The prosody of contrastive focus and verum focus in rejections



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Rejections: Function and prosody

Function

- **Rejection**: Speaker S will not accept a proposition *p* associated with an utterance by an interlocutor into the common ground (CG). A: I suppose Benny is thinking about buying raffle tickets. B: Benny doesn't want to buy raffle tickets!
- **Correction** = rejection with narrow focus offering corrective alternative

Prosody

- Rejections
- ► Verum focus on finite verb: in German H* when in positive clause rejecting negative assertion (Turco, Braun, and Dimroth, 2014); L*+H when in negative clause rejecting conjecture (Seeliger and Repp, 2023) (L*+H is also best-fitting in perception; Röhr, Grice, and Baumann, 2023).
- ► Contradiction contour: English/Catalan (%H (L*) L* L-H%) → also conveys that addressee should have been aware that what is rejected is false (Espinal and Prieto, 2011)
- Corrections
 - ► Corrective focus: increased prosodic prominence (↑ duration, ↑ F0 excursion, ↑ intensity); increased occurrence of L+H* in German corrections – in comparison to assertions with narrow non-contrastive focus

Research question

Are the prosodic characteristics of corrective focus due to the speech act rejection or due to the contrast relation?

Production study

- German rejections in four different information structure conditions
 - ► All-new (O_NV_N) : hypernyms for object and verb are introduced; whole proposition is rejected. No lexical contrast.
 - ► All-given (O_GV_G) : object and verb are lexically given; whole proposition is rejected. No lexical contrast.
 - ► Narrow contrastive focus on object (O_CV_G) : alternative to object is introduced, verb is lexically given.
 - ► Narrow contrastive focus on verb (O_GV_C) : vice versa.
- Dialogues between three speakers; participant = speaker 3
- 24 subjects, 12 items, 1116 utterances available for analysis
- s1: Oh, by the way, you know, Susi, the antiquarian on Müllerstraße? She was at one of those auctions last week and shopped like a madwoman. She told you, right?
- s2: Yes. I think she doesn't even have enough storage space for all the things she bought. Wasn't she going to put some of her stuff in a garage behind the ring road anyway, Alex? ...

 $(O_N V_N)$...But I don't think she wants to put porcelain there.

 (O_GV_G) ...But I don't think she wants to store vases there.

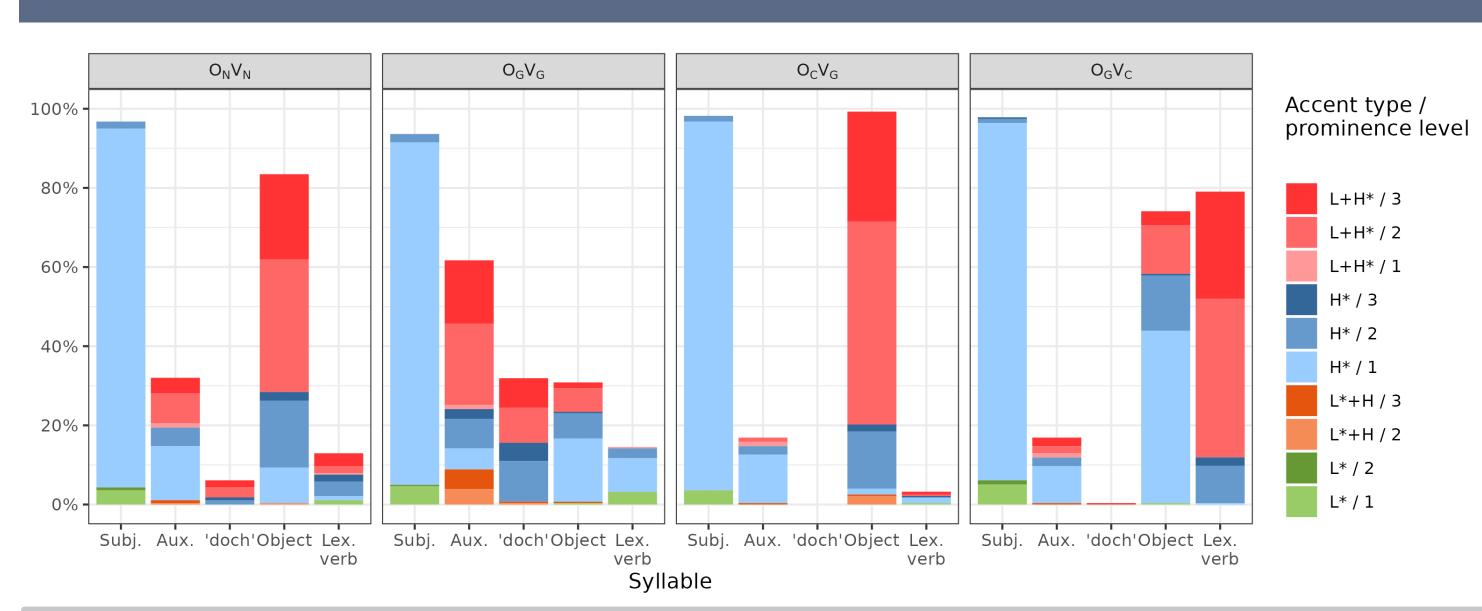
...I think she wants to store artworks there. (O_CV_G)

... I think she wants to exhibit vases there. (O_GV_C)

ss: Susi will da doch Vasen lagern! Susi wants.to there MP vases store 'Susi wants to store vases there then!'

- Unaccented doch: modal particle that conveys that the addressee should have been aware of the corrected proposition
- Accented doch: conveys polarity contrast.

Results: Accentuation



Accent location

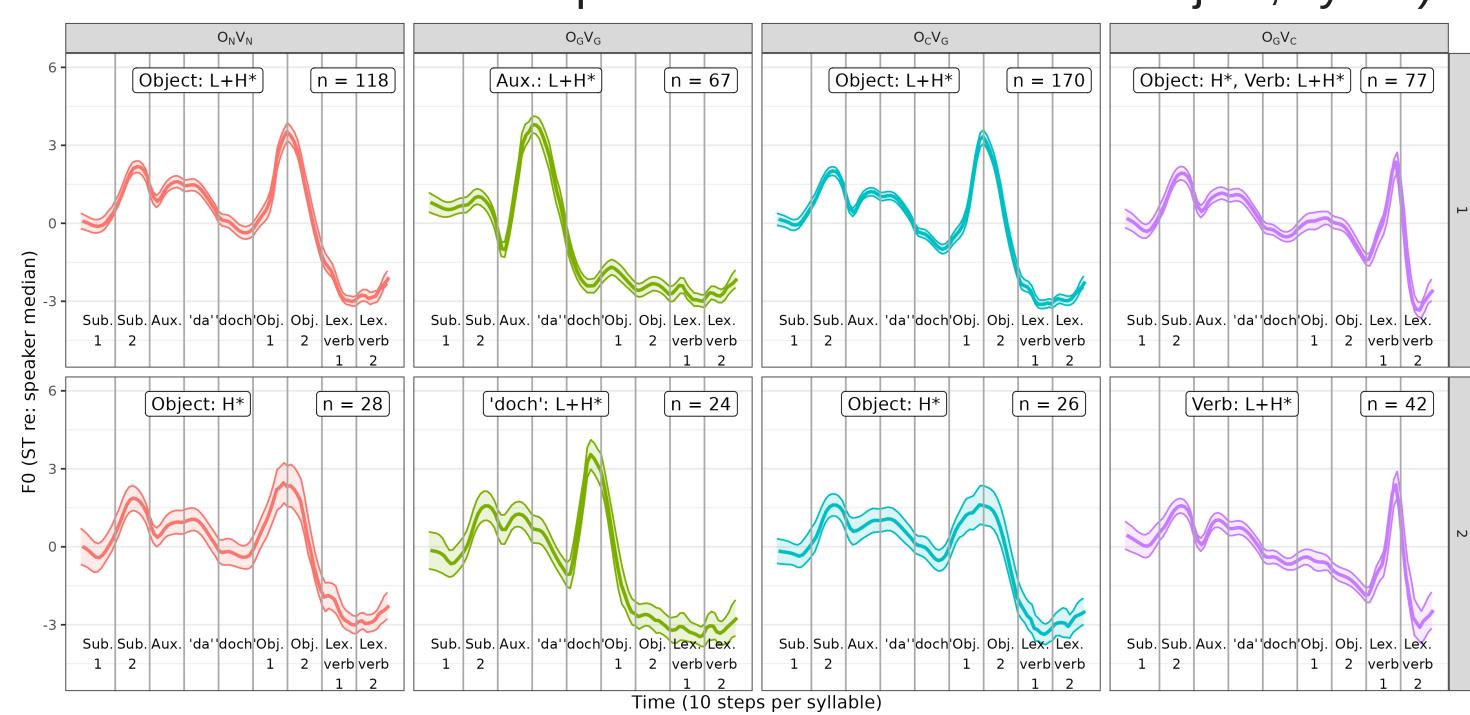
- Contrast: more accents on contrastive word (stronger tendency for object than for verb).
- All-given: more Veruм focus; more accents on doch.
- All-new: mixture of object accents and Verum.
- Strong post-focal deaccentuation: Very few accents on the lexical verb if the object is accented; relatively few accents on object or verb after Verum focus.
- Little pre-focal deaccentuation: Contrastive focus on lexical verb is compatible with immediately preceding object accents.

Accent types

- L*+H was surprisingly rare (conjecture: 'blocked' by doch?)
- L+H* is more frequent on contrastive elements: More L+H* (vs. H*) if object is contrastive rather than new; almost exclusively L+H* on contrastive lexical verbs.
- But L+H* is also most common on new objects (not contrastive at all) and on accented auxiliaries (only contrastive to the extent that VERUM focus is).
- Confirms earlier findings about only loose connection between L+H* and contrast (e.g. Grice et al., 2017)

Contours

• The two most common accent combinations in each condition (all contours also contain a prenuclear accent on the subject, syll. 1):



Summary

Contrast and corrections:

- Contrastive focus is marked separately from corrections.
- L+H* is common in rejections regardless of contrastive focus.

VERUM focus:

- Common in rejections if there is no lexical contrast.
- No 'automatic' association with L*+H.

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