

CHAPTER 3: ACCENTUAL STYLE

3.1 ACCENTUAL DENSITY

A 2SM announcer, talking about his work, says that he

²[²hates getting out of/¹béd//] [at/²five
thirty in the/¹mornìng]

He speaks fast, biting into the few syllables he accents, and slurring the unaccented syllables in the long contours which open each group. On air, the same announcer draws out the accented syllables, speaking more slowly, more deliberately, more rhythmically and more dynamically - an almost chanted 'time call':

¹[it's/¹seven/ teen/ past/²nìne//]

An ABC announcer reads out the topics of the night's current affairs programme, from a typewritten script. He announces the programme's starting time in a calm and unhurried manner:

²[to/¹nìght//] ¹[at a/²quarter past/¹sevén//]

He does not accent the word 'past' - ABC announcers never do, 2SM announcers almost always, just as ABC announcers never

accent the word 'minutes' in phrases like 'two minutes to seven', again in contrast to 2SM announcers.

These three examples differ in many ways, of course, but for the moment I would like to draw attention to just one of these: they vary in accentual density, in the amount of accents the speaker places - and rather dramatically so: the 2SM announcer, in the first example, accents only about a quarter of his syllables, while in the second examples he accents two thirds of them. The ABC announcer accents approximately a third of his syllables.

In the second part of this chapter I will discuss what announcers accent, what they select as important, and what they take for granted. In the third part of the chapter I will discuss how they accent, how strongly, how evenly, by means of which cues. But before doing so, as a kind of preliminary reconnaissance, I will in this part of the chapter, look at how much they accent, and investigate, whether there are, in this respect, significant differences between the types of announcement and the stations represented in my corpus.

3.1.1 Accentual density and type of announcement; a spectrum of cultural values

If we express accentual density as the percentage of the total number of syllables which is accented, and calculate it for individual complete utterances of minimally 120 syllables, accentual density, in the corpus discussed in

this study, varies between 36.01 and 51.92, which is roughly the difference between accenting, on average, one in every three and one in every two syllables.

Looking at the mean accentual density of the different types of announcement included in the corpus, the highest densities are found in the announcing of commercials, the lowest in newsreading and the announcing of fine music (ABC), while conversational speech occupies an intermediate position. Analysis of variance shows that the differences between these types of announcement are, on average, greater than the differences between the individual announcers within each category ($F = 7.93$; $p < 0.05$).^{(1)*}

Type of Announcement	Mean Accentual Density
Commercials	49.84
Popular music announcing	46.59
Information	42.92
Newsreading	40.91
Fine music announcing	39.99
Conversational speech	41.79

Table 1: Mean accentual density in different types of announcement

It seems, then, that accentual density increases as programmes become more entertaining and undemanding, more oriented towards the listener and catering for what is

* notes can be found at the end of the chapter (p. 195).

seen as the 'popular taste' (and perhaps also more animated - 'bright', 'lively', 'sporty', to recall some of the terms favoured by the commercial announcers themselves), while accentual density diminishes as programmes become more serious, intellectually demanding, content-oriented, and catering for what is often considered 'elite' or 'highbrow' taste.

It is interesting to note that, while I have found newsreading to have a comparatively low accentual density, linguists and radio practitioners alike have commented on the high number of accents placed by newsreaders. Bernard and Delbridge, for example, say that the newsreader has a tendency to:

...increase the number of syntactic stresses he employs far beyond what is usual (because) the more accents there are, the more urgent, important and exciting what he says will seem...

(Bernard and Delbridge, 1979, p. 100)

and Alvar Lidell, in an article in The Listener, accuses newsreaders of placing:

...emphasis on unimportant words (to create) a sense of excitement not truly present in the material in front of them...

(Lidell, 1979, p. 478)

while Geissner, discussing German radio newsreaders, comments that their speech is characterized by a 'didactic emphasis' which:

...leads to a cumulation of accents with which the speaker perhaps tries to ensure that none of his 'important' words will be lost...

(Geissner, 1975, p. 142, my tr.)

As we will see later, newsreaders have distinct

accentual habits: this may cause the accents in newsreading to be more noticeable, to draw attention to themselves in a way which accents in conversational speech do not, and hence give rise to the impression that newsreaders place more accents.

3.2.2 Accentual density and the radio station; of house styles, genre styles and individual styles

The speech of commercial radio announcers is characterized by a higher accentual density than that of non-commercial announcers (2JJ announcers behaving, in this respect, like commercial announcers) - differences which can, again, be shown to exceed those between the individual announcers of the different stations ($F = 8.21$; $p < 0.05$).

In interpreting the figures, it should be taken into account that the stations whose announcers recorded commercials (the type of announcement with the highest accentual density) top the list here. Standard deviations are included in the table to show that the individual announcers of the commercial stations vary, on average, less from the 'norm' of the station than the individual announcers from the ABC and from 2JJ.

Station	Mean Accentual Density	Standard Deviation
2KY	49.14	2.71
2CH	47.25	2.79
2JJ	46.72	3.56
2SM	43.16	2.29
ABC	40.98	3.99

Table 2: Mean accentual density in different radio stations

The figures are not as representative as they would have been had the same types of announcement been included, to the same proportion, in the sample from each station. Yet, the lower accentual density of 2SM announcers is not just due to the fact that no commercials were recorded from these announcers, as we will see repeatedly in the remainder of this chapter.

Why is there more variation between individual ABC and 2JJ announcers than between individual commercial announcers? To discover this, we must look at the accentual densities in more detail. Table 3 shows the figures broken down by station as well as by type of announcement. Asterisks indicate categories of announcement which are fully, or for the most part adlibbed: when the individual announcements differ in verbal content as well as intonation a greater difference in accentual density can obviously be expected. Where stations are represented by two types of announcement a t-test was used to test the difference between the accentual densities of the two types, and in each case the null-hypothesis was confirmed. Where stations are represented by more than two types of announcement, an analysis of variance was used - the results are included in the table.

In this table the standard deviations of ABC announcers and commercial announcers no longer differ very much, but the standard deviations of 2JJ still remain larger (by way of comparison, the standard deviation in my sample of conversational speech was 4.28). 2JJ announcers, it seems, do not have to conform to accentual norms as much as

Station	Type of announcement	Mean Accentual Density	Standard Deviation
ABC	Popular music announcing*	47.09	2.25
	Information	40.08	1.29
	Fine music announcing	39.99	1.11
	Newsreading	37.78	1.75
	F = 31.87; p < 0.05 (information and fine music announcing considered as one group)		
2JJ	Popular music announcing*	47.45	3.97
	Information*	45.99	2.92
	no significant variation		
2SM	Popular music announcing*	43.7	2.83
	Information	42.62	1.35
	no significant variation		
2CH	Popular music announcing*	46.63	2.69
	Commercials	50.18	0.7
	Newsreading	44.95	1.35
	F = 7.88; p < 0.05		
2KY	Popular music announcing*	49.15	2.02
	Commercials	49.14	1.81
	no significant variation		
2GB	Newsreading	40.76	0.98

Table 3: Mean accentual density by station and type of announcement

the announcers of other stations. They are allowed to retain their individual style of accentuation - a freedom which, as we have seen in chapter 1, is appreciated by the announcers ('2JJ gave me the confidence to be more myself on the air'), but disapproved of by the managers of commercial stations, who consider it unprofessional and selfindulgent.

In the speech of ABC announcers, on the other hand, the number of accents is reduced or increased according to the type of programme presented, and although this kind of differentiation is also made by 2CH announcers, the ABC announcers make it in a more pronounced way.

Accentual style, then, may not fulfil the same function in these three cases. At 2JJ, style expresses individuality, a refusal to subjugate the announcer's voice to the norms of the institution. In the ABC, styles are deemed appropriate to genres - vary according to what is broadcast, rather than who broadcasts it, something which one ABC announcer expressed as follows:

...You are thinking of the meaning of it,
and the meaning of it dictates what you
give it...

In commercial broadcasting, finally, styles serves to create the 'station identity', the 'sound of the station' - a sound which is recognizable, even out of context. The manager of 2GB told me:

...I put a voice on air, a good voice (...)
He had been on air for four weeks and people
ring up all the time: what's that 2SM voice
doing on 2GB?...

As a result there is, in commercial stations, a tendency to blur the distinctions between different types of programme,

to make items of 'community information', even news broadcasts sound like disc-jockey chat, or commercials. Entertainment can become the all-pervasive imperative.

Despite these differences, ABC announcers and commercial announcers have one thing in common: when on air, they adjust the accentual density of their speech, conform to the norms of the station, and hence sound more like each other than when speaking as private individuals. Only the 2JJ announcers form somewhat of an exception in this regard.

Table 3 also allows a comparison of the types of announcement across the different stations. It can be seen, for example, that the accentual density of popular music announcements is relatively similar for a number of in other respects rather different stations, and that information is, typically, close to the station mean, while commercials are somewhat above it.

The accentual density of newsreading is highest in the speech of 2CH announcers: as we saw in chapter 1, 2CH is a station where the disc-jockeys read the news. At 2GB, where news specialists are employed to write and read the news, the accentual density is lower, and at the ABC, with its high reputation for news, it is lower still. A 'spectrum' which somewhat resembles that discussed in 3.1.1 above: the more seriously news is treated, the more it is given separate status, rather than being made a component of the 'one big stew', and blended in with the entertainment, the lower its accentual density.

3.1.3 Postscript: accentual density and rate of utterance

Several writers have claimed that there is an inverse relation between accentual density and rate of utterance: the faster the speech, the less the number of accents made. Pike (1946), for example, says that in rapid speech the number of 'primary contours' decreases (which amounts to a decrease in accentual density, as Pike's 'primary contours' contain only one accent). Bierwisch (1965; 1968) and Bailey (1971a) set up degrees of 'rhythmic fusion': the faster the speech, the longer the intonational phrases, which, according to the rules they propose, causes accents to weaken or even disappear, depending on the length of the phrase.

At first sight I was inclined to attribute the lower accentual density in the speech of 2SM announcers to this factor: their speech is a good deal faster than that of the announcers of other stations: 5.13 syllables per second, on average, as against 4.53 for 2KY, 4.4 for 2CH, 4.58 for 2JJ, and 4.27 for the ABC.⁽²⁾ Statistically, however, the correlation is not very strong: a Pearson coefficient of -0.3 ($p < 0.05$) - which means that rate of utterance can account for only 9% of the variation in accentual density. For conversational speech the correlation seems stronger: -0.65 (not significant).

One might conclude that announcers can and do vary the two factors independently: newsreading, for example, does not differ much from fine music announcing in accentual density, but their rates of utterance differ: 4.69 syllables

per second, on average, for news, 3.93 syllables per second, on average, for fine music announcing.

Yet, it may also be that the correlation begins to operate only once a certain critical speed has been exceeded, as Pike seems to suggest. Expressing the relation statistically would, in that case, necessitate the identification of that critical rate of utterance, which, perhaps, carries us too far away from our present subject.

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3.2 ACCENTUAL HABITS

We must now go a step further, and attempt to discover the reasons for these variations in accentual density. Study what announcers accent and what they leave unaccented. Investigate the variations which might exist, in this respect, between stations and different types of announcement. Is it true that there are 'accentual habits' which announcers must adopt if they want to be considered professionals by their peers, or judged to suit the 'sound of the station' by their employers? Are we justified in calling these habits 'habits', rather than attempting to explain them in terms which are valid for the language as a whole - are they on the side of the system, or on the side of performance? And how should they be interpreted? Are they neutral habits, conventions which have grown up around radio speech and which serve to identify individual stations and types of programmes? Or can they be given a practical, technical

explanation (adjustments required because of the lack of a visual channel in radio, or because the possibility of poor reception must be taken into account)? Or should we interpret them in terms of what we have called, with Stuart Hall, the 'ideological commitments' of radio as an institution?

In taking up these questions, we meet with two problems. First of all, to reasonably assert that there are such habits, and that they are adopted by all announcers when making a particular kind of announcement for a particular station, we must compare the frequency of each habit in the speech of announcers from different stations, and in announcements belonging to different categories, and we must also indicate how great the variation is between the individual announcers within each of these categories.

On the other hand, the detailed character of the analysis I propose to give in this section of the chapter will, in most cases, render it impossible to reliably use percentages as an indication of the frequency with which individual announcers accent (or fail to accent) particular words or categories of words. While, for example, a certain category of word may, in each individual announcer's sample of newsreading, be represented by well over a 100 instances, some individual popular music announcements may contain no more than 20 instances. Having chosen for natural speech, having chosen to cover a broad area, and to keep track, throughout my study, of a large number of distinctions within my corpus, I have also chosen for an approach in which ideal experimental conditions cannot be met. I will have to set my sights somewhat lower, and, while I can

regard each type of announcement and the announcements from each station en bloc as a text in which the relevant words or categories of words are sufficiently represented, indications of variance among individual announcers will often have to be given descriptively, rather than by means of statistical methods. I will have to restrict myself to quantitative evidence at the level described by Halliday with regard to literary stylistics:

...a rough indication of frequencies is often just what is needed; enough to suggest why we should accept the writer's assertion that some feature is prominent in the text, and to allow us to check his statements...
(Halliday, 1973, p. 117)

Secondly, the same category of words may sometimes be accented (or fail to receive an accent) for reasons of rhythmic adjustment, at other times because of the 'importance' (or lack thereof) of the words of this category in the context of a particular type of announcement or station. Although I will open this section with a general discussion of variation in 'rhythmic preference', the remainder of it will be organized around particular words and categories of words. This will, inevitably, cause some overlapping: each time rhythmic adjustment needs to be distinguished anew from 'importance' of one kind or another. However, arranging the matter in terms of the different reasons for placing or failing to place accents would lead to more overlapping, and, which is perhaps worse, cause a loss of focus on the central question: what do announcers accent.

3.2.1 Accent and rhythm

News, like advertising copy, is characterized by the 'compounding propensity' Leech (1966) notes in his study of advertising English, a stylistic feature which, he says, 'adds vigour and impact to the message' (p. 140): 'Northern New South Wales fishermen' is preferred over 'fishermen from the North of New South Wales', 'murdered Lalor Park girl' over 'the murdered girl from Lalor Park' - it is not difficult to multiply the examples, especially of the use of compounding for accommodating specific details of the people in the news: their age, their place of residence, the organizations on behalf of which the 'spokesmen' and 'officials' quoted in the news are speaking - a kind of compounding which, somehow, brands people more irrevocably as mere entries in society's book-keeping than would have been the case had their identity-card characteristics not been fused with the categorizing noun into a pseudo dictionary entry: news is also official, the voice of power.

If, in such compounds, the speaker accents the lexically stressed syllables, a rather uneven rhythm results, something which is generally avoided by 'polarizing the accents': instead of 'Constitution Hall' we say 'Constitution Hall', to use the example of Bolinger (1965), who calls such intonations 'stereotypes' - and that they often are stereotypes is evident, in radio announcing too, from the frequency with which they occur on the stereotyped phrases announcers use to introduce regular programmes or identify the station. Some examples, from 2CH, the ABC, and 2JJ:

- (a) [²[²[¹Well in our/ Two C H good/ music/²programme//]
- (b) [¹[²[¹This is//] ¹[¹ABC/²Radio//]]
- (c) [¹[²[eh con/¹tinuing/²with the//] [²Marathon/
- ¹What's on//]

But there is, in fact, choice in the matter. The same speaker may opt for one solution when reading the news, for another when reading a commercial - as three of the four 2CH announcers did in the following examples:

- (a) ¹[and/¹two/²rescued//] [¹Northern/ New South Wales/
²fishermen//]
- (b) ¹[it's/²next to the/¹Wintergarden/ Theatre//]
²[¹New/ South/ Head/²Road//]

In the first of these examples, from a news bulletin, they polarized the accents. In the second, from a commercial, they polarized them in one case, ('Wintergarden Theatre'), but in 'New South Head Road' they accented, instead, every syllable.

The difference can (and should) be explained in terms of 'importance' - here the importance of the advertiser's address in commercials for restaurants, garages, retail outlets, etc. Such addresses are usually not only intonationally 'spelled out', but also repeated at least once. The news bulletin's obsession with the specification of time, distance and the 'demographic' details of the people

in the news, on the other hand, has a more symbolic 'importance', serves to express the factuality of news in general, rather than that these details are of any real importance in specific cases.

Yet, monosyllabic contours also occur in commercials when the reason is less immediately obvious - the example is from 2KY:

[trucks/ or/¹top/²quality/ used/ cars//]

and disyllabic and trisyllabic contours are preferred in newsreading even when this causes informationally important syllables to remain unaccented, as 'nine' in this example from the ABC:

[at a/¹toprate óf//] [thirty nine/²thousand/
¹dollars//]]

Accentuation, in radio announcing, may be governed, not only by 'importance', but also by a preference for regularity in the number of syllables per contour - and this preference is not the same for all stations and all types of announcement. Perhaps it is the commercial preference for contours with one or two syllables which caused an older ABC announcer to complain of the influence of the commercial style on ABC newsreading in these terms:

...the commercial style of newsreading has come into the ABC, which goes for a singsong treatment of words and not an intelligent treatment of meaning...

The frequency distributions in figure 1 give the details: in commercials, monosyllabic contours are the most

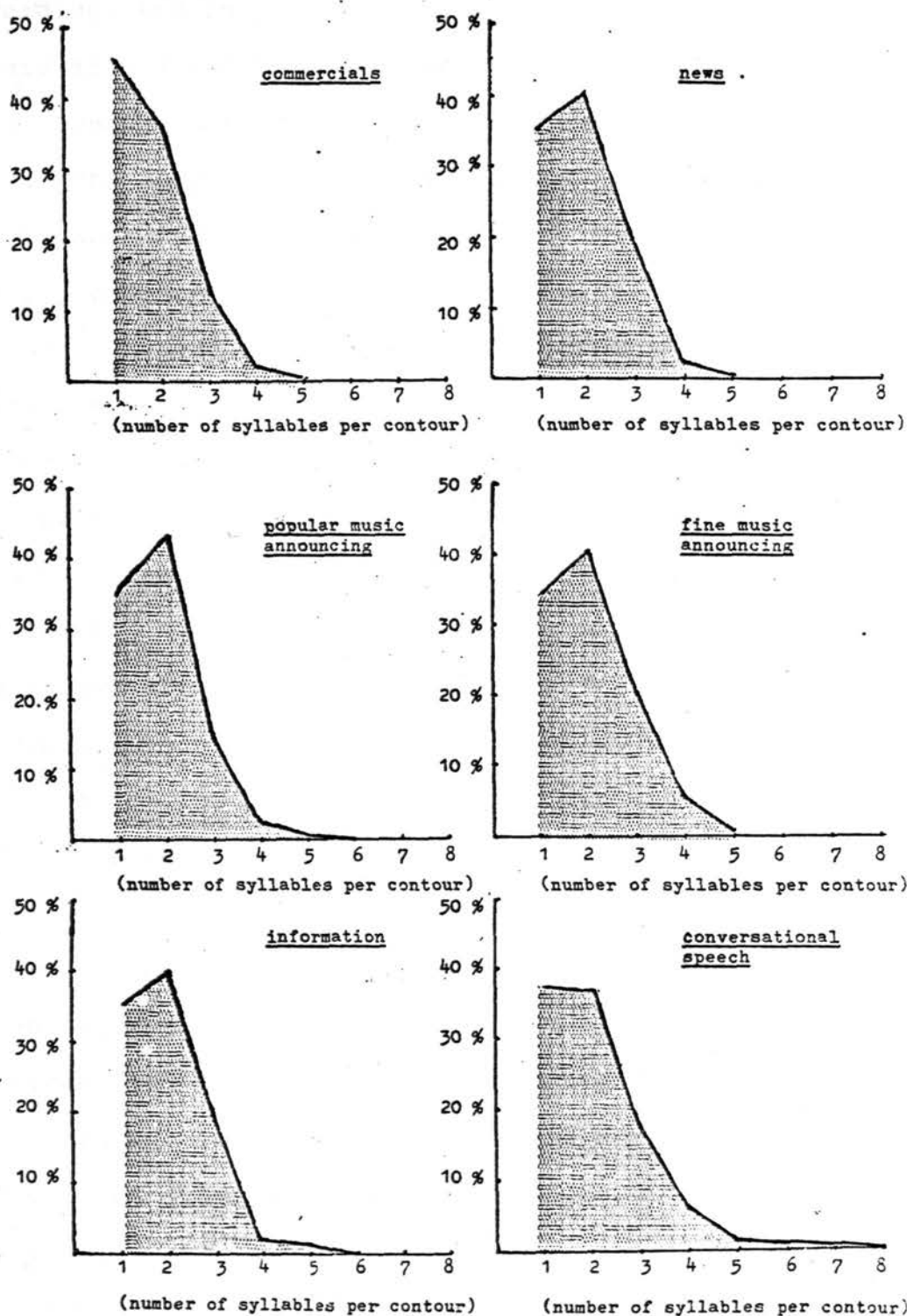


Figure 1: Mean percentages of contours with different numbers of syllables in different types of announcement

frequent, in all other types of announcement disyllabic contours. Trisyllabic contours occur most frequently in newsreading, and in fine music announcing and information they are also found more frequently than in commercials or popular music announcements. We have observed the pattern before: the more announcing is oriented towards entertainment, towards 'having a good time' and 'keeping people company', addressing itself to the popular taste (and to a 'market' instead of to people), the greater its tendency to reduce the number of syllables per contour (a tendency, incidentally, which Fonagy (1976, p. 88), in a discussion of Hungarian poetry, associated with 'emotionally charged speech'). The more serious, informative, and intellectually demanding an announcement becomes, the more it tends not to talk down at its audience, the greater is its tendency to increase the number of syllables per contour, to avoid the 'singsong', to sound detached and 'prosaic'.

Conversational speech, finally, contains less monosyllabic and disyllabic contours than announcing speech, and makes greater use of a wider range of numbers of syllables per contour. Often the number increases as speech becomes more fluent and decreases during more hesitant stretches of speech, rather than that conversational speech is characterized by an overall tendency towards regularity in this respect. In this example, the speaker finally makes up his mind what to say in the before last group. The change he makes at this point is accompanied by a change in tempo:

[[eh/¹I don't/²knów//] ¹[haven't/ really/ given/
that/²much/¹thóught//] ²[²why is it/¹differènt//]
[²mm//]]

¹[¹[²I don't/¹knów//] ¹[but I'll say/¹one thing
about thé//] ²[²Two G/¹B néws//]

Figure 2 shows the mean percentages of contours with different numbers of syllables for the announcers of each station. To give an indication of the variation between individual announcers it has been given the form of a scatter diagram.

The differences between 'genre style', 'individual style' and 'house style' can again be observed. The rhythmic preferences of ABC announcers vary widely: their popular music announcements, for example, contain many more monosyllabic contours than their news bulletins, while their newsreading contains more trisyllabic contours, and it is this, rather than purely individual variation, which accounts for the relatively great overall variation. The scores of 2JJ announcers also vary rather drastically, but for a different reason. Here the variation also occurs within the genres, here it is idiosyncratic, the result of the 'freedom to be yourself on air' (it should be added that the means of their popular music announcements are a little exaggerated - these announcements were, in some cases, too short to contain a sufficiently large number of contours). For commercial announcers, finally, not much difference exists between the genres, except that commercials tend to contain

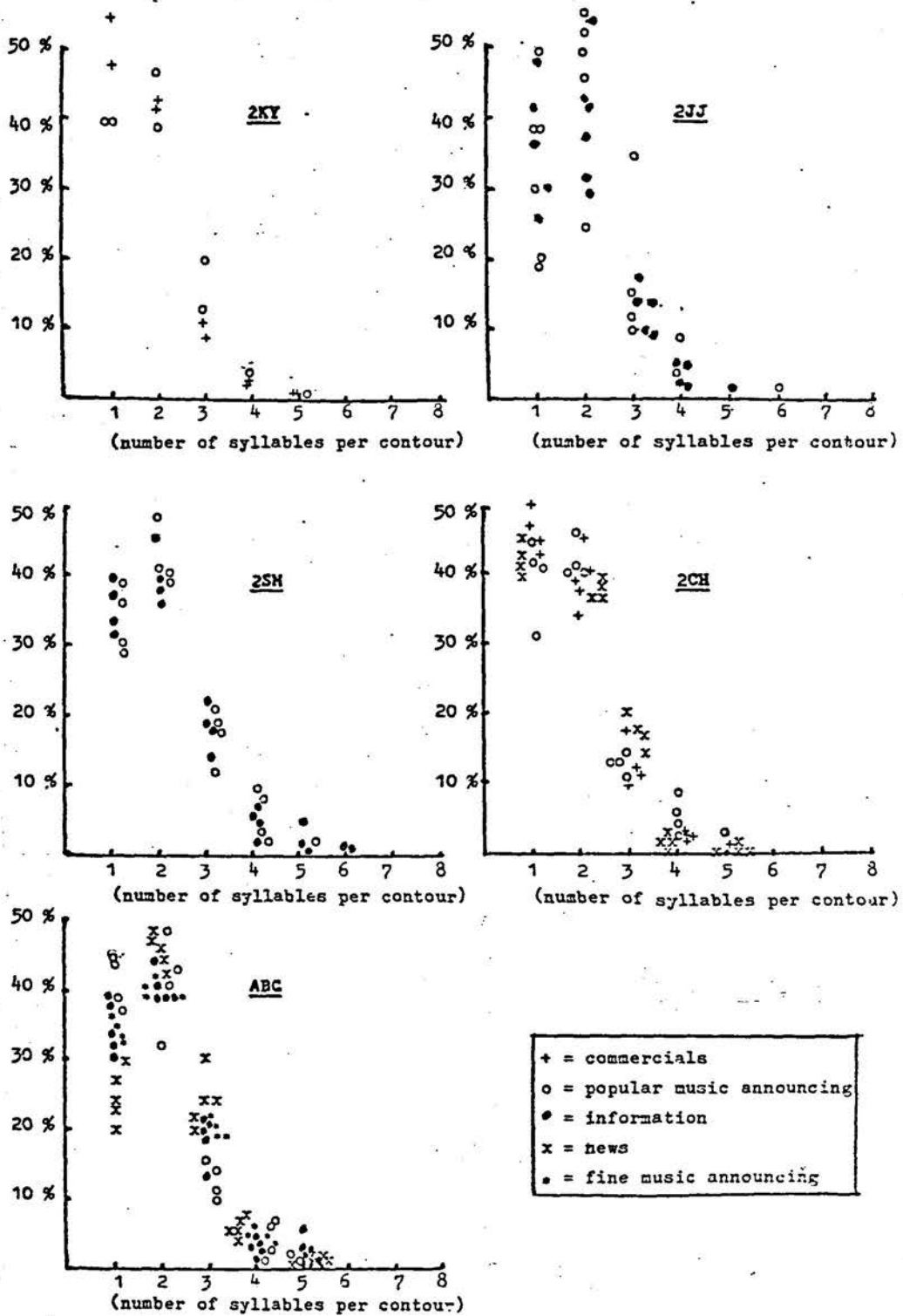


Figure 2: Mean percentage of contours with different numbers of syllables

more monosyllabic contours.

Figure 3, finally, shows the mean percentages of contours with different numbers of syllables for newsreading at three different stations, the ABC, 2GB and 2CH, in ascending order of 'commercialness' of style.

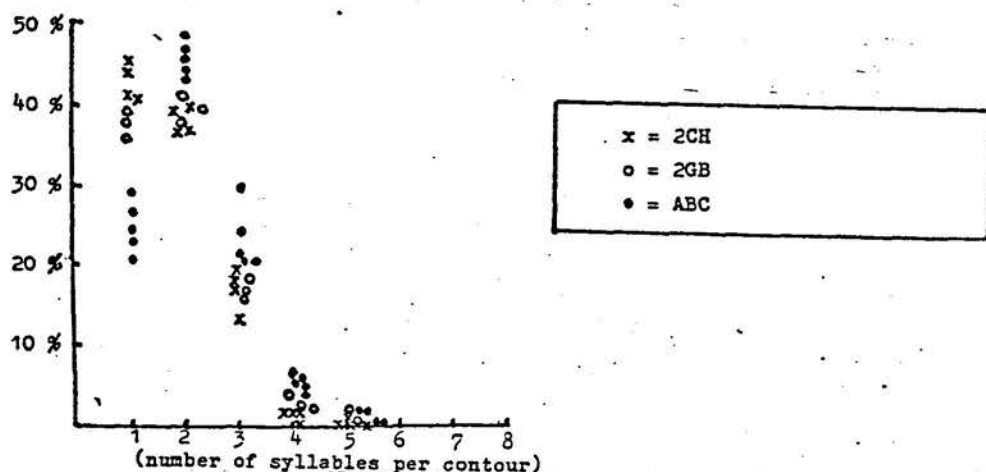


Figure 3: Newsreading: mean percentage of contours with different numbers of syllables

What causes these variations? What do commercial announcers accent that ABC announcers do not accent? What do ABC announcers accent in their popular music announcements that they do not accent in their newsreading?

In answering these questions, a distinction should be made between accentual habits which result predominately from rhythmic preference and habits which are meaningful also in a narrower sense - the accentuation of words or

categories of words which may be said to be 'important', whichever the precise nature of this importance.

The distinction can be made on the basis of contrastive analysis. If a word or type of word is 'important', I will assume that it is accented, not only in the context of a series of contours containing the same number of syllables, but also in groups in which such regularity cannot be discerned. If, on the other hand, rhythmic preference is the only factor involved, I will assume that the word or type of word is accented only when it occurs in a series of contours which, for the most part, are monosyllabic or disyllabic or trisyllabic.

At the same time it should be remembered that the accentuation of 'important' words can also contribute to the realization of rhythmic regularity: in one genre of announcing, or station, more may be treated as important than in another.

3.2.2. The accentuation of single-stress content words: of the relation between accent and information

One of the reasons why newsreading may seem over-accented is, perhaps, that the distinction between 'given' and 'new' information is systematically ignored in this type of announcement. However often the same word is repeated in an item, it is accented every time. All ABC announcers, for example, accented 'Israeli' every time it occurred (and it occurs three more times in the remainder of the item), as if it were, each time, a new and important item of information:

¹[¹¹[re/¹pórts//] ²[are con/¹tinuing to/²come ín//]
 [of a/²big Is/¹raeli/ púsh//] [over the/¹bordér//]
 [into/²Southern/¹Lebanon//]]
 [²[an Is/²raeli/¹Army com/ muniqué//] [con/¹firmed//]
¹[that Is/²raeli/¹tróops//] [¹had/²crossed the/ bordér//]

It is, of course, the writing which makes this possible: radio news writing resolutely refuses to use anaphoric devices, to cohere the text, something which can make news extraordinarily difficult to follow: there is nothing to follow through. Events are reported as entirely lacking in connection: an indigestible cumulation of isolated facts.

But the newsreader's accentual habits further foreground this lack of connection, this imperative that news must be, at all times, new and unprecedented. When a word is repeated a number of times in conversational speech, on the other hand, it usually loses its accent, as the word 'news' in this example:

[I've read/²news at all/¹sorts of/ places and the thé//]
 [²blokes that/ write the news/¹hére//] [¹ém//]
 [¹certainly//] [far/¹easier to/²réad//] [and/¹flows/
²bettér//] [and that's/ not just because I'm/²working
 here/¹nów//] [than/²any news I've/ read anywhere/¹else//]

As an attempt to estimate the pervasiveness of this accentual habit, an attempt to discover whether it is, indeed, a habitual mode of accentuation, we will look at the accentuation of single-stress content words. Single-stress, because if these content words fail to receive an accent, they can reasonably be said to have been treated as fully unimportant, whereas words with two or more lexical stresses which receive only one accent, retain at least some of the importance which theoretically (grammatically) accompanies their status as a content word. Content words, because content words can be said to carry information - but this assertion needs qualification. Of the term 'content word' we will give a broad grammatical definition: nouns (including proper names), verbs (with the exception of auxiliaries and the verb 'be' when used as a mere link), adjectives, and adverbs (with the exception of the conjunctive adverbs). But content words, defined in this way, do not at all times, carry information. The relation between a word's status as a content word and its informative value in actual speech, in fact, resembles the relation between stress and accent: content words have a potential of becoming carriers of information. Whether the potential is realized will depend on the context, both intra- and extra- textual. Like accent, information can only be meaningfully defined in pragmatic terms. There is also the problem of levels of potential information, preciseness of content: the higher a word's position in a semantic taxonomy, the more all-inclusive its meaning, the smaller its informative value: a scale which runs from all-purpose nouns like thing, area,

problem, people, to proper names.

How then can we assess the information value of a word? The paradox is, of course, that accent itself is one of the more accessible indicators of actual (pragmatic) information value, at least insofar as the point of view of the speaker is concerned, the intended information value. But this indicator we cannot use here, for obvious reasons. And it is, at any rate, possible that words which, by any other criterion, are predictable in the context, nevertheless receive an accent, and, conversely, that words which, by any reasonable assessment, must have some information value, do not receive an accent.

Although attempts have been made at measuring pragmatic information (cf. my discussion in 1981b), these were possible only at the cost of severely reducing the semantic universe involved and artificially determining the subjective values affecting the pragmatic information value (previous knowledge, usefulness of the information, etc.). Here we can do little more than assuming that a closer look at the accentuation of single-stress content words (and particularly at the cases in which these do not receive an accent) will provide us with some quantitative estimate of the importance of information value as a determiner of accent. In individual cases given as examples, I will judge information value on an adhoc basis, and usually appeal to the reader's ability to make such judgments for himself. When I say, for example, that 'leave' in 'the ship will leave' has a certain information value, I assume that the reader is able to conclude that ships can do more than leave, and

that 'leave' is therefore not redundant, but must be accorded some information value.

Table 4 expresses this in terms of the percentage of single-stress content words which receive accents in different types of announcement. Table 5 gives the same information with regard to the different stations. The category of single-stress content words is generally sufficiently represented in the announcements to make statistical treatment possible. (3)

Type of announcement	Percentage of accented single-stress content words
Commercials	92.39
Popular music announcing	92.36
Information	94.3
News	94.9
Fine music announcing	93.75
Conversational speech	85.81

Table 4: The percentage of single-stressed content words which receives an accent in different types of announcement

Station	Percentage of accented single-stress content words
2JJ	96.66
ABC	94.08
2KY	93.98
2CH	92.1
2SM	89.66

Table 5: The percentage of single-stressed content words which receives an accent in different stations

There is little difference, it seems, between types of announcement, but the difference between announcing speech and conversational speech is more significant. This assumption was tested by means of a t-test, in which announcing speech and conversational speech were shown to be significantly different ($t = 3.58$; $p < 0.05$). Correction for the unequal sample sizes was made (cf. Hays, 1963, p. 322).

If we accept that not every word issuing from the mouth of an announcer is worth its weight in gold, and if we realize that differences which might reasonably be considered differences in the actual information value of announcements (news versus the recycling of the same old top 40 songs, for example) are hardly reflected in these figures, we can also accept, I think, that announcers, in general, are in the habit of making everything they say sound important, regardless of whether it is important in any real sense, or for any other reason than that it is heard by a very large audience. They attempt to attract the attention of their listeners - an attention which is, in their estimation, so limited and so fickle - to every word they say, informative or predictable, new or given.

As far as the differences between stations are concerned, analysis of variance shows that there is significant difference between (a) 2JJ, (b) 2SM, and (c) the ABC, 2CH and 2KY taken as one group ($F = 4.36$; $p < 0.05$). For the analysis a random sample was taken from the announcers of the ABC and 2CH, to make the proportion of announcements from these stations equal to the number of 2KY announcements in the sample.

Which are the words announcers do not accent, the words at the expense of which other words gain their prominence? This question I would like to answer by looking, in turn, at the different types of announcement.

(1) Newsreading

When newsreaders fail to accent single-stress content words, they do so, mostly, from an overall preference for trisyllabic contours. This preference leads them to leave words unaccented which, by any other criterion, should be accorded at least some informative value. All ABC announcers, for example, failed to accent 'leave' in the first sentence of this news item - and they did so in order to be able to continue the rhythmic pattern set up by the first two intonational groups:

[¹[²[the con/¹tainershìp//] ¹[²Asian Re/¹nówn//]

[is/²due to leave/¹Brisbáne//]

There were 17 instances of this in my corpus of newsreading, and in all but one case all announcers made the same choice - for rhythm over information value. It is a choice for an overall impression caused, in part, by rhythmic regularity, a choice for sounding official, objective and impartial over getting meaningful information across: facts do not mean anything, they just are:

...with commercials (...) you're having a conversation with people, you try to convince them of the value of something. But with

news you are simply relating facts to people.
They are not really joining in with you.
It's impersonal...

(2GB newsreader)

An important aspect of news writing is attribution. During their training journalists, throughout the Western world, are admonished in imperative terms:

...Attribution of sources is vital. Pin a report firmly on someone or some organization, unless the fact is absolutely hard...

(Herbert, 1976, p. 85)

The bulletins in my corpus abound with such attributions, and one could argue that, for this reason, verbs of attribution ('say', 'confirm', 'report', etc.) can, in the context of a news broadcast, be taken for granted. Yet, in phrases like 'an ANL spokesman says', or 'a Palestinian spokesman in Beirut says', the verb 'say' is almost always accented, especially by ABC newsreaders - in commercial newsreading I found 5 instances of the verb being skipped over rather lightly, in a precontour:

[an/²ANL/¹spokesmán//] [says the/¹two were/²picked úp//]

Here 'importance' does override rhythmic preference. Predictable as they are, attributions must be foregrounded, the impartiality of the news emphasized every single time. Firmly.

The only other cases in which newsreaders did not accent a single-stress content word were found in the speech of 2CH announcers. One of them twice left such a word unaccented in a long and rapid precontour - for no other apparent reason than rhythmic adjustment:

[when they left the/¹Japanese/²freightér//]

(2) Popular music announcements

In popular music announcements it is predominantly the stereotyped phrases (each station has its own repertoire) in which single-stress content words fail to be accented, the verb 'hear' in this announcement from 2CH, for example:

¹[we/ also heard/²Song from/ Moulin/¹Rouge thére//]

Quite unlike the announcers of other commercial stations, 2CH announcers also leave, at times, either the christian name or the surname of musical performers unaccented. Content words in the title of songs may also fail to receive an accent:

²[¹[Ray/¹Anthony wíth//] ²[²I want to be/¹round//]]

This is, of course, caused, in part, by the fact that 2CH announcers, rather than announcing every song separately, announce them in brackets of four. But it is at the same time a sign of the lack of importance which 'beautiful music' stations attach to the individuality of the music and its performers (or of their preference for music from which all traces of individuality have been removed), particularly when one contrasts it to the great emphasis placed on the names of performers and the titles of songs in the speech of other disc-jockeys:

²[the/¹Carpentèrs//] [from their/²album /¹Passàge//]

[and/²Calling/ Occu/ pants of/ Inter/²plane/ tary/¹Cràft//]]

All 2CH announcers regularly reduced the number of accents on the names of performers and the titles of songs in this way, and this undoubtedly is one of the reasons why their popular music announcements are lower in accentual density than those of other stations' disc-jockeys.

2SM announcers tended to include content words in long and rapid precontours, but these, though strictly speaking content words, were generally words of low informative value:

[¹[who had a/²lot of/¹myst'ry a/ round thé¹m//]]

This may seem a perfectly normal intonation - yet, most other disc-jockeys would accent 'have' in a clause like this, and it is accentuations of this kind which contribute to the lower accentual density and the lower number of accented single-stress content words in the speech of these announcers.

(3) Commercials

The announcers who read commercials were all in the habit of leaving content words unaccented following a rather pronounced accent on the word 'you' - and the words which failed to be accented as a result were not always 'given' in the (intra-textual) context, or redundant by any other criterion:

²[²you can save/¹one hundred/ dollars ón//]]

This occurs in a number of quite different rhythmical contexts, and must, therefore, be seen as the result of the strong

accent on 'you', rather than as the result of rhythmic preference. The direct address to the listener ('you') is here emphasized over the information ('save') - one is reminded of the description of 'contrastive' accents often given in the literature: when a word receives a contrastive accent, other words, in its immediate vicinity, become 'destressed' (cf. e.g. Armstrong and Ward, 1926; Ward, 1939; Jones, 1962). Observers have, indeed, sometimes complained that announcers sound 'contrastive' when a true contrast is absent (cf. e.g. Person, 1958).

(4) Fine music announcing

My recordings of fine music announcing contained no instances of unaccented single-stress content words which could not be explained in terms of the distinction between (intra-textually) 'given' or 'new' information, or in terms of the traditional 'contrastive' accent. For example:

¹[²[the/¹first movemént//] [is/¹called//] ¹[the/¹Tempèst//]]
 (...) ¹[²[¹néxt//] [¹comes//] (...) ¹[¹[the/¹third
 movemént//] [is/¹based//]

(5) Information

In their 'traffic information', 2SM announcers again included unaccented content words in precontours and in long and very rapid contours - a feature of their speech, which, as we have mentioned earlier, explains the lower

accentual density and number of accented single-stress content words in their speech, and also a combination of features which Fonagy, in a very different context, that of Hungarian poetry, likened to a 'merry chase':

...for me, in the given context, this
rhythmical structure conjures up the
picture of a merry chase. The anacrusis,
the levelness of the tone, the repression
of stress, and the relatively fast rhythm
symbolize the first phase of the chase...
(Fonagy, 1976, p. 115)

2SM announcers, rather than enhancing a particular poetic image with this style of speech, use it to express the 'lively', 'bright', 'upvibe' overall view of life which they feel should underlie the approach of the station:

...We're here having a good time. The
people out there don't want to hear some-
body having a bad time...

(2SM announcer)

'We specialize not for an age group but for an outlook on life' says the station's general manager. It is an outlook:

...which can from some angles look like a
kind of hedonism, which finds life largely
acceptable so long as the big worries (debt,
drink, sickness) keep away, and so long as
there is adequate scope for 'having a good
time', (but which is) informed by a more
deep-rooted sense that the big and long-
distance rewards are not for them. At a
first hearing 'why worry' may seem to suggest
a trivial attitude; but only those who expect
to have to worry a lot would coin such a
phrase...

(Hoggart, 1957, p. 113)

2SM announcers also made the 'false contrastive accents' we just described in connection with commercials, and they do so to emphatically invoke 'listener loyalty':

they are placed on words which can only make sense for listeners who follow the entire programme, use it as a 'friendly voice to keep them company' during the early hours of the day, and so, by means of the accent, the intended form of listening is not only signified, but also foregrounded. The example also contains what Newman (1946) would have called an 'expressive' accent, the (long and drawn out) accent on 'big', but such accents were an individual habit of only one of the announcers:

²[and/²that accident on the/¹bridge//] ¹[is/²still
causing/¹big problems this/ morning//]

The ABC's preview of the night's current affairs programme also contained some of these 'expressive' accents - in the speech of 2 of the 5 announcers who recorded it:

²[²[¹How close did it/ come to/²crashing//]

Apart from 3 true contrastive accents, and two instances in which 'says' was included in a precontour, all instances of single-stress content words remaining unaccented can be explained in terms of the patterns described above.

(6) Conversational speech

In conversational speech the range of factors which can cause single-stress content words to remain unaccented is much wider.

Semantically poor words ('thing', 'problem', 'area', etc.), frequent in conversational speech, but very rare in

announcing speech (3 instances only), the 'you know's', 'I mean's' and 'I see's' which are part and parcel of conversational speech, but fully absent from announcing speech, account for 40% of unaccented single-stress content words. The many instances in which (intra-textually) 'given' words fail to receive an accent, account for another 21%.

[a/¹time/²call//] ¹[say/¹after a/²recórd//] [and/¹then
a/²time/call/ém//] [as you're/²going into y'r/
¹next recórd//]

23% of the unaccented single-stress content words occurs after special prominence has been given to some other word - and in my corpus this occurred particularly often on the first person personal pronoun and on verbs with an imperative meaning ('got to', 'have to', 'must', etc.), as if the announcers wanted to specially impress on me, the outsider, that, in their professional practice, they follow patterns imposed on them, but that they nevertheless endorse these patterns personally.

²[and y'/'²got to give 'em a/ lot of/¹time/calls//]

True contrastive accents accounted for another 12%.

¹[We're/ here/ having a/²good/¹time//] ²[the/²people/
out/¹there/²don' wanna/¹hear//] ¹[²somebody/ having a/
¹bad time//]

The remaining cases I could only attribute to rhythmic adjustment. But, as we have seen, there is no overall preference for a certain number of syllables per contour in conversational speech. Rhythm does not stamp the whole of the speech variety 'conversational speech' with a fixed expressive meaning as it does certain varieties of radio announcing speech. It can, from time to time, be used expressively, to enhance what is being said, but this expressive role will remain localized, incidental, rather than that it can be seen as expressing the meaning of a genre of speech.

3.2.3 Variations in rhythmic adjustment: content words with more than one lexical stress position

While the accentuation of single-stress content words does not reflect much of the differences in rhythmic preference, the accentuation of double-stress content words does. In types of announcement and stations where short contours are preferred, both stress positions of such words are more often accented than in types of announcement or stations where longer contours are preferred. The figures cannot be more than a rough indication of this: in some individual announcements there are no more than 3 or 4 such words; but they nevertheless illustrate the tendency:

Type of announcement	both stress positions accented	one stress position accented	no stress positions accented	number of double-stress content words
Commercials	100%	-	-	44
Information	82.9%	17.1%	-	62
Popular music announcing	73.7%	26.3%	-	57
Newsreading	57.1%	40.4%	2.8%	131
Fine music announcing	40.0%	60.0%	-	20
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Conversational speech	61.5%	38.5%	-	56

Table 6: Mean percentages of double-stress content words which receive accents in different types of announcement

Station	both stress positions accented	one stress position accented	no stress positions accented	number of double-stress content words
ABC	62.7%	37.3%	-	130
2SM	70.7%	29.3%	-	28
2KY	75.0%	25.0%	-	25
2CH	77.7%	19.5%	2.8%	75
2JJ	85.1%	14.9%	-	26

Table 7: Mean percentages of double-stress content words which receive accents in different stations

Inspection of the transcriptions shows that, in accenting these words, all announcers adjust to the rhythmic preferences of the type of announcement or the station, in every case. But they do so in their own way: if one

compares, in the scripted announcements, how the same sentence is accented by different announcers, one usually finds variation. All ABC announcers leave the 'secondarily stressed' first syllable of 'university' (,juni'vəsəti) unaccented:

[¹[²Vice/¹Chancellors//] ¹[of Aus/tralia's/²main
uni/¹versities//]

Three of the four 2SM announcers, on the other hand, accent this syllable:

¹[as you ap/²proach the/ uni/¹versity/ there//]

But the fourth one does not:

[²as you ap/ proach the uni/¹versity//]

Yet, one cannot say that this announcer favours long contours more than the others: in other, similar cases he does opt for shorter contours while one or two of the others might not. It is, apparently, the overall effect which matters, the presence of a sufficient number of contours of the preferred type in the utterance as a whole, rather than specific rhythmic solutions for the accentuation of specific words or parts of the utterance.

In multi-stress compounds, and in stereotyped nounphrases intonationally treated as such, there are, as we saw earlier, two possible rhythmic solutions: the accentuation of every word (or even every syllable) or the polarization of accents. The latter solution is most common

in newsreading. I counted 33 cases of it, out of 41 instances in which polarization could have occurred: 2GB and 2CH news-readers sometimes opt for the former solution, for example in this group from a 2CH bulletin:

[forty/five years/old/²James/¹Browning//]

2SM announcers, during stretches in which their speech acquires the characteristics of the 'merry chase', also polarize accents; I counted 13 instances, out of 20 instances in which polarization could have occurred, all in their 'traffic information' announcements. In commercials and popular music announcements, on the other hand, one can find only a few isolated cases of polarization.

The accentuation of time calls and number sequences displays a similar pattern. What 3 out of 5 ABC announcers leave unaccented:

[forty/¹one thousand/and//] [¹eight hundred/²dollars//]

two of the three 2KY announcers accent:

[and/¹you can/²save//] [¹one/²hundred/dollars//]

Preference for multi-syllable contours also causes ABC announcers to introduce, in their time calls, what Bolinger (1965) has called 'satellite elements', the word 'minute', for example:

[¹[¹it's/²two minutes to/¹seven//]

Commercial announcers rarely do this - I found only 2 instances, in the speech of 2SM announcers. In commercial

radio this form is usually preferred:

[¹[¹[it's/¹twenty/two/past/²eight]/]

There are, in my corpus, only 44 instances of the accentuation of lexically unstressed syllables. No more than 3 of these occur in commercials, to create, in multi-contour groups, a regularized disyllabic rhythm:

[and/ if you/ take the/²Peter/ William/ son
ad/¹vertisément/]

In popular music announcements I found 20 instances, and they occurred, with few exceptions, on the titles of songs:

[and/²Calling/ Occu/pants of/ Inter/²plane/ tary/
¹Craft/]

In commercials as well as in popular music announcements, such groups were characterized, not only by a regularized disyllabic rhythm, but also by other features of 'rhythmicization': precision in the isochronous timing of the contours, lengthening of the accents and shortening of the unaccented syllables (or the reverse), and generally increasing the contrast between accented and unaccented syllables, supra-segmentally as well as by features of articulation.

The information announcements contained 6 instances, newsreading 20. But here they occurred not so much for reasons of importance, to foreground an advertiser's extra-special offer, or a disc-jockey's extra-popular and extra-

successful smash hit, as to mark the end of sequences or whole utterances. As such, increases in accentual density and their concomitant reduction in the number of syllables per contour can also be found in conversational speech:

[the/¹weather infor/ mation and/²so ón//] [¹surfing
infor/²mation//] [it's/²all com/¹bíned//] ²[in/
¹one/²bíg//] ¹[²one/bíg/¹stèw//] [to/ make a/ very/
¹wide ap/ peal/ ²prográmme//]]]

But here it serves to underline a conclusion or a summary, to create an overall increase in emphasis. In newsreading, on the other hand, the increase is mechanical. It takes no account of whether or not there is an important conclusion or summary to underline. In news the final groups get the punches, regardless of whether they form a punchline:

[in the/²three/ wold/¹cúps//] [in/²which they/ have
par/¹tíci/ patèd//]]]

Perhaps this is what annoyed Elwyn Evans, a BBC broadcaster, who later became Head of Radio Training in that organization:

...reading out the phrases rather than concentrating on the sense is (...) the surest way to develop irritating vocal mannerisms, such as the piledriving thump which some newscasters bestow on the last word of every sentence, whether important or unimportant. For instance, 'The pound had a better day, and share prices went up in the City.' Where else?...

(Evans, 1977, p. 49)

Apart from overall preferences with regard to the number of syllables per contour, then, we can observe other rhythmic tendencies, localized increases or reductions in the number of syllables per contour, which, in newsreading, and, to a much lesser extent, in ABC information, serve to mark the utterance structure in a formal way, regardless of the 'importance' of the groups on which they occur, but which in commercials and popular music announcements (and also in conversational speech) serve to highlight important parts of the message, to vocally underline key phrases.

It should finally be noted that the overall tendency towards trisyllabic contours in newsreading is also aided by the fact that newsreading contains more multi-syllable words than other announcements, and by the fact that in newsreading less contractions of unaccented syllables occur. The percentage of unaccented syllables which are in fact contractions of two syllables is 2.1 in newsreading, while in popular music it is 5.2% and in commercials 4.7%. In information (2.5%) and fine music announcing (1.1%) there is less contraction. In conversational speech 5.4% of unaccented syllables are contractions.

3.2.4 The accentuation of articles and auxiliaries: of ominous overtones, anticipatory pauses, rhythmical foregrounding and unnatural speech rhythms

It is not only in Australia and not only recently that announcers have been accused of accenting (wrongly accenting) articles, auxiliaries and prepositions. The

American linguist Person claimed 24 years ago that announcers 'apply the wrong stress patterns to the utterance' (1958, p. 295). And in Britain Lidell, more recently, blamed one particular announcer for having introduced the obnoxious habit:

...the original sinner was that sparkling and entertaining 'anti-speech' merchant, William Hardcastle. His influence has been very destructive of newsreading standards. His attempt to get away from the written script, and to sound spontaneous, was based on a false idea: emphasis on unimportant words, and fractured speech rhythm. The indefinite and definite articles (...) were more often than not pronounced in their stressed form; the auxiliary verbs (...) were often abnormally aggressive, rather than normally neutral; and the net result was distortion, with overtones of ominous content. (...) It had nothing to do with sound newsreading, which is an official rendering of official writing...
(Lidell, 1979, p. 478)

In my corpus, articles and auxiliaries rarely received a rhythmical accent, as can be seen from the following tables:

Type of announcement	percentage of articles accented	number of articles
Popular music announcing	3.4%	118
Newsreading	2.3%	216
Commercials	1.9%	53
Fine music announcing	1.1%	94
Information	0.6%	181
-----	-----	-----
Conversational speech	1.8%	111

Table 8: The accentuation of articles

Type of announcement	Number of accented auxiliaries	Total number of auxiliaries
Newsreading	16 (19.3%)	83
Information	5 (9.6%)	52
Popular music announcing	2	5
Commercials	-	3
Fine music announcing	-	14
<hr/>		
Conversational speech	7 (29.2%)	24

Table 9: The accentuation of auxiliaries

It cannot be said that specific announcers or specific stations are responsible for the scores in table 8: accented articles are evenly distributed among stations and announcers - with one exception: they never occur in the speech of any of the 2JJ announcers. With the figures in table 9, however, things are different: ABC announcers all accent auxiliaries more frequently than other announcers, particularly in newsreading, but also in the information announcements. 2CH announcers also all accented an auxiliary at least once in their news bulletins. But in the announcements from other stations only three accented auxiliaries were found.

The accentuation of articles and auxiliaries in newsreading follows a pattern we have encountered before. It occurs either at the end of sequences or paragraphs, as part of the overall increase in accentual density which marks such boundaries, or in the body of sequences and para-

graphs, to achieve an overall regularization of the rhythm:

²[²are to get/¹salary/ increases/ /]

In news, rhythm is formalized, regularized, to express the formality appropriate for the genre. Newsreading has:

...a recognizable cadence which, ideal for announcing news, would seem monotonous and unnatural in a different type of programme...
(Lewis, 1966, p. 141)

But not all broadcasters consider this 'regular cadence' ideal:

...newscasters sound monotonous simply because their speech rhythms are too regular...
(Evans, 1977, p. 50)

Speech was never meant to be impartial. To make it impartial, to render it as devoid of 'inflection' as is writing, one must remove from intonation its very essence, its function of connecting separate items of information, and of creating contrasts between what is important and what is not, of 'choosing sides', of discrimination. And that, in their endeavour to be (to sound) impartial, is precisely what newsreaders refuse to do:

...News demands first that there is impartiality. Therefore there is a kind of formality about the way you read it. You can't be moved by what you read (...) If you did this with political, or other controversial material, you'd be a hopeless newsreader, because you would be (...) exciting prejudice (...) or show your bias (...) That's why they call newsreaders 'talking heads'. That's all they do. They deliver in a way which puts the information across. Correct diction. Correct pronunciation...

(ABC newsreader)

The accentuation of articles in popular music announcements, on the other hand, serves to highlight a name or song title, or some other element which, in the context of the genre, is of primary importance. And this highlighting is achieved, not by regularizing the rhythm of the group, but because the article, by virtue of being made into a separate contour, acquires the function of an 'anticipatory pause', becomes one of the variants of a habit which Delbridge commented on, the

...habit of radio announcers of pausing before a title which is to be emphasized...
(Delbridge, 1967, p. 360)

An example, from 2CH:

¹[The/²Laurie/Bower/¹Singérs//]

In conversational speech accented articles can create a similar effect, but, rather than a deliberate way of withholding, momentarily, an important announcement, the 'pause' results from hesitation, a hesitation by means of which the speaker can gain just a little more time before he finally commits himself to the precise word:

[¹I would/ think be/²tween éh//] [²the/¹usual
com/ mercial/²image//] ¹[and the/²AB/¹C/ style
of/ reading//]

When auxiliaries are accented in conversational speech, there usually are, indeed, 'overtones of ominous content', implied contrasts, and the unusual accent cannot be

seen as resulting from a rhythmic adjustment:

[you/¹can even/ bé//] ¹[¹over/²bright in the/ morníng//]

An intonation with which the 2SM announcer wants to say that he, of course, rarely indulges in such excess, and that 'over-bright' is, of course, not a very good thing to be.

But in popular music announcements auxiliaries are accented (the few times they are) as part of a larger scale rhythmic regularization, a reduction in the number of syllables per contour which stretches over one or two groups, and serves to underline an important announcement: the introduction of a guest, or the announcement of a song.

Perhaps critics like Person and Lidell are not only overestimating the frequency of these 'aggressive abnormalities', but also a little unfair in the way they give their examples: they usually italicize only the offending words, and pretend there are no other accents in the sentence. 'There could be snow in the South-East in many areas, but it is unlikely to occur before midnight', is one of the Lidell's examples. 'Be sure to send in your request for the recipe', is one of Persons's. In reality these accents are extremely unlikely to sound as 'contrastive' as they seem on paper, with only the unusual accents italicized. In reality listeners perceive, not 'ominous overtones', but accents typical for announcing speech - monotonous regularity in the case of news, a sense of enthusiasm and excitement added to routine announcements in the case of popular music announcements, for example.

3.2.5 The accentuation of prepositions: of prepositional links and of real and synthetic emotions

Announcers, as we have seen, have been taken to task by various critics for accenting prepositions. 'The following statement from the White House', and 'We take you now to Paris' are some of Person's examples of these 'intonational fluffs' as he calls them, and he adds that 'with all (...) announcers the stressed preposition is common' (1958, p. 295).

I found, however, that prepositions are accented as much in conversational speech as in announcing speech, although in popular music announcements they are somewhat more frequent than usual, and in fine music announcements somewhat less. The incidence of prepositions is, in some individual announcements, too low to make detailed statistical treatment possible, but inspection of the transcriptions shows that the figures are not due to habits of individual announcers: the accented prepositions are evenly distributed among the announcers.

Type of announcement	percentage of accented prepositions	total number of prepositions
Popular music announcing	32.3%	145
Information	20.2%	224
Commercials	19.6%	67
Newsreading	19.2%	254
Fine music announcing	14.5%	76
-----	-----	-----
Conversational speech	19.9%	89

Table 10: The accentuation of prepositions in different types of announcement

Station	Percentage of accented prepositions	Total number of prepositions
2KY	32.2%	43
2JJ	29.8%	80
2SM	24.9%	122
ABC	24.2%	306
2CH	17.5%	170

Table 11: The accentuation of prepositions in different stations

In newsreading prepositions are accented, in 94% of cases, for the now familiar reasons. Rhythmic regularity, as in this ABC example:

²[the con/¹tainers//] [were/ loaded/ on the/¹ship
this/²morning//] [under/²tight se/¹curity//]

Or an overall increase in accentual density towards the end of sequences or paragraphs - another ABC example:

¹[as/²fifty/ to/¹sixty/ demon/ strators/ gathered//]
[in/¹pouring/²rain//]]

The few remaining cases form another variation of the 'anticipatory pause' - an actual pause accompanies them, this time, rather than that the anticipation is created only by the lengthening of the function word, a pause which disturbs the rhythm sufficiently to be perceived as a group boundary, and to which the accentuation of the preposition

adds the deliberateness which is absent when a similar pause occurs in conversational speech, following an unaccented preposition. The introduction to an ABC news broadcast is here compared to the conversational speech of a 2SM announcer. In both, groups break off following a preposition:

- (a) [²[¹[the/²news in/¹brìef//] [²read/¹bý//] ²[¹Jeff/²Sopèr//]]
- (b) [you've/got to/²bring it/¹down into éh//]
[re/¹lating to éh//] [²house/¹wíves//]

In fine music announcements 'anticipatory pauses' created only by the lengthening of a preposition are more common:

[a/¹tráil//] [²blazed in/¹Fránce//] [by/²Hector/
¹Berliòz//]]

Accented prepositions here occur in the context of rhythmicized groups also - but always introducing a name or title:

[¹[the/¹third movemént//] ²[is/²based/on/Mac/¹bèth//]]

When the same phenomena occur in popular music announcements and commercials, the lengthening is usually more considerable and the emphasis greater. A sense of excitement must be added to the announcement in this way, what is in fact the perennial repetition of the same announcing routines and the same (or very similar) music must be presented as new and unexpected - 'humiliated repetition' Roland Barthes called this:

...content, ideological schema, the blurring of contradictions, these are repeated, but the superficial forms are varied: always new books, new programmes, new films, new items, but always the same meaning...
(Barthes, 1973, pp. 41-42)

Accentual style contributes to this by means of increasing the emphasis on the 'anticipatory pause' as in this example from 2KY:

¹[¹[and from Aus/²traliá//] ²[we/ move/²right
a/ cross the/ world/ now/ to/¹Canada//]]
¹[and/ one of/ Canada's/²leading /¹talénts//]
²[¹Ann/²Murray//]] ²[¹[her/²brand new/¹single//]
²[¹Hold Me/²Tight//]]]

When the prepositions are particularly strongly emphasized, they may even be made into separate groups - and so create a more pronounced form of the combination of anticipatory pause and deliberate emphasis on the preposition which may introduce a name or title. An ABC example:

[²[and/²here is the/¹big/ versión//] [¹of//]
²[¹Close En/²countérs//] [¹of the/²Third/ Kínd//]
[¹fróm//] [¹John/²Williams//]]]

As popular music announcements, in the crucial announcing clauses, very often lack a grammatical subject and predicator ('And Mark Holden, with Easy Street'; 'Calling Occupants of Interplanetary Space, from the Carpenters'), prepositions,

in these announcements, acquire a linking function, must replace fuller expressions like 'and now we hear', or 'presented by', and this explains, to quite some extent, why the number of accented prepositions is greater in this type of announcement than in others.

2CH announcers, on the other hand, prefer the fuller form, which is one of the reasons why they accent less prepositions:

[²[²Johnnie/¹Mathís//] [¹sáng//] ¹[an Af/²fair to
Re/¹member//]

Synthetic excitement, perennially repeated, mass produced the world over. When rhythmicizations, similar to that in the 2KY example just quoted, occur in conversational speech, they cannot be said to form a habit, but stem from unique events, can be directly related to the unique interaction which is taking place, and the emotions engendered by it. Here a 2GB announcer is taken aback by one of my questions, and becomes, as a result, a little agitated as he searches for an answer:

[²[¹[¹the/ present/²tation it/¹sélf//] ²[¹oh//]
[¹gèe//] [I've/²never/¹thought a/bout it//]]
[[the/²actual/ presen/ tation/ of the news//]]]

Three of the accents in the commercials could not be interpreted in terms of any of the 'habits' described above. Nor were they expressive accents of the kind which cause neighbouring content words to lose their accent, or

part of the rhythmicization of a group: unlike the accent on the preposition in a rhythmicized group, the accent on the preposition, in these cases, is much more prominent than the other accents in the group (pitch increases over 70 cps). An example, from a 2KY commercial:

²[a/²long/¹to the/ showroom//]

When an accent is as marked as this in conversational speech, it is invariably a true contrast, as in this example, where a 2GB announcer compares 'talking with people' and 'talking to people':

²[²[but with/¹news//] [²you are/¹simplý//] [re/¹latíng//]
[eh/¹fácts//] ¹[¹to peoplè//]

But the accent in the 2KY example is not contrastive in the traditional sense of the word. It is an unusual accent and hence a very noticeable one. Its rarity and the lack of motivation for it are undoubtedly the reasons that accents of this kind attract adverse comment. The more usual case, in which an accented preposition is integrated in a larger scale rhythmicization, or accented to create an 'anticipatory' lengthening of the preposition, on the other hand, goes unnoticed, because the listener, without knowing that he is doing so, perceives the reason for it.

3.2.6 The accentuation of conjunctions: of the persuasive structure of commercials and the disconnectedness of news, and of anticipatory 'ands'

Conjunctions make up 8.2% of all the words in commercials. In news the proportion is 3.2%. This is not so by accident. Commercials use logical constructions to persuade the listener: 'If you're looking for a topquality car, then...'; they emphasize the multiplicity of advantages in choosing the advertiser's product over that of the competition: 'and page nine of Friday's Mirror...'; they highlight the boundless choice offered the consumer: 'for new Toyota cars, trucks or topquality used cars...'; they draw conclusions from all this on behalf of the listener: 'so Nippon out to Peter Williamson...'.

News, on the other hand, 'relates facts' - but without really relating them, without providing the connections or drawing the conclusions. There are, accordingly, only additive and simple temporal conjunctions in news.

The difference is reflected in the accentuation of conjunctions, as can be seen from the following tables. Variation between individual announcers is very slight, except in conversational speech. Five newsreaders, evenly distributed among the different stations, never accented a conjunction, but this does not make them a case apart, and should probably be seen as the result of the infrequency of accented conjunctions in newsreading: none of the other announcers accented more than 2 conjunctions, and, given a larger sample of newsreading from each announcer, one would probably find that all newsreaders accent conjunctions - but

only sporadically so.

Type of announcement	Percentage of accented conjunctions	Total number of conjunctions
Popular music announcing	52.8%	72
Information	50.0%	96
Commercials	42.6%	47
Fine music announcing	39.1%	46
Newsreading	18.5%	65
Conversational speech	37.7%	69

Table 12: The accentuation of conjunctions in different types of announcement

Station	Percentage of accented conjunctions	Total number of conjunctions
ABC	46.9%	111
2JJ	43.8%	32
2KY	42.1%	19
2SM	41.1%	56
2CH	40.1%	91

Table 13: The accentuation of conjunctions in different stations

In commercials, and also in 2CH, 2KY and 2JJ, conjunctions are accented as often when they occur between phrases as when they occur between clauses. In popular music announcements and information items conjunctions are accented, respectively, 19 and 16% less often when they occur between phrases, in ABC announcements 29% less often. In fine music

announcements, newsreading and conversational speech conjunctions between clauses are accented approximately twice as often as conjunctions between phrases. In 2SM announcements only 2 conjunctions between phrases are accented.

In newsreading conjunctions are accented to regularize the rhythm, or to increase the accentual density towards the end of sequences or whole news-items.

In commercials, on the other hand, they receive an accent because of their importance in expressing the persuasive structure of the genre - and the accentuation need not necessarily be part of the monosyllabization of one or more intonational groups, as in this 2KY example, where the accent is also very pronounced (a 90 cps pitch increase over the neighbouring accents):

²[¹So//] ²[²Nippon/¹out//] ¹[to/¹Peter/²Williamsón//]

In ABC fine music announcements, and also in their items of information, conjunctions serve to order the topics of discourse explicitly, to highlight the connections which in news are obscured;

²[²[¹Finally//] [a dis/¹cussion ón//] [²homo/¹sexuáls//]

[and the/¹Chùrch//]

In 2SM and 2JJ information this use of conjunctions is largely absent. Although all speakers accent conjunctions, at 2JJ even frequently so, they do so from an overall tendency towards certain numbers of syllables per contour, rather than to highlight specific parts of the utterance

which can be said to be important for the genre. It is as if they must accent a certain quota of conjunctions, but without needing to adhere to specific distributional constraints. Where one 2SM announcer may say:

[so/ if you/ see 'em/²coming/ let 'em/¹through//]

another may leave the conjunction unaccented:

¹[so'f you/ see 'em/²coming/ let them/¹through//]

In popular music announcements, on the other hand, the accentuation of conjunctions occurs as part of the rhythmic regularization of the groups which contain the names of performers or the titles of songs, rather than being more or less randomly distributed:

²[²and/¹John/ Den/ ver/ is/²now//]

In these announcements 'and' often acquires a linking function similar to that of prepositions like 'by', 'from' and 'with': 'And one of Canada's leading talents, Ann Murray...'; 'Linda Ronstadt and her current song, Blue Bayou...'. Accordingly it often receives a rather pronounced accent, accompanied by, or substituting for an anticipatory pause.

In conversational speech 'but' and 'and' tend to have a fairly neutral linking function, and speakers tend to fall into two groups as far as their accentuation is concerned: those in whose speech the conjunctions are accompanied, most of the time, by a hesitation and a group

boundary ([But eh//]), and those who, speaking more fluently, include them, unaccented, in the precontour of a group ([but it's/ not/ heavy//]). In other cases, however, speakers of both types accent conjunctions to underline the importance they attach to certain of the logical or temporal connections they make:

[and be/²cause they're/¹shorter/ théy//] [probably
have to be/ done in a more/²urgent/¹way//]

3.2.7 The accentuation of deictics and personal pronouns:
of personal and impersonal genres, and of the absent
context of situation

Deictics, used exophorically, rather than referring to a place or time previously identified in the announcement itself, are a great deal more common in popular music announcements than in other genres of radio announcing. From news they are altogether absent; elsewhere they are generally found only in the time-calls and station identifications which may open or close an announcement ('This is ABC Radio...').

Although they occur in approximately equal numbers in the popular music announcements of all the stations, the degree to which they are accented varies. Disc-jockeys from 2KY, 2JJ and the ABC tend to accent almost all of them; 2SM announcers accent approximately a third of them; 2CH announcers about a quarter. In every case these words function in the same way: they must bridge the distance,

create the absent context of situation by means of the speech itself, mask what is official as personal, what is a command as a recommendation (cf. Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972, p. 159). Although the 'here' of the announcer is not the 'here' of the listener, and although there can be no guarantee that his 'now' is also the listener's 'now', the impression of a unity of time and place must be given, the 'companionship of the medium' and 'listener loyalty' both signified and emphasized. In some stations this is done more subtly than in others. A 2KY announcer opens with a fairly bold affirmation:

[¹[¹[¹Here we/²are//]

and his reference to the music 'we' just heard 'together' is equally emphatic:

[¹[²That's/¹Mark/ Holden//]

2CH disc-jockeys, similar as their wording may be, prefer a 'gentler' way:

[²[¹[well/¹in that/²last se/ lection óf//] ²[²Two CH
good/¹music//]

In conversational speech, on the other hand, exophorically used deictics (when they occur, which is, in my corpus, not very often) are strongly accented. A 2GB announcer, for example, nodded in the direction of the smoked glass window when he said:

[it's/²new to/ them out/¹there//]

We have already seen it: in commercials 'you' is a keyword. In my corpus it was accented 11 of the 14 times it occurred, and strongly so: a personal address, an emphatic appeal to the listener's personal 'needs', which, by virtue of the paradox of mass communication (a mass audience, fragmented into isolated individuals) obliterates the distinction between the singular and the plural.

Popular music announcing, on the other hand, emphasizes the 'companionship of the medium'. Here, although 'you' occurs a good deal too, 'we' is the keyword. However, despite the importance of personals for the illusory bond between speaker and listeners, they are accented only 35% of the time. Disc-jockeys, it seems, have heeded warnings like that of Evans:

...the quasi-personal relationship between speaker and listener must be established delicately, by implication, and certainly without over-emphasis. The parsonical or advertising hard-sell- 'Have you ever thought ...?', 'What are you doing...?' - is off-putting in the extreme...

(Evans, 1977, p. 22)

Unaccented 'you' occurs also in information items, especially in those of the 2SM and 2JJ announcers - in ABC information it remained restricted to the adlibbed introductions which preceded the scripted announcement. The example is from 2JJ:

[or if you/²want to find/ out what's/¹happening//]

[²have a listen to/¹this//]

From newsreading and the ABC fine music announcements personal pronouns are conspicuously absent. News, we

have seen it, must be 'impersonal', and, although the days of 'Listeners will recall' and 'Our speaker tonight' are over, the ABC, in general, still sounds a good deal more formal than the commercial stations.

In conversational speech, finally, exophorically used personal and possessive pronouns occur a great deal, and here the first person pronouns account for well over a third of the total number of pronouns. From announcing speech, on the other hand, first person pronouns are altogether absent. The professional speaker, when on duty, is not an 'I' - he is a middle-man, someone else's voice, an interpreter who must make his 'I' subservient to the organization for which he works, and to the audience as it has been defined by this organization. However much radio speakers may wish to sound 'conversational', one important aspect of real conversations, abundant self-expression, remains taboo:

...a radio announcer is a cross between a microphone speaker and an actor. He is also - bad luck - an official. When I was new to the announcing trade, a senior executive took me aside and said 'Do be careful when you go to the mike. Remember you are The Voice of the BBC'. Such spontaneity as I possessed vanished instantly, and took a long time to re-emerge...
(Evans, 1977, p. 46)

When their reference is intra-textual, deictics and personal and possessive pronouns are accented according to overall rhythmic preference, and their accentuation, accordingly, is somewhat less frequent in, for example, newsreading and ABC speech, than in commercials and popular

music announcements, and the announcements of commercial stations in general.

* * *

3.3 MANNER OF ACCENTUATION

In his book about the craft of announcing, Bruce Lewis tells aspiring announcers that 'a wide choice of methods (is) available to us' to 'emphasize key words' and to 'verbally underline important phrases'. His list of these methods includes many of the phonetic cues I discussed in the previous chapter, even if his terminology is not always that of the linguist or the phonetician. 'Emphasis', he says, is achieved, not only by 'increasing the volume of tone', but also by 'decreasing the volume', 'adjusting the intonation' (that is 'altering your usual rhythm and speech tune'), 'adjusting the pitch', 'lengthening the initial sound of the stressed syllable', 'pausing, either before or after the word you wish to emphasize', 'significant facial expression', and 'gesture' (1966, p. 66). And he adds:

...there is a right and wrong occasion for
each of these forms of emphasis...
(Lewis, 1966, p. 66)

In this section of the chapter I will look at some aspects of the way in which announcers create the contrast between accented and unaccented syllables. I will assume that, in the normal case, pitch, intensity and duration all make their contribution to that contrast, all increase by a discriminable degree to set off the accent against both the

preceding and the following unaccented syllable. However, my discussion of the phonetic cues of accent, in the previous chapter, must have made it clear that I also expect a fair number of exceptions, and I will assume that a close analysis of these exceptions can aid the detection of what might be the 'right occasion' for various permutations in the configuration of these three phonetic cues, and perhaps even why.

To prepare for this part of my study, I took instrumental measurements of pitch, intensity and duration, and, because of the detailed work involved, I somewhat reduced the corpus: 10 speakers, 2 from each of the following stations: ABC, 2JJ, 2KY, 2SM and 2CH. Two or three announcements from each of these speakers: 26 announcements in all - 10 popular music announcements (totalling 4'25"), 6 information announcements (4'04"), 12 news items (4'4"), 2 fine music announcements (2'31"), and 4 30-second commercials (2'04"). In all 18'27" of announcing speech. To enable comparison with non-announcing speech, I also included 5'26" of conversational speech, from 4 different speakers.

The measurements were made at Macquarie University's Speech and Language Research Centre. Pitch and intensity were extracted by means of a Frøkjær-Jensen pitch- and intensity-meter, and displayed on an Oscillomink, operated at .5 cm./sec. Duration of the syllables was measured from the duplex oscillogram, following Peterson and Lehiste's (1960) recommendations for identifying the beginning and end of syllables - in some cases this is not a very clearcut affair: if, for example, a pause is followed by a syllable

with an initial plosive, one cannot determine, from the duplex oscillogram, where the syllable begins. Strictly speaking, part of the pause should be counted as part of the syllable, to cover the stop without which the syllable would sound truncated. But there is no rational way of deciding how much of the pause should be included, and hence Peterson and Lehiste recommend to mark the boundary at the start of the releasing spike.

For each syllable, peak pitch and peak intensity were measured - and, as mentioned earlier, a Dawe acoustic calibrator had been used during the recording to provide a 64 dB reference level for the measurement of intensity.

To assess the discriminability of the increases in pitch, intensity and duration, I relied on Lehiste's (1970), exhaustive discussion of the 'just noticeable differences' in speech: 3 cycles per second was regarded as a just noticeable difference in pitch, 1 decibel as a just noticeable difference in intensity, and, for syllables ranging in duration from 3 to 30 centiseconds, a scale of just noticeable difference was considered to range from 1 to 4 centiseconds.

Comparing the accented and unaccented syllables of a group was, of course, only possible when an accent was either preceded or followed by an unaccented syllable, or both, which, as many of my examples already should have made clear, is not always the case: 349 accents, 12.9% of the total in the reduced corpus, had to be disregarded for this reason.

Tables 14 and 15 show, not surprisingly, perhaps, that the contrast between an accented syllable and the preceding

unaccented syllable is realized by a perceivable increase in all three of the phonetic cues more frequently than the contrast between an accent and the following unaccented syllable, a difference which was found to be significant ($t = 7.35$; $p < 0.05$). About half of the unaccented syllables must either be longer, or higher, or greater in intensity than the preceding accent. It is not difficult to think of at least one of the reasons for this: group-final contours were included in the calculations. In these contours, the final unaccented syllables are usually not only lengthened, to mark the boundary of the group, but also, if the group is an open one, staying at the same pitch- and/or intensity-level, or increasing in pitch and/or intensity as a manifestation of the open ending of the group.

Table 14 shows that announcers, in reading commercials, must favour one or two of the phonetic cues at the expense of a third, and that there are, in general, more cases of the full 'three-dimensional' contrast between an accent and the preceding unaccented syllable in announcing speech than in conversational speech. This difference was borne out by analysis of variance: the differences within the following groups: (a) fine music announcing, newsreading, popular music announcing and information, (b) commercials, and (c) conversational speech was, on average, less than the difference between these three groups ($F = 11.36$, $p < 0.05$). The analysis was made only on individual announcements which contained more than 40 accents, and, for group (a) the number of announcers within each sub-group was reduced by random selection to make the subgroups equal in size.

The other differences in tables 14 and 15, however, are not significant, and a more detailed analysis is necessary before patterns of differentiation between the stations can be discerned.

Type of announcement	contrast with the preceding unaccented syllable along all 3 acoustic parameters as a percentage of the total number of accents	contrast with the following unaccented syllable along all 3 acoustic parameters as a percentage of the total number of accents
Popular music announcing	73.1%	50.1%
Fine music announcing	71.9%	48.9%
Newsreading	71.3%	55.0%
Information	67.8%	50.1%
Commercials	49.7%	45.5%
-----	-----	-----
Conversational speech	62.8%	51.0%

Table 14: Combined pitch-, intensity- and duration contrast between accents and unaccented syllables in different types of announcements

Station	Contrast with the preceding unaccented syllable along all 3 acoustic parameters as a percentage of the total number of accents	Contrast with the following unaccented syllable along all 3 acoustic parameters as a percentage of the total number of accents
2JJ	73.1%	43.8%
ABC	72.8%	49.8%
2CH	65.8%	49.3%
2SM	64.0%	54.8%
2KY	59.3%	53.1%

Table 15: Combined pitch-, intensity- and duration contrasts between accents and unaccented syllables in different stations

3.3.1 Long, strong and high precontours: of form and function in intonation, of compensatory foregrounding and of intonational boredom

The syllables in a precontour are usually lower, softer, and shorter than the first accented syllable of a group. But 23% of the final precontour syllables in my reduced corpus were not: pitch, intensity or duration (or a combination of these factors) of these syllables exceeded that of the first accent (or was equal to it, or differed from it by a degree which, according to the just noticeable differences we have adopted, is not perceivable).

These variations were not evenly distributed among the different types of announcement and stations represented in the corpus. A rough indication can be given: 34% of the precontours in commercials were marked in this way, 27% of the precontours in fine music announcing, 25% of the precontours in information items, 20% of the precontours in newsreading, 12% of the precontours in popular music announcing, and 23% of the precontours in conversational speech. Marked precontours occurred most in the speech of 2KY announcers (45%), second most in that of 2JJ announcers (33%). This is followed by the ABC (23%), 2CH (22%), and 2SM (16%).

The effect of these variations depends on the phonetic feature (or features) involved, as well as on the degree to which the reversed contrast is foregrounded. Long precontours, for example, that is, precontours with comparatively long syllables, may consist of little more than the unusually careful pronunciation of a syllable which

normally would have been pronounced more casually - the full vowel instead of an /ə/, glottal stop following the final consonant, etc.: it takes time to execute such careful articulations. If the lengthening is sufficiently pronounced, long precontours can give a sense of 'thoughtfulness' to the speech, an impression that the speaker chooses his words with care. As such we find it mostly in the speech of ABC announcers, although they do not all use it on the same sentences of the script: it is a more or less randomly distributed embellishment. By way of example a group from an ABC fine music announcement, as pronounced by two different announcers, once with, and once without a long precontour:

[had/²recently/¹followed//]

pitch (cps)	90	95	80	70	100	70
intensity (dB)	52	57	51	52	58	54
duration (cs)	22	12	24	16	22	28

[had/²recent ly/¹followed//]

pitch (cps)	90	140	100	90	150(-100)	140
intensity (dB)	44	59	49	49	58	53
duration (cs)	7	15	22	12	21	18

But the meaning of the long precontour depends not only on the degree of the lengthening. It depends also on the context. Similar intonations can be found in commercials - but there a different meaning is attached to them. There they create a sense of anticipation, rather than a sense of thoughtfulness. Long lists of 'emotive' meanings, so common in the literature, can be avoided if it is realized that, in intonation, form and function are

inseparable, that intonations 'mean what they are'. The long precontour, for example, means 'wait for this' - and that meaning is expressed precisely by making the listener wait a little longer for the next word than he would normally have had to wait. To this basic meaning the context adds emotive colour, causes us to decide, in the one case, that the speaker makes us wait to give us the impression that he chooses his words with care, in the other because he is about to disclose something important and exciting, and wants to set our hearts a-flutter with anticipation. In this use the long precontour is another variation of the anticipatory pause, which, like so many things in intonation, admits of an infinity of degrees and realizations. Here, for example, is the same phrase, pronounced by two different 2KY announcers. In the first case there is a pronounced anticipatory pause - strong emphasis on the preposition, combined with a pause -, in the second just a little more care (and time) than usual is taken in articulating the preposition:

[¹ón//] [¹a n y/ used/²cár//]

pitch (cps)	150	225	100	100	120-170
intensity (dB)	66	64	66	72	67
duration (cs)	30	9	16	34	30

[on/ a n y/¹used/²cár//]

pitch (cps)	100	180	100	190	120-90-100
intensity (dB)	63	64	63	66	66
duration (cs)	19	8	20	34	54

The strong precontour, in which the peak intensity of the final precontour syllable exceeds that of the first

accent of the group, has a different distribution. In provides 'compensatory foregrounding' for words which, as a result of rhythmic adjustment, have not received the accent which, judging by their information value, they should have received. As such the strong precontour is common in news-reading - a genre in which, as we have seen, rhythmic regularity may be valued more highly than information. An ABC example:

¹[vice/¹chancellors'/'²salaries//]

pitch (cps)	120	250	100	80	110	90	150
intensity (dB)	63	63	59	59	59	54	58
duration (cs)	22	26	17	21	10	11	28

The long, strong precontour combines the function of the long precontour with the compensatory foregrounding afforded by the strong precontour. Of the 20 examples in the reduced corpus, 6 occurred in commercials, 5 in news-reading, and 5 in fine music announcing. The same phrase we used earlier as an example, here from a third announcer, who creates, by means of a long, strong precontour, a variation of the anticipatory pause which, in degree, should fit somewhere between the two examples given above:

[on/¹a n y/ used/ car/ on dis/²play - //]

pitch(cps)	100	160	90	140	120	100	80	110-70
intensity (dB)	65	63	63	65	66	66	65	65
duration (cs)	20	7	22	37	35	18	18	38 36

The high precontour has variously been described as 'enthusiastic', 'disapproving', 'impatient', 'angry',

'bored' and more (cf. e.g. O'Connor and Arnold, 1961; Crystal, 1969). In my corpus it occurred predominantly in the speech of ABC announcers, and it did, I must admit, sound a little bored at times:

[and/¹now we look at the/²programmes//]

pitch (cps)	140	120	90	95	80	70	110	70
intensity (dB)	57	57	56	55	45	45	58	55
duration (cs)	16	15	7	14	8	7	19	36

Perhaps a reversal of the expected pitch pattern is perceived as a rather strong violation of intonational norms. As such its fundamental meaning is something like 'this is unusual', 'this is unexpected'. But whether the unexpectedness is, subsequently, coloured in as 'surprise' or 'disapproval' can be determined only by the verbal and the situational context of the intonation.

3.3.2 High, strong and long unaccented syllables: of insincere emotions and intonational crescendos

The raising of pitch on an unaccented syllable in the body of an intonational group has a curious effect on which several writers have commented. For Bailey (1971b) it sounds 'insincere', 'flippant' and 'sarcastic'. Bolinger (1958b) quotes an example from radio speech, which I will show here in his notation:

seldom 'out^{of} my
I am castle

In another paper he comments:

...reverse accents are taken as conveying formalized, hence insincere emotion...
(Bolinger, 1970, p. 152)

Crystal (1975) discusses the use of raised unaccented syllables in poetry reading and says they have a 'solely aesthetic effect' (p. 122). Crystal and Davy (1969) note their frequency in the speech of a radio cricket commentator and say that raised pitch on unaccented syllables is 'one of the devices whereby expressiveness is achieved' (p. 134).

However, the emotive colour of this effect depends, not on permutations of intonational form, but on the context. The 'unusualness' of the reversal draws attention to the form of intonation - by violating it. As such it can be used on words which, somehow, relate to (unusual) forms, or aesthetic perceptions, or sensory experiences. In this 2CH commercial the pitch is raised on the second syllable of 'delicate', undoubtedly to express unusual culinary pleasure:

¹[¹or/ de li cate/ chicken and/ ham/²rolls - //]

pitch (cps)	160	120	130	120	140	120	100	100	100-60
intensity (dB)	59	59	50	47	53	47	49	51	54
duration (cs)	65	26	13	44	16	25	27	37	56 77

When, on the other hand, it becomes a matter of 'throwing the voice around' for the sake of throwing the voice around, when there is no apparent reason for drawing attention to the form of intonation, for signifying 'unusualness', an impression of boredom and of 'insincere

emotion' may arise, and this is perhaps what occurs in this ABC fine music announcement, in which the first syllable of 'includes' is unaccountably raised in pitch:

²[²[¹which in/²cludes thé - //]

pitch (cps)	110	130	110	70
intensity (dB)	56	56	56	56
duration (cs)	22	10	40	21 27

¹[²Scenes/ Dra ma/²tiques - //]

pitch (cps)	110	90	75	70-60
intensity (dB)	58	54	52	52
duration (cs)	42	18	16	20 118

Strong unaccented syllables exceed the previous (and/or following) accent in intensity, and, like strong pre-contours, they provide compensatory foregrounding for words which, for reasons of rhythmic adjustment, have not received the accent they perhaps deserved because of their information value. Here a 2SM announcer strengthens a prepositional adverb which, normally, would have received an accent, but has here been sacrificed to a biting rhythm:

[traffic is/ banked up/²back to the/ Cahill

pitch (cps)	170	130	100	140	100	140	100	110	150	130
intensity (dB)	65	64	63	65	66	65	55	57	68	63
duration (cs)	14	11	16	30	16	18	9	8	17	10

Ex/¹pressway - //]

90	150	(-90-)	140
61	65	65	
18	28	23	22

Strong unaccented syllables often occur in group-initial contours, exceeding only the preceding accent in intensity, and functioning as a kind of intonational crescendo, leading up to an important name or title:

[and it's/¹Close En/²countérs - //]

pitch (cps)	110	80	180	100	140	70
intensity (dB)	52	56	63	58	58	58
duration (cs)	7	18	38	14	22	34 8

Of the 124 strong unaccented syllables in the reduced corpus, 38 occurred in popular music announcements - and they were almost always instances of the 'crescendo' effect. In newsreading 36 instances were found, mostly cases of compensatory foregrounding, in items of information I found 21 instances, in commercials and in conversational speech 12, and in fine music announcing 5. 2CH announcers used it most (36 instances), followed by ABC announcers (27 instances), 2KY announcers (25 instances), 2SM announcers (21 instances), and 2JJ announcers (15 instances).

In conversational speech they occurred mostly on hesitant initial contours:

[²eh it's/¹móre - //]

pitch (cps)	80	90	100-80
intensity (dB)	50	55	58
duration (cs)	39	23	35 47

Long unaccented syllables occurred almost exclusively in conjunction with pitch raising or strengthening - I found no more than 2 cases of 'independent' lengthening

which could not be ascribed to either the inherent durational structure of the word, or group-final lengthening.

3.3.3 Raising and strengthening of several unaccented syllables in a group: of expressive monotony and of foregrounding and binding with intensity

Less frequent, but nevertheless distinct are certain permutations which affect the relation between accents and unaccented syllables in all or most of an intonational group. All unaccented syllables in a group may, for example, be raised in pitch (or stay at the same level as the accents, in a 'monotonous' intonation). In this example the unusual intonational form is again used to express unusual culinary delight, by a different announcer this time:

²[try their/ Peking/ style/²fillet/¹steak - //]

pitch (cps)	110	120	130	140	130	140	140	160
intensity (dB)	61	60	57	55	61	55	55	61
duration (cs)	22	32	21	33	29	11	14	36 49

Almost absent from announcing speech, but common in conversational speech, is the 'monotonous' group, but monotony, too, can be used expressively, as in this example, where a 2SM announcer, having just admitted that announcing, at 2SM, 'can even be a little mindless', repeats a phrase which he earlier gave a very dynamic intonation. This time, however, his intonation is monotonous (literally) to express the repetitiveness and monotony (figuratively) resulting from the lack of inspiration which the speaker condemns here;

[it's/¹just éh - //] [we're/ here/ having a/

pitch (cps)	70	80	60		80	80	80	80	80
intensity (dB)	45	50	45		45	50	45	45	50
duration (cs)	14	34	25	34	23	24	19	12	17

²good/¹time - //]

80	80-90	
50	55	
22	54	62

Only when it is uncalled for, when it serves neither to express figurative monotony, nor to reduce the prominence of a group treated as 'given', or otherwise unimportant (the 'parenthetic utterance', for example), does monotony become truly monotonous and irritating, and this, in my corpus, surfaces a few times in the 2JJ 'What's On' announcements:

[²Lightning/¹Ridge - //] [²that's from/ seven

pitch (cps)	120	120	130-110		110	110	110	110
intensity (dB)	64	58	61		58	54	58	54
duration (cs)	26	25	25	10	19	15	22	17

till/¹tén//]

110	120-100	
54	61	
17	43	

In the case of intonational thrusts, the unaccented syllables either continue at the intensity level of the accents, or exceed their level. When this extends over the whole of a group, it foregrounds the group en bloc, though

to a somewhat lesser degree than when a monosyllabic rhythm is imposed on the group. The example is from a 2KY commercial:

[at/²tention/ used/ ¹carbuyers - //]

pitch (cps)	90	190	90	140	150	100	70
intensity (dB)	65	66	65	64	67	67	59
duration (cs)	15	23	27	44	14	25	24

Here, too, intonation 'means what it is': the speaker produces the group with unflagging tension, and demands, by means of this, an equally unflagging attention from his audience - but without the context we could not have provided a meaning as specific as this, without the context we could have said little more than the literal continuations of intensity mean figurative continuations of intensity.

In newsreading intonational thrusts bind together the parts of words or (pseudo) compounds which extend over several contours:

¹[²[a/¹twenty one year old/¹man/]]

pitch (cps)	110	275	250	200	170	110	170
intensity (dB)	53	63	63	66	64	68	65
duration (cs)	7	18	9	16	10	21	22

A similar kind of 'binding' can also occur between two words, as in the final two contours of this ABC fine music announcement:

¹[saw the/ p²ossi/ ²bi li ties/ ¹latent ín//]

pitch (cps)	160	90	130	100	140	90	90	170	70	100
intensity (dB)	61	54	62	55	58	58	59	61	52	54
duration (cs)	21	6	22	8	12	8	26	18	28	22

3.3.4 Ancillary accents

In the previous chapter I chose to give separate status to accents which do not participate in the perceptually isochronous rhythm of the groups, and to call these accents 'ancillary accents'. Reviewing my transcriptions now, I find that the 'accentuation' of the syllables I marked as ancillary accents, can, in every case, be described in terms of the phenomena I have discussed in this part of the chapter. Of the 100 ancillary accents in my corpus, 93 provide the compensatory foregrounding afforded by the strengthening of unaccented syllables and by intonational thrusts. The remainder occurs on group-final syllables which, although unaccented, carry a pitch rise and/or lack the usual group-final fading of intensity, to mark the boundary as open.

In the light of these findings, it seems reasonable to drop the notion of ancillary accent altogether, and to regard accents as always occurring on the rhythmic beat of a contour. In this way rhythm, by being the only ever-present accentual cue, can guarantee that subjective prominence will exist, whichever the permutations in the pitch-, intensity- and durational relation between the accents and the unaccented syllables.

3.4 SUMMARY

Announcers adjust the accentual density of their speech in accordance with the kinds of announcement they make and the station for which they are working. In announcements and stations which, they feel, require a serious, detached approach, and in which some intellectual effort can be demanded from the listener, they reduce the number of accents. In announcements and stations in which they consider entertainment to be the dominant requirement, they increase the number of accents, and when this characterizes the approach of a station as a whole, the differentiation between types of announcement is made less distinct: even newsreading, traditionally considered 'official' and detached, may then acquire some of the qualities usually associated with more entertaining programmes or programme segments.

These differences correspond to rhythmic preferences - preferences for a certain number of syllables per contour. When short contours are preferred, the second and third stress positions in multi-stress words and compounds, certain common function words, even unstressed syllables, are more often accented than when longer contours are preferred.

In newsreading this preference is most clearly one for overall rhythmic regularity. Newsreading has a 'regular cadence' as one of the means by which its formal and official character is expressed. Newsreaders also increase the accentual density towards the end of sequences and paragraphs - regardless of the importance of the groups on which the increase occurs.

This is less often the case in other genres: rhythmic regularizations and increases in accentual density here occur on groups which, in the context of the genre, can be said to be important: the titles of songs and the names of performers in popular music announcements, the brand names and addresses of retailers in commercials, etc. Function words, in newsreading accented only when this facilitates the regularization of rhythm, may here be accented because of their importance, because they occupy key positions in a genre of announcing: the prepositions which introduce guests, performers' names, advertisers' products (by, with, from, etc.), the conjunction and, the conjunctions which express the persuasive structure of advertisements, the deictics and personals which help create the illusory unity of time and place, the 'companionship of the medium'.

Phenomena like these also occur in conversational speech. But here it is a matter, not so much of preference for a certain type of rhythmic regularity, or of the highlighting of words which can be considered 'key words' for a speech variety called 'conversational speech', as of the speaker's struggle to keep the floor while 'thinking on his feet', of his desire to foreground what he himself (rather than the institution he works for) finds important, of emotions which result directly from the interaction between speaker and listener - fluctuations of understanding and misunderstanding, distance and closeness, sympathy and alienation - there are no prescribed degrees of animation or

detachment here, there is no constant emotional temperature, as there is in announcements, where such fluctuations are impossible: however dear to the heart of announcers the word 'conversational' may be, announcing is and remains a monologue, a performance.

The accentual habits of announcers may have been inspired by, modelled on phenomena which can be observed in conversational speech, but there has been formalization, rhetoricization, codification. 2SM announcers, for example, may seem more casual and conversational than, e.g., 2KY announcers, because their speech alternates between rapid stretches, with long contours, and slower stretches, with short contours. But when such fluctuations occur in conversational speech, they result from fluctuations in fluency, and are accompanied by increases and decreases in the number of hesitation noises and pauses, and fluctuations in the degree to which the speech is broken up into groups. 2SM announcers, on the other hand, use these fluctuations deliberately, to set the actual announcements apart from the remarks and jokes with which they qualify and embellish them, and when they slow down, their speech remains fluent and free of the hesitations, pauses, and frequent group boundaries which characterize the slower stretches in conversational speech.

Although pitch, intensity and duration all contribute to accentual prominence, rhythm should be seen as the only ever-present accentual cue. Unaccented syllables can and do remain at the same level as, or exceed the accents in any one of these parameters, or in several of them.

When this is a matter of intensity only, the reason is usually the 'compensatory foregrounding' of a syllable or word which, for reasons of rhythmic adjustment, has not received an accent, despite the fact that it, perhaps, should have, on the basis of its importance.

Other permutations of the relation between accents and unaccented syllables add 'expressive' meaning. But such meanings cannot be listed exhaustively. Their precise colour derives from the context, rather than from the form of the permutation. This form provides no more than a certain restriction on the range of possible meanings - a restriction motivated by the form itself: form and function, in intonation, are one. When, for example, unaccented syllables in the precontour are lengthened, they draw attention to themselves because a norm (that the unaccented syllables in the precontour should be shorter than the first accent) is violated, and the meaning of this permutation is given by the nature of the permutation itself: the speaker, by lengthening the syllable which normally is not lengthened, makes the listener wait where he is not accustomed to have to wait. What this expresses, however, depends on the context: whether the listener will conclude that he has been kept in suspense for a moment because a pleasant surprise is about to be announced, or whether he will conclude that the speaker has waited to give the impression that he chooses his words carefully, is determined by the verbal and situational context. The form of the permutation will not distinguish between the two interpretations - and variations in the degree of the lengthening will cause either meaning

to become more pronounced.

When permutations of this kind are used without apparent reason, however, the listener's reaction is likely to be adverse - a sense of 'insincerity' will probably be conveyed, or the listener will conclude, as did Hultzen (1964, p. 91) that the announcer's mind must not have been 'full of what he was saying'.

* * *

NOTES

- (1) Throughout the chapter I will give statistical measures of variance only when the percentages averaged are based on a number of instances exceeding 40. In this case, where instances mean instances of syllables in individual announcements, this condition is amply fulfilled.
The number of announcements on which the means in the tables are based are those given in chapter 1, but the corpus has been reduced somewhat by including, for example, only 2 or 3 news items from each speaker, rather than the whole newsbulletin. The total number of accents in the reduced sample is 5173.
I had originally hope to have, for each category, 2 minutes of announcing speech from each of 7 announcers, but this did not prove possible in practice. In some cases there were simply no 7 announcers: 2GB, for example, employed only 3 news specialists at the time, all of whom I managed to record. In other cases the cooperation of the station did not exceed beyond a certain limit. Having waited for 2 days to record the announcers between their shifts of duty, and found, each time, that their presence was urgently required elsewhere, I had to give up. As far as the duration of individual announcements is concerned, the announcers were not always willing or able to produce more than one or two popular music announcements in succession, and it did not seem wise to insist: normally they have the duration of the music to ponder their next announcement, and normal conditions is what I hoped

to approach as much as possible. So if they looked up at me after 1 minute and asked, with obvious signs of incipient irritation, 'Is that enough for you?', I said 'yes', despite the fact that I had asked them previously for approximately 2 minutes. Ideal 'experimental conditions', then, are not met in this study. However, the tests used to assess the significance of my results allow for small samples, and for unequal sizes in the samples, and I feel that, where they are used, the tests can be regarded as reliable for the given circumstances.

- (2) Rate of utterance will be invoked from time to time in this study. Appendix 2 gives the figures and the statistics. Its meaning, in announcing speech, I see as as varied as the cultural connotations of words like 'slow' and 'fast'. It is an expressive feature of intonation. But whereas its use in announcing speech is fully expressive, and controlled, in conversational speech it is generally determined by fluctuations in fluency, and only occasionally becomes expressive - to enhance parts of the utterance of which the content relates, one way or another, to 'speed', or to imply, without explicitly saying so, 'this part of the utterance is unimportant, so we will pass over it quickly' (or the reverse).
- (3) The 2JJ popular music announcements contain less than the required number of content words, and the figures pertaining to these announcements should therefore be treated with caution. Theoretically, at any rate, because, listening to these announcers on the radio, my impression was that the high numbers are correct.
- (4) The underlining of accented syllables in the examples shows how I divide words into syllables: if there is (phonetically) only one consonant between two vowels, this consonant forms part of a syllable with the second vowel. Thus:
syllable ([sɪ/lə/bəl/])
 If there are, between two vowels, two consonants, the first forms part of a syllable with the preceding, the second with the following vowel. Thus:
consonant ([kən/sə/nənt/])
 If there are more than two consonants between two vowels, only the first consonant forms a syllable with the preceding vowel, unless the syllables are also two morphemes. Thus:
bandstand ([bænd/stænd/])
minstrel ([mɪn/strəl/])
 Syllable boundaries, as Fry has said (1968) must be made arbitrarily but consistently.