The prosody of rhetorical questions in German

Background:

- **Information-seeking questions** (ISQs) elicit answers (Han, 2002)
- Rhetorical questions (RQs) as hybrid type of utterance (Grésillon, 1980), may function as assertion (Sadock, 1971) \rightarrow no knowledge gap (Meibauer, 1986)
- Interrogative syntactic structure vs. assertive function (e.g., Sadock, 1971, 1974) of the opposite polarity (Han, 2002)
 - e.g., Did he lift a finger to help you? \rightarrow suggests: he did not \rightarrow Mismatch between form and function (Rohde, 2006)
- Recognition of correct illocutionary force may be facilitated by discourse situation, lexical triggers (modal particles) and/or prosodic realization of the interrogative
- Little work on prosodic realization: English RQs said to have falling intonation (Han, $2002) \rightarrow$ but not support by experimental results of e.g., Hedberg et al., 2010

Research questions:

- 1. Do German RQs have falling intonation, irrespective of their position in the discourse (utterance-medial vs. final)?
- 2. What phonological & phonetic means do speakers use to mark syntactically ambiguous interrogatives as rhetorical or information-seeking?

Interaction Study: Materials & Methods

- 32 experimental trials: 8 wh-questions (WhQ), 8 polar questions (PolQ)
 - Sentence final objects mostly sonorant
 - e.g., Wer spielt denn **Domino**? 'Who plays **Domino**?'
- For each interrogative, two short contexts were generated
 - One that favored an RQ reading, one an ISQ reading
- Target utterance: turn-final or turn-medial position

Procedure

- Illocution type manipulated within-subjects, position between-subjects
- S and A received different contexts (presented on computer screens)
- S produced target interrogatives
- A chose one of two given possibilities as reply



Jana Schlegel, Daniela Wochner, Bettina Braun & Nicole Dehé

Participants:

48 monolingual native German participants (\emptyset = 21.3 years, 12 male) tested in Speaker (S) -Addressee (A)-pairs; 24 speakers Stimuli:

32 target interrogatives (16 RQs, 16 ISQs); 16 filler interrogatives; 5 practice trials

turn position	-		turn position	wh- question	
final	ISQ	RQ	final	ISQ	RQ
medial	ISQ	RQ	medial	ISQ	RQ

 \rightarrow interactive situation

Phonological results:

Phonetic results: (
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Initial Overa Durati Durati Pitch r Spectr center

tch (Hz) 200



Grésillon, A. 1980. Zum linguistischen Status rhetorischer Fragen. Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik, vol. 8 no. 3: pp. 273-289.; Han, C.-H. 2002. Interpreting interrogatives as rhetorical questions. Lingua, vol. 112, no. 3, pp. 201-229.; Hedberg, N., J. M. Sosa, E. Görgülü & M. Mameni. 2010. Prosody and pragmatics of wh-interrogatives. Proceedings of the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Linguistics Society.; Meibauer, J. 1986. Rhetorische Fragen. Tübingen, Niemeyer.; Rohde, H. 2006. Rhetorical questions as redundant interrogatives. Sand Diego Linguistic Papers, vol. 2, pp. 134-168.; Sadock, J.M. 1971. Queclaratives. Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society. April 16-18, vol. 7, pp. 223-231.; Sadock, J.M. 1974. Toward a Linguistic Theory of Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press.

leasured variables	PolQ	WhQ	
pitch	v	v	On average 9.2 Hz
all utterance duration	v	v	RQs on average 3
ion sentence final object	X	v	3% longer for RQs
ion wh-word or verb	X	v	2% shorter for RQ
range first constituent	X	v	On average 1.6 st
ral tilt (H1-A3) at the		\checkmark	Steeper for RQs th
r of first vowel		V	\rightarrow RQs produced



Discussion:

Differences in distribution of boundary tones and accent types Rhetoricity / non-interrogativity already marked early in the utterance Wh-phrase less prominent in RQs than in ISQs Initial pitch lower and speakers' voice softer in RQs → Softer voice may serve to attenuate the assertive force of RQs Polar RQs are less marked phonetically – rhetoricity is signalled by choice of boundary tone



