency as a driver. The speaker's attitude is not precisely specified, but unmistakably suggested, by the intonation; this is borne out by the other person's reaction.

FURTHER NOTES ON SHADING — THE TO-BE-IN-THE-KNOW EFFECT

Let us recall that the post-IC prosodic shade is essentially connected with the following functions:²⁷ (i) it comprises elements that are context-dependent and hence carry low degrees of CD; (ii) it comprises elements that, though context-independent, carry low degrees of CD on account of their semantic character and the semantic relations into which they enter; (iii) it comprises elements that are context-independent and on account of their semantic character and the semantic relations into which they enter qualify for carriers of higher degrees of CD and hence — in unmarked use — do not occur in the shade; their occurrence in the shade signals emotion (marked use) and is linked with a revaluation of the degrees of CD they carry. Viewed in this light, the shaded elements carry either non-revaluated low degrees of CD (and come under (i) or (ii) or degrees of CD that are low due to emotive revaluation (and come under (iii)). (Cf. Firbas 1980.) It is possible therefore to speak of non-revaluating and revaluating shading.

Elements coming under (iii) may be considered to be **presented** by the **speaker** as context-dependent. The qualification 'presented' is important, for objectively speaking — as has been shown — they are context-independent. Like the non-interrogative elements in a question, they might be looked upon as the speaker's theme (cf. Firbas 1976.37, 51–2). Only in interrogative sentences, the speaker's theme does not participate in actually revaluating the FSP of the entire sentence structure, which is due to the stereotyped character of the semantic and grammatical structure of the question.

As has been shown, the character of the shading can be determined by objectively existing clues. Provided the clues are unambiguous, they will be interpreted alike by an interlocutor who is fully initiated in the matter under discussion, an interlocutor who is not so well acquainted with the matter in hand, as well as a totally uninitiated observer not participating in the conversation at all. A good deal must be left to further research, but at least one special case of non-revaluating shading must be mentioned in this connection.

This special case of non-revaluating shading occurs under the following conditions: (i) neither the element bearing the IC nor the shaded element evokes the impression of having been emotively revaluated, for they do not fulfil the conditions under which revaluating prosodic intensification takes place; (ii) the shaded element evokes the impression of being context-dependent; it is, however, not genuinely context-dependent, for it has no predecessor in the immediately relevant context, verbal or situational; (iii) the fully initiated interlocutor recognizes the information conveyed by the shaded element as veritably familiar and (sub-consciously) accords it the status of context-dependence; nevertheless, because of the very absence of a predecessor, the not so well initiated interlocutor and the uninitiated observer cannot follow suit and will consider the shaded element merely to **present** the conveyed information as context-dependent. The two are well aware that they are not in the same position as the fully initiated interlocutor, who happens to be in the know. This is why the effect produced by the special

²⁷ The term 'shade' has been used in regard to Czech word order by Poldauf and Šprunk (1968. 378-83). They speak of 'accentual shade' ('*přizvukový stín*').

type of non-revaluating shading described here can be referred to as the **to-be-in-the-know effect**.

This type of shading points to a borderline sphere existing between what has been termed the immediately relevant context, verbal or situational, and the wider verbal and situational context, within which the former is embedded (cf. Firbas 1981.44—5).

The to-be-in-the-know effect can be observed in the following examples.

106a. [It's O.K. for our ^oholiday in ^vSkye, ^oMarjorie. Mum ^vheard
from ^oCousin ^oJeannie | this ^vmorning.] But ^vshe'd ^{pre}fer
the ^vlast two ^oweeks in ^oAugust | ,rather than the ^vmiddle ^otwo.
- 43.01

The three sentences form an opening of a conversation. The times expressed by the object of *prefer* have no predecessors. For the uninitiated observer, they are an entirely new piece of information. This indicates a high degree of intimacy and produces the to-be-in-the-know effect. The absence of the predecessors from the immediately relevant context is, of course, an objective fact: the initiated listener has to recall notions to his mind that have not yet been explicitly expressed in the conversation.

A note concerning the element *Cousin Jeannie*. It might be argued that the phrase *our holiday in Skye* is its implicative predecessor, for in a previous conversation the association of Cousin Jeannie with the holiday in Skye was firmly established:

106b. Mum was ^vwriting to Cousin ^vJeannie | ,last ^vnight. - ^vWho's
Cousin ^vJeannie? - Oh, | you re^omember ^vher, ^odon't you? She's
^vMum's ^vsecond cousin, | ,actually. And she ^vlives in ^vSkye.
^vShe's the ^oone | who ^vsends us those ^otins of ^ohomemade
^vshortbread, | at ^vChristmastime. - 41.10

Nevertheless, *Cousin Jeannie* has no predecessor in the immediately relevant context and its occurrence in what has been termed mid-sentence prosodic shade can effectively participate here in the production of the to-be-in-the-know effect. In its turn, *this morning* could be regarded as a deshaded setting intensified into a specification. The following fragment of conversation is worth comparing with the one just under discussion.

107. [Our ^vholiday in ^vFrance | is ^voff. - ,How's ^vthat?] - I had a
^vletter from ^vDominique | ,yesterday. [She says her ^vmother had
an ^vaccident.] - 39.22

No to-be-in-the-know effect is produced here. *Yesterday* is duly shaded as a temporal setting.

Let me just briefly discuss two more examples.

108. [They're 'going over>seas | 'earlier than ex'pected. The 'day
after to'morrow, in ɔfact. Apparently, 'William had heard a
'rumour about ɔthat] be'fore he be'gan his ɔleave. - 53.35
109. It was 'handy | ,having the ,car. Like 'that, |we were 'able
to get ɔquite far a'field | from Por,tree. - 57.12

The shaded elements *his leave* and *from Portree* have no predecessors. Only the initiated know that William was about to begin his leave and that the holiday-makers were staying at Portree. The to-be-in-the-know effect enables the speakers to throw extra stress on the unexpectedness of William's departure and the large extent of the area they could visit, respectively.

It is worth noticing that cases of shading connected with the to-be-in-the-know effect do not appear to be very frequent. They seem to represent a peripheral phenomenon.

SETTINGS AND SPECIFICATIONS

Pending further research, the following tentative statement can be made about the way adverbial elements function in FSP. Apart from adverbs of indefinite time and sentence adverbs, which in unmarked use perform the transitional function (cf. here p. 27), the rest of the adverbial elements operate either in the theme or in the rheme. If the adverbial element merely expresses background information, just providing a setting, and in that way participates in laying the foundation upon which the core-constituting information is to be built up, it is thematic. If, on the other hand, the adverbial element expresses a piece of information that constitutes the essence (core) of the information to be conveyed or at least forms part of this essential core-constituting information, it is rhematic. For a more detailed discussion of settings and specifications, see Firbas, e.g., 1981.41-4. There are, of course, cases when the clues provided by the text are inconclusive and permit the adverbial element to be interpreted either as a setting or as a specification (cf. Firbas, e.g., 1975b.53-8). No uncertainty arises if the adverbial element is undoubtedly context-dependent. Unless reevaluated, a context-dependent adverbial element can only function as a setting.

Intonation is certainly capable of doing away with uncertainty and in this way can efficiently consummate the interplay of factors of FSP. The following examples will illustrate.

Settings

110. 'That's how he ɔtalks to 'Joan ɔwhen she's at ɔhome. - 85.11
111. And 'Jamie's quite a 'friendly ɔchap, | ,once you ɔget to ,know
him. - 59.09
112. 'D'you re,member, ɔDad, | Cousin Jeannie 'talking about a ɔJamie
Mac,Donald in ɔone of her ɔletters? - 57.29

113. \Anyway, | you'll ex\cuse me | ,now, | \won't you? I've got some
\cakes in the oven. - 87.16

114. ,Why did you \come here, | if you ,feel like ,that? - 71.27

Specifications

115. We'll 'get >off | as 'soon as you °let us come \by. - 69.20

116. [Will 'you pay the ,bill, °Dave?] And we'll 'sort it out \later.
- 73.15

117. [It's the \tax-payers' money.] And some of \that | comes from
\me. - 69.08

118. 'Dad's \promised me one, | because I °won that \prize. - 97.17

119. No, but it'll \be all \right | so long as I \don't °take it on
the \roads. - 97.24

Specifications and settings

120. I was 'talking to Mrs \Jones | at the \paper shop | the ,other
,day. - 19.14

121. \Dad's taking °Simon and \me | to the \speedway | ,next Friday
,evening. - 83.18

122. Well, Dad 'used to go °every \week | be,fore the ,war. - 89.08

It may be assumed that in unmarked use the final adverbial elements *at breakfast, now, in this restaurant, to some extent, somehow* in 123—7 would be treated as settings and accordingly shaded. The fact they have been deshaded makes them carry various shades of attitudinal and emphatic meaning. The emotive commas before *in this restaurant* (which is to be regarded as context-dependent) and *somehow* in 125 and 127, respectively, are in harmony with the offered interpretation.

123. [That's the \first \I've ,heard of a dinner. ,Nobody °ever
tells me \anything. - ,Really, Simon!] \Dad was \talking about
it | at \breakfast | this \morning. [You ,just weren't \listening.]
- 3.08

124. Well, as a \matter of \fact, | 'that's why I've °come round \now.
- 41.09

125. 'Now we want to °get a \meal, | in this \restaurant. - 67.31

126. Still, 'I'm with \Andrew | to \some ex, tent. - 89.33

127. [But \don't ask how the °four of us got \in it.] We \did, |
\somehow. - 57.15

On the other hand, the adverbial elements *to number one, so early, to the nearest filling station* in 128—30 would become specifications and carriers of the highest degree of CD in unemotive speech. I am inclined to say the same about *by tomorrow* in 131. The first three have evidently been subjected to reevaluating intensification, shaded and moderated to settings, the IC having been shifted onto *soon* (128), *you* (129) and *miles* (130). In 131 the IC occurs on *in*, shading and backgrounding *by tomorrow*. In this way emphasis is thrown on the completion of the task, not on the deadline, the completion being the speaker's main concern. — All four adverbial elements become diathematic after the revaluation.

128. [Yes, that \new \squallies ◦number | sounded \very ◦good. \I reckon | it's their 'best \yet.] It'll \soon get to ◦number ◦one in the ◦charts, [\I bet]. - 9.08
129. \Hullo, | ◦Joan. ◦What's brought \you round ◦here so ◦early? - 39.20
- 130 [Near the 'northern ◦end of Loch \Lomond we ◦were. -] And of \course, | it was \miles | to the ◦nearest ◦filling ◦station. - 53.18
131. [I 'don't think I \can. I 'haven't ◦finished my \essay ◦yet.] It's sup'posed to be \in | by to,morrow. - 61.01

An important note must be added to the explanations offered above. Intonation may unequivocally signal an adverbial element as a setting or as a specification. It must, however, be borne in mind that intonation is also a powerful tool of emotive intensification or moderation and that the possibility of its emotively intensifying a setting into a specification (and vice versa of its emotively moderating a specification into a setting) cannot be excluded. Deshading and shading seem to be the main devices used in such intensification and moderation, respectively.

All this means that intonation may unequivocally signal an adverbial element as a setting or as a specification, but at the present state of research the question emerges whether it is always possible to draw an exact dividing line between an unintensified setting and unmoderated specification on the one hand, and an intensified setting and moderated specification on the other (cf. the above interpretation of 131). This problem as well as the classification of the relation of the processes of emotive intensification and emotive moderation to the process of reevaluating intensification must be left to further research.

FSP AND EMOTIVENESS

The present paper has devoted a good deal of attention to emotiveness and FSP. An important question can be raised in this connection. In what way exactly does FSP participate in rendering a sentence emotive? This question is quite legitimate, because emotiveness is frequently co-signalled on more than one linguistic plane (cf. Schubiger 1935.45, Grepl 1967.126). An example will help to clarify the matter.

132a. [And the [^]hospital _othinks | I ^oneed to catch ^oup on my [^]sleep.
 - [^]Sleep?! It's [^]really dis_gusting, Mrs _oBrown.] [^]Lunchtime it
_owas|when she ,finally _ocame down_ostairs to^oday. - 85.04

The sentence under examination is clearly emotive. So is the immediately relevant preceding context. Note the emotive repetition of *sleep*, the fall-rise conveying resentful dissent (cf. O'Connor and Arnold 1973.66–71), the highly marked simultaneous use of the question and exclamation marks at the level of written language, the choice of words at the lexical plane (the assertive *really* and the disapproving *disgusting*), and even the use of the vocative *Mrs Brown*, which is meant to lend additional emphasis to the preceding disparaging words. In the sentence under examination, *finally* has an opprobrious connotation of 'at long last' and above all the order of words markedly deviates from the normal arrangement, producing an unmistakable emotive effect.

As for the FSP of the sentence under examination, it is reflected by intonation without revaluation. The unstressed *it* is theme proper, the stressed but unaccented *was* is transitional (the TMEs it contains constituting transition proper), and the *when*-clause serves as a temporal setting and is diathematic; all three items duly occur in the post-IC caused by *Lunchtime* carrying the highest degree of CD and bearing the IC. Even the FSP of the subfield is reflected by intonation without revaluation: the unstressed *she* is theme proper, the stressed *finally* and *came down* are transitional (the TMEs serving as transition proper), *downstairs* carries the highest degree of CD and bears the nucleus (a low rise subordinated to the high fall, serving as the IC; cf. here p. 19), and *today* as a diathematic setting is duly shaded by the preceding nucleus. With the exception of the transitional *was*, the degrees of CD and the degrees of prosodic weight are in perfect agreement. The transitional *was* is exceeded in prosodic weight by the diathematic *when*-clause in consequence of non-revaluating intensification; see here p. 23. It is important to realize that the correspondence between the degrees of CD and the degrees of prosodic weight would remain the same if the order of words were changed back to normal. The unstressed *was* in the unmarked version does not alter the correspondence.

132b. It was [^]lunchtime when she _ofinally _ocame down_ostairs to^oday.

The same applies to the following sentence.

133a. [But there [^]must have been ^osomething [^]wrong | with the
[^]petrol _ogauge,|because the [^]next we knew|the [^]engine had
_ostopped.] Near the [^]northern end of Loch [^]Lomond we _owere
 - 53.15

We serves as theme proper, *were* is transitional (containing the TMEs serving as transition proper) and *the northern end of Loch Lomond* is rheme proper. The correspondence between the degrees of CD and those of prosodic weight is perfect. It remains so even if the order of words, which deviates from the ordinary, is changed back to normal.

This shows that the primary cause of the emotive character of the two sentences under examination is the order of words. FSP follows suit by proportionately raising the degrees of CD in the emotive versions, but strictly speaking remains a secondary force in signalling emotiveness. One last example must suffice.

134. [It was 'quite an ex'perience, |₁going to the ,speedway. - Yes,
it \wae ex_ociting, |\wae'n't it?] - Such tre,mendous `speeds they ,go
at on their ,motorbikes. - 87.31

They is theme proper, *on their motorbikes* is the diatheme, *go* is transitional (containing the TMEs constituting transition proper), and at *such tremendous speeds* serves as rheme proper. The correspondence between the degrees of CD and those of prosodic weight, which but for the non-revaluating prosodic intensification of the diatheme is well-nigh perfect, remains the same even if the order of words is changed back to normal. Note the conspicuous, but not revaluating, prosodic intensification of the rheme proper; it raises the degrees of CD, but does not change the mutual relations of the sentence elements in regard to the distribution of CD. It is the marked order of words that plays the leading role in rendering the sentence emotive.

It is evidently when revaluating intensification that FSP comes to play the leading role among the signals of emotiveness.

This brings us to the concluding remarks on the relationship between FSP and intonation.

FSP AND INTONATION

By FSP I understand the distribution of CD over the elements of a sentence, this distribution being the outcome of an interplay of factors. Although a very powerful factor, intonation does not participate in the interplay at the level of written language. At this level, FSP is determined by the interplay of non-prosodic factors. Intonation comes into play at the level of spoken language.

Entering into the interplay of FSP factors, intonation does not hamper it in any way. On the contrary. In unmarked use, it reflects the outcome of the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors. It proves capable of consummating this interplay by rendering it unequivocal at points where the possibility of more than one interpretation arises. Still reflecting the outcome of the non-prosodic interplay, it can intensify the meaning of a sentence element or the meaning of the entire sentence by indicating, or reinforcing the indications of, the speaker's attitude, and call forth various shades of emotive colouring. As attitudes and emotions form part of the information conveyed, they also contribute to the development of the communication and accordingly raise the degrees of CD of the elements concerned. Various degrees of this kind of intensification entail various degrees of markedness.

The highest degree of markedness is reached when intonation reevaluates the outcome of the interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP, i.e. the distribution of CD effected by this interplay. This distribution, however, is not obliterated by the revaluation, for the revaluation can take place and be perceived only against the background of the original distribution of CD. It is the tension between

the redistribution effected by the revaluation and the original distribution effected by the non-prosodic factors of FSP that produces the highly marked effect. Viewed in this light the revaluation is to be considered a further step in the development of the communication, a step bringing about an additional special rise in CD. It is a vehicle of emotion the communication of which is superimposed upon the communication conveyed by the non-prosodic means of language.

The interplay of the non-prosodic factors of FSP provides a basis for, and ultimately controls, the operation of intonation as a factor of FSP. The interplay of all the factors of FSP bears out the functioning of language as a system of systems.

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ÚVAHY O AKTUÁLNÍM ČLENĚNÍ, INTONACI A EMOCIONÁLNOSTI (na materiále anglického hovorového jazyka)

V práci se zkoumá vztah mezi stupnicí výpovědní dynamičnosti (=VD) a stupnicí prozodické závažnosti (=PZ), jak se projevuje v současné hovorové angličtině. Projevuje se v ní v podstatě trojím způsobem: 1. dokonalou korespondencí mezi stupni VD a stupni PZ, tj. korespondencí, při níž intonace signalizuje rozložení stupňů VD tak, jak je vytváří souhra neprozodických činitelů aktuálního členění (=AČ); 2. nepřehodnocujícím zintenzivněním stupňů PZ, doprovázeným zvyšováním stupňů VD, tj. zintenzivňováním tematických a/nebo tranzitních a/nebo rematických složek, při němž nedochází k přehodnocení rozložení stupňů VD, jak je vytváří souhra neprozodických činitelů AČ; 3. přehodnocujícím zintenzivněním stupňů PZ, doprovázeným zvýšením i snížením stupňů VD, tj. zintenzivňováním, při němž dochází k přehodnocení rozložení stupňů VD, jak je vytváří souhra neprozodických činitelů AČ. Nepřehodnocující i přehodnocující zintenzivnění funguje na pozadí dokonalé korespondence mezi stupnicemi VD a PZ a v závislosti na ní. Tímto způsobem se zintenzivnění zapojuje do jazykového systému a stává se jeho součástí.

Ze studia vztahů mezi stupnicemi VD a PZ vyplývá, že intonace neruší působení neprozodických činitelů AČ. Naopak. V plánu mluveného jazyka vstupuje intonace do souhry činitelů AČ. Tuto souhru jednak prostě signalizuje nebo ji dotváří, a to jednak případnou desambiguací neprozodických činitelů AČ, jednak tlumočením emocionálního zabarvení různého typu a stupně. Práce potvrzuje, že na jazyk je možno a třeba pohlížet jako na systém systémů.