

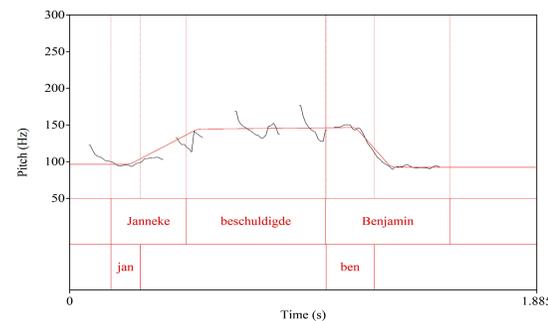
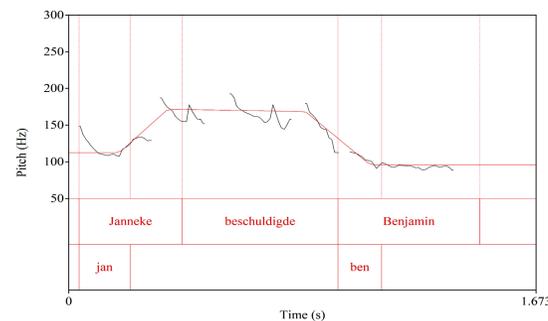
Hat Contour in Dutch

Form and Function

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Introduction

- **Hat contour:** an intonation pattern which consists of a rise, a high plateau and a fall.



Previous Literature

- **Büring (1997/2003)**
 - hat contours are used for **contrastive topics**.

Disputability Implicature:

A hat contour comes with a implicature that at least one question of the topic-semantic value still has to be resolved. This unresolved question is known as the **residual topic**

The residual topic for Answer 1B is 1A:

- 1 A: What did the chefs eat? TSV:{What did x eat | x}
B: Well, the WAITERS ate APPLES.

Question in TSV still to be resolved:

A: Yes, but what about the chefs? What did they eat?

Problems with disputability

- The disputability implicature correctly predicts answer (1a) to be unacceptable, but also predicts (1b) to have additional open alternatives, contrary to fact.
- Krifka (1999) and Ludwig (2006) note that the hat contour is compatible with an answer **resolving the last remaining** element in the topic-semantic value.
- Ludwig (2006) proposes that the hat-contour implies that there has to be a **true alternative** answer (not an unresolved one)
- Wagner (2008/2012) argues that a true alternative is in fact only required if a hat contour **with early fall** is used (HL*accent).

1. Who had seen who? Had Isabel seen Willem-Jan?

a. #Nee, /WILLEM-JAN had \ISABEL gezien. (**no alternatives**)
'No, Willem-Jan had seen Isabel.'

b. Ja, en /WILLEM-JAN had \ISABEL gezien. (**alternatives**)
'Yes and Willem-Jan had seen Isabel.'

Hypothesis

Early Fall Hypothesis (EFH):

The hat contour with an early fall (HL*) conveys that a contextually alternative proposition is true besides the proposition expressed bearing the hat contour.

| | Büring (1997/2003) | Ludwig (2006) | EFH/Wagner (2008/2012) |
|-----------------------------|---|---------------|------------------------|
| No alternatives, Early fall | Unacceptable | Unacceptable | Unacceptable |
| No Alternatives, Late fall | Unacceptable | Unacceptable | Acceptable |
| Alternatives, Early fall | Unacceptable, Violates disputability | Acceptable | Acceptable |
| Alternatives, Late fall | Infelicitous, Violates disputability | Acceptable | Acceptable |

Methodology

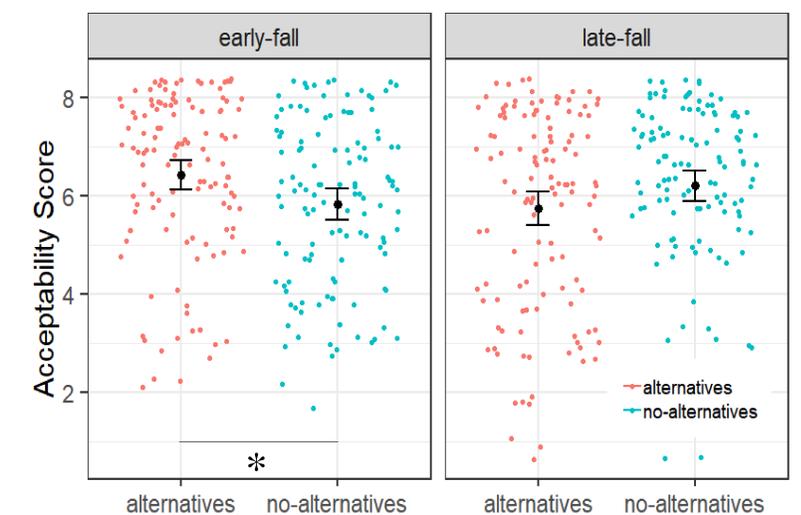
- Online acceptability judgment experiment using **jsPsych**.
- Likert scale 1-8 (1=unacceptable, 8=acceptable)

- 4 conditions and 16 stimuli sets:

- Alternatives (alternatives, no alternatives)
- Contour (early fall, late fall)

- Each participant was presented with 16 trials.
- Latin-square design, (31*16) 496 observations were obtained. Statistical analysis using CLMM

Results



- The alternatives condition is significantly more acceptable with an early fall than the no alternatives ($z = 2.607$, $SE = 0.3873$, $p = 0.0105$)
- This difference was not significant for the late fall.

Discussion

- The early-fall hypothesis does not explain why the late fall is less acceptable in the alternatives condition than in the no alternatives condition (since it should not come with a presupposition)
- But: This could be a case of maximize presupposition, where one has to use the early fall when its presupposition is met.
- The early-fall hypothesis does not explain why the early fall is not completely unacceptable in the no-alternative condition.
- Perhaps our context manipulation was not successful