

5. RVE PROSODY – DESCRIPTION

Using the units of analysis thus outlined, features of Rhondda Valleys English (RVE) prosody may now be described.

5.1 Prosodic phrasing

5.1.1

Discerning where the speaker intends to demarcate his discourse is often not easy in the spontaneous speech forming the data. It is full of hesitations, false starts and other disfluencies, and there are stretches of rushed speech in which prosodic clues to IP demarcation seem at best slight. Of the clues to demarcation listed in Section 4.3.1, drawing out of the terminal tone seems to be the most consistently present. The utterance '*and my father was working in the colliery in Maerdy and he was having a bath*' (Figure 53) is spoken quickly. There is no audible disjuncture after '*Maerdy*'. The main prosodic clue to demarcation appears to be the slight drawing out of the tone on it. This is sufficient, taken with the grammatical-sense clues, for all six of the intonationalists to have marked a 'tone-unit' boundary here.

(M1)

. . // <u>and my father</u> was <u>working</u> in the <u>colliery</u> in <u>Maerdy</u> // and <u>he</u>
L H*+H L 0*+H L L*+H L L*+H%
<u>was having a bath</u> //
H L H L H*+H%

Figure 53. Transcription of the utterance '*and my father was working in the colliery in Maerdy....*'

Prosodic devices of demarcation found in the data which are not listed as 'common clues' in Section 4.3.1, are changes of tempo and key. In Figure 54, the tempo changes to 'presto' on '*isn't it you know*', helping to identify it as an IP.

(T1)

				[p r e s t o]					[r a l l]	
B: // . . <u>would</u> be the <u>top dog/ like</u> // <u>isn't it/ you know</u> // the <u>top of the erm</u> //										
H	H*	L*+L	L%	H*+L	L	H*%	L	H	H	L*+0%
3.5	4	(3)	2	1.5	3.5	2.5	(3)			

Figure 54. Change of tempo on '*isn't it you know*' helps to demarcate it as an IP.

In the utterance in Figure 55, there is a change to Low Key on '*from then*'. This helps to demarcate '*from then*' as a separate IP.

(M1)

									[l o w k e y]
//and <u>then</u> / they <u>cut</u> the <u>workforce down</u> // <u>from then</u> // to <u>two</u> hundred									
H	L*+H	0	H	0*+H+L	0	H%	L*+L%	H	L*+H
<u>and fifty men</u> //									
0	L*+H	H*+H+L%							

Figure 55. Low Key helps to demarcate the IP '*from then*'.

In Figure 56, there is a change of both key and tempo in the speaker's aside 'nineteen thirty six', marking it out as a separate IP. 🌀

(M9)

<p>[p r e s t o] [l o w k e y]</p>
<p>A: // . . . <u>I</u> would be <u>ten</u>//<u>nineteen</u> <u>thirty</u> <u>six</u>//. <u>eleven</u> //.</p>
<p>H* + H H L*+H% >L*+ H >L*+H >L*+L% H H*+ L%</p>

Figure 56. Change of tempo and key on 'nineteen thirty six' helps to demarcate it as an IP.

5.1.2

In the pilot experiment referred to in Section 4.5.2, the six intonationalists admitted that it had not been easy at times to identify 'tone-units'(IPs). As a result, they not infrequently differed in their locating of tone-unit boundaries, and some marked more tone-units than others – the highest number of tone-units identified totalling twice as many as the lowest (Appendix 12). (Their transcriptions of the three passages can be seen in Appendix 11.)

Some of them admitted, in cases of difficulty, to resorting to grammatical criteria. In the utterance 'that if they had the wireless over there I wanted to hear the fight' (Figure 57) a likely place for demarcation is the grammatical constituent boundary between 'there' and 'I', 🌀 but there is no discernible pause or drawing out of tone at this place. The speaker seems to speak straight through. The only prosodic clues to demarcation appear to be ones of pitch: a baseline reset on 'I' and a marked falling contour throughout the phrase 'I wanted to hear the fight'. 🌀 Despite the paucity of prosodic clues, however, four of the intonationalists marked a tone-unit boundary at this point (Figure 57) even if they did not agree on location of 'nucleus'. Two of them said that, in the absence of other clues, they had relied on grammatical / sense-unit criteria in reaching a decision.⁴⁴ (Their transcriptions of the whole passage, from Maerdy 9, can be seen in Appendix 11.)

(M9)

<p>V2 // <u>so</u> <u>I</u> w~<u>was</u> <u>insisting</u> <u>NOW</u> // that if they <u>had</u> the <u>wireless</u> over <u>THERE</u> // <u>I</u> wanted to <u>hear</u> the <u>fight</u>//</p>
<p>V3 // so <u>I</u> w~was in<u>SIS</u>ting <u>now</u>// that if they <u>had</u> the <u>wireless</u> <u>Over</u> there //<u>I</u> wanted to <u>hear</u> the <u>fight</u>//</p>
<p>V4 // so <u>I</u> w~was in<u>SIS</u>ting <u>NOW</u>// that if they <u>had</u> the <u>WIRE</u>less over there // <u>I</u> wanted to <u>hear</u> the <u>fight</u>//</p>
<p>V6 // so I w~was in<u>SIS</u>ting // <u>NOW</u> // that if they <u>had</u> the wireless over <u>THERE</u> // <u>I</u> wanted to hear the fight//</p>
<p>key: // - 'Tone-unit (IP) boundary' <u>now</u> - 'stressed / prominent syllable' <u>NOW</u> - 'nucleus / tonic'</p>

Figure 57. Differing transcriptions of: 'so I was insisting now that if they had the wireless over there I wanted to hear the fight.'

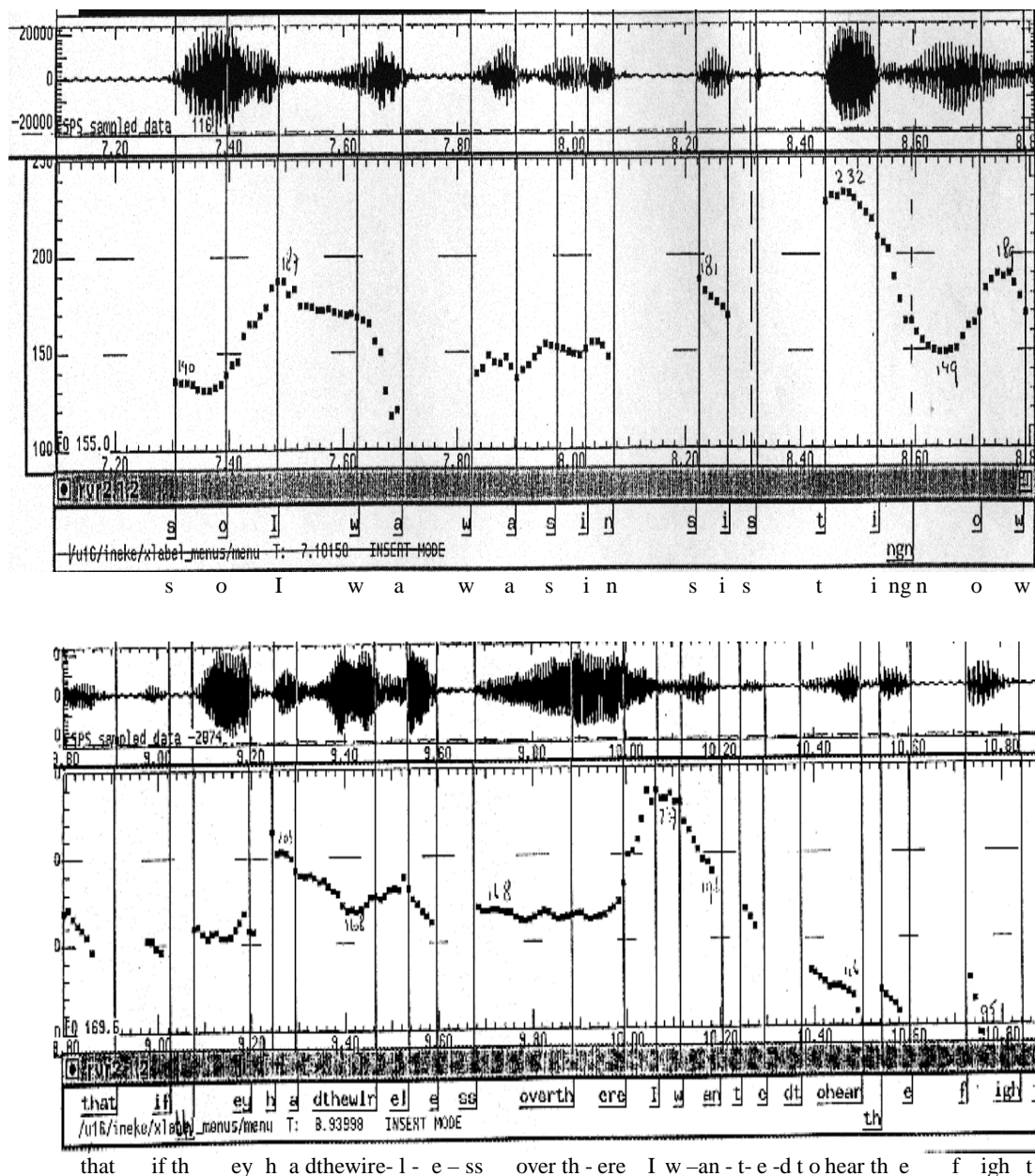


Figure 58. Acoustic record of the utterance ‘so I was insisting now that if they had the wireless over there I wanted to hear the fight.’

‘Filler tags’ such as ‘you see’, ‘you know’, ‘mind’ and ‘like’ could cause difficulty in the middle of stretches of continuous speech. In such cases, the six intonationalists perceived their choice as being between marking a full tone-unit boundary or none, whereas the analysis used here allows the marking of a minor demarcation as a further alternative. Problems could lie in deciding whether a tag belonged to the IP just finishing, or to the next, or whether it formed an independent IP.⁴⁵ In the utterance ‘I worked on the door of the Community Centre up there you know on a part-time basis like’ (Figure 59 below), a majority of the six intonationalists ($\frac{4}{6}$) put in an IP boundary after ‘you know’. 🗨️ Auditory clues (no acoustic analysis has been carried out yet) support their judgement. There appears to be a drawing out of the tone and disjuncture at the end of ‘you know’, and a modest base-line reset at the start of ‘on a part-time basis like’. 🗨️ Nearly all of them ($\frac{5}{6}$), also put a tone-unit (IP) boundary

before 'you know', despite the auditory clues to disjuncture being slight. ☞ By contrast, none of them marked off 'like' as a separate IP from 'on a part-time basis', even though the auditory clues to disjuncture are stronger, including a sharp pitch jump between 'basis' and 'like'. ☞ This may indicate that judgements were being overly influenced by grammatical criteria – 'you know' seeming to be more of a grammatical unit than 'like'.

(P10)

V2 // I worked on the door of the ComMUNity Centre up there//
you KNOW//on a part-time Basis like//

V3 // I worked on the door of the ComMUNity Centre up there//
you KNOW//on a part-time Basis like//

V4 // I worked on the door of the ComMUNity Centre up there//
you KNOW//on a part-time Basis like//

V5 // I WORKED on the//door of the ComMUNity Centre up
there// you KNOW//on a part-time Basis like//

key:	//	-	'Tone-unit (IP) boundary'
	<u>now</u>	-	'stressed / prominent syllable'
	<u>NOW</u>	-	'nucleus / tonic'

Figure 59. Transcriptions of the utterance 'I worked on the door of the community centre up there you know on a part-time basis like.'

5.1.3

Figure 60 below shows examples of locations where at least two of the six intonationalists marked an 'extra' IP boundary. In 'they wanted a wireless over the Shot', three of them marked an IP boundary after 'wireless'. ☞ In 'for the old people to hear the fight', two of them marked one after 'people'. ☞

(M9)

1.	//	<u>they</u>	<u>wanted</u>	a	<u>wireless</u>	/	<u>over</u>	the	.	<u>Shot</u>	.	//	
2.	//	for	the	<u>old</u>	<u>people</u>	/	to	hear	the	<u>fight</u>	.	.	//

Figure 60. The figures show the number of intonationalists marking an IP boundary. (Acoustic record in Appendix 24).

The RVE analysis, as argued in Section 4.3.3, recognises lesser boundaries within the IP that it calls *minor demarcations*. It is not forced, thereby, to decide between marking a full IP boundary and no boundary at all after 'wireless' or after 'people'. It has a third option, of marking a minor demarcation. Such marking of 'minor demarcations' is of some utility, but it by no means makes it easy to discern the segmentations in the speech sampled, as noted in Section 4.3.3.

5.1.4
(T5)

B:	//	.	.	Nick	Col	.	<u>Nick</u>	<u>Colville</u>	/	was	a	.	.	<u>full</u>	full	<u>back</u>	<u>there</u>	//
				L	L		H	L*+H		L	L			H	0	0*+H	L%	

Figure 61. An IP containing disfluencies. (Acoustic record in Appendix 23.)

In attempting to segment the spontaneous speech in the data, certain problems constantly recur. One is how to treat disfluencies. In Figure 61 'Nick Colville was a full back there', there are three: after 'Nick Col', 'was a' and the first 'full'. 🌀

Reconstruction of the speaker's possible meaning would seem to point to a single sense-unit as being most probable. It is conceivable that 'Nick Col' could be demarcated as a sense-unit, if this was the nick-name by which that player was known in the Rhondda, but demarcations after 'was a' and the first 'full' seem unlikely on semantic grounds. Since, however, a speaker's demarcations do not always coincide with grammatical constituent boundaries (Section 5.1.5 below), the listener has to seek evidence from the prosodic clues:

- ❑ 'Col' is followed by disjuncture and base-line re-set, but if the speaker intends to demarcate 'Nick Col', an accent and a drawing out of tone would be expected on 'Col', and there is no hint of this. On the contrary, length and pitch movement seem cut short. The transcription decision, thus, is clearly for a 'false start / stumble'. 🌀
- ❑ 'was a' is also followed by disjuncture and a jump in pitch consistent with base-line re-set, but again there is no accent or drawing out of tone. The decision is again for a 'false start / stumble'. 🌀
- ❑ On the first 'full', lengthening and intensity clues to stress can be heard, but no accent is detected, and the resumption of pitch at exactly the same level after 'full' again points to 'stumble'. 🌀

Using a combination of semantic and prosodic clues, therefore, all three are analysed as disfluencies.

(T1)

[p	r	e	s	t	o]				
/	<u>there's</u>	a	<u>bit</u>	of	a	<u>cymysgiad</u>	//	<u>now</u>	/	<u>isn't</u>	it	//
	L* + H	L		L	L*+ H %	H*+H		H* +		L%		

Figure 62. An IP containing tags. (Acoustic record in Appendix 23.)

Another common problem is the transcription of 'filler tags'. The utterance in Figure 62 illustrates some of these problems. It has to be decided whether it forms one, two, or even three IPs. 🌀 There are potential IP boundaries after 'cymysgiad',⁴⁶ and after 'now'. Prosodic clues have to be examined to try to ascertain whether the speaker intends any demarcation at these points, and if so, a major or minor one. The whole

utterance is spoken quite quickly, which warns us that the clues to demarcation might be slight and that any differences between major and minor should be sought in relative and not absolute boundary strength.

- Accented '*cymysgiad*' has no following pause, but there is enough drawing out of the tone for it to sound IP terminal. 🌀 A further clue is the comparative rapidity with which '*now isn't it*' is spoken – a change of tempo which reinforces the impression of a major demarcation after '*cymysgiad*'. 🌀
- Even though '*now isn't it*' is uttered rapidly, there is then the question whether the speaker intends a demarcation between '*now*' and '*isn't it*'. 🌀 There is no perceptible lengthening or pause, yet there are clues to possible demarcation in the jump in pitch and reversal of pitch direction between '*now*' and '*isn't it*'. 🌀 The decision is tentatively for a minor demarcation.

(T1)

<p>// . . I <u>remember</u> them <u>playing</u>/ <u>erm</u>// . . . <u>Birmingham</u>//</p> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">L H [↑]H*+ H + L L*+H L 0% [↑]L*+ H+ L%</p>
--

Figure 63. An IP containing a filled pause. (Acoustic record in Appendix 23.)

A further problem is how to deal with filled pauses. These occur regularly in the data, and are transcribed throughout as '*erm*' (although '*er*' might be a more accurate representation, much of the time). For a start, it has to be decided whether an occurrence of '*erm*' is always to be interpreted as a broken-off or incomplete IP. The data would seem to indicate otherwise: '*erm*', '*and erm*', '*but erm*' etc are often accompanied by all the prosodic clues of final (nuclear) accent, and appear to be able to play significant discourse roles. For example, '*erm*' accompanied by level or rising tone and mid or high termination (Sections 5.7 & 5.8 below) can signal 'not finished / not through speaking'. In the utterance in Figure 63, the level tone on '*erm*' has extra length and intensity. It seems to signal the discourse meaning: "I haven't finished yet; hang on while I'm thinking which team it was that Cardiff was playing". 🌀 The transcription decision is therefore for a major demarcation (IP boundary) at this point.

(M1)

<p>B: // . . . <u>and</u>// . my <u>father</u> was <u>coming home</u>/ <u>clean</u>//.</p> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">[↑]L*+0% H L*+H L 0*+H L H H*+[↑]H+[↑]L%</p>

Figure 64. Interpretation of '*and*'. (Acoustic record in Appendix 24.)

In Figure 64, the issue is interpretation of the word '*and*'. 🌀 In written discourse, connectors that signal additive relations such as '*furthermore*', '*in addition*', '*moreover*' are usually demarcated by commas. In the spoken RVE discourse sampled, '*and*' is seen to be the main substitute for '*furthermore*', '*in addition*' etc, and as such is often clearly demarcated and made a separate IP. This appears to be the case in Figure 64: '*and*' appears to be functioning as a discourse connector, it is stressed, lengthened and followed by a pause, 🌀 and is thereby judged to form an IP of its own.

5.1.5

The correspondence in the speech sampled between major and minor demarcations and the boundaries of grammatical constituents was investigated and found to be high: 93.2% (Appendix 16). Examples are given below. (A key to the transcription can be seen in Appendix 19.)

- Adverbials at the end of clauses⁴⁷ are commonly split off by major or minor demarcation. There are two examples in Figure 65. In the first, a minor demarcation is transcribed before ‘*one morning*’, and in the second before ‘*in Porth*’.

(T1)

1. // I <u>caught</u> the <u>bus</u> / one <u>morning</u> . . //
H †H H †L*+H L 0*+ H %

(P10)

2. // I live <u>right</u> by the <u>railway line</u> / in <u>Porth</u> //
0 H L*+H H H*+ H + †L L L*+H%

Figure 65. Demarcation of adverbials.

- Demarcation (usually minor) is common after the *subject* of a clause. In Figure 66.1, a minor demarcation is transcribed after ‘*the old man*’.
- A demarcation is almost invariably made after any *marked theme*. In Figure 66.2, a minor demarcation is transcribed after ‘*wonderful game*’.

(T1)

1. // and the <u>old man</u> / was <u>shouting</u> for <u>me</u> . . //
L H H L*+H L H*+ H L L*+H%

(T5)

2. // <u>oh</u> // <u>wonderful game</u> / <u>it was</u> . //
H*+L% †H*+ †H+ †L L*+ H L L%

Figure 66. Demarcation of (1) subject, and (2) of fronted complement.

- All vocatives in the data are demarcated. In Figure 67.1, there is a demarcation, interpreted as minor, before ‘*mun*’.
- Noun phrases in apposition, similarly, are all split off by major or minor demarcation. In Figure 67.2, a major demarcation is transcribed between ‘*old Prosser*’ and ‘*the headmaster*’.

(T5)

[lento] [ăk :]
1. // <u>no</u> // . that <u>little full back</u> / <u>mun</u> // .
† †L*+H% H H*+H L H*+H L L%

(T5)

2. // to see old Prosser // the head-master . . . //
¹L 0 L L*+ H % L 0 L*+ H %

Figure 67. Demarcation of (1) vocatives and (2) noun phrases in apposition.

- Tags of any kind ⁴⁸ are usually split off by minor or major demarcation. In Figure 68.1, there are three tags: 'like', 'isn't it' and 'see'. All are perceived as demarcated. 🌀
- Discourse connectors in the data (words and phrases) are often demarcated, including 'and' when so used (Figure 68.2). 🌀

(T5)

1. // cause I was pretty good/ like// isn't it// see//
¹L*+ H H L H H*+ H L % H* + L % L*+ H %

(M1)

2. // and . // my father was coming home/ clean . //
¹L*+ 0 % H L*+ H L 0*+ H L H H*+¹H+¹ L %

Figure 68. Demarcation (1) of tags 'like', 'isn't it' & 'see', and (2) of the conjunct 'and'.

Segmentations do not, however, always correspond with grammatical constituents. The demarcations in Figure 69 below appear to have been made deliberately by the speaker, yet do not create obvious sense-groups. In (1) the function of the demarcation perceived after 'just' seems to be to add extra emphasis to the word. 🌀 In (4), the demarcation after 'men' adds force to the phrase 'two thousand men'. 🌀 Such examples warn us against over-reliance on grammatical clues. Demarcations, in the words of Brazil et al. (1980: 46), seem to mark the creation of 'context-specific speaker-created meanings' imposed as 'moment by moment choices on the speaker's improvised discourse'. While they coincide in most cases with sense-groups contained in the grammar, they are potentially independent of them.

1. (T1) // I'd only just/ gone to . bed . // (splitting inside V)
 0 H H L*+ H 0 H*+ L %

2. (T5) was playing a~against . //T~Treherbert // (splitting inside A)
 L 0*+ H L H*+ L % L L*+ H %

[l e n t o]

3. (M9) // the first time// Louis put his title up// (splitting inside S)
 H H*+ H L*+ H % >L*+ H L L*+ H H %

[r h y t h m i c a l]

(M1) //there was two thousand men// employed in Maerdy// (splitting
¹L H*+ 0 L*+ 0 H*+ L % L L 0 L*+ L % inside C)

Key: S = subject V = verb C = complement A = adverbial

Figure 69. Demarcations not corresponding with grammatical constituent boundaries.

5.2. Stresses and Accents

5.2.1

In locating accents in an IP, the starting point may be to decide whether a syllable is stressed or unstressed. In the experiment referred to in Section 4.5.2, one task of the six intonationalists was to mark any syllable that they perceived to be stressed. Their transcriptions can be seen in Appendix 11, and findings summarised in Appendices 12 and 14. In the IP *'and I was working in the colliery down in Ferndale'* (Figure 71), *I* was marked stressed by three of them; *'work-*' by all six; *'coll-*' by all six; *'down'* by two of them and *'-dale'* by all six. They had not been asked (and offered no comments) how they recognized stress, e.g. how far by interpretation of intrinsic clues or by perception of rhythmic structure. For the researcher, both are important. In Figure 71, rhythmic expectation (see 'Principle of Rhythmic Alternation', Section 4.4.2) would indicate *'down'* as a possible location for stress in the stretch of syllables between *'coll-*' and *'-dale'*. Intrinsic clues in the form of pitch movement and increased intensity (loudness) would seem to provide some confirmation of a rhythmic stress on *'down'*.

(M1)

//. . . and <u>I</u> was <u>working</u> in the . <u>colliery</u> / <u>down</u> in <u>Ferndale</u> //											
L	H*+H	L	L*	+H	L	L*	+H	<L	H	0	H*+H+ ¹ L%
2	3	2	3.5	3	2	3.5	2.5	3.5	4	6	2.5

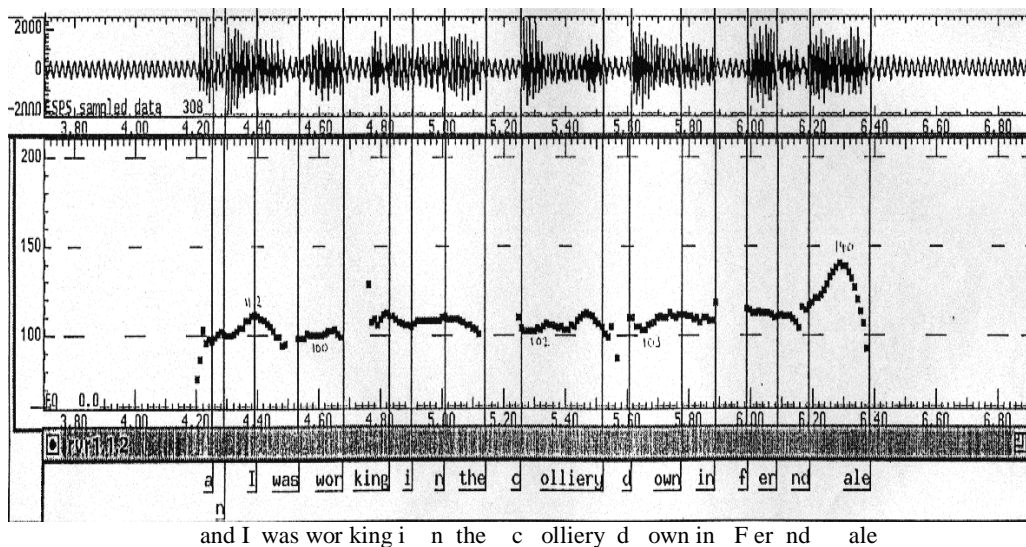


Figure 71. Transcription of an IP from interview M1, with acoustic record.

A further example of the need to consider rhythmic clues can be seen in the IP *'they wanted a wireless over the Shot'* (Figure 72 below). The word *'they'* was marked as stressed by all six intonationalists, *'wanted'* by three, *'wireless'* by all six, *over* by two and *'Shot'* by all six. The phonetic clues to stress on *'wanted'* and *'over'* are not strong. As for rhythmic clues, a stress on *'want-*' may seem unlikely, seeing that it is an adjacent syllable to *'they'* and the Principle of Rhythmic Alternation operates to space strong beats out (Sections 4.4.2 & 5.3). However, the marked lengthening on accented *'they'* accomplishes this spacing out, allowing a stress on *'want-*'. The rhythmic motivation for a stress on *'o(-ver)'* is that between *'wire-*' and *'Shot'*, there

are four syllables. Rhythmical expectation looks for one of these syllables to be occupied by a strong beat. 🥁

(M9)

// . . . they wanted a wireless over the . Shot //

H*+H L H >L*+H <L H H*+L%

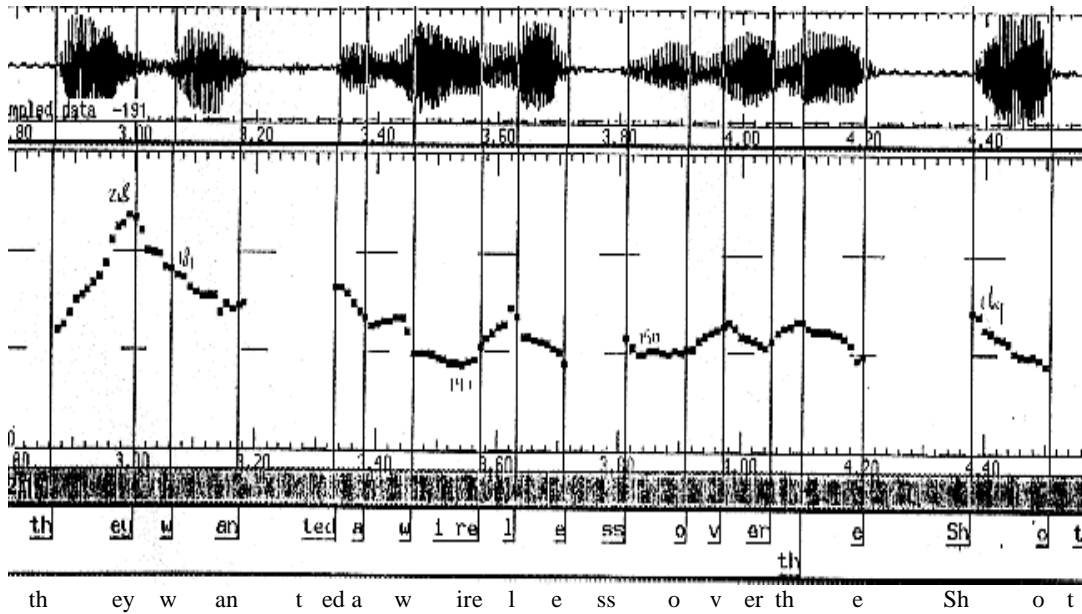


Figure 72. Transcription of ‘they wanted a wireless over the Shot’, with acoustic record.

The examples in the IPs above (Figures 71 and 72) serve not only to remind us of the importance of taking into account rhythmic structure, but also to illustrate a complicating factor in RVE in distinguishing between ‘rhythmic stress’ and ‘accent’. All the rhythmic stresses and accents in the two IPs are accompanied by increased amplitude and duration. What is more surprising is that all are also accompanied by local pitch contours – there are LH local contours on ‘down’ in Figure 71, and on ‘wanted’ and ‘over’ in Figure 72. If local contours are the phonetic clue that distinguish *accents* from *rhythmic stresses*, then all should be analysed as accents. It would seem unlikely, however, that the speaker has voluntarily accentuated all these. So, since the phonetic clues on ‘down’, ‘wanted’ and ‘over’ are relatively weaker, they are marked as (mere) rhythmic stresses.

The potential presence of such local contours on rhythmic stresses makes distinguishing them from accents even more difficult than anticipated – the differences in phonetic clues are typically scalar rather than categorical. Nevertheless, there are occasions when an accent is clearly a voluntary emphasis put by the speaker, and at the other extreme occasions when a stress seems purely involuntary, filling the needs of the rhythm. So, the researcher will retain the two terms of ‘accent’ and ‘rhythmical stress’, while recognizing that in deciding which is which, it has to be accepted that there will be many cases of ambiguity.

5.2.2

Before the pitch configurations that make up accent contours are described in Section 5.4, aspects of length and loudness in accent realization may be discussed. Two features of RVE are especially note-worthy in this respect:

In effecting an accent, the RVE speaker, as in any dialect of English, may lengthen the stressed vowel, whether it is phonologically long or short. An example can be seen in the IP ‘celebrities came there like’ (Figure 73). The duration of /ε/ in the accented syllable of ‘celebrities’, at approximately 100ms, is similar in length to the phonologically long /e:/ on accented ‘came’.

(P10)

//. . celebrities came there/ like//					
H	L*+H+L	L*	H	H*+H%	
5	4	5.5	3	5	7 7.5

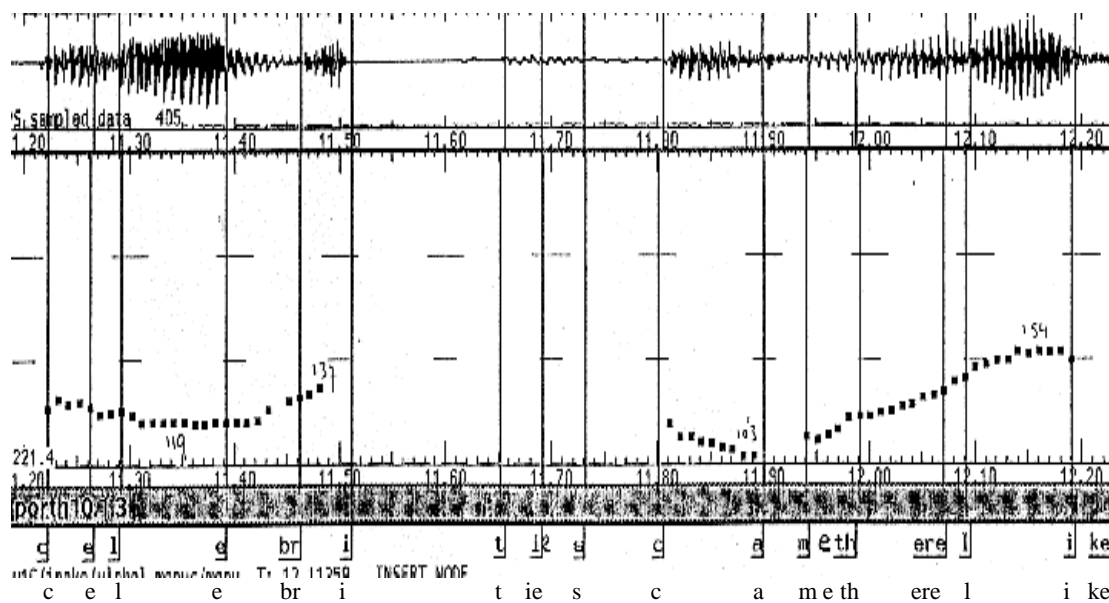


Figure 73. Duration of short vowel in ‘celebrities’ equals that of the long vowel in ‘came’.

A conspicuous feature of RVE, however, is that instead of lengthening a stressed vowel the speaker may markedly shorten it and lengthen the succeeding consonant. The feature has been observed in other Welsh English accents, for example Port Talbot English (Connolly 1981: 59-60),⁴⁹ and in the Welsh language (Jones, R.1967, Williams 1985), which may be assumed to be a source of influence or at least of reinforcement. The feature can be found in the data with any short vowel, with /i:/, /u:/ of the long vowels, and with any diphthong. It is most common when the stressed vowel is followed by a voiceless obstruent (e.g. ‘apathy’, ‘plus’, ‘soccer’) or by a cluster (e.g. ‘deathly’, ‘dust’, ‘disaster’), similar to the ‘rule’ in Welsh that vowels are short before clusters and voiceless consonants (Awberry 1984: 65-9) – but can also be found when followed by a voiced consonant (e.g. ‘trouble’, ‘hill’, ‘summons’). The feature is most likely to occur, or at least to be most perceptually salient, on strongly accented syllables.

Examples can be seen in the IP ‘Tom Evans was ..was a strict secretary of the Club’ (Figure 74 below). The shortening of /ε/ on accented ‘secretary’ contrasts strongly with its lengthening in ‘Evans’ (duration about 70ms and 130ms, respectively). Even more striking is the shortening of /ɪ/ (about 50ms) on accented ‘strict’.

(M9)

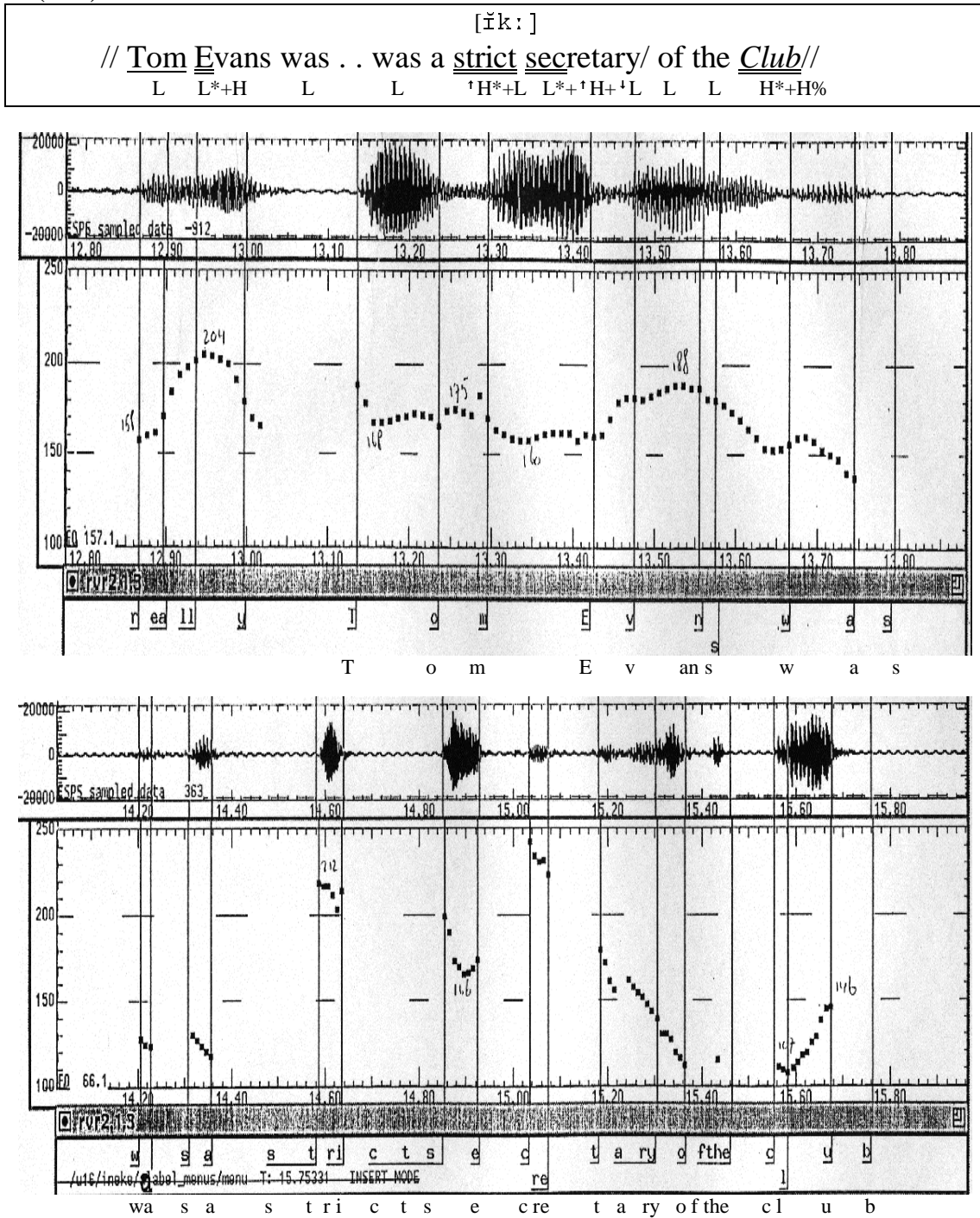


Figure 74. Shortening of stressed vowel on accented 'strict' and 'secretary'.

It both cases, with 'strict' and 'secretary', the succeeding consonants are markedly lengthened. The length of the /k/ of 'secretary' is about 110 ms, compared with the un-lengthened /m/ of 'Tom' (60 ms) and /v/ of 'Evans' (50 ms).⁵⁰

When diphthongs are shortened, two different patterns are found:

1. The first element of the diphthong is shortened and the second is lengthened, consonant-like – as in the 'Valleys' pronunciation of 'Hiya' [ɛ̃ iː (j) ʌ] or of 'the Tower' (name of the last deep coal-mine left in Wales at the time of the

research) [tʌu · (w) ʌ]. In polysyllables, such a pattern is found where there is consonant closing the stressed syllable (any succeeding consonant is syllabified with the next syllable). Examples from the data are: ‘private’ [prʌi · | vɛt]; ‘lying’ [lʌi · | ɪŋ]; ‘noisy’ [nɔi · | zi]; ‘brewery’ [brɪu · | wʌri].

2. In the second pattern, the whole diphthong is shortened and a succeeding consonant closing the syllable is lengthened. Examples from the data are: ‘fight’ [fʌi · t]; ‘house’ [hʌʊs ·]; ‘mute’ [mɪ · t]; ‘shouting’ [ʃʌʊ · t | ɪŋ]; ‘loiter’ [lɔi · t | ʌ]; ‘beautiful’ [bɪ · t | ɪfʊl].

Whether a vowel is subject to lengthening or shortening depends on how the word is syllabified. If the succeeding consonant closes the stressed syllable, only shortening can be found, e.g. ‘apathetic’ [apəθɛ · t | ɪk], ‘accurate’ [ʌk · | ɪrɛt]; but if it is joined with the succeeding syllable, only lengthening can occur, e.g. ‘damage’ [dʌ · | mɛdʒ], ‘office’ [ɒ · | fɪs]. The data indicates that speakers have a measure of freedom how they syllabify. Words of similar phonetic composition are syllabified differently in the data, and even the same word may be pronounced differently, for example ‘second’ is found either as [sɛk · | ʌnd] or [sɛ · | kʌnd], and ‘chapel’ either as [tʃə · p | l] or [tʃə · | pl].

Findings from the RVE data on shortening vs lengthening of vowels in stressed syllables can be seen in Appendix 17.

5.2.3

Perhaps an even more striking prosodic feature associated with accent realization in RVE is that the post-stress syllable may be as strong phonetically as the stressed one, with as great (or greater) intensity and duration, and a higher pitch that carries much of the pitch movement associated with the accent. It is a feature that has been observed in the Welsh Language by Thomas, C. (1961: 17), Rhys (1984: 142-5), Thomas, A. (1984: 179) and Williams (1983: 32), as seen in Section 4.4.4, and may derive from it. An example can be seen in the phonetic strength of the *post-stress syllable* of accented ‘insisting’ in the IP in ‘so I was insisting now’ (Figure 75). There are three accents: on ‘I’, on the second syllable of ‘insisting’ and on ‘now’. The accent on ‘insisting’ is particularly strong. There is marked shortening of the stressed vowel (duration of the /ɪ/ of ‘-sis’ is about 50ms) and marked lengthening of succeeding consonant. Then, it can be seen that not only is the post stress syllable ‘-ing’ quite long (90ms), but that it has much greater intensity and considerably greater pitch prominence than the stressed syllable.⁵¹

(M9)

[ɪs :]										
// so I w~was <u>insisting</u> / <u>now</u> //										
L H*+H			L		H H*+H		L*+H%			
2	3	4.5	3	3.5	5	8.5	3.5	6		

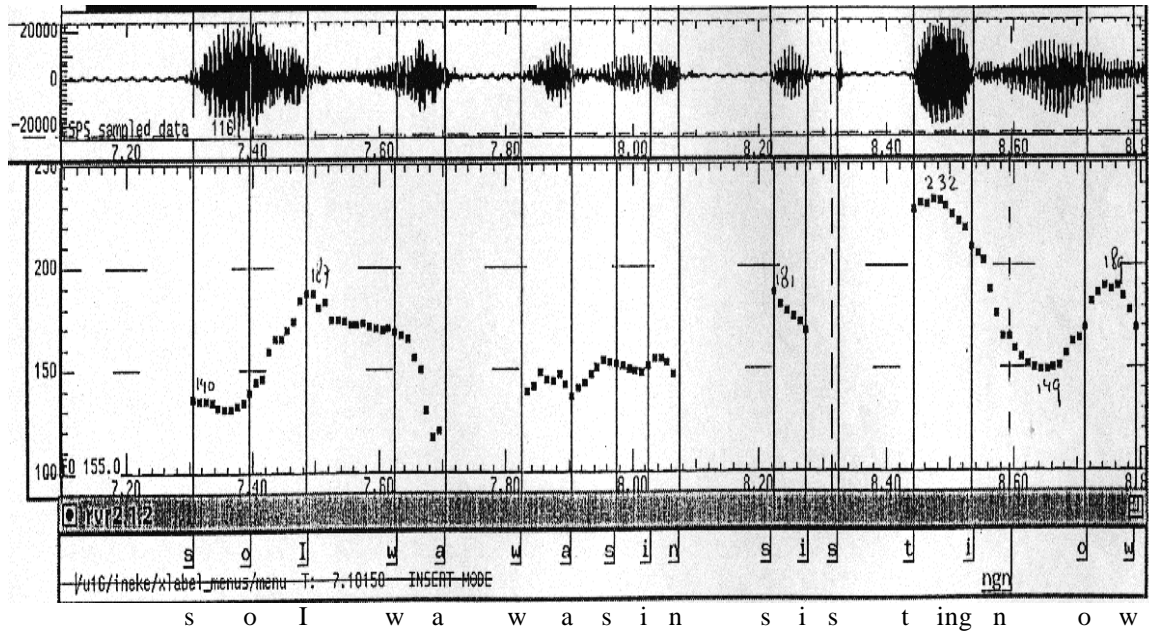


Figure 75. Transcription and acoustic record of 'so I was insisting now'.

The effect can be particularly marked at final accents, where the 'extra' duration (over and above the drawing out normally found at the end of an IP), greater intensity and higher pitch can give additional prominence to the terminal tone. An example may be seen on the final, unstressed syllable of 'children' in Figure 76. It is seen to possess considerable phonetic strength, including a marked duration (320ms compared to that of the stressed syllable 290 ms) and intensity, and a full [ʌ] vowel quality.

(M9)

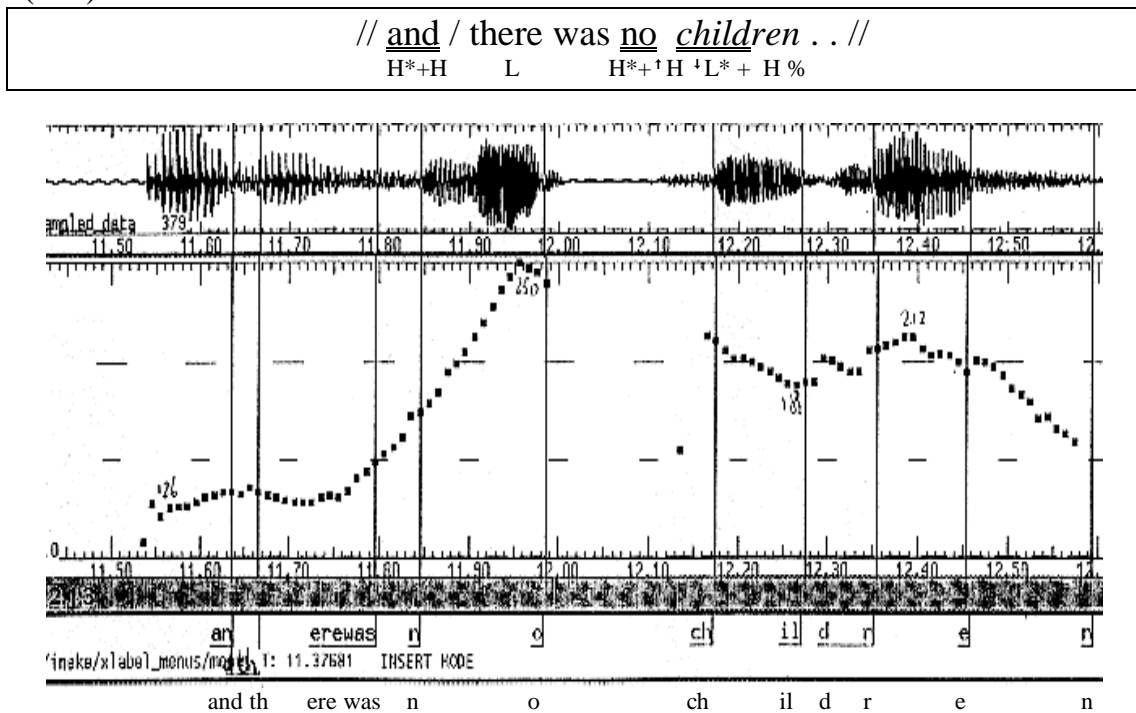


Figure 76. Example of a phonetically strong post-stress syllable, on 'children'.

5.3 Stress and Rhythm

5.3.1

Section 5.2 has discussed features of stress realization in RVE, and pointed to the Welsh language as a likely source of influence. Word-stress placement in RVE, also, occasionally appears to be influenced by Welsh, in which language stress is regularly on the *penult*. For example, in the RVE speech sampled:

- ‘*subsidence*’ is always with penult stress [sʌb'sɪdɪdʌns], never with front stress, the preferred version in British English (Wells 1990).
- ‘*Meredith*’ is likewise always with penult stress [mʌr'ɛdɪθ], never with front stress.
- ‘*Co-operative*’ is usually [kʊ, ɒpə're:tɪv], illustrating, as well as penult stress, a tendency for insertion ‘of an extra stress’ that will be returned to below in Section 5.3.2 below.
- The following penult pronunciations are also found in the data: ‘*maintenance*’ [meɪn'teɪnʌns]; ‘*origins*’ [ɒ'rɪdʒɪnz].

5.3.2

The principle of Rhythmic Alternation (Selkirk: 1984) has been briefly discussed in Section 4.4.2. It predicts not only that ‘weaks’ will space out ‘strongs’, but also that not many ‘weaks’ will pass before there must be a ‘strong’, thereby setting up an expectation of stress. Selkirk cites three ‘rules of euphony’ that she claims speakers operate in order to adjust their speech towards Rhythmic Alternation: (1) Beat addition (2) Beat Movement and (3) Beat Deletion (1984: 55).

‘Beat addition’ is the impulse to insert ‘a strong beat’ (stress) in order that not too many ‘weaks’ succeed each-other. One example has already been given above in the IP ‘*they wanted a wireless over the Shot*’ (Figure 72). The word ‘*over*’ is perceived to attract a rhythmical stress because otherwise four unstressed syllables would intervene between the accents on ‘*wire-*’ and ‘*Shot*’. In RVE, there appears to be a general reluctance to pronounce more than two successive weak syllables – as is reported to be the case in the local Welsh language dialect of Nantgarw (Thomas C. 1961: 130). This may account for pronunciations such as those in Figure 77 below, in which words that are most commonly with a single stress in RP (Wells, J. Longman Pronunciation Dictionary 1990) may have, in RVE, two clear stresses. The impression is that of stress insertion (‘beat addition’), to avoid there being a succession of ‘too many weak beats’.⁵²

tele <u>V</u> ision	coope <u>R</u> ative	<u>over</u> HEADS
epil <u>E</u> psy	heli <u>C</u> OPter	<u>contro</u> VERsy

Figure 77. Examples of strong beat insertion.

The example of ‘*cooperative*’ has already been encountered above (Section 5.3.1). The acoustic record of ‘*overheads*’ can be seen in Figure 78.

(M8)

.. your <u>overheads</u> are//. . . so <u>high</u> //							
0	H	H	L*+H	0	0%	H	L*+H%
2	3	4	2	2.5		3.5	2 3.5

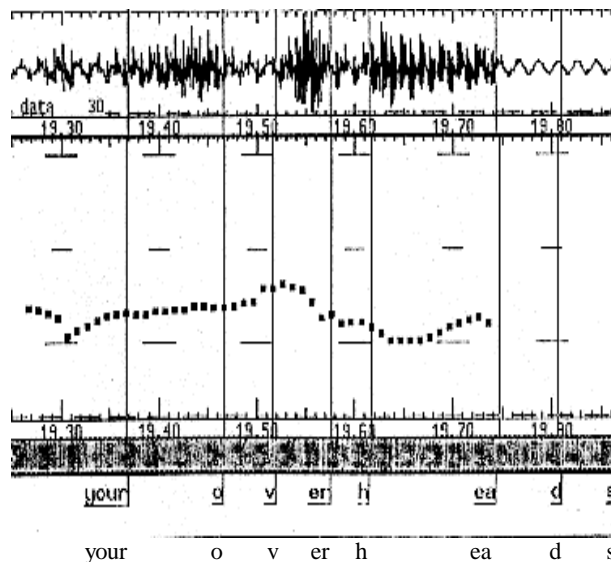


Figure 78. Strong-beat insertion on ‘overheads’ results in there being two stresses.

5.3.3

Selkirk’s ‘beat movement’ (stress-shifting), occurs in order to avoid the clash of two consecutive ‘strong beats’. Examples from the RVE data are given below in Figure 79 (stressed syllables are underlined). The spacing out of the ‘strongs’ is accomplished by shifting the primary word-stress from its normal citation-form position.

<u>nineteen</u> <u>ninety</u> ☞
<u>Fernhill</u> <u>Colliery</u> (where the citation-stress is <i>Fern’hill</i>) ☞

Figure 79. ‘Stress shifting’ to space out strong beats.

An example of ‘beat deletion’ occurs in the data in a speaker’s pronunciation of ‘nineteen twenty six strike’. ☞ In order to avoid a clash of consecutive stresses on *six* and ‘*strike*’, ‘*six*’ is de-stressed (beat deletion). ☞

When there is a succession of strong beats (stresses), there is an alternation in their strength of stress (cf Selkirk 1984: 19). An example from the RVE data can be seen in Figure 80, represented in the form of a metric grid. The speaker is relating how he went down the mines at the age of fourteen even though he was among the top three in his class at school. He places four consecutive stresses on ‘*one*’, ‘*two*’, ‘*three*’ and ‘*a* -’, but spaces them out by making the stresses on the first and third stronger than those on the second and fourth. ☞

(T5)

<p style="margin: 0;">[r h y t h m i c a l]</p> <p style="margin: 0;">//. <u>but</u> I was <u>al</u>ways <u>up</u>/ in the <u>one</u> <u>two</u> <u>three</u> <u>area</u>//</p> <p style="margin: 0; font-size: small;">¹L H H*+H L*+H L 0* 0 H* L L%</p>
--

Figure 80. Transcription of 'but I was always up in the one two three area'.

In metrical grid representation, the stronger beats 'one' and 'three' are at a higher level than the basic beats on 'two' and 'a -', and are spaced out by them. The strongest accent of all, that on 'three', is represented as being at a higher level still. 🌀

Levels of Stress Represented as a Metric Grid

				X					
			X		X				
		X		X		X		X	
X	X	X		X		X		X	X
<i>in the <u>ONE</u> <u>two</u> <u>THREE</u> <u>area</u> /</i>									

Figure 81. Metric grid representation of 'in the one two three area'.

5.3.4

It was stated above in Section 5.3.2, that RVE tends to avoid the succession of too many 'weak beats'. The number of syllables per accent or rhythmic stress was calculated in Extracts One, Two and Three by dividing the total number of number of syllables by number of accents / stresses. The findings can be seen in Figure 82. It can be seen that Extract One has the lowest number of stresses: one stress every 2.5 syllables. That is to say an average of 1.5 'weak' syllables intervened between 'strongs'. Extract Two has the highest number of stresses: one every 2.0 syllables, i.e. with an average of 1.0 'weaks' between 'strongs'.

Stress frequency

	total syllables	syllables per accent / stress
<i>Extract One</i>	95	2.5
<i>Extract Two</i>	98	2.0
<i>Extract Three</i>	97	2.2

Figure 82. Frequency of occurrence of stresses in Extracts 1 - 3.

For the convenience of referring to the number of syllables per accent / stress within an IP, the researcher will use the term *foot*, the stressed syllable itself being the first syllable of the foot. The actual foot lengths ranged from one syllable (i.e. zero 'weaks' between the 'strongs') to five (four 'weaks' between the 'strongs'). Examples of the different foot lengths can be seen in Figure 83 below.

Examples of different foot lengths within IPs

1 [T5]	// <u>but</u> I was <u>always</u> <u>up</u> / in the <u>one</u> <u>two</u> <u>three</u> <u>area</u> // 3 2 3 1 1 1
2 [T1]	//the <u>both</u> of the <u>teams</u> was <u>going</u> <u>up</u> // 3 2 2
3 [M1]	// they were <u>finishing</u> the <u>job</u> / that <u>I</u> was <u>doing</u> // 4 2 2
4 [M1]	// <u>cause</u> he'd been <u>showering</u> in the <u>pit</u> // 3 5

Figure 83. Different foot lengths.

5.3.5

With the length of rhythmic feet varying between one and five in the data, what evidence is there of tendency towards *isochrony* (Section 4.4.3)? Using the data from two of the extracts for which acoustic records were available, the researcher measured inter-stress intervals inside every IP that contained three or more stresses and no pauses, totalling 14 IPs in all. The measurements were taken between the onset of the stressed vowels⁵³ and are given in seconds. Figures refer to whether a stress is the first, second etc of the IP. Thus, in the stretch '*a good supporter of Cardiff*', the first stress is on '*good*', the second on '*-por-*' and the third on '*Car-*'. In stating ratios, the longer of the two foot lengths is expressed first.

1 (T1)

a good supporter of Cardiff//
1 .34sec 2 .52sec 3

In (1) there are two feet. Comparative duration of feet is exactly proportionate to the number syllables contained [both 3 : 2]: there is zero tendency towards isochrony.

2 (T1)

I remember them playing/erm //
1 .43sec 2 .37sec 3

In (2) there is near isochrony despite unequal numbers of inter-stress syllables. However, there is a minor demarcation boundary in foot 2, which adds to its length. There may therefore be less actual isochrony than appears.

3 (T1)

the both of the teams was going up//
 1 .36sec 2 .32sec 3 .17sec 4

In (3) there is near isochrony between foot 1 & foot 2 despite unequal syllable numbers; foot 3 is much shorter, however.

4 (T1)

but it depended on the one/ that won//
 1 .48sec 2 .63sec 3 .42sec 4

In (4), between foot 1 and foot 2, the comparative duration of feet is exactly proportionate to the number of syllables [both 4 : 3]; so there is zero tendency towards isochrony. Between foot 2 and foot 3, the comparative duration is 3 : 2 whereas the number of syllables ratio is 2 : 1, so there is some tendency towards isochrony. However, there is a minor demarcation boundary in foot 3, which adds to its length. There may therefore be less actual isochrony than appears.

5 (T1)

there's a bit of a cymysgiad//
 1 .16sec 2 .30sec 3

In (5) the comparative duration of feet is exactly proportionate to the number of syllables [both 2 : 1]. There is zero tendency towards isochrony.

6 (T1)

it depended on the one that won//
 1 .57sec 2 .42sec 3

This is the same phrase as (4), but repeated with a more pointed rhythm and a little more quickly. Between foot 1 and foot 2 the syllable ratio is 2 : 1, whereas the comparative duration is about 4 : 3 . The speaker therefore appears to have adjusted the inter-stress intervals in the 'repeat version' slightly more towards isochrony.

7 (M1)

when I/started to work//
 1 .28 2 .40sec 3

Between foot 1 & foot 2 in (7), there is a syllable ratio of 3 : 1 whereas the comparative duration is about 3 : 2 ; so, there is some tendency towards isochrony. There is a minor demarcation boundary in foot 1 which may have added to its length; there may therefore be less isochrony than appears.

8 (M1)

I /started at fifteen and a half //

1 .26 2 .46sec 3 .60sec 4

Between foot 1 & foot 2, there is a syllable ratio of 3 : 1, whereas the comparative duration is about 2 : 1 ; so, there is a tendency towards isochrony. There is a minor demarcation boundary in foot 1 which may have added to its length; so there may be less isochrony than appears. Between foot 2 & foot 3, the comparative duration of feet is exactly proportionate to the number of syllables [both 4 : 3]. There is zero tendency towards isochrony. It is interesting to see that the duration of foot 1 is similar to foot 1 in (7), the immediately previous IP, containing identical words.

9 (M1)

and my father/ was working in the colliery in Maerdy //

1 .42sec 2 .52sec 3 .46sec 4

Between foot 1 and foot 2 the comparative duration of inter-stress intervals is approximately proportionate to the syllable ratio [4 : 3]; there is zero tendency towards isochrony. Between foot 2 and foot 3, both with foot-lengths of 4 syllables, there is near isochrony.

10 (M1)

and he was having a bath //

1 .21sec 2 .39sec 3

Between the two feet the syllable ratio is 3 : 2, but the duration ratio is 2 : 1. There is no tendency towards isochrony, indeed the reverse.

11 (M1)

because they'd modernised that pit //

1 .29sec 2 .24sec 3 .24 4 .25 5

There are four feet, foot 1 & foot 2 containing two syllables and foot 3 & foot 4 one syllable. There is near isochrony between the four feet, remarkably so between the last three.

12 (M1)

and still bathing in front of the fire //

1 .39sec 2 .32sec 3

Between foot 1 & foot 2 there is a syllable ratio of 1 : 1 whereas there is a duration

ratio of 5 : 4; so a fair isochrony pertains.

13 (M1)

my <u>father</u> was <u>coming</u> home/ <u>clean</u> //				
1	.42sec	2	.48sec	3

Between foot 1 & foot 2 there is a syllable ratio of 1 : 1 whereas there is a duration ratio of 8 : 7 ; so a good isochrony pertains. There is a minor demarcation after 'home' which adds some duration to the latter, without which isochrony would have been stronger.

14 (M1)

<u>cause</u> he'd been <u>showering</u> in the <u>pit</u> //				
1	.43sec	2	.55sec	3

Figure 84 (1 - 14). Measurements of isochrony.

Between foot 1 & foot 2 there is a syllable ratio of 5 : 3, whereas the duration ratio is 5 : 4. So, there is some tendency towards isochrony.

What may be concluded from these measurements? The hypothesis of strict isochrony, i.e. that inter-stress intervals are adjusted to achieve isochrony regardless of the number of syllables, the segmental composition of the syllables and prosodic constituency, is not borne out. Over a third of the IPs (1, 4, 5, 11 & 12) contain at least two feet that show no tendency towards isochrony, their comparative length being about proportionate to the number of syllables in them. There are, however, IPs that contain feet showing fair / good isochrony [(2), (3), (9), (11), (12) & (13)], and IPs [(4), (6), (7), (8) & (14)] showing a slight tendency towards isochrony, although in three of them the situation is complicated by the presence of minor demarcations.

5.3.6

The researcher questions whether isochrony is a primary motivating factor of RVE 'conversational rhythm' at all. There are two features which seem contribute more towards the 'stress-timing' of the rhythm:

- (1) Acoustic measurements establish that stressed syllables are generally clearly differentiated from unstressed ones in duration, intensity and pitch prominence. This differential between stressed and unstressed, however, is modified by the effects of prosodic phrasing – IP phrasing and phonological phrasing within the IPs. A particular feature of RVE in this latter respect is the tendency for marked lengthening of 'unstressed' post-stress syllables, especially at the ends of IPs (Section 5.2.3).
- (2) Stress occurrence is better predicted by the modest claims of the theory of 'Rhythmic Alternation' (Section 5.3-1 above), with its spacing out of 'strongs' by 'weaks' and expectation of a 'strong beat' after the succession of (typically in RVE) one or two 'weak beats'.

5.4 Accent contours

Non-final accent contours and ‘nuclear’ contours in the RVE data

Contours grouped according to tone	Non-final		‘nuclear’				TOTAL	%
	Total	%	Terminal Tone		Total	%		
			Conflated	Separated				
1. rising tone								
H*+H (or H*+H...H% H*...HH% etc)	197		94	5	99		296	
O*+H (or O*+H...H% O*...HH% etc)	35		10	1	11		46	
L*+H (or L*+H...H% L*...HH% etc)	220		178	18	196		416	
Totals	452	71.2			306	55	758	63.6
2. rising-falling tone								
H*+H+L (or H*+H+L..L% H*+H...L% etc)	10		44	26	70		80	
O*+H+L (or O*+H+L..L% O*+H...L% etc)	1		3	4	7		8	
L*+H+L (or L*+H+L..L% L*+H...L% etc)	5		13	15	28		33	
Totals	16	2.5			105	18.9	121	10.2
3. falling tone								
H*+L (or H*+L...L% H*...L% etc)	12		39	7	46		58	
O*+L (or O*+L...L% O*...L% etc)	1		0	0	0		1	
L*+L (or L*+L...L% L*...L% etc)	15		60	8	68		83	
Totals	28	4.4			114	20.5	142	11.9
4. (rising)-falling-rising tone								
H*+L+H (or H*+L...LH% etc)	0		1	3	4		4	
O*+L+H (or O*+L...LH% etc)	0		0	0	0		0	
L*+L+H (or L*+L...LH% etc)	0		0	1	1		1	
H*+H+L+H (or H*+H...LH% etc)	0		2	1	3		3	
O*+H+L+H (or O*+H...LH% etc)	0		0	1	1		1	
L*+H+L+H (or L*+H...LH% etc)	0		1	1	2		2	
Totals	0	0			11	2	11	0.9
5. level tone								
H*+0 (or H*...0%)	6		2	0	2		8	
O*+0 (or O*...0%)	5		1	0	1		6	
L*+0 (or L*...0%)	26		11	1	12		38	
Totals	37	5.8			15	2.7	52	4.4
6. Single contour point								
H*	43		2	0	2		45	
O*	5		0	0	0		5	
L*	54		3	0	3		57	
Totals	102	16			5	0.9	107	9
TOTAL	635	100	464	92	556	100	1191	100



Figure 85. Contours in the RVE data.

5.4.1

The most significant pitch movements in RVE IPs are the local pitch contours that occur at accents and the terminal tone (final single pitch movement of the IP). They are significant both in terms of their contribution to the ‘melody’ of IPs and their ‘meanings’. Figure 85 above shows the contours found at accents in the RVE data: (1) the non-final accent contours and (2) the *nuclear contours* (see Section 4.5 for a discussion of ‘nucleus’). The nuclear contours include two different pitch movements: the final accent contour and the terminal tone. In most cases the terminal tone is conflated with the final accent contour, but there are also cases where it is separated from it.

Figure 85 shows, for example, that in the data (i.e. the passages transcribed prosodically) there are 296 H*+H contours. These include 197 H*+H non-final accent contours and 99 nuclear contours. Of the 99 nuclear contours, 94 are H*+H%, i.e. with terminal tone conflated with the final accent contour, and 5 have the terminal tone separated from it, e.g. H*+H...H% or H* ...HH%. The accent contours identified are classified according to their tone, and thus can be related to the ‘nuclear tones’ of tone-unit theory and those identified in the Extracts by the six intonationalists in Appendix 15.



- 1) 71% of non-final accent contours and 55% of nuclear contours are *rising tone*, e.g.
- H*+H – pitch *obtrusion* upwards to the stressed syllable and rising *tone* from it
 - 0*+H – zero pitch obtrusion to “ “ “ “ “ “
 - L*+H – pitch obtrusion downwards “ “ “ “ “ “

Rising-tone contours are by far the most common contour type in the data. In Figure 86(1) there is an example of a non-final H*+H accent on ‘*always*’,  and in (2) an H*+H nuclear contour on ‘*same*’. 

H*+H

(P10)		
(1) non-final (on ‘ <i>always</i> ’)	// and <u>he</u> was <u>al</u> ways <u>the</u> re on official <u>fun</u> ctions . //	
	L H H*+H L*+L 0 H H L*+ H %	
	4.5 5 6 7 5 4.5 5 5.5 3.5 6	
(T5)		
(2) nuclear (on ‘ <i>same</i> ’)	// <u>he</u> was the <u>sa</u> me . . . //	
	H*+H L H*+’H%	

Figure 86. H*+H contours.

In Figure 87 (1) there is an example of a non-final 0*+H accent on ‘*talent*’,  and in (2) an 0*+H nuclear contour on ‘*brothers*’. 

0*+H

(T5)		
(1) non-final (on ‘ <i>talent</i> ’)	// they had <u>ta</u> lent <u>ar</u> ound here/ <u>the</u> n . //	
	H 0*+’H ’L*+L L H*+’H%	
(T5)		
(2) nuclear (on ‘ <i>brothers</i> ’)	// and the <u>Pa</u> rry <u>br</u> others . //	
	L H >L*+H 0*+H %	
	(3.5) 2.5 4.5 4.5 7	

Figure 87. 0*+H contours.

L*+H is the single most common contour type in the data. In Figure 88 (1) there is a non-final L*+H accent on 'started', and an L*+H nuclear contour on 'Cardiff'.

L*+H

(M1)		
(1) non-final (on 'started')	// it~it <u>started</u> in <u>nineteen</u> <u>eighty</u> . . //	L 'L*+H H L H H*+H+L%
(T1)		
(2) nuclear (on 'Cardiff')	// I was a sup~a <u>good</u> supporter of <u>Cardiff</u> . //	H H L H*+H H L*+H L L*+H % (2) 3 2 3 3.5 4 2 2.5 1.5 2

Figure 88. L*+H contours.

2) 4.4% of non-final accent contours and 20.5% of nuclear contours have a *falling tone*, e.g.

- H*+L – an obtrusion upwards to the stressed syllable and falling tone from it
- O*+L – zero obtrusion to “ “ “ “ “ “
- L*+L – an obtrusion downwards “ “ “ “ “ “

Falling-tone contours are the second most common contour type in the data. They occur mainly as the nuclear contour. An example of an H*+L nuclear contour can be seen in Figure 89 below on 'week'.

H*+L

(M8)	
nuclear (on 'week')	// <u>more</u> than <u>once</u> a <u>week</u> //
	H 0 H*+H H H*+L%

Figure 89. H*+L contour.

An example of an L*+L nuclear contour can be seen in Figure 90 on 'fight'.

L*+L

(M9)	
nuclear (on 'fight')	// <u>in</u> the <u>club</u> / to <u>hear</u> the <u>fight</u> //
	L* H <L* 0 H*+H 0 L*+L%

Figure 90. L*+L contour.

3) 2.5% of non-final accent contours and 18.9% of nuclear contours have a *rising-falling tone* e.g.

- H*+H+L – an obtrusion upwards to the stressed syllable and a rising-falling tone from it
- O*+H+L – zero obtrusion to “ “ “ “ “ “
- L*+H+L – an obtrusion downwards “ “ “ “ “ “

Rising-falling tones are the third most common contour type in the data. An example of a non-final H*+H+L accent can be seen in Figure 91 below on 'modernized'. The acoustic record of 'because they'd modernized that pit' can be seen in Figure 92.

It can be seen in Appendix 15 that the six intonationalists, in their transcriptions of the

three Extracts from the RVE data, were not always in agreement in their identification of rising-falling tones.

H*+H+L

(M1)	
non-final	// <u>because</u> they'd <u>modernized</u> <u>that pit</u> . . //
(on 'modernized')	L L* H H*+H+L L* H H%

Figure 91. H*+H+L contour.

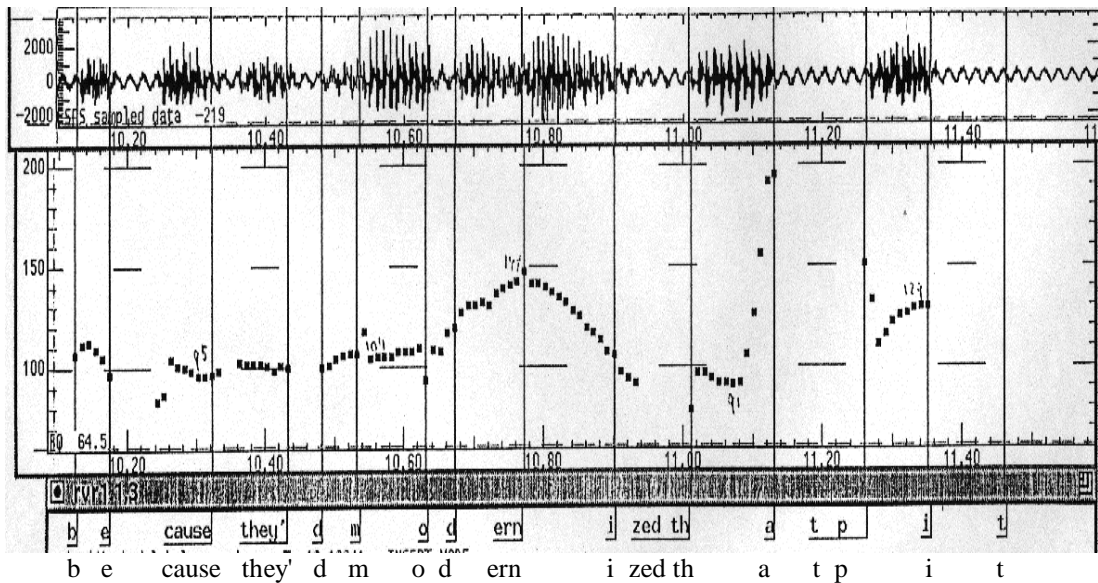


Figure 92. Acoustic record of 'because they'd modernized that pit' (Figure 91).

An 0*+H+L nuclear contour can be seen in Figure 93 below on 'Colliery'. 🗣️

0*+H+L

(T5)	
nuclear	// I <u>spent</u> my <u>birthday</u> / in <u>Fernhill</u> <u>Colliery</u> . . //
(on 'Colliery')	L 0 0*+ H 0 0*+ H 0*+H+L%

Figure 93. 0*+H+L contour.

An example of a non-final L*+H+L accent can be seen in Figure 94 below on 'atmosphere'. 🗣️

L*+H+L

(M8)	
non-final	/ to <u>get</u> a <u>good</u> <u>atmosphere</u> <u>going</u> . . //
(on 'atmosphere')	L L* H L L*+ H + L L*+ H%

Figure 94. L*+H+L contour.

4) 16% of non-final accent contours and 0.9% of nuclear contours are *single-level*: H*, L* or 0*. With these, there is upwards or downwards pitch obtrusion to the stressed

syllable (or zero obtrusion in the case of 0*) but no tone from it within the *prosodic domain* of the accent (Section 5.4.2 below). An example of a non-final L* accent contour is seen above in Figure 90 on 'club' in 'in the club to hear the fight'. 🌀

5) 5.8% of non-final accent contours and 2.7% of nuclear contours are **level tone**, e.g.

- L*+0 – pitch obtrusion down to the stressed syllable and level tone from it
- 0*+0 – zero pitch obtrusion to “ “ “ “ “ “
- H*+0 – pitch obtrusion up to “ “ “ “ “ “

A non-final H*+0 contour can be seen on 'very' in Figure 95, 🌀 and a 0*+0 nuclear contour on 'erm' in Figure 96. 🌀

H*+0

(T5)	
non-final	// <u>I</u> was <u>I~I</u> was <u>young</u> . // <u>very</u> <u>very</u> <u>young</u> //
(on 'very')	L* H L H H*+H+L% H*+0 L L*+ L%

Figure 95. H*+0 contour.

0*+0

(T5)	
nuclear	// and <u>said</u> / <u>erm</u> //
(on 'erm')	L 0*+0 0*+0%

Figure 96. 0*+0 contour.

6) 0% of non-final accent contours and 2% of nuclear contours have a **falling-rising tone**, e.g.

- L*+L+H – an obtrusion downwards to the stressed syllable and falling-rising tone from it
- 0*+L+H – zero obtrusion to “ “ “ “ “ “
- H*+L+H – an obtrusion upwards to “ “ “ “ “ “

These are the least common contour type, are found only in nuclear contours in the speech sampled, and some of those found are **rising-falling-rising-tones**. An example of an H*+H+L nuclear contour can be seen below on 'club' in Figure 97.⁵⁴ 🌀

H*+L+H

(M9)	
nuclear	// <u>shouldn't</u> have a <u>child</u> / in the <u>club</u> //
(on 'club')	L* + ↑H ↓L L*+H L H*+L+H%

Figure 97. H*+L+H contour.

An example of a rising-falling-rising H*+H+L+H nuclear contour can be seen below on 'assurance' in Figure 98. 🌀

H*+H+L+H

(M1)

nuclear

(on 'assurance')

// they give us /the assurance . . //

L H* + H L H*+H+L+H %

Figure 98. H*+H+L+H contour.

5.4.2

The account of RVE intonation being given is primarily phonetic – its aim is mainly to describe those pitch movements that contribute most to the ‘melody’ of RVE speech. It is indeed not clear on what basis the inventory of accent contours presented above may be termed ‘phonological’. Over twenty accent contour types have been found in the data so far analysed, filling almost every permutation of ‘L’, ‘H’ and ‘0’. If the effect of the terminal tone is set aside, the function of each one is the same: *accentual* - highlighting information or imparting emphasis. Which contour occurs at a particular accent appears to be quite arbitrary, or at least is influenced by a variety of tangential factors:

- When strong emphasis is to be given, obtrusions tend to be upwards in order to achieve the extra height desired, so the accent contour is likely to be H*+H (e.g. ‘walked’ in ‘*I walked from Cardiff*’, in Figure 35), H*+L (e.g. ‘strict’ in ‘*a strict secretary of the club*’, in Figure 74), or H*+H+L (e.g. ‘modernized’ in ‘*because they’d modernized that pit*’ in Figure 92).
- Whether H*+L or H*+H+L occurs can be influenced by the amount of *segmental* material available to realize the accent. H*+H+L is the more likely if the accent spreads over two or more syllables, as in ‘modernized’, and H*+L is the more likely if the accent is compressed into a single syllable with a short or shortened vowel as on ‘strict’ (Figure 74).
- Another potential influence on contour choice can be the surrounding *tune*. If ascending, the accent is often H*+H, as on ‘once’ in ‘*more than once a week*’ (Figure 89), whereas if descending L*+H is the most common, as on ‘supporter’ in ‘*a good supporter of Cardiff*’ (Figure 88).
- A further factor affecting accent contour is the prosodic domain of the accent. This is determined by the boundaries of the phonological phrase into which the accent falls. The IP in Figure 99 is split into four phonological phrases:

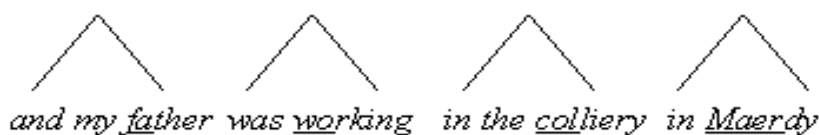


Figure 99. The IP ‘and my father was working in the colliery in Maerdy’ split into phonological phrases.

(M1)

// and my father/ was working in the colliery in Maerdy //

L H*+H L 0*+H L L*+ H L L*+ †H%

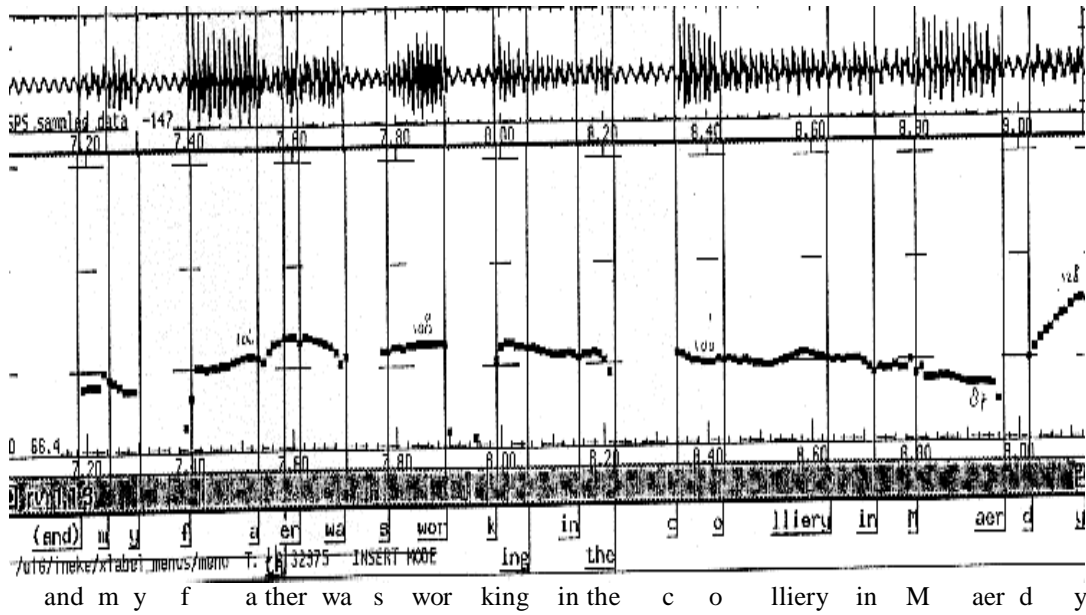


Figure 100. Transcription and acoustic record of 'and my father was working in the colliery in Maerdy'.

The boundaries of each phrase determine which contour-points are joined into which accents, so that the contour on 'father', for example, is H*+H not H*+H+L, and on 'working' 0*+H not 0*+H+L. A further example can be seen in the IP in Figure 101, which, split into three phonological phrases, is: '[but it dePENDED] [on the ONE] [that WON]'. The domain of the accents on 'depended' and 'one', identify both the contours as H*+H and not H*+H+L.

(T1)

// but it dePENDED on the one that won //

L H*+H L L H*+H L L*+H%

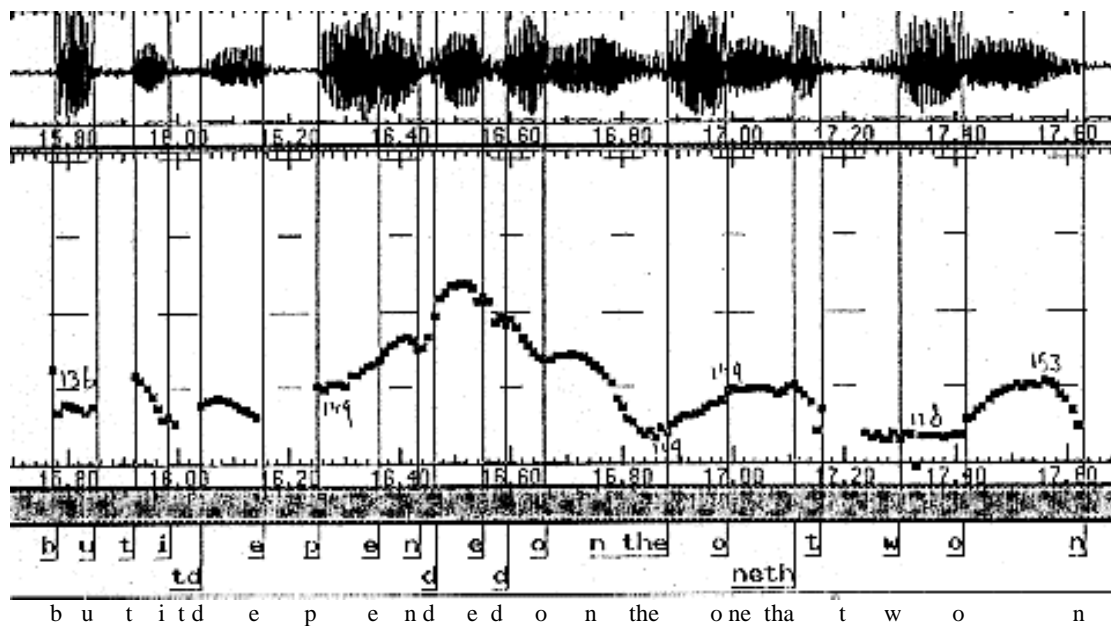


Figure 101. Transcription and acoustic record of the IP 'but it depended on the one that won'.

5.4.3

The table in Figure 102 below categorizes accent contours in the data according to two features: pitch obtrusion to the stressed syllable and initial pitch movement from it.

- 1) obtrusion:
 - in non-final accent contours, 42.2% are upwards, 7.4% level and 50.4% downwards
 - in nuclear contours, 40.6% are upwards, 3.6% are level and 55.8% downwards.
- 2) initial movement from the stressed syllable, i.e. rising, falling or level (excluding 'single-level accents'):
 - in non-final accent contours, 5.3% are falling, 6.9% are level and 87.8% are rising
 - in nuclear contours, 21.6% are falling, 2.7% are level and 75.7% are rising.

Pitch Movements To and From Stressed Syllable & Terminal Tones.

Movement		Non-Final		Final		TOTAL	
To stressed Syllable	H	268	42.2%	226	40.6%	494	41.5%
	0	47	7.4%	20	3.6%	67	5.6%
	L	320	50.4%	310	55.8%	630	52.9%
	TOTAL	635	100.0%	556	100.0%	1191	100.0%
From stressed syllable	H	468	87.8%	417	75.7%	885	81.6%
	0	37	6.9%	15	2.7%	52	4.8%
	L	28	5.3%	119	21.6%	147	13.6%
	TOTAL	533	100.0%	551	100.0%	1084	100.0%

Figure 102. Classification of pitch movements at accents.

The tendency for obtrusions to be downwards to the stressed syllable – in 50.4% of non-final accent contours and 55.8% of nuclear contours – is a prominent feature of RVE accent contours and of the ‘melody’ of RVE speech. However, even more conspicuous, and contributing even more strongly to the ‘melody’ is the strong tendency for initial pitch movement from the stressed syllable to be rising – in 87.8% of non-final accent contours and 75.7% of nuclear contours. This is seen in each of the accent contours in the IP ‘*and my father was working in the colliery in Maerdy*’ in Figure 100. Such rises, as seen in Section 4.4.4, are part of a bundle of accentual features shared with the Welsh language, involving a phonetically strong post-stress syllable that may have considerable duration and intensity and also higher pitch. It is this higher pitch that produces the initial rise from the stressed syllable, so characteristic of accent contours in RVE speech.

Similar rises occur in other varieties of English thought to contain possible ‘Celtic influence’, for example Liverpool (Knowles 1974), Western Scotland (McClure 1980), and Northern Ireland (Jarman and Cruttenden 1976, McElholm 1986). There is some debate, however, as to how far, if at all, Celtic influence is responsible for such rises in all the areas where they have been found (Cruttenden 1986: 138-9; Cruttenden 1997: 133-6).

The rising pitch from the stressed syllable can occur at rhythmic stresses as well as at accents (as already noted in Section 5.2.1). In the IP ‘*and I was working in the colliery down in Ferndale*’ (Figure 103 below), the stresses on ‘*work-*’ and ‘*down*’ are perceived as rhythmic, yet both have L H contours.

(M1)

// and I was working in the . colliery/ down in Ferndale . . //												
L	H*+H	L	L	H	L	L*	H	<L	H	0	H	H*+H+L%
2	3	2	3.5	3	2	3.5	2.5	3.5	4	6	2.5	

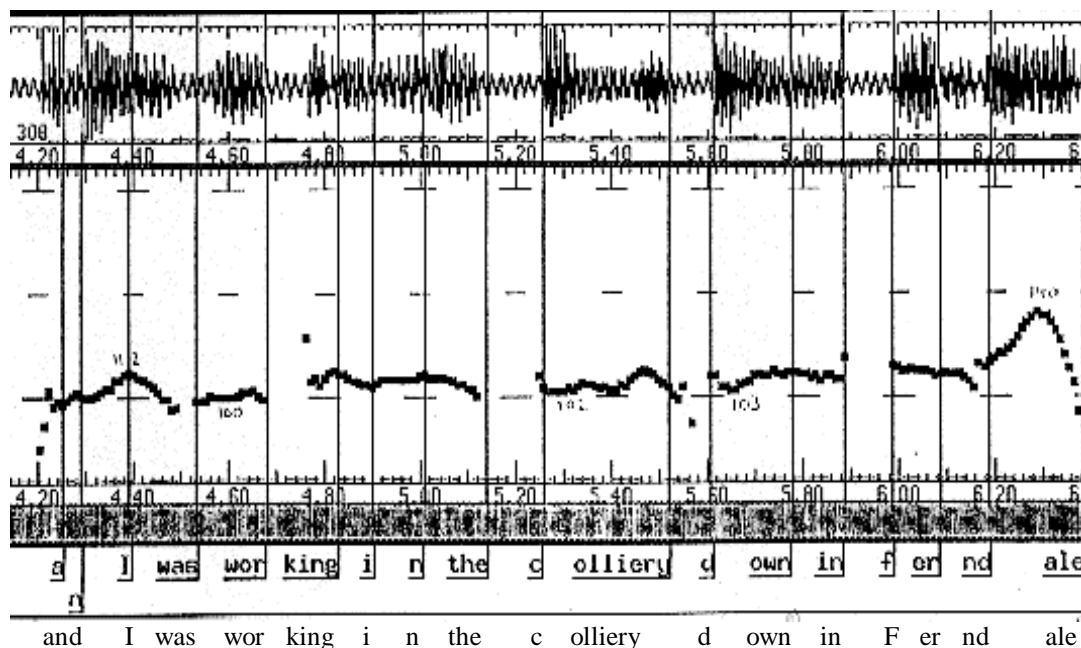


Figure 103. There are rising local contours at the rhythmic stresses on 'working' and 'down'.

5.4.4

So far, accent contours have been described in simple terms – at a given accent the pitch goes up, and then it goes down, or it goes up and then up again, etc. Such description needs to be amplified if the 'melody' of RVE is to be adequately portrayed. More in-depth analysis (in the shape of phonetic detail) of the rises and falls needs to be provided. The present study adds some information in this respect, albeit exceedingly modest compared to that supplied by scholars working in the IPO tradition (e.g. in the description of Dutch intonation made by Collier and t'Hart (1971) and of British English by Willems, Collier and t'Hart (1988)) and the AM tradition (e.g. in the account of Palermo Italian made by Grice (1995), of Bari Italian by Grice and Savino (1995) and of four varieties of British English by Grabe et al (2000)).

One set of features to be described relates to dimension – how large is a given rise or fall; how high is a given H-peak compared with other H-peaks in an IP. Reference has already been made to this factor in Section 4.2.2. Such pitch heights and spans can be measured fairly straightforwardly by mapping given contour-points to the acoustic record.

A second set of features relates to the factor of *alignment*. A phonetic feature of rising-tone accent contours, particularly L*+H and 0*+H, is that they may be heard to 'sag' during the course of the stressed syllable before the subsequent rise. In L*+H contours, this is seen as late alignment of the L* in the syllable. The distance of the L* contour-point into the stressed vowel is 44 ms (29%) on 'Tom' (Figure 104(a) below), 65ms (43%) on 'Cardiff' (Figure 104(b)), and 133 ms (78%) on 'Maerdy' (Figure 100). On 'child-' in the IP 'and there was no children' (Figure 76), it is reached during the /l/ following the stressed vowel.

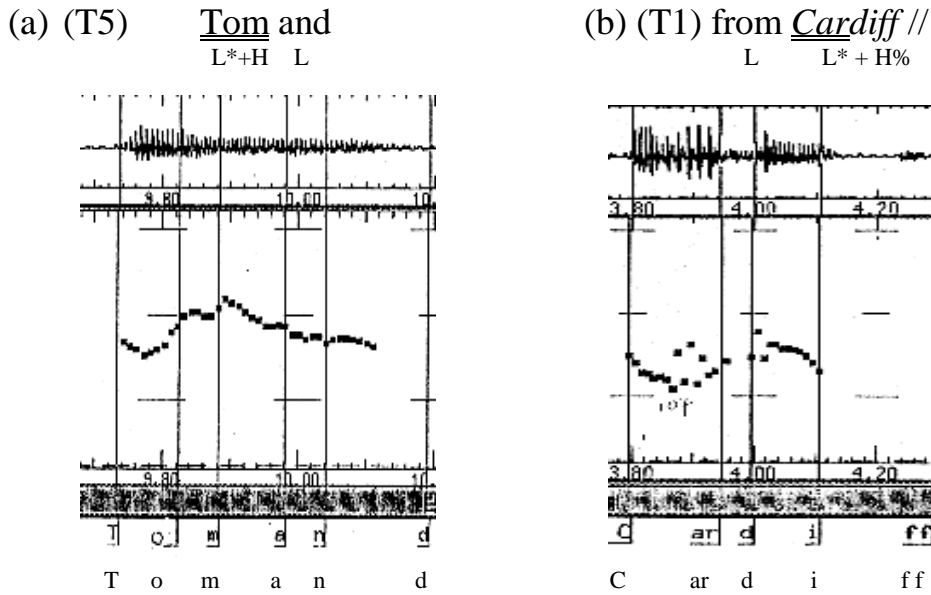


Figure 104 (a) & (b). Dip in pitch on L*+H accents, seen in late alignment of L*.

In the two 0*+H example below (Figure 105 (a) & (b)), the 'sagging' effect is seen as a dip in pitch during the course of the stressed syllable, which may leave the transcriber uncertain whether to put 0*+H or L*+H.

- 1) on '*councillors*', the dip bottoms out 50ms (71%) into the stressed vowel
- 2) on '*back*', the bottom of the dip is reached 40 ms (30.8%) into the stressed vowel.

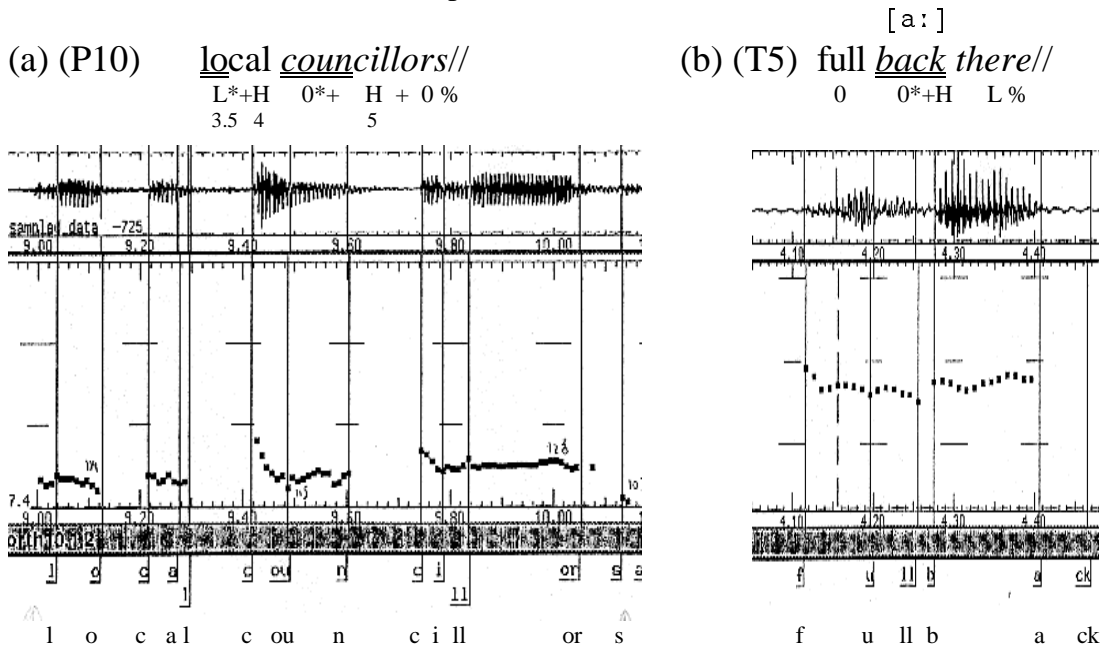


Figure 105 (a) & (b). Dip in pitch on 0*+H accents.

In the H*+H examples (Figure 106 (a) & (b)) the 'sagging' effect is typically seen as a holding back of the pitch rise at the start of the stressed syllable:

1. on '*depended*' in '*it depended on now*' (Figure 106(a)), there is actually a dip in pitch, reaching its bottom 56 ms (57%) into the stressed vowel
2. on '*Nash*' (Figure 106(b)) in '*Jack Nash*', the pitch is held 20 ms into the stressed vowel before being allowed to rise sharply.

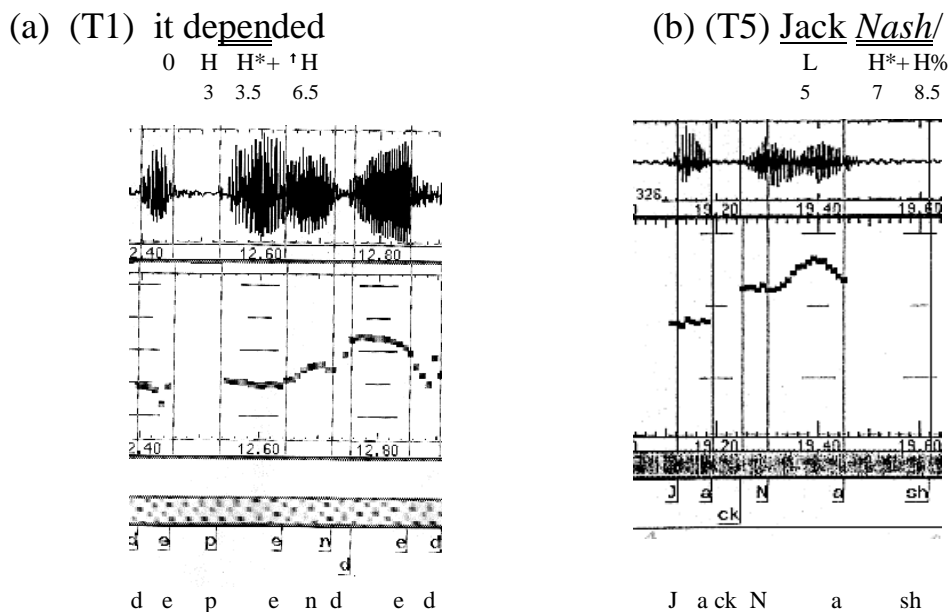


Figure 106 (a) & (b). Dip in pitch on 0*+H accents.

A second feature, in rising-tone contours (H*+H, 0*+H & L*+H) is the alignment of H-peaks relative to the onset of the stressed syllable – is the H-peak reached soon after the onset of stress or is it reached late? This determines whether a rise is steep or gradual, and adds further colouring to the ‘melody’. Alignments of H-peaks were measured in the acoustic records available. Results can be seen in Appendix 18. In the contours analysed:

- Where the rise is compressed into a single syllable, H-peak alignment averages 79% into stressed long vowels (4 examples in the acoustic data), 92% into stressed short vowels (3 examples), and occurs during a closing nasal consonant (4 examples); the impression is of rises that tend to be gradual rather than steep.
- Where the rise spans more than a single syllable (32 examples)
 - 16% (⁵/₃₂) peaked on a nasal consonant or /l/ closing the stressed syllable
 - 84% (²⁷/₃₂) peaked in the second (i.e. succeeding) syllable.

In the large majority of such cases, therefore, the H-peak is timed to occur on the second syllable.

Examples of H-peak alignments in rising-tone contours can be seen in Figure 101 above in the IP *'it depended on the one that won'*. On *'depended'*, the H-peak is clearly timed to occur with the second syllable. It is, in fact, reached 55ms into the syllable that follows the stressed syllable. On *'one'* and *'won'*, the accent contour is confined into a single syllable. In both cases, the H-peak is reached late – during the nasal consonant that closes the stressed syllables. 🌀

H-peak alignment differs in H*+L contours from in H*+H+L contours, so that these contours are generally perceptually distinct. In H*+L it is at or near the start of the stressed syllable, as on *'typical'* in Figure 107(a) below. 🌀 By contrast, in H*+H+L it is reached later:

- Where the rise-fall is compressed into a single syllable, as on *'Ferndale'* in Figure 107(b), it occurs late in the syllable, but earlier than in simple rises in order to allow time for the fall that follows 🌀
- Where it spreads over more than one syllable, the H-peak typically aligns with the

5.5 Overall IP ‘Tunes’

5.5.1

The overall *tune* of a RVE IP is typically the product of the main intonational events occurring during it. These are chiefly its accent contours and its terminal tone, although other local contours may also be tune-forming – for example LH, the most common local contour in the data, may occur between a single-level accent (Section 5.4.1) and the succeeding syllable (e.g. L* H on ‘I was’ in Figure 95) or at rhythmic stresses (e.g. L H on ‘down’ in Figure 103).

A common RVE tune, simply expressed, is a sequence of rising local contours with a rising terminal tone. Two examples of such a tune can be seen in Figure 108 below: ‘*so they made us redundant then*’ and ‘*and he happened to be looking out of the window*’.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------------|------|------------------|----------------|-------------|----|-----|---------------|----|
| 1. (M1) | // | <u>so</u> | . . . | they | <u>made</u> | us . | <u>redundant</u> | / | <u>then</u> | // | | | |
| | | L | | 0 | L* + H | 0 | >L* + H | | L* + H% | | | | |
| 2. (P10) | // | and | he | <u>happened</u> | / | to | be | <u>looking</u> | <u>out</u> | of | the | <u>window</u> | // |
| | | 0 | H | L* + H | | 0 | | H* + H | ↑L | | L | L* + H% | |

Figure 108. IPs consisting of a sequence of mainly rising local contours with a *rising* terminal tone.

Alternatively, there is often a sequence of rising local contours with a falling terminal tone. Two examples are seen in Figure 109: ‘*I told him I’d only just gone to bed*’ and ‘*there was pits every couple of villages*’.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|----|-------|-------------|-------------|--------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|------|------------|----|
| 1. (T1) | // | I | <u>told</u> | him | / | I’d | <u>only</u> | <u>just</u> | / | <u>gone</u> | to . | <u>bed</u> | // |
| | | 0 | L* + H | 0 | | 0 | H | H | L* + H | 0 | | H* + L% | |
| 2. (M1) | // | there | was | <u>pits</u> | / | <u>every</u> | <u>couple</u> | of . | <u>villages</u> | // | | | |
| | | L | | H* + H | L* + H | <L | H | 0 | H + H + ↑L% | | | | |

Figure 109. IPs consisting of a sequence of mainly rising local contours with a *falling* terminal-tone.

5.5.2

Where such IPs appear to have overall tunes such as a ‘fall’, ‘rise’, ‘rise-fall’ or ‘fall-rise’, this is usually due to the relative scaling of its H-peaks. For example, a ‘falling whole tune’ may result from an IP having its highest peak at the start and the top-line thereafter slanting down towards the end. An example can be seen in the IP ‘*when I lived in Penrhys*’ (Figure 110).

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|------|---|-----|--------------|----|------------------|---------|-----|
| (P10) | / | when | I | w~. | <u>lived</u> | in | Pen- <u>rhys</u> | // | . . |
| | | 0 | H | | L* + 0 | L | L | H* + H% | |
| | | 6 | 8 | | 6 | 5 | 3 | 3.5 | |

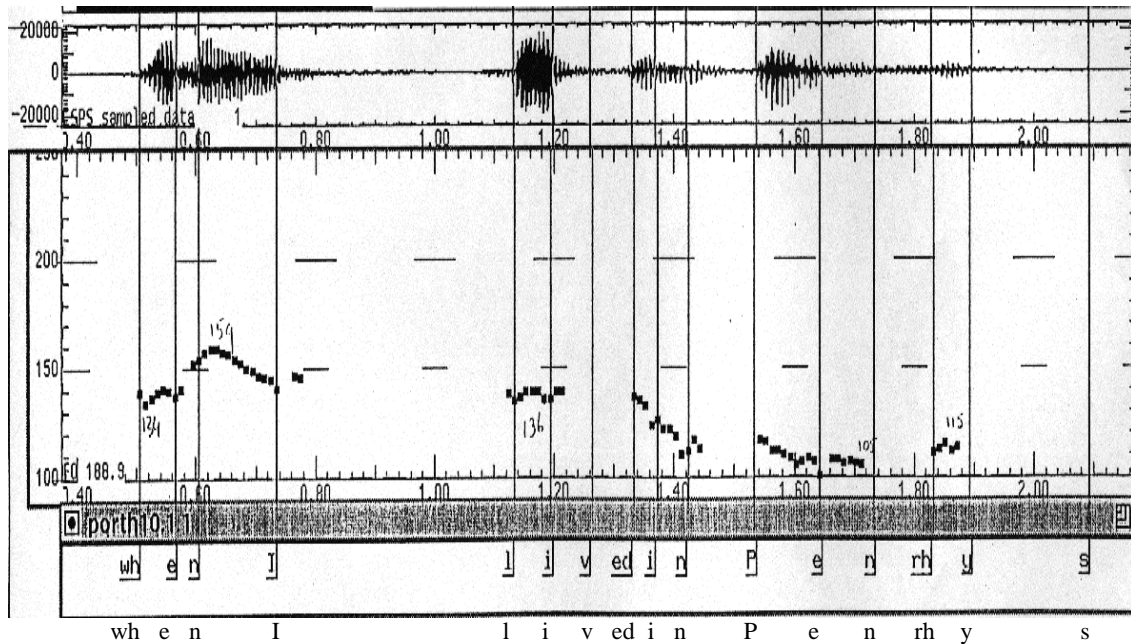


Figure 110. A falling, initial-peaked, IP tune.

An IP may sound to have ‘rising whole tune’, by contrast, if it is ‘final-peaked’, with the highest peak being at the final accent, and pitch of the whole IP slanting up towards it, as in the IP ‘*and my father was coming home clean*’ (Figure 111). 🗨️

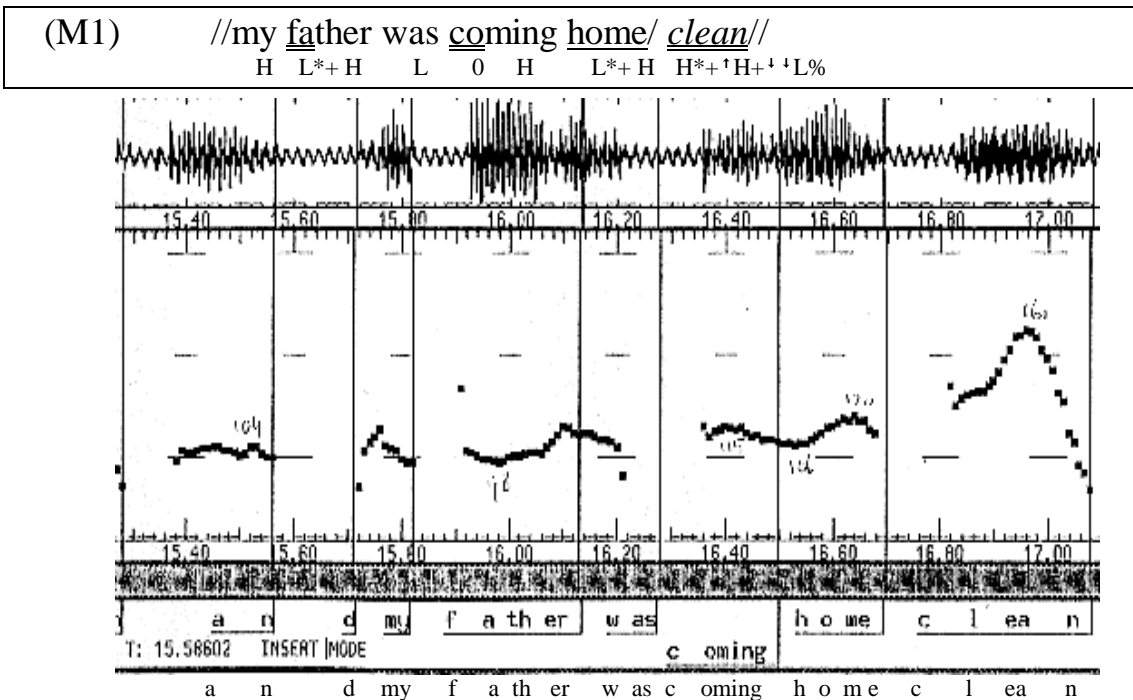


Figure 111. A rising, final-peaked, IP tune.

5.5.3

A further intonational event influencing the tune can be *Termination Height*, the general pitch height at which an IP finishes (Section 5.8 below). *High termination* can add impetus to a previously ascending tune, or it can reverse a previously descending tune by raising the H-peak of the final accent. An example of the latter can be seen in the IP ‘*and*

my father was working in the colliery in Maerdy' (Figure 100). Such a reversal of a descending tune is common in the interactive speech forming the data, counteracting the tendency towards declination or downdrift (cf Hirst and Di Cristo 1998: 20-1).⁵⁵ Examples of 'statements' with high termination will be seen in Section 5.8.

There was little incidence in the data of the rising tune called 'up-speak', identified in Australian, New Zealand, Canadian and British English (Guy et al 1986; Britain 1992; Watt 1994; Bradford 1997), perhaps because, being an innovation in the speech of younger people, it had not yet gained ground among the RVE age-groups recorded.

5.6 Key

5.6.1

Key (Section 4.6.3) is seen to perform different roles in the data. The primary one is a paralinguistic signalling of level of 'speaker involvement' in what they are saying. Arguably related to this, *high key* is often found at the start of a new topic, and *low key* at the end of one. A short episode from the interview Maerdy in Figure 112 below illustrates use of high key with a new topic. The immediate context is 'what used to interest Speaker B most'. Speaker A suggests, jokingly, that it was the female sex. Speaker B says it was soccer and begins to talk about this topic. The raising of key doesn't come in the first IP of the new topic '*I was a sup~a good supporter of Cardiff*', but in the next IP '*I used to~do you know I walked from Cardiff*', as the speaker warms to his topic.

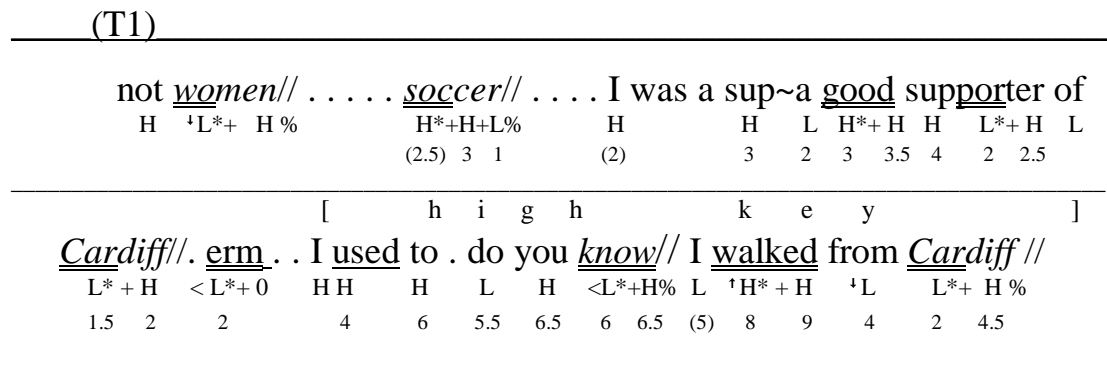


Figure 112. Use of High Key at the start of a new topic. (Acoustic record for the last two IPs can be seen in Appendix 23.)

5.6.2

Occasionally in the data, there is a feeling of a 'topic' coming to an end between the speakers. The prosodic clues to this may include low key in addition to other prosodic clues such as 'rallentando' (slowing down) of tempo, and 'diminuendo' (reducing intensity). Such is the case in the passage below, Figure 113. The topic is one of recalling well-known past sportsmen from the Rhondda. It is reaching its end (the fuller context can be seen in the transcription of interview T5 in Appendix 20). There is a tailing off of the topic, with speaker repetition, a succession of 'ayes', and a summative '*them were the days*'. Prosodic clues that the topic is being wound down include:

- lengthy pauses
- use of 'lento' (slow tempo) and 'diminuendo'
- low key
- strong rising tones on the final '*Con*' (the Treherbert Conservative Workmen's

Club) and on the succeeding 'aye', here referring into agreed 'common ground' (c.f. Brazil, 1997: 70) rather than for a response

- a low falling terminal tone, strongly signalling finality, on 'them were the days'.⁵⁶

(T5)

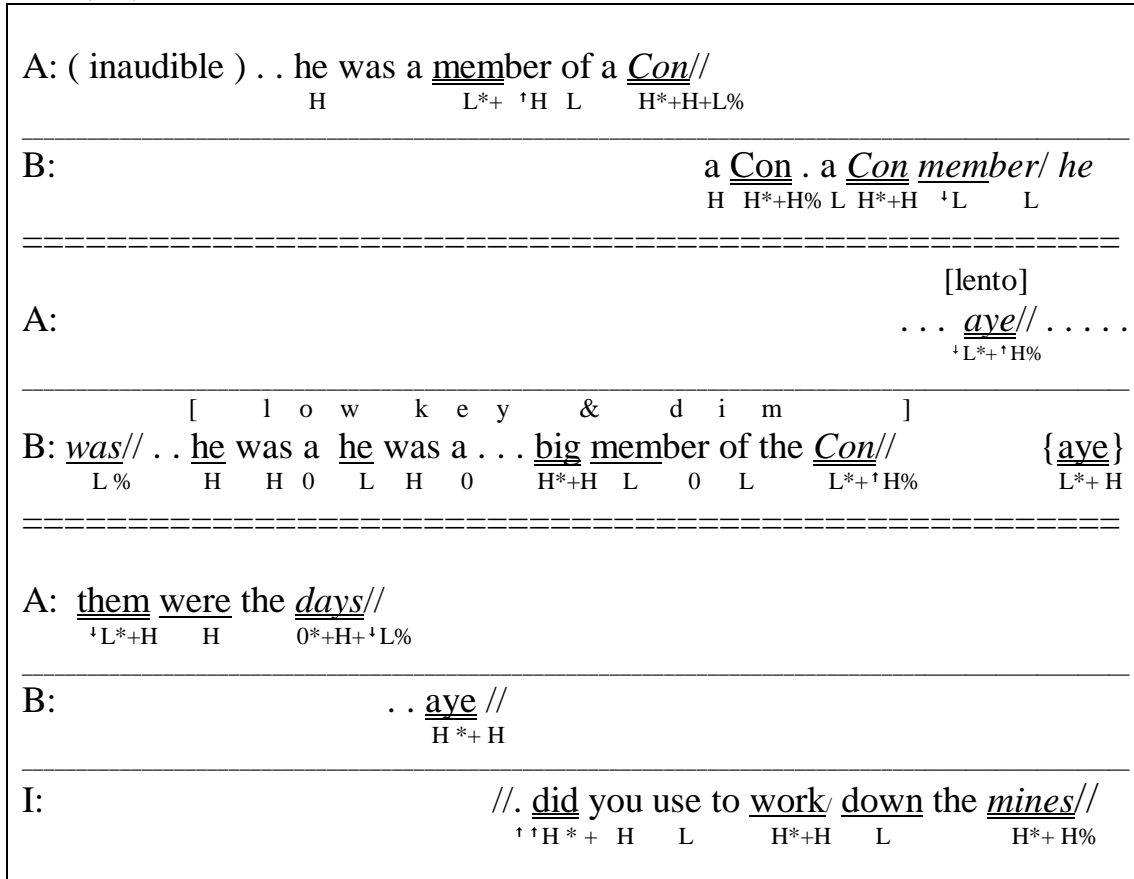


Figure 113. End of a topic on 'them were the days'.

Such prosodic clues for ends of topic are by no means the rule in the data. A new topic or sub-topic may be launched by a speaker while another speaker is still engaged on the previous one; in which case the prosodic clues are stronger for the beginning of the new topic by the 'interrupting' speaker (e.g. use of high key), than for the winding down of the old one. Similarly, a speaker may himself - in the middle of a topic - suddenly think of a new topic or new slant to the old one, in which case he may abruptly switch to the new topic at that point by jumping from mid key to high key.

5.6.3

An additional function of key, as seen in Section 5.1.1, is to play a role in the demarcation of IPs. Either high key or low key can be used for this purpose.

5.6.4

A further function of Key is to help indicate that adjacent IPs are in a major-minor relationship to each other. Such relations can be signalled in different ways in RVE. As in RP, the 'major' IP may have a falling terminal tone and the 'minor' IP a rising one. Such is the case in the IP 'taking the workers up you know' (Figure 114 below). 🌀

(T1)

// <u>taking</u> the <u>workers up</u> // you <u>know</u> //						
L*+H	0	0*+ H	L %	↑L	H*+H%	

Figure 114. The first (major) IP has a falling terminal tone, the second (minor) IP a rising one.

However, commonly in the data both have rising terminal tones, and the only prosodic clue to major-minor relations is that the minor IP is in low key. An example can be seen below in *cause he'd been showering in the pit you see*' (Figure 115). 🌀

(M1)

							[low key]	
// <u>cause</u> he'd been <u>showering</u> in the <u>pit</u> // <u>you see</u> //								
H	H	H	0* +	H	H*+H%		↑↑L	H*+H%
2	2.5	3	4	6.5	8	(1)	2.5	5.5

Figure 115. Both IPs have rising terminal tones. The minor one is in a lower key.

5.7 Terminal Tones

5.7.1

The concept of *terminal tone* has been introduced in Section 4.5.4 together with the reasons why the researcher supports the view that the traditional *nucleus* of tone-unit theory should be analysed as final accent + terminal tone. We have defined terminal tones as the final single pitch movement of the IP, rising, falling or level and we have suggested that they signal general end-of-IP meanings of 'finality' vs 'non-finality'. It is now time to describe terminal tones in more detail.

The final accent contour and terminal tone, which together form the nuclear contour of an IP, have separate functions: the one highlighting information and the other signalling discourse meanings of finality vs non-finality. However they are actually conflated in the large majority of cases – in 83.5% of the nuclear contours of the RVE speech sampled. In such cases, the contour is *multi-functional*. Examples may be seen below in Figure 116. In the first, '*I was a sup~a good supporter of Cardiff*', 🌀 the final accent contour on '*Cardiff*' is L*+H. It simultaneously carries the terminal tone L H%, which is rising – signalling non-finality. 🌀 In the second, '*there was pits every couple of villages*', 🌀 the terminal tone – the final pitch movement of the H*+H+L final accent on '*villages*' – is falling H L%, signalling finality. 🌀

(1) (T1) // I was a sup~a <u>good</u> supporter of <u>Cardiff</u> . //(terminal tone rising)									
H	H	L	H*+H	H	L*+H	L	L*+H%		
(2)	3	2	3	3.5	4	2	2.5	1.5	2
(2) (M1) // . <u>there</u> was <u>pits</u> / <u>every</u> <u>couple</u> of <u>villages</u> //(terminal tone falling)									
L	0	H*+H		L*+H	>L	H	0	H*+H+↑L%	

Figure 116. Two IPs in which the Terminal tone is conflated with final accent.

In the remaining 16.5% of the nuclear contours, the terminal tone is analysed as being separate from the final accent contour.⁵⁷ This happens where the final accent and terminal

tone are in separate phonological phrases (Sections 4.6.1, 5.4.2). Two examples can be seen below in Figure 117. In the first, the final IP is 'to be honest with you'. It is analyzed as being divided into two phonological phrases [to be honest][with you]. The domain of the L*+H accent contour on 'honest' extends to the boundary of its phonological phrase. The terminal tone H H% is in the next phrase on 'with you'. It is rising, but could have been made falling by the speaker, e.g. L L%. In the second example, the final IP 'or anything like that here' is divided into three phonological phrases '[or anything]' '[like that]' '[here]'. There is a minor demarcation after the second phonological phrase. The final accent of the IP on 'that' is H*+H. Its domain extends to the boundary of the second phonological phrase. The terminal tone L H% is in the next phrase on 'here'. It is rising, but again the speaker could have made it falling L*+L%.

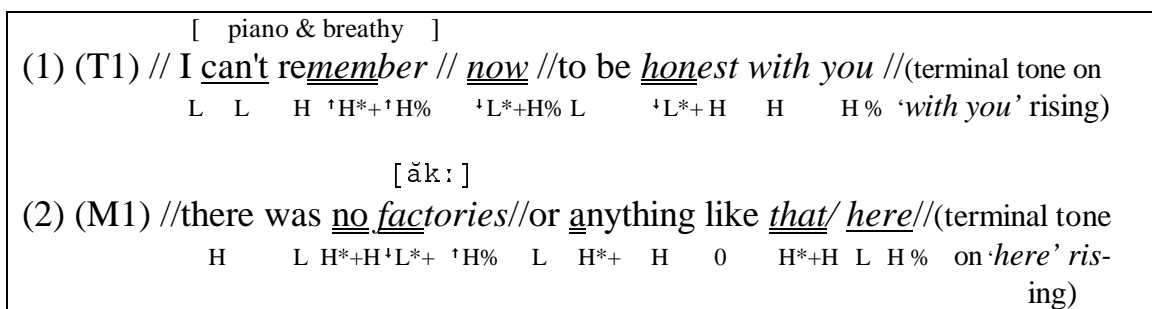


Figure 117. Two IPs in which the Terminal Tone is separated from the final accent.

5.7.2

Terminal tones have at least two important functions in the RVE speech sampled: (1) they help to *demarcate* the IP by means of being 'drawn out' (lengthened) and (2) they signal a general meaning, the end of an IP being reached, of *finality* vs *non-finality*. The *finality* vs *non finality* meaning in RVE speech is conveyed via a binary contrast between falling and rising terminal tone, falling indicating *finality* and rising *non-finality* – level being subsumed with rising in the dialect, as speakers plainly intend the pitch to 'stay up' and 'not go down'.⁵⁸

The terms 'finality / non-finality' are those suggested by Bolinger (1998: 48), who states:

A fall is 'finality' in any sense (end of a series, end of a main part, 'nothing more worth saying' hence positiveness); a rise or high pitch is 'non-finality' in any sense ('not through speaking', 'answer my question', 'incomplete utterance', 'too excited to calm down', 'give me feedback')

Such 'finality' / 'non-finality' meanings in the data can be *informational* (*text-orientated*) or *interactional* (*listener-orientated*). Informational finality signals whether a piece of information embarked on by the speaker is complete or incomplete ('more to come'). An example may be seen in Figure 118 below. Speaker B has been asked what used to interest him most, and it is suggested that it was the female sex. He replies with the information 'not women, soccer'. The terminal tone on 'women' is rising, signalling information that is yet to be completed. That on 'soccer' is falling, marking its completion.

(T1)

B:	// not <u>women</u> // <u>soccer</u> //
	H L*+ 'H% H*+H+L%

Figure 118. The signalling of informational non-finality and finality.

Interactional (listener-orientated) finality / non-finality pervades the whole of the spontaneous conversations that form the data. A falling tone can *proclaim / assert* by virtue of its finality sounding to 'close the matter off', whereas a rising one *refers* by sounding open to completion / response from the listeners (cf. Brazil et al. 1980: 87-90). As will be seen in the data on declaratives below, listener-orientated can clearly 'outrank' text-orientated finality / non-finality, since information that appears to be complete is frequently not with a falling tone as one might expect, but with a rising one. The effect of the rising tone is to refer what was being said to the listeners for response / comment. It is for this reason that there are such a high number of rising terminal tones in the data (Figure 119). 57.4% of the terminal tones in the transcribed data are rising, 39.9% falling and 2.7% level (Figure 119). In fact, if level is subsumed with rising, the total of rising terminal tones is 60.1% compared with falling 39.9%.

Terminal Tones

Final contour-point	Tone	Total	%
H	Rising	319	57.4%
0	Level	15	2.7%
L	Falling	222	39.9%
TOTAL		556	100.0%

Figure 119. Terminal tones in the RVE data.

The findings, of course, relate to a particular speech situation – spontaneous conversation between two males who are friends or close acquaintances, and a particular setting – a Workmen's Club in a close-knit Rhondda Community. It would be predicted that in other genres such as new bulletins or formal academic lectures, and in other settings, there would be more falling 'proclaiming' tones.

The finality vs non-finality contrast between falling and rising terminal tones is the most clearly 'phonological' of the intonations in the RVE data. A similar binary categorization of IP-final tones with general meanings of 'closed' vs 'open' is assumed by Cruttenden (2001: 65-72) in his description of Manchester intonation, although his tones are different.

5.7.3

One hundred and twenty declaratives, fitting the general category of 'statement' were taken at random from the six conversations comprising the transcribed data (twenty from each conversation). It was found that 46.7% ($\frac{56}{120}$) had a falling terminal tone and 53.3% ($\frac{64}{120}$) a rising one. Examples are given in Figures 120 and 121. The full context for each utterance can be seen in the transcriptions of the conversation in Appendices 20-22.

Examples of declaratives with falling terminal tone are seen in Figure 120.

- In ‘*so they can't afford to go drinking more than once a week*’, the falling terminal tone is conflated with the H*+L accent contour on *week* 🌀
- In ‘*there was pits every couple of villages*’ the falling terminal tone is the final HL pitch movement of the H*+H+L accent contour on ‘*villages*’. 🌀

A. Statements with falling terminal tones

(M8)

1. (falling terminal tone on ‘ <i>week</i> ’)												
// <u>so</u> . . // they <u>can't afford to go</u> . . <u>drinking</u> . . // <u>more</u> than <u>once</u> a <u>week</u> //												
L*+H%	L	H	H	L*+H	0	>L	H	>L*	+ H%	H*	+ 0 H	H*+ ⁺ L%

(M1)

2. (falling terminal tone on ‘ <i>villages</i> ’)											
// <u>there</u> was <u>pits</u> / <u>every couple</u> of . <u>villages</u> //											
L	H*+H	L*+H	<L	H	0	H+H+ ⁺ L%					

Figure 120. Examples of declaratives with falling terminal tone.

Examples of declaratives with rising terminal tone can be seen in Figure 121.

- In ‘*and before videos came out then we used to have films*’, the rising terminal tone is conflated with the H*+H accent contour on ‘*film*’. 🌀
 - In ‘*he was a big member of the Con*’, it is conflated with the L*+H accent contour on ‘*Con*’ (the local name for Treherbert Conservative Workman’s Club). 🌀
- Both, it can be seen, have helped to elicit a response from the listener.

B. Statements with rising terminal tones

(M8)

1. (rising terminal tone on ‘ <i>films</i> ’)											
A:											. // <u>aye</u> //
											L*+H%
B: // and before <u>videos come out</u> // <u>then</u> / we <u>used</u> to have <u>films</u> //											
L	H	L*+H	H	H%	L*+H	L	H	L	H*+H%		

(T5)

2. (rising terminal tone on ‘ <i>Con</i> ’)												
A:											[lento]	
											. . . <u>aye</u> //	
											⁺ L*+ ⁺ H%	
[l o w k e y & d i m]												
B: . // <u>he</u> was a <u>he</u> was a . . . <u>big member</u> of the <u>Con</u> /												
H	H	0	L	H	0	H*+H	L	0	L	L*+ ⁺ H%		{ <u>aye</u> }
											L*+H	

Figure 121. Examples of declaratives with rising terminal tone.

The findings run counter to the widely held idea, set out in language-teaching and linguistics textbooks, that declaratives or ‘statements’ are typically with falling tones.

Similar findings are reported by Cruttenden (2001: 67), who states that there is a 'non-correlation of declaratives with the Closed category'. Hirst and Di Cristo comment that a lot of the work that attempts to correlate certain intonations with grammatical classes such as declaratives is based on isolated sentences produced out of context, and question whether in real conversations the same prosodic competences are at work (1998: 43). The RVE data shows that other processes are at work. Notably, whether a falling or rising terminal tone is used depends not only whether information embarked upon is deemed complete or incomplete, but also on whether the speaker wants to proclaim or refer it to the listeners.

5.7.4

The incidence of falling vs rising terminal tones in *interrogatives* of different types in the data can be seen in the Table in Figure 122.

Type	Terminal tone	Treherbert	Maerdy	Porth	Total	%
WH-questions	Falling	33	9	31	73	9.03
WH-questions	Rising	26	13	27	66	8.17
Polar questions	Falling	9	5	5	19	2.35
Polar questions	Rising	25	10	23	58	7.18
Aux. Verb tags	Falling	104	179	163	446	55.20
Aux. Verb tags	Rising	75	28	43	146	18.07
TOTAL		272	244	292	808	100.00

Figure 122. Totals of different types of interrogative found in the data.

WH-interrogatives (questions beginning with 'What', 'Who' 'Why' etc) form 17.2 % of the total, with the proportion of falling (52.5%) to rising terminal tones (47.5%) similar. Figure 123 shows an example of a WH-interrogative with rising terminal tones. There is one on 'after' (by which the speaker means 'then') half-way through the question, and one on 'Terrace' on its completion.

(T5)

```

=====
[ r a l l ]
A: // . . what was that little fellow after// . erm// . . . from / erm .
      ^L*  ^H    L  H  L  ^L*+^H <L*+^H%  ^L*+H%    0*+H  L*+0
=====
A: Blaina Terrace//
      L*+H  L*+ ^H%
-----
// . . . Jack Nash//
           L    H*+ H+L%
           5    7    8.5 7.5
=====

```

Figure 123. Example of WH-interrogative with rising terminal tone.

Polar interrogatives (questions eliciting yes / no answers) form only 9.5% of the total. With them, rising tones (75.3%) are more common than falling (24.7%).

More common by far than WH- and polar interrogatives in the data are auxiliary-verb tag interrogatives (e.g. 'aren't you', 'can't I', 'won't it'). They account for 73.3% of the interrogatives in the RVE speech sampled. These include the invariant tag 'isn't it', common in the dialect.⁵⁹ ☞

Auxiliary-verb tags used by the speakers vary in their referring strength. At one moment they appear to be mere appeals to understanding or fillers, similar to the commonly used 'you know', and as such rarely elicit verbal responses from the listeners. At another, they seem to be real questions, seeking to elicit answers from the listeners. The speaker's prosody clearly plays a role in whether the listeners feel a response is indicated or not. Included in the prosodic effects used are:

- Terminal tone. A rising terminal tone is more strongly referring than a falling one.
- Termination height (Section 5.8 below). High termination is more strongly referring than mid or low.
- The strength of disjuncture between the stem and tag, which may vary from hardly any at all, to a minor demarcation (Section 4.3.3) to a major demarcation with pause. The stronger the disjuncture, the greater the referring power.
- The strength of disjuncture after the tag. At one extreme, the speaker may carry straight on speaking leaving minimal clues to demarcation. At the other, he may make a strong demarcation with pause. Again, the stronger the demarcation, the stronger the referring power.

Two illustrations of auxiliary verb tags from the data can be seen below in Figure 124.

- In Figure 124(1), Speaker B is talking about the hard economic times in Maerdy since the closure of Maerdy Pit, saying that some of the older ex-miners have redundancy payments and a pension, but 'the youngsters haven't got nothing'. ☞ The tag 'have they' gains in referring strength from having a rising terminal tone, from being in a separate IP from the stem and from the pause following it. ☞
- In Figure 124 (2), Speaker A is recalling to Speaker B, his brother, both of whom went to work as coal miners at the age of fourteen, how good a scholar he was at school. ☞ Some confirmation is doubtless sought on this point, but not necessarily, it seems, in the form of a verbal response – the tag 'isn't it' is in a separate IP from the stem, but its terminal tone is falling and the speaker carries straight on without any immediate pause. ☞

(M8)

A:	//. . <u>no</u> //
	↑L*+L%
B: //. . <u>but</u> /. . the <u>youngsters</u> // <u>haven't got nothing</u> // <u>have they</u> //	
L H	0 H*+H+L+ H% H H 0 H* + H% L* + H%

(T5)

A: // <u>cause</u> I was <u>pretty good</u> / <u>like</u> // <u>isn't it</u> // <u>see</u> // I'm <u>not</u> / <u>erm</u> // . . <u>hinting</u> //	[r a l l] [p i a n o]
↑L*+ H H	L H H*+H L% H*+ L% L*+H% L H* L L% L*+ ↑H%
B:	

Figure 124. Examples of IPs with auxiliary-verb tags.

5.8 Termination Height

5.8.1

Termination height is the general perception of pitch level reached at the end of the IP (Section 4.6.3). With a rising terminal tone, it is the pitch level reached at the finishing point of the rise. With a falling terminal tone (e.g. H*+L or H*+H+L) it is generally the pitch level reached at the H-peak of the final accent contour. The effect termination height may have on the overall tune of an IP has been seen in Section 5.5.3. It also plays an important communicative role. With a terminal tone that is rising, low or mid termination is taken as being only mildly referring. High termination, by contrast, is taken as strongly referring and so eliciting some feedback – whether verbal or non-verbal – from the listener (cf. high-rises of Halliday 1967). Examples of a rising terminal tone with high termination, showing the responses elicited from the listener, can be seen in Figure 125. In (1) *'that was~that was a dear trip that was from Cardiff'*, there is a high finish to the rise on *'Cardiff'*, effecting high termination. 🌀 It helps to elicit the response *'Aye...Duw'*. 🌀 In (2), the same happens. There is a high finish to the rise on *'Braddock'* in *'Joe Louis took the title off Braddock'*, which may have elicited the low-key response *'aye'*. 🌀

(T1)

1. (high termination on <i>'Cardiff'</i>)	
A:	// <u>that</u> was . <u>that</u> was a <u>dear trip</u> // <u>that</u> was/ from <u>Cardiff</u> //
	L* 0 H*+H H*+L% L* + H L L*+ 'H %
[l e n t o]	
B:	// <u>aye</u> . . // <u>Duw</u> //
	L*+H% L*+L%

(M9)

2. (high termination on <i>'Braddock'</i>)	
A:	// <u>Joe Louis</u> <u>took</u> the <u>title</u> off <u>Braddock</u> //
	H H L*+H L L*+H L L*+ 'H %
[low key]	
B:	// <u>aye</u> //
	L*+ H%

Figure 125. Rising terminal tones with high termination eliciting responses from listeners.

5.8.2

High termination can have a strong referring power with a falling terminal tone as well as with a rising one. It may do this through its high H-peak adding extra force to what is being asserted in the utterance, which could invite or provoke a reaction from the listeners. Examples, with the responses from the listener, can be seen in Figure 126. In (1), there is an H*+H+L accent on *'Colville'*. 🌀 The high termination is achieved by the extra boost in pitch on the second H contour-point of the accent contour. It adds force to Speaker A's assertion that the Rhondda sportsman they are recalling is Colville and no other, provoking the response from B, *'but I just told you'*. 🌀 In (2), Speaker B has been telling his listeners that he once walked back to Treherbert from Cardiff, a distance of some twenty miles. Speaker A's repetition *'walk from Cardiff'* with an H*+H+L final

accent contour and high termination, in the context signals something like incredulity or amazement (whether real or feigned). It elicits a response from Speaker B confirming the feat of walking from Cardiff.

(T5)

1. (high termination on 'Colville')	
[lento]	[ăk:]
A: // <u>no</u> // . that <u>little</u> <u>full</u> <u>back</u> / <u>mun</u> // . <u>Colville</u> //	
^ˆ L*+H%	H H*+H L H*+H L L% H*+ ^ˆ H+ L%
B: // <u>but I</u> just <u>told you</u> //	
	^ˆ L H H*+ ^ˆ H %

(T1)

2. (high termination on 'Cardiff')	
[high key]	
A: // <u>walk</u> from <u>Cardiff</u> //	
^ˆ H*+ H H	H*+H + ^ˆ L%
B: . . // <u>aye</u> //	
	^ˆ H*+H+L%

Figure 126. Falling terminal tones with high termination eliciting responses from listeners.