Epistemic and attitudinal meanings of rise and rise-plateau contours

Joseph C. Tyler1, Rachel Steindel Burdin2

1The Ohio State University
2Morehead State University

Abstract

This paper investigates the epistemic and attitudinal meanings of rise and rise-plateau contours in listing contexts. Previous accounts of list intonation have made claims about epistemic meanings for list intonation, though without experimental evidence. In our first study, a metalinguistic task, subjects perceived rise and rise-plateau contours in listing contexts as having epistemic but also attitudinal meanings. In our second study, participants interpreted rises and rise-plateaus differently in terms of what the speaker thinks the listener knows: the rise-plateau was perceived as the speaker thinking that the listener already knows the items in the list (“reminding”), while the rise was perceived as the speaker thinking that the listener does not know the items in the list (“informing”). In the third study, we manipulated whether the speaker did or did not think the listener already knew the list items (the result from Study 2) to see if this manipulation would affect the attitudinal meanings described in the metalinguistic tasks. While this context manipulation did not interact with contour type in predicting attitudinal meanings, subjects did perceive the rise-plateau contour as more condescending, and less helpful, than the rise contour. In addition, the male speaker was rated as sounding more condescending, and less helpful, than the female speaker.

Index Terms: rising pitch, epistemic meaning, stylized intonation

1. Introduction

Lists come in a variety of types, contrasting in informativity (whether each enumerated element is individually meaningful or whether they are just representative of a larger category) [1] and exhaustivity (whether or not the list enumerates every relevant member of the category) [2, 3, 4], among other types. Some work focusing on prosodic disambiguation of list types (e.g., between exhaustive and non-exhaustive lists) have focused on the presence or absence of a medial falling phrase accent [5] or final fall [3, 4], with some positing a connection between this pattern and the intonational patterns found on alternative questions [2]. Ladd [1] focuses on the informativity contrast, and proposes that this contrast can be signaled by using either a “stylized rise” (a rise-plateau) or a simple rise on each item, with rise-plateaus being used on lists with uninformative items, and rises on lists with informative list items. For example, rise-plateaus can felicitously be used when listing schools in the area that are closed due to snow only if all or nearly all the schools are closed, meaning that the presence of any one school in the list is not particularly informative.

This claim—that rise-plateaus can be used to indicate uninformative of list items—has not been tested experimentally, nor has there been further work generally exploring the meaning(s) of rise-plateau contours in lists. In this paper, we collect metalinguistic judgments about the meanings of rises vs. rise-plateaus (Study 1) in listing contexts. Then, we experimentally test effects of the rise vs. rise-plateau contours on judgments of speakers’ and listeners’ knowledge states (Studies 2a and 2b) and attitudes (Study 3). We introduce a methodology for experimentally exploring meanings of rise-plateau contours, and find that contour type affects perceptions of both epistemic and attitudinal meanings in listing contexts.

2. Studies

2.1. Study 1: Metalinguistic judgments of rises and rise-plateaus

In this study, listeners heard six pairs of lists, one with rises and one with rise-plateaus. We followed previous researchers in allowing “list” to cover not only collections of nouns (as in [6]) but also collections of actions (see, e.g., [1] pg. 529, [4] pg. 150). The scenario for each list was designed to be compatible with the speaker producing either an “informing” list (i.e., producing a list with individually informative items) or a “reminding” list (i.e., producing a list with non-individually informative items). An example scenario is given below in (1), with the target list items underlined.

(1) Stacie is on her way to the grocery store, and calls Mark to ask if they need anything. Mark says:

(SOUND FILE: Oh! I’m going to make some bean dip! I need some beans, corn, peppers)

The lists were produced in two forms by speakers trained in ToBI annotation [7] (the authors), with either a rise (L* H-H%, top panel of Figure 1) or a rise-plateau (H* H-L%, bottom panel of Figure 1) on each item of the list. The full set of stimuli and recordings can be heard at http://ling.osu.edu/~burdin/speechprosody.html. The stimuli were made by concatenating either a rise or rise-plateau version of the list (e.g. “beans, corn, peppers” in (1)) to a single version of the pre-list material, effectively isolating the contrasting material to the list itself. As final falls have been claimed to be used to contrast exhaustive vs. non-exhaustive lists, neither list was produced with a final fall. This should help isolate the contribution of the rise-plateau and the rise. Subjects were told that the listener’s phone died in the middle of the conversation, providing a potential explanation for the lack of a final fall and a reason for why
the list may not sound completed. Since the same speakers produced all of the lists, the same names (Mark and Stacie) were used across all items; the information presented about Mark and Stacie was designed such that individual tokens did not contradict information in other tokens.

The epistemic meanings for the rise-plateau and the rise are quite similar to the meanings proposed by [1]: if the items in a list are “obvious” or something the listener should already know, then the items in the list are not particularly informative. However, if the items in the list are not known to the listener, or are not obvious, the items in the list are informative. It is this contrast between a rise informing the listener of something they don’t already know and the rise-plateau reminding the listener of something they do already know that we examine in Study 2.

The participants also provided attitudinal meanings. The rise indicated “seriousness” and “deliberateness” on the part of the speaker, and was described as being “helpful”, “friendly”, and “less judgmental”. The rise-plateau had more negative meanings overall, with the speaker described as “bored”, “annoyed”, “condescending”, and “dismissive”. These findings show that while linguists’ introspection about the meanings of various contours can be accurate, they may be incomplete. We explore these attitudinal meanings, and possible relations between them and the epistemic meanings, in Study 3.

The question posted in the metalinguistic task, as well as the mere fact of presenting two separate contours, likely biased the participants towards giving differences between the lists (it should be noted, though, that in a couple cases, participants noted little, or no difference between the two). To ensure that these differences in meanings provided by the subjects were not artifacts of the task, the following studies (Study 2 and 3) test whether or not participants perceive a difference in the meaning of the two contours when presented in isolation.

2.2. Studies 2a and 2b: Epistemic meanings

In order to see if listeners have different epistemic interpretations for lists with rises vs. lists with rise-plateaus, as found in Study 1, but in a more controlled experimental context, a second study (Study 2a) was conducted. In this study, sixty participants heard one version (rise or rise-plateau) of twelve lists, the same six from Study 1 and six new ones. Both speaker (male or female) and contour type were counterbalanced across participants. Participants were given scenarios like in Study 1, along with, for each scenario, a yes/no question about whether the listener did know or didn’t know the rest of the items in the list (e.g., “Does Stacie know what she needs to get?”). A “yes” answer indicates the subject thinks the listener already knows the items in the list (and is thus being “reminded”); a “no” answer indicates the subject thinks the listener does not already know the items in the list (and is thus being “informed”).

As can be seen in Table 1, the contour type did not appear to have an effect on the subjects’ answers. A chi-squared test revealed no significant effects of contour type on response ($\chi^2=0.2592$, $p=0.61$), and no further statistical modeling was done.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rise (Knows)</th>
<th>No (Doesn’t Know)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104 (41%)</td>
<td>148 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 (39%)</td>
<td>153 (61%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One possible explanation for this null result is that it asks about the listener’s knowledge state, rather than the speaker’s knowledge state: since the speaker is the one producing the con-

Figure 1: Rise and rise-plateau produced by female speaker

Twenty subjects recruited through Mechanical Turk (as they were for the rest of the studies) saw each of six scenarios and then listened to both lists, one with rises and the other with rise-plateaus. Subjects were asked to answer the question “What is the difference in meaning between the rise version and the high, flat version of the lists?”.

In general, the simple rise was heard as unmarked (“simple list”, “just her listing”, “typical way of explaining something”). This unmarked usage was interpreted as informative or instructional (“just telling him what needs to be done”, “giving instructions”, “more educating tone”). The epistemic flavor of the rise meanings reflect a belief that the speaker thought the listener did not know the items in the list (“Mark assumes Stacie has no idea how to change a tire”, “Stacie assumes that Mark has no clue what to do”, “rise version is saying that Mark must not know what is in corn dip that Stacie makes”).

The meanings ascribed to the lists with a rise-plateau were more diverse. These included meanings like the list not being fully planned (“seems to be her brainstorming it”, “high, flat version implied that he wasn’t sure as to the extent of the list, and was thinking of things to add as he listed them”, “rattling a list off the top of his head”) and uncertainty (“high, flat version implied that she wasn’t sure as to the extent of the list”, “he isn’t really sure what the list should be”). Importantly, there were also epistemic interpretations: the rise-plateau conveys that the listener already knows, or should know, the listed items (“feels like this should be obvious and you know this”, “this part is obvious”, “assume that Mark knows the routes that she is talking about”, “spoken in a manner that suggested the listener should already know what to do for the simple task”). The result is that the rise-plateaus are a reminding instead of an informing (“reminding Mark the ingredients she needs”, “flat version is for someone who already knows what to do but is being reminded”).

Table 1: Frequencies of judgments across intonation contour type in Study 2a.

One possible explanation for this null result is that it asks about the listener’s knowledge state, rather than the speaker’s knowledge state: since the speaker is the one producing the con-
tour, and not the listener, the speaker’s knowledge state, not the 
listener’s, may be reflected in the speaker’s choice of contour. 

Study 2b was the same as 2a except the elicitation ques-
tion was changed to query what the speaker thought the lis-
tener knew instead of just what the listener knew. To do this, 
sixty participants were asked to choose between two statements 
describing the speaker’s knowledge of the listener’s knowl-
edge state; for the scenario in (1), for example, they were 
asked to choose between “Mark is pretty sure that Stacie knows 
what goes in the bean dip” (“know” response) and “Mark is 
pretty sure that Stacie doesn’t know what goes in the bean dip” 
(“doesn’t know” response).

A logistic mixed effects model was built with plateau type 
(rise or rise-plateau) and the speaker of the utterance (male 
or female), and interactions between the two as fixed effects, and 
the maximal random effects structure justified by the data; here, 
random intercepts by subject and by item. Contour type was 
found to be significant, with subjects hearing the rise-plateaus 
as indicating the speaker thought the listener already knew the 
items (p < 0.001; β = -0.990), as can be seen in Table 2. Speaker 
was not found to be significant.

Table 2: Frequencies of judgments across intonation contour 
type in Study 2b.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Knows</th>
<th>Doesn’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rise</td>
<td>76 (22%)</td>
<td>262 (78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rise-plateau</td>
<td>144 (41%)</td>
<td>210 (59%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. Study 3: Attitudinal meanings

Our final study investigates the attitudinal meanings provided 
by the participants in the metalinguistic task. It was thought 
that some of these meanings might interact with the more epis-
temic meanings. For example, in a scenario where the listener 
knows the items on the list, but the speaker thinks that the lis-
tener does not know and then uses rises (the “informing” con-
tour), the speaker might be heard as sounding condescending. 
On the other hand, if the listener truly doesn’t know the list 
items, a speaker using rises could sound helpful. Additionally, 
these attitudinal meanings may interact with social meanings: 
a male speaker might be more likely to be judged as condescending 
(see, for example, the neologism mansplaining [8], a word 
coined to describe a situation in which a male speaker tells a fe-
male speaker something she already knows). Likewise, general 
stereotypes of women being more “nurturing” than men may 
explain higher “helpful” ratings for the female speaker.

Two versions of each scenario was developed. An example 
is given below: in one version (2), the scenario was set up such 
that the speaker had evidence of the listener having knowledge 
of the items in the list (in this example, since they often make 
the bean dip together); in the other (3), the speaker had evi-
dence that the listener did not know the items in the list (in this 
example, since Mark found the new recipe when Stacie wasn’t 
there). (2) will be referred to as the “know” condition, and (3) 
the “doesn’t know” condition.

(2) Stacie is on her way to the grocery store, and calls Mark 
to ask if they need anything. Mark wants to make the special 
bean dip that he and Stacie have made together 
much times before. (3) Stacie is on her way to the grocery store, and calls Mark 
to ask if they need anything. After Stacie left for the 
store, Mark found a new recipe for bean dip he wants to 
try.

Four new lists, along with pairs of associated scenarios, 
were added to the twelve used in the previous studies, for a total 
of 16 different lists. 106 subjects were recruited through Me-
chanical Turk. The design was cross balanced into 8 blocks so 
that subjects either heard (1) the male or female speaker, (2) the 
rise-plateau or the rise in (3) either the “know” condition or the 
“doesn’t know” condition. Subjects were then asked to rate the 
speaker on four characteristics: helpful, condescending, tired, 
and excited on a five point Likert-type scale, with 1 being “not 
at all” and 5 “very much so”. All four of these terms emerged in 
the results of the metalinguistic task (Study 1). “Helpful” and 
“condescending” were chosen as they might interact with the 
epistemic meanings as described above; “tired” and “excited” 
were used as distractor items.

Cumulative linked mixed models were built using the ordi-
nal package [9] in R predicting ratings for “helpful” and “conde-
sending”, with speaker (male or female), contour type, context 
(“know” vs. “doesn’t know”), listener gender and up to three-
way interactions between these items present as fixed effects, 
as well as the maximal random effects structure justified by the 
data. Deviation coding was used for all fixed effects. A step-
down procedure using log likelihood comparisons was used to 
find the best models.

For “helpful”, the best model had fixed effects for speaker 
and contour type, with random intercepts by item and by sub-
ject, and random slopes for contour type by subject. Speaker 
and contour both had significant effects, with the female speaker 
rated as sounding significantly more helpful than the male 
speaker (p <0.001, β = 0.34662) and the rise sounding more 
helpful than the plateau (p<0.001, β = -0.58691), as can be seen 
in the bottom two panels of figure 2.

For “condescending”, the best model had fixed effects for 
speaker, contour type, context, and an interaction between 
speaker and contour type, with random intercepts by subject 
and item, and random slopes for both contour type and speaker 
gender. There was a significant effect of speaker (p <0.001, β =
Study 3 looked into the attitudinal meanings expressed in the metalinguistic study, where overall the rise was rated more positively than the plateau, as sounding more helpful and less condescending. Although there may be other factors besides the contour in the speech signal affecting these ratings (for example, the intensity or duration of the list items), the fact that there were differences between the rise and rise-plateau for the ratings for “helpful” and “condescending” for both of the speakers suggest that contour is playing a significant role.

The more positive ratings for the female speaker (more helpful, less condescending), as well as the interaction between contour and gender for “condescending” (with the male speaker having a greater difference between the ratings for his rises and rise-plateaus) may be related to general stereotypes about male speakers (as a potential “mansplainer”) and female speakers (as being more nurturing or helpful). Additionally, the positive evaluation of rises from the female speaker may also seem surprising in light of negative evaluations of “uptalk” that can be found in the media (e.g., [10]); however, other perceptual studies have similarly found positive, or at least, non-negative, evaluations of rises in female speech [11, 12]. As these judgements are only based on two speakers, further work with more speakers would be necessary to make any firm claims about the effects of gender.

The context manipulations done in study 3 affected the ratings for “condescending”: if the speaker thinks the listener already knows (or should already know) the items in the list, actually listing the items in the list might come across as “talking down”; hence the higher ratings for “condescending” when the speaker knows that the listener already knows the items. However, this effect is quite small, and context did not interact with contour type in the predicted way: for example, the rise-plateau contour was not rated as sounding significantly more condescending in the “doesn’t know” condition, and the rise-plateau contour was not rated as sounding significantly more helpful in the “doesn’t know” condition. It is not clear why this is the case, and experiments with different context manipulations, or different prompts, may show different results.

The results from Study 3 provide evidence for the usefulness of gathering metalinguistic judgements from naive listeners in studying intonational meaning, as subjects provided meanings that aligned with linguists’ previous analyses and also provided attitudinal meanings that had not been previously documented. The results from Study 2, in which subjects associated the rise-plateau with contexts where the speaker thought the listener didn’t know the items in the list, and the rise with contexts where the speaker thought the listener did know the items, provides experimental support for the claims in [1]. Finally, study 3 shows how an intonation contour can affect the attidences subjects have towards the speaker, with the rise-plateau sounding more condescending, and the rise, more helpful.

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5. References