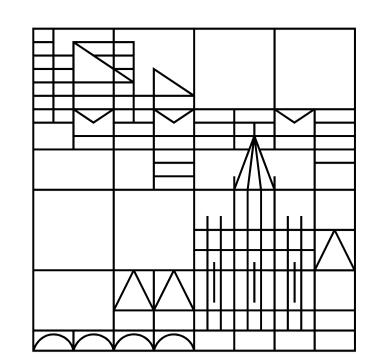
The role of prosody for the interpretation of rhetorical questions

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Background & Motivation:

in German

- Information-seeking questions (ISQs) elicit new information with the goal of closing a knowledge gap. (e.g., Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984)
- Rhetorical questions (RQs) imply answers that are already known to all interlocutors. (Caponigro & Sprouse 2007)
- Wochner et al. (2015): breathy voice quality and nuclear L*+H accent as characteristics in the production of German wh-RQs.

(see also Neitsch et al. 2017)

- Particles have different functions in questions:
 - schon and auch are rhetorically connotated (Meibauer 1986)
 - Wer schreibt schon gerne Prüfungen? ('Who likes PRT to take exams?')
 - Was sollten wir auch anderes tun?
 ('What else should we PRT do?')

- denn can occur in both ISQs and RQs (Thurmair 1991)
 - RQ: Wer geht denn im Sommer Skifahren? ('Who goes PRT skiing in the summer?')
 - **ISQ:** Wer geht denn heute zum Grillfest? ('Who is going PRT to the barbecue today?

but influence of denn on question interpretation has not yet been empirically tested

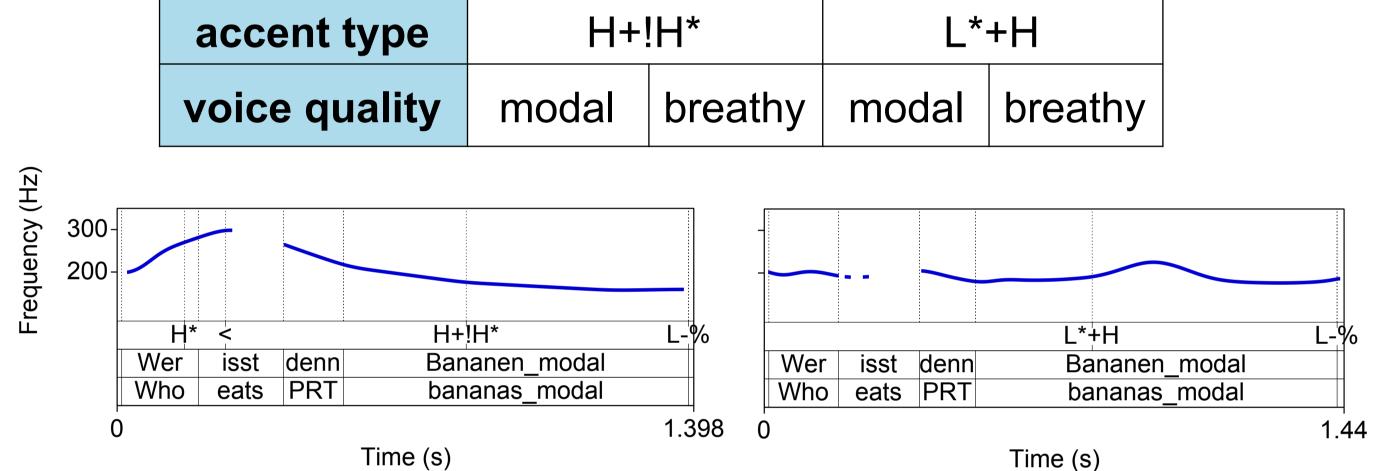
Research Questions:

- Experiment 1: Are voice quality and nuclear pitch accent type relevant perceptual prosodic cues for the interpretation of German wh-questions as rhetorical or information-seeking when they are presented out of linguistic context?
- Experiment 2: Does the modal particle denn influence the interpretation of these prosodic cues?

Forced-Choice Perception Experiments: Materials & Methods

Experiment 1:

- 32 different wh-questions, pragmatically ambiguous between RQ and ISQ: Wer VERB denn OBJEKT? 'Who VERB PRT OBJECT?'
- all questions were recorded in four experimental conditions:



Experiment 2:

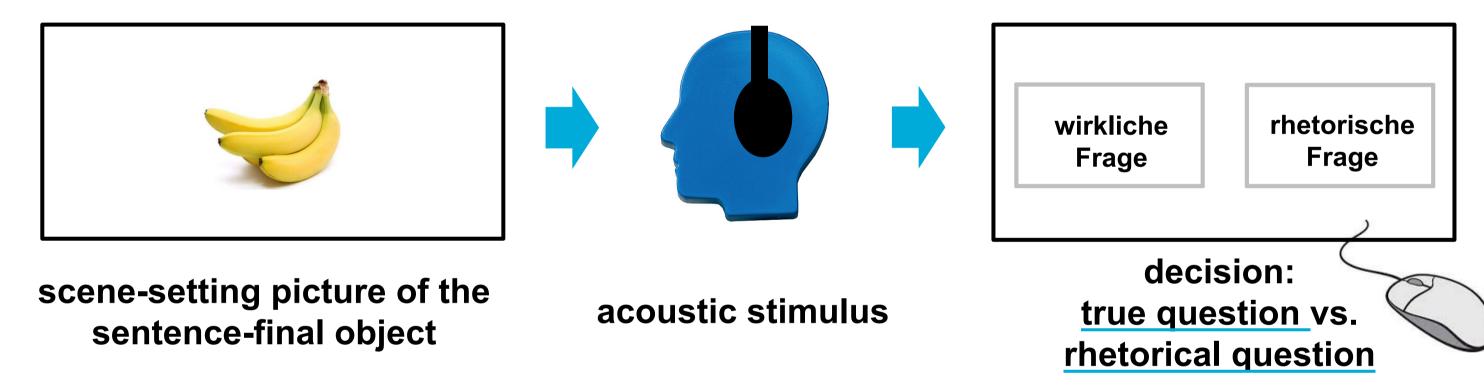
identical to Experiment 1 **but** particle *denn* was cut out of the stimuli

Participants:

48 monolingual native German speakers, 24 per experiment (Exp.1: Ø = 23.7 years, 19 female; Exp. 2: Ø = 22.8 years, 17 female)

Procedure:

- listeners decided whether the *wh-*question played after a picture providing non-linguistic context was an ISQ or RQ
- nuclear accent type and voice quality (breathy vs. modal) were presented within-subjects, presence or absence of particle between-subjects

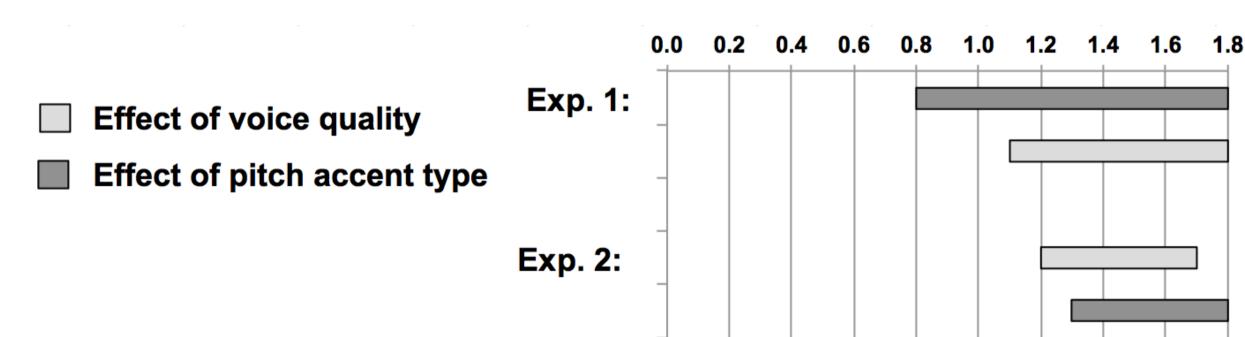


Results:

- RQ interpretation: most frequent when wh-questions were produced with breathy voice quality and a nuclear L*+H accent
- ISQ interpretation: most often for wh-questions in modal voice quality with a nuclear H+!H* accent

Clicks (Experiment 1 + 2) 90%-80% **2**60% **~**60% **5**0%-**5**50%-**Voice Quality Voice Quality** breathy modal breathy modal **S** 40% - 30% -**\$**40% - 30% -20% 10%-10% early peak late peak early peak late peak (L^*+H) **Accent type**

 Fixations (Experiment 1 + 2)



Fixations starting at the onset of the sentence-final object.

 fixations of both experiments start to increase towards the end of the wh-question

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participants rely on pitch accent type earlier in Experiment 1
 but rely on voice quality earlier in Experiment 2

Discussion:

- RQs and ISQs are both reliably identified based solely on their prosody, i.e. in absence of a disambiguating context
- prosodic configuration *nuclear L*+H accent* plus *breathy voice quality* could be a conventionalized prosodic contour to signal *wh-*RQs, following recent findings on conventionalized contours by Hellbernd & Sammler (2016) (see also Michalsky & Lommel, 2017)
- when denn is absent, participants still identify the same prosodic combinations as RQ and ISQ
- presence of *denn* seems to facilitate decisions for the identified prosodic configurations for ISQ and RQ
- → ISQ: H+!H* accent in modal voice quality, RQ: L*+H accent in breathy voice quality
- the increased mental effort during the processing of wh-questions and the fact that participants rely on voice quality earlier in Exp. 2
 indicate that they might expect another prosodic pattern in the absence of denn

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