НЕЗАВЕРШЕННОСТЬ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ VS. НЕЗАВЕРШЕННОСТЬ ТЕКСТА: АКЦЕНТЫ И АКЦЕНТОНОСИТЕЛИ

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SENTENCE INCOMPLETENESS VS. DISCOURSE INCOMPLETENESS: PITCH ACCENTS AND ACCENT PLACEMENT[1]

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The prosodic cues for discourse incompleteness may be either identical with the prosodic means expressing the topic or independent of marking the communicative constituents of a sentence: the topic or the focus. The autonomous prosodic marking of discourse incompleteness becomes possible in the context of tails. A tail is a fragment of a sentence placed after the accent-bearer of the focus. (Thus in the sentence *Malo ja smyslju v muzhskoj krasote* 'Little I know about men's attractiveness' with *malo* 'little' as the accent-bearer of the focus the fragment *ja smyslju v muzhskoj krasote* is the tail). A tail may be either deaccented or it may be used to carry the rise of discourse incompleteness. Generating a tail is conditioned by activation of entities within a sentence, contrast, emphasis, and verification expressed either by lexemes or by prosody, or both. In Russian, a tail can also result from a specific word order transformation with the focus accent-bearer being shifted to the left in front of the finite verb. The sentence-final verb, therefore, transforms into the tail to be specifically used as the bearer of discourse incompleteness pitch accent. (Thus in the sentence *Ja pidzhak snjal...* literally: 'I my coat took off...' with *pidhzak* 'coat' as the accent-bearer of the focus the sentence-final verb *snjal* 'took off' is the tail). Sentences with tails are able, therefore, to display a full set of communicative meanings including topics, focus and discourse incompleteness expressed by separate accent-bearers carrying the respective pitch accents.

Key words: prosody, pitch accents, incompleteness, discourse, word order, topic, focus, oral speech

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The prosodic markers of an uncompleted sentence and an uncompleted piece of narration are often identical. Sentence incompleteness and discourse continuation can be both expressed by a rise of the fundamental frequency placed on a word selected from segmental material of a single sentence[2]. In this case, there is no difference between a topic of a sentence whose focus is placed in the subsequent context and a sentence which is a component of an uncompleted narration: the applicable pitch accents and the due accent-bearers are identical. For instance, in the sentence *My priehali v Moskvu toljko v 1990 godu* 'We came to Moscow only in 1990' the segment *my priehali v Moskvu* 'we came to Moscow' with the rise on *Moskvu* is the topic, while in the story about a trip to Russia *My priehali v Moskvu. Potom avtobus otvёz nas v Bekasovo. Vecherom byl banket* 'We came to Moscow. Then a bus took us to Bekasovo. The party was in the evening.' *My priehali v Moskvu* is a non-final component of a connected text[3]. Topics, therefore, can have a syntactic structure of a sentence. Hence, whether a unit has a sentential structure or it is, for instance, a noun phrase cannot be decisive for distinguishing pieces of narration from topics.

A question then arises as to whether there could be cues for discourse continuation distinct from sentence continuation markers. The aim of the present paper is to provide a description of a set of prosodic patterns that are characteristic solely of discourse incompleteness.

The data for analysis are taken from oral corpora "Night dream stories" (see Kibrik, Podlesskaja (2009), http://spokencorpora.ru) "Stories about gifts and skiing" (see Podlesskaja (2012)), and the corpus of records based on TV and radio interviews, eyewitnesses accounts and examples of professional actor readings prepared by the author.

The prosody is explicated here in terms of the fundamental frequency changes as it is proposed in D. Bolinger (1958) and E. A. Bryzgunova (see Russkaja grammatika 1982: 97–101) rather than in terms of target levels as in J. B. Pierrehumbert (1980).

The instrumental study has been carried on by using the computer system of oral speech analysis Speech Analyzer.

1. The rise of frequency as a generalized marker of incompleteness. The strategy of serial topics

Major or minor rises[4] of frequency within a sentence can mark either the topic (as opposed to the focus of a sentence) or a link between a non-final syntactic component and other components within a syntactic construction. For instance, in the sentence *Prishla vesna* (literally: 'Came the spring') the rise on the sentence-initial word *prishla* 'came' marks the onset of a syntactic construction, while in *Vesna prishla*

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[2] The principles of accent placement in communicative constituents of various lexical and syntactic structures are listed in Yanko (2008: 38–60).

[3] Details of identical expression of sentence and discourse incompleteness will be explicated by example (1) below.

[4] I do not focus here on various types of continuation rises in spoken Russian. The complete inventory is described in detail in Yanko (2008: 128–163).

tol'ko v mae (literally: 'The spring came only in May' the rise on *vesna* 'spring' is the marker of the topic. At the same time a rise can also express discourse incompleteness, i.e. the idea that the current step of narration is not final. To consider this point in details we need an example. The words carrying relevant pitch accents in examples below are underlined, the tonic syllables of the accent-bearers are capitalized.

(1) *Potom ja podoshla v*   *druguju kOmnatu,*   *vot u menja*   *vybito steklO,*
      Later I entered into   another room,   here at me   broken window,

      no zApaxa gaza   *ne oshchushchAju.*
      but smell gas.   GEN not feel.1SG[5]

      'Later I entered another room, I have got a broken window
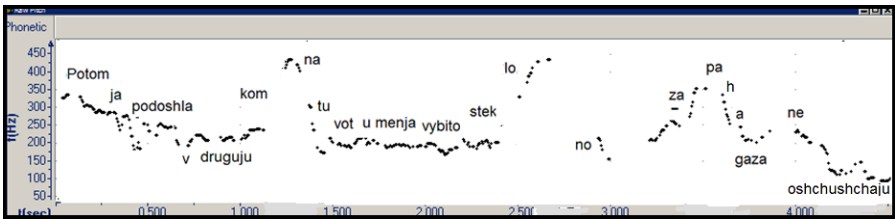   glass here, but as for the smell of gas, I do not feel any'

Fig. 1. Frequency tracing of sentence (1)

In example (1) from a gas explosion report the segments1.1 *Potom ja podoshla v druguju kOmnatu* 'Later I entered another room' with the accent-bearer *kOmnatu* 'room', 1.2 *vot u menja vybito steklO* 'Here I have a broken window' with the accent-bearer *steklO* 'window glass', and 1.3 *zApaxa gaza* 'smell of gas' with the accent-bearer *zApaxa* 'smell' have identical rises on the stressed syllables of the accent-bearers which are followed by frequency falls on the post-tonics (if any). These segments (1.1)–(1.3) can, therefore, be viewed as serial topics referring to the same focus *ne oshchushchAju* 'I do not feel'. Indeed, in (1) there is no principal distinction between the prosody of the initial segments1.1 or 1.2 which really forward the narration ahead and the final topic *zapaxa gaza*.

However, while the strategy of "serial topics" is one of the most common mechanisms of discourse linkage in many languages, it cannot help deciding whether a prosodic constituent is a topic or it serves as a discourse constituent of an uncompleted piece of discourse. In this case, the prosody cannot distinguish between a communicative unit of a sentence — namely its topic — and a valid discourse unit.

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[5] Details of identical expression of sentence and discourse incompleteness will be explicated by example (1) below.

2.   Autonomous marking of topics and discourse links

The strategy of serial topics is the most common but not the only mechanism of expressing discourse incompleteness. A variety of strategies employing separate cues for sentential and discourse incompleteness is used. These strategies are based on specific accent-placement. Consider example (2) from the corpus "Night dream stories".

(2) *A   kOshka, ona obidelas'   i   sprjAtalas' ot   nashej   sobAchki…*
And cat   she   resented   and   hid   from   our   doggy
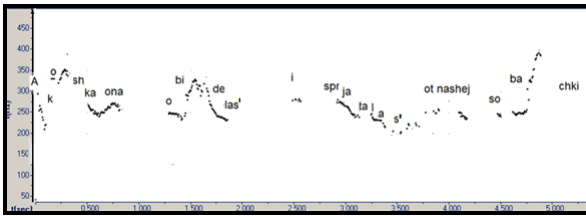'And the cat, it   got offended and   hid   from   our   doggy…'

Fig. 2. Frequency tracing of sentence (2)

In example (2) the word *sprjAtalas'* 'hid' carries a fall of frequency designating the focus, while the rise on the sentence-final word *sobAchki* 'doggy.GEN' is a separate marker of discourse incompleteness. It shows that the narration is to be continued. The non-final position of the focus accent-bearer the word *sprjAatalas'* 'hid' in sentence (2) is accounted for by the fact that the argument *ot nashej sobachki* 'from our doggy' refers to the activated[6] knowledge of the hearer and is not, therefore, embodied in the focus: the dog appeared on the scene at the preceding stages of narration.

Sentence (2), therefore, has a full set of communicative meanings that shape a sentence as a speech act and at the same time as a component of a connected discourse. These are: the meaning of a topic (expressed by the rise on the tonic syllable of the accent-bearer of the topic *kOshka* 'the cat'), the meaning of the focus (designated by the fall on the accent-bearer of the focus *sprjAtalas'* 'hid'), and the discourse incompleteness (the rise on the accent-bearer of incompleteness *sobAchki* 'doggy.GEN'). The marker of discourse incompleteness is placed here after the marker of the focus. This order becomes feasible because the non-final placement of the focus accent-bearer leaves a sufficient segmental material free of any pitch-accents relevant for the topic-focus structure of the sentence.

E. Vallduvi and E. Engdahl (1996) employ the term "tail" for a fragment of a sentence placed after the accent-bearer of the focus. Consider their example:

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[6]   The notion of activation is used here on the terminology of Dryer (1996).

(3)   *You shouldn't have brought chocolates to the president. He HATES chocolates.*

In example (3), *hates* is the focus, while the second occurrence of the word *choco-lates* is the tail. Here, the tail is a fragment of a topic because it is borrowed from the first sentence and refers to the activated knowledge, yet it is placed sentence-finally because of the basic word order SVO characteristic of English. In (3), the tail *choco-lates* does not carry any relevant pitch accents (as it is expected from a topic placed after the focus).

In example (4) from the reading of "Drama na ohote" ('The shooting party' by A.P. Chekhov), the tail is not a topic, as in (3), but a fragment of the focus placed after the accent-bearer of the focus:

(4)   *Ego   bol'shoe   muskulistoe   litso   ostalos'   navsegdA   v   moej   pamjati*
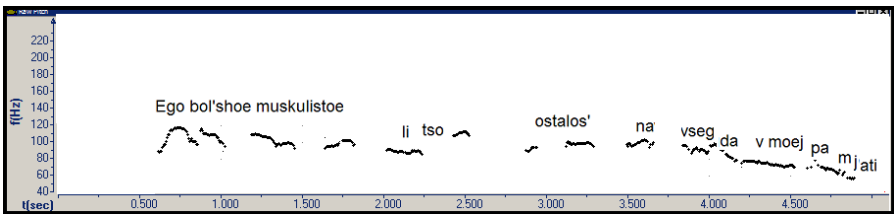   'His   big   sinewy   face   left   forever   in   my   memory'

Fig. 3. Frequency tracing of sentence (4)

In sentence (4), the accent-bearer of the focus is the word *navsegdA* 'forever', while the fragment *v moej pamjati* 'in my memory' is placed sentence-finally and does not carry any relevant pitch accents. *V moej pamjati* here is the tail. The presence of lexically conditioned focus — the quantifier *navsegda* 'forever' — results in the non-final position of the focus accent-bearer and, as a consequence, in forming a tail; about the focus function of the Russian quantifiers see Bulygina, Shmelev (1997: 200–207). The prepositional phrase *v mojej pamjati* is the sentence-final fragment of the focus.

In examples (3) and (4) the tails are deaccented, while in (2) the tail *ot nashej sobachki* 'from our doggy' is used for marking the discourse link. So, a tail may consist either of a topic or of a fragment of the focus (remained after the accent-bearer of the focus). It may be either deaccented, as in (3) or (4), or it may carry the rise of discourse incompleteness as in sentence (2). Fig. 4 below exemplifies the difference between interpretations of an example from "Drama na ohote" read by two professional speakers: Aleksandr Balakirev (the upper panel) and Petr Korshunkov (the lower panel). In Balakirev's reading the tail is deaccented: it does not carry any relevant pitch accents. The idea that the fragment of Chekhov's text has not come to its logical end is only designated here by a frequency value of the final boundary tone which is slightly higher than the baseline of the speaker's voice. Whereas Korshunkov explicitly shows that the text is to be continued by a prominent rise of frequency on the sentence-final word'.

(5) *MAlo*   *ja*   *smyslju*   *v*   *muzhskoj*   *krasotE*
    Little   I   understand in   men's   attractiveness
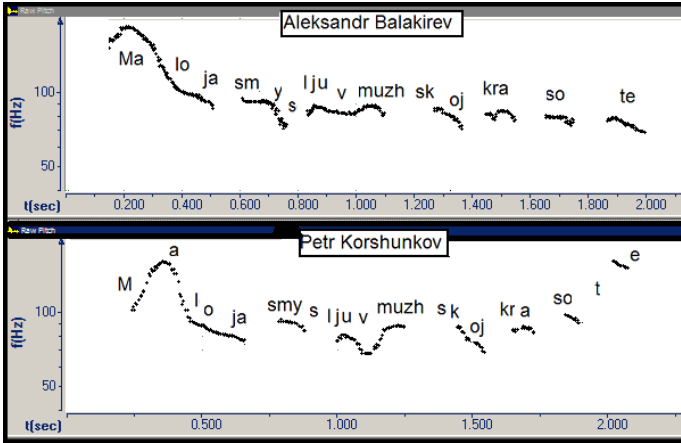   'I know so little about men's attractiveness'

Fig. 4. Contrastive frequency tracings of sentence (5) read by two different readers

In both readings, the sentence begins with a high fall on the focal word *malo* 'little'. *Malo* is the accent-bearer of the focus in sentence (5).The fragment *ja smyslju v muzhskoj krasote* 'I know about men's attractiveness' is, therefore, the tail. Balakirev does not use the tail to designate incompleteness, while Korshunkov prefers to demonstrate explicitly that the current event of narration is not logically final. The focus structure of sentence (5) strongly depends on the semantics of the "focal word" *malo* 'little'; about the communicative functions of the Russian words of low quantity see Bulygina, Shmelev (1997: 205), about French *peu* see Ducrot (1973).

The reading strategy with fewer rises of discourse incompleteness — either placed in the tails of sentences or appearing as topics — is a characteristic parameter of professional readers' performance whose academic reading suggests that the listener makes a mental pause after each step of narration by using a "full stop" in order to reflect on the text. While in spontaneous speech or in its artistic imitating, the speaker — being afraid of losing the listener's attention — demonstrates by using "comma" strategies at every non-final step of narration that the discourse is not over. In this respect, in Balakirev's reading — as it is demonstrated by sentence (5) — and by other examples of his reading of "Drama na ohote", a measured style of reading with regular pauses and full stops dominates as if the speaker does not care much about whether the hearer is listening to the story or not.

A striking example of expressing a discourse link in the tail is sentence (6) from the corpus "Stories about gifts and skiing".

(6) *PokatAlsja*   *On*   *ne*   *Ochen'* *udAchno…*
    Skied   he   not   very   successfully
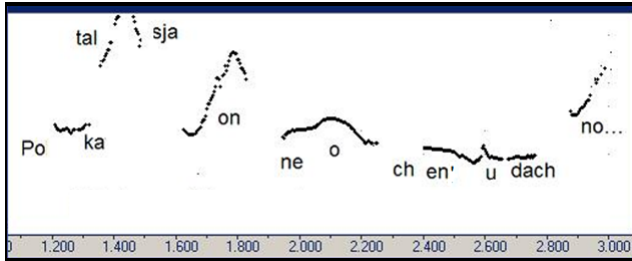   'His skiing was not a success'

Fig. 5. Frequency tracing of sentence (6)

Sentence (6) is very short and has a syntactic structure of a simple sentence, nevertheless the two topics, the focus, and the discourse incompleteness have separate prosodic markers here. The verb *pokatAlsja* 'skied' (which carries a prominent rise on the stressed syllable) is the initial topic, the pronoun *on* 'he' is the second topic, the adverbial *ne Ochen'* 'not very' is the accent-bearer of the focus. It carries a specific accent of an emphatic focus. The emphatic prosody correlates here with the semantics of the word *ochen'* 'very'; about the prosody of emphasis see Yanko (2008: 83). The sentence-final *udAchno* 'successfully' is, thus, placed after the accent-bearer of the focus. It is, therefore, a tail, and it carries a specific type of a rise placed on the post-tonic syllable of the accent-bearer, while the tonic syllable carries a low level tone.

A discourse link placed in the tail can, in its turn, have its own tail. Consider example (7) from "Night dreams stories".

(7) *<Nas vseh*   *razognali, skazali>* *nel'zjA*   *gribY*   *rvat'.*[7]
    us.ACC all.ACC drove away told.they forbidden mushrooms.ACC to pluck
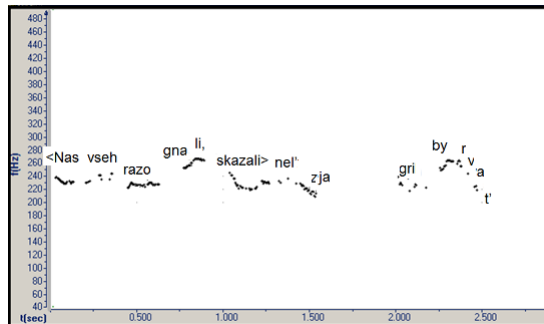   'We all were driven away; they told us that picking mushrooms was forbidden'

Fig. 6. Frequency tracing of sentence (7)

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7   The angle brackets designate the required context.

Here, the fall of frequency on the tonic syllable of the word *nel'zjA* 'forbidden' marks the focus of the sentence. The infinitive phrase *gribY rvat'* 'to pick mushrooms' is, therefore, a tail. As a tail it is employed for designating a discourse link: the frequency tracing displays the rise on the accent-bearer of the discourse link the word *griby* 'mushrooms'[8]. The sentence final infinitive *rvat'* 'to pluck, to pick' is, therefore, an atonic tail within the enclosing tail *griby rvat'* 'mushrooms to pick'.

3. A sentence-final finite verb as a marker of discourse linkage

In examples above the sources of the tails were either the sentence-final position of the activated entities (as in example (2)), or the non-final position of the focal words *navsegda* 'forever' (example (4)), *malo* 'little, few' (example (5)), and *nel'zja* 'forbidden' (example (7)), or the presence of the emphatic word *ochen'* 'very' (example (6)). There could be found other sources of tails, i.e. the conditions in which the focal pitch accent occupies the non-final position. For more comprehensive list of these contexts see Yanko (in press). The common parameters of the sentences viewed above are: 1) the sentences have sufficient segmental material of the tails to designate discourse linkage irrespective of designating the topic and the focus; 2) the finite verb which has arguments preserves its basic non-final position in a sentence. In this section, the cues for discourse incompleteness are analyzed which require the argument shift and, therefore, change the basic Russian word order.

The Russian spontaneous speech developed a specific strategy of separate marking the discourse linkage by a rise of frequency placed on the sentence-final finite verb. The sentence-final verb in this case serves as a tail to carry a discourse link. Its final position is attained by shifting the argument to the left in front of the finite verb. The basic word order SVO is, therefore, substituted for SOV (or OSV). This change is accounted for by the fact that a verb with two (or more) non-activated arguments generally has one of its arguments as the accent-bearer of the focus. The verb itself, therefore, does not carry any pitch accents relevant for designating the focus of a sentence. As a consequence, the verb is a component of a sentence the most free (statistically) of fulfilling the function of the focus accent-bearer. Being shifted to the left the focus accent-bearer paves the way for the verb to serve as a tail. Consider example (8) from "Night dreams stories" where the sentence-final verb is used for discourse linkage.

(8) *Ja iz* <u>*kOmnaty vyhozhU,*</u> *<kogda vhozhu ona uzhe napolovinu pustaja>*

I from room leave.PRES1SG when enter.PRES1SG it already half-empty

'I leave the room, when I come back it (a bottle of wine) is already half-empty'
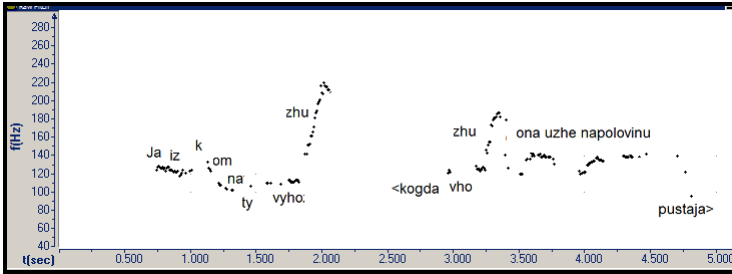

Fig. 7. Frequency tracing of sentence (8)

In sentence (8) the focus accent-bearer *iz komnaty* 'from the room' carries a fall, while the sentence-final verb *vyhozhU* 'I am leaving' carries a prominent rise of discourse incompleteness. The word order in sentence (8) is, therefore, SOV. The basic word order SVO for the syntactic structure of sentence (8) is displayed by sentence (8.1):

(8.1) *Ja   vyhozhu iz   kOmnaty*
      I   leave   from   room
      'I am leaving the room'

Designating incompleteness by a rise on the sentence-final finite verb requires, therefore, a word order transformation. In spontaneous speech this strategy is highly frequent. Consider one more example (9) from the same corpus.

(9) *Kogda   obrAtno   uzhe   bezhAli*…
     When   back   already   ran
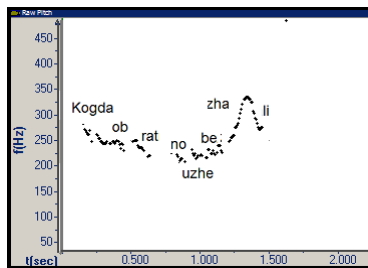   'When we were already running back…'

Fig. 8. Frequency tracing of sentence (9)

In sentence (9), the focus accent-bearer the word *obrAtno* 'back' carries a fall on the tonic syllable followed by a subsequent fall on the post-tonic syllable, while the sentence-final verb *bezhAli* 'were running' carries a prominent rise on the tonic syllable followed by a fall on the post-tonic. The basic word order for sentence (9) is represented by sentence (9.1):

(9.1) *Kogda   uzhe   bezhali   obrAtno* …
      when   already   ran   back
      'When we were already running back…'

The sentence-final position of a finite verb which carries a specific rise of frequency to designate the discourse linkage can only be interpreted as a result of a transformation because a verb with arguments even in Russian (with its unlimited scrambling) generally is not placed sentence-finally. I assume that this transformation is a specific mechanism of discourse linkage elaborated by the Russian spontaneous speech. In more formal styles of communication it is not employed.

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