

**WHY DO THEY ASK?: A DISCURSIVE PHONOLOGICAL STUDY OF
INTERROGATIVE FORMS IN FOUR VIDEO COMMENTARIES**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores interrogative forms in four video commentaries from *The Guardian*, as a frequent persuasive choice to build interaction between speaker and the virtual audience. The analysis examines resources of dialogic engagement together with resources in the phonology to describe how the authors of oral commentaries engage with their viewers and with their own arguments. The aim of this dissertation is to reveal the ways in which intonation choices extend or support the dialogic function of ‘questions’.

To understand how authors build their arguments and how they build role relationships for themselves and for their projected audience, questions are studied following Martin and White’s *Engagement* framework (2005). The analysis is complemented with a phonological perspective following the models of *Discourse Intonation* (Brazil, et al, 1980; Brazil, 1997) and *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (Halliday and Greaves, 2008; Tench, 1996).

The research shows that intonation affects textual meanings, but mainly interpersonal ones. By identifying correspondences between dialogic and phonological tendencies, this study seeks to foreground the relevance of the meaning-making potential of intonation in studies of oral language.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my life partner, Moni, and to my children, Salvador, Beltrán, and Juan Segundo.

To Moni, your encouragement and support of me have always kept me going. I am so thankful we did this together.

To my children, thank you for your understanding when I was not fully present for you during these two and a half years. I know we have many years of great times together.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The interpersonal multifunctionality of interrogative forms has been extensively examined in written and spoken discourse genres. In oral texts, however, the meaning-making potential of intonation has rarely been the centrepiece of concern. Perhaps because it has been treated as a secondary resource that adds refinements to other resources of the language, or perhaps because of its elusive nature, intonation has commonly been overlooked in studies of oral genres. Nevertheless, as Halliday and Greaves contend ‘the prosodic resources of the phonological system, its intonation and rhythm, are every whit as central to the workings of a language as are the resources of articulation, the repertory of vowels and consonants’ (2008: 73).

The intonation of ‘questions’ has received special treatment in different descriptions of English intonation. *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (Halliday and Greaves, 2008; Tench, 1996) and *Discourse Intonation* (Brazil et al, 1997,), for example, have described phonological tendencies and made generalisations on the intonation of interrogative forms. The conclusions drawn from these descriptions, nevertheless, presuppose that interrogative forms are used in contexts of immediate feedback, that is to say, in contexts where the interlocutors interact in the same space and are able to ask and answer each other. To my knowledge, there are no studies that integrate the interpersonal meanings that derive from the function of interrogative forms in monologic texts, such as newscasts, and that do so by treating intonation as a central resource of meanings in the language system.

1.1 Is there such a thing as ‘persuasive intonation’?

In referring to the primacy of hard news in the print media, Feez et.al argue that with the coming of the electronic media, the quest for objectivity associated with hard news led to the ‘institutional intonation’ of newsreaders. They also add that ‘the more conversational and persuasive forms of intonation were reserved for programs presenting views and opinions’ (2008: 186). Thus, it is in this intuitive association between argumentation and phonology that I found the impetus for this dissertation. As such, this study is an attempt to explore how the meanings of intonation choices support or extend the inherent dialogistic intersubjectivity that shapes newspaper video commentaries.

1.2 Why do they ‘ask’?

In newspaper commentaries, which are monologic by definition, the use of questions is a very salient interactional resource, as it suggests an overt dialogic interaction with a virtual audience. “Questions in single-party, written texts [...] can be seen as dialogic to the extent that they mimic interactive turn-taking as it typically operates in multi-party, spoken communication” (White, 2003: 267). However, to explore the ways in which speakers interact with their viewers through the use of interrogatives in argumentative oral texts would undermine the potential of intonation to create meanings. The dialogistic nature of the commentaries leads compellingly to look beyond the function of the questions, and to consider the role of intonation in the realisation of intersubjective relationships.

It is my purpose to explore how speakers use ‘questions’ to bring the dialogic nature of the commentaries to the surface, and to study the meanings intonation creates in this dialogue. This involves looking at the roles speakers assume -and viewers are assigned in turn- in this

overt interaction, which can be derived from the function of the questions themselves, and from the phonological choices speakers make to frame those questions.

1.3 Organization of chapters

Following this brief introduction, chapter two will outline and justify the theoretical basis for analysis. The *Engagement* framework as outlined by Martin and White (2005) is selected as it involves viewing discourse dialogistically, that is, as constructed in terms of exchanges in communicative events ‘in which each interactant shapes their message to accommodate and affect the other’ (Thompson, 2014: 78). Relevant studies in Conversation Analysis and Pragmatics that view questions as a form of action will be reviewed and their analytical categories integrated into the present study. Chapter two will also present the perspectives that have most influenced the study of phonology, namely *Discourse Intonation* (Brazil et.al, 1980, Brazil, 1997) and *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (Halliday and Greaves, 2008, Tench, 1996). In chapter three details of the data to be analysed will be presented and a set of research questions based on the relationship between persuasion and phonology will be used to discuss how choices in intonation affect the speaker-viewer relationship. The bulk of this study consists of a thorough discursive phonological analysis of four video commentaries taken from *The Guardian, Comments is free section*. Chapter four is devoted to the analysis of these video commentaries. It seeks to answer the set of research questions that motivated this study and discusses the main findings. In chapter five, the rationale that guided the research into the intonation of questions in video commentaries to convey opinions will be evaluated in terms of the evidence found. This chapter will also present the major tendencies discerned by the analysis of the individual commentaries.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The point of this chapter is to introduce some of the fundamental concepts that will be used to relate intersubjective positioning and phonology. The system of *Engagement* (Martin and White, 2005) will first be presented, with a focus on how questions fit into the framework. Different approaches to the study of questions will then be reviewed, as will their relevance to the present study. Finally, the phonological theories that inform this dissertation will be outlined, namely *Discourse Intonation* (Brazil, 1997; Brazil et. al., 1998) and *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (Tench, 1996; Halliday and Greaves, 2008). Special emphasis will be placed on the notion of dominance and on the intonation of questions.

2.1 Engagement

Newspaper commentaries or editorials are a genre where, in addition to arguing a point, their authors often take the opportunity to publicly engage or disengage with the views of others. According to Feez et.al. (2008: 178), the social purpose of commentaries is ‘to argue a case in such a way that the audience is convinced of the truth of the viewpoint or the merits of the proposal’. White (2003: 262) argues that in these mass-communicative texts, their authors project themselves as morally authoritative and that they also represent themselves as aligned or dis-aligned with their intended or imagined audience. Often, authors are able to ‘confidently assume a stance of undisguised authority’ (Hyland, 2002: 553) in relation to their audience, and in so doing they construct their addressee by making assumptions about their needs, preferences, attitudes, status and knowledge.

The focus of the *Appraisal* framework, described by Martin and White (2005), is on interpersonal meanings, and it provides a description of the choices speakers and writers have available as they ‘convey positive and negative assessments and negotiate those assessments with actual or potential respondents’ (ibid: 568). One of the systems within this framework is that of Engagement. The system of Engagement is of relevance to the present study as it helps understand how authors negotiate their relationship with their projected audience, how authors position themselves with respect to their message, and with respect to other voices. Martin and White characterise the Engagement framework as ‘the linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address’ (2005: 92). Thus understood, Engagement resources are inscribed within a dialogic perspective of communication, as proposed by Bakhtin (1981) and Voloshinov (1995) (cited in Martin & White, 2005: 92). According to this view, all communication always takes up in some way previous utterances or anticipates future responses of real or imagined readers/listeners. When they adopt a particular position and engage with others, speakers/writers are said to enter into a form of potential negotiation with their ideal audience.

2.2 In dialogue with the virtual audience: expanding and contracting the dialogic space

In terms of dialogic engagement, utterances can be classified as ‘*monoglossic*’, ‘when they make no reference to other voices and viewpoints and as ‘*heteroglossic*’ when they do invoke or allow for dialogistic alternatives’ (Martin and White: 2005, 99-100). When the speakers of the video commentaries acknowledge a heteroglossic backdrop for their utterances, they may be dialogically *contractive* or dialogically *expansive*. The former accounts for resources which aim to challenge or constrain the scope of dialogically alternative value positions and

textual voices. The latter includes those expressions that open up the dialogic space for alternative positions and textual voices.

On the one hand, contractive meanings can be located into two categories: *Disclaim* and *Proclaim*. ‘*Disclaim*’ refers to those meanings by which dialogic alternatives are ‘directly rejected or supplanted, or [are] represented as not applying’ (Martin and White, *ibid.*, 118).

The category *Disclaim* derives its meaning from denials (*There is nothing wrong with it*), or from expressions that signal counter-expectations (*Surprisingly, ...*, and connectives such as *although, but, or yet*).

The term ‘*Proclaim*’ describes those meanings by which ‘the textual voice conveys a heightened personal investment in the viewpoint being advanced and thereby explicitly indicates an interest in advancing that viewpoint’ (White, 2003: 269). In these cases, the textual voice typically stands against some opposed alternative. These formulations limit the space for alternative positions and are divided into three subcategories: (i) *Concur*, which includes expressions which present the speaker/writer as explicitly sharing a particular view put forward in the text (*Naturally, we all know what this is about..., The policy will, of course, benefit our institution*); (ii) *Pronounce*, which includes formulations by which the authorial voice overtly intervenes into the text in order to assert or insist on the value of warrantability of the proposition (*ibid*: 128) (*I contend that..., The facts of the matter are that..., and also intensifiers such as really or indeed*); and, (iii) *Endorse*, which refers to expressions through which the textual voice presents attributed information as being reliable, valid, and worthy of support (*The studies demonstrate that..., As X points out...*).

On the other hand, dialogically expansive resources can be divided into two main modes: *Entertain* and *Attribution*. ‘*Entertain*’ encompasses those formulations and wordings by which ‘the authorial voice indicates that its position is but one of a number of possible positions’ (Martin and White, 2005: 104) and thus, opens up the dialogic space to those possibilities. The authorial voice is represented as entertaining different alternatives. *Entertain* includes a wide range of meanings which account for the individual subjectivity of the textual voice: (i) meanings of likelihood, ranging from auxiliaries of epistemic modality and modal adjuncts (it *may* be over in a week..., *Perhaps*, it’s time to move on) to some mental verb projections (*I doubt that this is possible...*, *I think it’s not enough*); (ii) meanings whereby the proposition depends on and derives from the authorial voice’s subjective attitude towards how he/she gained knowledge (*It appears that...It seems to me that*); (iii) deontic modality, such as those expressing permission and obligation (*You must finish all your food*), and, finally (iv) open ended rhetorical questions, also known as expository questions.

Under ‘*Attribution*’, we find formulations which ‘disassociate the proposition from the text’s internal authorial voice by attributing it to some external source’ (Martin and White, 2005: 111). Two subcategories of *Attribution* are described: (i) *Acknowledge*, when the authorial voice does not make his/her stance clear with respect to the attributed material (*He stated that...; the Government says that...*), and (ii) *Distance*, when he/she overtly distances him/herself from the attributed proposition, thus avoiding taking responsibility for its reliability (*The president has claimed that...*)

2.3 Engagement: leading and expository questions

Of special interest to the aim of this dissertation is the treatment of ‘questions’ as classified in the Engagement framework. In their description of the various resources in the lexicogrammar that act as dialogically contractive and dialogically expansive formulations, Martin and White (2005) include two types of questions, namely *leading* and *expository* questions.

They argue that *leading* questions are a type of rhetorical question by which the writer/speaker ‘is presented as assuming that no answer needs to be supplied [...] on account of that answer being so ‘obvious’’ (2005: 123). They add that in terms of dialogistic positioning, these questions have a concurring function: addresser and addressee are presented as clearly aligned, and the proposition at issue so ‘commonsensical’, that agreement can be taken for granted. In contrast, *expository* questions, which are open-ended, do not assume a given answer on the part of the reader/hearer, and so they are dialogically expansive (ibid.). Martin and White describe expository questions as a type of ‘pseudo’ question which is frequently used in singly-constructed, noninteractive texts ‘to entertain rather than to assert some proposition.’ (ibid: 110)

2.4 A note on Engagement and phonology

The Engagement framework is oriented towards ‘meanings in context and towards rhetorical effects, rather than towards grammatical forms’ (2005: 94). As such, it incorporates a varied selection of locutions from the lexicogrammar given that they all work to place the writer/speaker with respect to the value positions referenced in the text, and with respect to the heteroglossic backdrop of opinions, points of view and judgements that all texts are made of. Martin and White add that an analysis of Engagement makes it possible to develop a

linguistically principled explanation of the mechanisms by which written texts construe for themselves ideal or imagined addressees.

Despite the framework being rooted in a dialogic view of language, and that reference is made to the meanings that are created ‘in dialogue’, most of the lexicogrammatical resources presented derive from samples of written texts. Martin and White do acknowledge, however, that all levels of the language system make meaning and that intonation contributes mainly to building interpersonal relationships. The authors also argue that there are ‘various features of voice quality which have tended to be marginalised as paralinguistic but appear far more central once appraisal systems are given their due’ (ibid: 12). Regardless of this initial link between interpersonal meanings and phonology, where spoken texts -such as political speeches- are considered, there is no attempt to systematically integrate the stratum of phonology to the meanings created in interaction, and the elaboration of interpersonal meanings in the framework is based on the lexicogrammar exclusively. Only once do the authors acknowledge that ‘appropriately placed stress’ (ibid.: 127) can be a signal of a dialogically contractive meaning of ‘*pronounce*’. However, as they also argue, ‘prosodic structure is arguably more difficult to model and understand, probably because it is the kind of structure that is most obscured by the evolution of alphabetic writing systems’ (ibid: 19).

2.5 Other perspectives on questions

In the following section, different approaches to the study of questions will be described and reviewed. The studies chosen are pertinent to the analysis of video commentaries as they share the view that discourse is a form of action, the same view on language from which the current study was constructed.

2.5.1 A pragmatic account

Cornelia Ilie has studied rhetorical questions from a pragmatic perspective in several discourse genres, such as political, journalistic, legal, literary, among others. She defined rhetorical questions from a pragmatic point of view as those questions which are used ‘as a challenging statement to convey the addresser’s commitment to its implicit answer in order to induce the addressee’s mental recognition of its obviousness and the acceptance, verbalized or nonverbalized, of its validity’ (Ilie, 2015: 4). Hence, in Austin’s terms (1962), a rhetorical question has the illocutionary force of a question and the perlocutionary effect of a statement. Ilie added that ‘rhetorical questions constitute a special use, not a special category of questions’ (2010: 406). Accordingly, these questions may fulfil a range of different functions which are context-specific: they may work as a challenging statement, an ironic remark, a reminder, a criticism, a warning, to name some.

From different studies on questions, Ilie came up with a classification of questions which share names with those described by Martin and White (2005) in their framework of Engagement, namely *leading* and *expository* questions. She argued that *leading* or ‘*conducive*’ questions (2009, 2017) are meant to elicit a particular answer which is implicitly suggested by the speaker and easily inferable by the listener. A major difference she highlights with rhetorical questions is that leading questions actually elicit a verbal response. This last observation clearly alludes to the fact that the context of study for these questions has been one of immediate feedback where two participants are co-constructing their discourse.

Expository questions, Ilie argued, are used to ‘interactively indicate the introduction of, or shift to, a new topic or issue for discussion during question-answer dialogues’ (Ilie, 2017: 79). In a study of these questions in talk shows (1998), she found they were used to focus on a controversial issue and also to problematize it. Ilie added that these questions do not necessarily require a verbal response since their function is mainly argument eliciting: they are used to attract the attention of the audience or to provide information about a given topic.

2.5.2 Reversed-polarity questions

From a different perspective, Irene Koshik (2005) highlights that there is a discrepancy between the form of an interrogative and asking a question, as an activity. She quoted Quirk and his declarative questions, for example, which are declarative in form but are heard as questions because of their rising intonation. However, she explained that the same declarative form can also be heard as doing questioning even if it is realised with falling intonation. Similarly, she maintained that syntactic questions are not always meant to be heard as eliciting information; they can also be used to function as invitations, offers, requests, or complaints, to name a few.

Koshik (2005) explains that the type of syntactic question that is understood as doing something other than asking questions is a *rhetorical question*. What she clarifies rhetorical questions have in common is that ‘they are not asked, and are not understood, as ordinary information-seeking questions but as making some kind of claim, or assertion, an assertion of the opposite polarity to that of the question’ (ibid: 2). In her account of these questions, Koshik preferred to use the term ‘*reversed polarity questions*’ over ‘*rhetorical questions*’ as she suggests that the latter may be misleading.

Koshik's elaboration on reversed polarity questions was based on studies of naturally occurring talk. She described *wh-reversed polarity questions* and *yes/no reversed polarity questions*. Using Conversation Analysis methodology, she studied how these questions were used in different speech events, such as telephone conversations, news interviews, teacher-student talk, etc. She argued that in many different contexts, these questions were used in very similar ways to accomplish different actions, such as accusations, complaints, challenges to prior turns, etc.

As reversed polarity questions can be used to make assertions of the opposite form of the polarity of the question, they are heard as being 'conducive' (ibid: 13), that is to say, as preferring a certain answer. However, Koshik suggested that these questions are not only meant to elicit a preferred answer, but that they also 'display the epistemic stance of the speaker, sometimes acting more like assertions than questions' (2005: 13). She argued that when asked from a position of epistemic dominance, yes/no reversed polarity questions can be heard as challenges, and that when they are answered, the answers to these questions are done to either align or disalign with the opinion conveyed through the question (ibid: 37).

Wh-reversed polarity questions are formatted as a wh-question and their function is derived from the interactional context of the question, and from the design of the turn in which it is embedded. Like yes/no reversed polarity questions, wh-questions can also be used as challenges. When the challenge is directed to a co-present party, the question asks the accuser to provide support for the accusation, and, at the same time, implies that no support can be found. When the challenge is directed to a non-present party, the questions can be used to challenge reported actions as well as prior talk (ibid: 51).

Koshik showed, in a few examples, that contrastive stress or upward intonation are sometimes clues to identify reversed polarity questions. However, these intonation choices are not perceived as a defining characteristic, since sometimes there is nothing in the stressing pattern or the intonation that signals such function. Phonological choices are not made an integral part of the description of reversed polarity questions and their function in context, except when those choices are the main clue to identify them as such. However, the fact that stress and tone are viewed as contributing to the identification of a reversed polarity question hints at the idea that phonology is a part of the meaning-making potential of language.

2.5.3 Questions in written newspaper editorials

In his study of newspaper editorials and intersubjective positioning, Geoff Thompson (2014) found that different types of questions fulfil either interactional or interpersonal aims.

He argued that the effect of rhetorical questions over statements realized congruently as statements is on the degree of intersubjective coercion:

‘they are designed to simulate the interactional information-seeking nature of questions while at the same time imposing an ‘answer’ [...] The reader-in-the-text is projected as contributing to the construction of discourse coherence by interpreting the apparent question as a statement’ (2014: 90)

He observed that some questions are not answered in the text. On the one hand, there are those questions in which the people who can answer them are not meant to be part of the projected readership; and on the other hand, there are those questions to which no answer is really possible or expected. (ibid, 90-91). Questions can also be addressed by the writer to the reader-in-the-text. He distinguished two subcategories: yes-no questions or question tags which are left to the reader to answer; and those questions which are addressed to the reader but immediately answered by the writer. A final set of questions comprises those which are in

the voice of the reader, with the writer supplying the answer immediately. The latter, Thompson argued, involve the reader in the construction of the organization of the text. He analysed how these questions functioned in terms of intersubjective positioning and argued that there was a tendency for questions to focus on the organization of the discourse, or at times they made texts more ‘interpersonally exuberant’ (2014: 93).

2.5.4 Questions in academic articles

Hyland (2002) also explored the distribution and use of questions in academic articles in different disciplines. He argued that questions allow writers to explicitly involve their readers in the discourse, ‘addressing the perceptions, interests, and needs of a potential audience’ (2002: 529). Similarly to Thompson (2014), Hyland focused on the interpersonal dimension of texts as writers negotiate their claims with the projected readers. Questions, he asserted, are essentially dialogic and function to engage the readers.

He provided a classification of seven functions questions perform in different fields of knowledge. The first are questions in titles, which are used to demand attention and to grab the reader’s interest, typically worded with a striking expression. Secondly, there are those questions which are used to frame the discourse; they are typically placed in the introductory section of academic articles as an initial framework for the text. Though these are mainly related to the ideational rather than the interactional meanings of text, Hyland argued that they also effect an unambiguous relationship with the reader: ‘one where a primary knower takes control of both the discourse and the audience’ (2002: 542). In the third place, questions are used to organize the discourse, and they are a way of identifying what is to be discussed in a given section within a text. Again, these questions are related to the textual function of

language, but they add an interpersonal dimension, as they prompt readers to think about their previous knowledge and to think of their own responses to the topic under discussion.

Through these questions, writers lead their readers where they wish them to go, ‘moving from old to new information and explicitly establishing preferred interpretations of propositional meanings to ensure that they recover the writer’s intentions’ (2002: 544). Fourthly, introductory questions can also function to create a niche, to raise questions about current theories. Interpersonally, these are used as a strategy to make readers view a given topic as important and absorbing. Next, interrogative forms are often used to express an attitude and to frame reservations about the validity of an argument; they function as counterclaims. In terms of writer/reader positioning, the readers are brought into a virtual debate in which they are treated as knowledgeable and active participants who share the writer’s views and concerns. Additionally, questions can convey the writer’s stance and challenge readers to consider an issue, at the same time that they anticipate the assertion of an opinion. In terms of intersubjective positioning, these questions create what seems to be ‘a jointly constructed textual environment for exploration’ (ibid: 548). Finally, there are those questions which are commonly found at the end of texts. These are used to raise unresolved issues or emergent matters on a given topic. According to Hyland, these questions seek information, rather than anticipate a specific response.

Although concerned with written discourse, both Thompson and Hyland focus on the interpersonal and textual functions of interrogatives as a resource to understand how writers negotiate interaction with their potential readers. In the absence of immediate feedback, this study takes a view that questions in oral commentaries function as they do in the written genres referred to. With the addition of choices in intonation at the level of expression,

however, this dissertation seeks to go beyond the lexicogrammar to include phonology as an integral meaning-making component of language.

2.5.5 Questions as a form of action

Halliday and Matthiessen discuss interrogatives with respect to how they function in the mood system to express the interpersonal structure of the clause (2014 :160). This characterization of questions in terms of interpersonal meanings moves the focus away from the form of language to viewing discourse as action. As has been stated above, the different authors described in this framework study questions in varied contexts, such as oral and written texts, and from different theoretical backgrounds, such as Conversation Analysis or Pragmatics. However, they share the view that discourse is a form of action. Thus viewed, questions acquire an interactional and persuasive purpose. To build an argument, as is the case with the authors of the video commentaries selected for the present study, speakers need to be able to anticipate their audience expectations, their difficulties and their projected responses. By doing so, speakers engage with the voices of their virtual addressees, as well as with the other voices which are brought into the context of their own texts. By inviting engagement, Hyland argues, questions highlight the essential dialogic nature of discourse (2002: 530).

2.6 Phonology: Discourse Intonation and Systemic Functional Linguistics

As the texts in the corpus for this dissertation consist of oral video commentaries, the prosodic/paralinguistic realizations speakers choose at the moment of interacting are integrated in the analysis, especially when these choices contribute to intersubjective positioning. Taking into account the approach proposed by Couper Kuhlen (1996), my aim is

to observe how prosodic choices combine with the lexicogrammar to express meanings in interaction, analysing

‘prosodic categories ‘from within’ as participant categories, showing how speakers use prosody as a resource for the management and negotiation of interactive meaning. The demonstration that participants do indeed orient to the prosodic features in question is used as a warrant for the analytic decisions made.’ (1996: 3).

The general theoretical framework for the phonological analysis in this study integrates the contributions of the *Discourse Intonation* -hereafter DI- approach described by Brazil, Coulthard and Johns (1980) and Brazil (1997), and also the *Systemic Functional Linguistics* - hereafter SFL- approach to intonation as outlined by Halliday and Greaves (2008) and Trench (1996). It seems appropriate at this stage to define some of the terminology that accompanies each model and that will guide the analysis of the intonation of ‘questions’ in oral commentaries.

The DI approach describes four systems of meaning: the systems of *Prominence*, *Key*, *Termination* and *Tone*. The system of prominence refers to the choice a speaker makes with regards to the words that s/he makes prominent through stressing. The systems of key and termination consider pitch height on the first and last prominence respectively. Choices in key affect the relationship between the utterance spoken and the previous one, and choices in termination show expectations with regards to the forthcoming utterance. The last of the systems, the system of tone, gives information with respect to whether the message is presented as new or as shared, and whether it reflects a divergent or convergent stance on the part of the speaker.

The SFL approach to intonation proposes three systems of meanings: *Tonality*, *Tonicity* and *Tone*. The phonological choices available for the speaker in these systems refer respectively to the division of the message into tone units, the assignment of tonic prominence and the choice of pitch levels and movements. Broadly speaking, the systems of Tonality and Tonicity affect textual meanings (Halliday & Greaves, 2008: 97-108). They organize ‘the flow of the discourse’. Tonality choices show how the discourse unfolds as a succession of units of information, which constitute focus domains. Each of these units is internally organized in configurations of Given and New information. ‘The information unit is the speaker’s resource for managing the cline of familiarity, as a balanced alternation between what is familiar and what is news’ (Halliday and Greaves, 2008: 101). The placement of the tonic concerns the system of Tonicity, and it shows the end of the new, the end of the focused material.

The system of Tone affects interpersonal meanings, and this theory proposes neutral tone realizations for the different speech functions in English (for example, statements, commands and information questions are associated with falling tones, polar interrogatives with rising tones, and so on). SFL also proposes neutral realizations for modality options. In this case, high value modals take falling tones and low value modals take falling-rising tones.

2.6.1 Intonation and dominance

Of specific importance to understanding speaker/listener interaction is the notion of phonological dominance. DI and SFL refer to the role of intonation choices in determining social speech roles. From a systemic functional perspective, Tench (1996) pairs speaker-dominance with the use of falling tones, and speaker-deference with rising tones, arguing that

‘the fall suggests certainty, ‘knowing’; and the rise uncertainty, ‘querying’ (1996: 18). In an intonation unit which contains major information, the use of a falling tone ‘denotes ‘speaker-dominance’: the speaker knows and tells, orders, demands, etc. [...] a rising tone in an equivalent unit denotes ‘speaker-deference’: the speaker does not know and so asks, does not have authority and so requests, coaxes, etc.’ (18). He adds that the fall characterises a speaker who is pretty sure and the rise a speaker who is unsure (88). Later, he maintains that ‘the tone system simply indicates the speaker’s status *vis-à-vis* the hearer: either as dominant or deferent.’

Within DI, Brazil et al. (1980) and Brazil (1997) also account for the social roles speakers express through their intonation in interaction. A dominant speaker, they argue, is one who adopts a ‘superior’ role, which grants him/her ‘greater freedom in making linguistic choices’ (1980: 54). The dominant speaker is the person ‘who is determining what happens next’, that is, the one who can control how the interaction unfolds. Thus understood, the dominant participant can decide who speaks when, and can also set limits to what is spoken about. The DI approach relates dominance with three different phonological behaviours which work independently. Dominance is realised through choices in the systems of tone, key and termination.

According to Brazil et al., the choice of tone can show which participant in an interaction ‘is in control of the development of the discourse at any one time’. The authors argue that the + options of tone, that is, the simple rise (r+) and the rise-fall (p+), have an increment in meaning described as dominance, as opposed to the fall-rise (r) and fall (p), which are non-dominant. A speaker’s dominant stance contributes to the turn-taking mechanism by

facilitating a 'smooth exchange of control of the discourse' (1997: 86). By choosing to use the dominant versions of tone, the speaker indicates that he/she intends either to keep the floor or to transfer it to the listener; the dominant speaker has an expectation that 'his/her status as controller of the discourse will be recognised for the time being' (1997:88). With a choice of the dominant rising tone, a speaker assumes an active role in the interaction and may be acting as a reminder of certain facts to his/her listener. With the use of a rise-fall (p+), the speaker gives his/her utterance an exclamatory effect, as he presents information as doubly new, implying that the message is an incorporation to his/her own store of knowledge and expresses his/her intention of controlling the discourse as 'he/she expects no feedback of either an adjudicating or a concurring kind' (1997: 97).

Speakers can also claim dominance through choices in the system of Key (the pitch level on the onset) and choice in the system of Termination (the pitch level of the tonic syllable). In the Key system, a break in pitch concord, i.e. the matching of pitch levels between initial key choice and the previous tone unit high or mid termination, signals a dominant speaker. This occurs 'at moments when there is a discrepancy between the ways the two parties assess the context of interaction' (1997:54). Finally, the speaker who uses a low termination is also asserting dominance, since this choice is related to the organization of the conversation. It may indicate that the speaker is closing a topic or that he/she gives the next speaker freedom of choice to begin his/her turn, as the low termination places no constraints as regards key choices.

2.6.2 Intonation and questions

In DI, Brazil argues that choices in the referring/proclaiming system ‘cut across the traditional, grammar-based classification into yes/no and information types’ (1997, 112). That is, yes/no elicitations and information questions can both be used with either a rising tone or with a falling tone. If they are asked with a proclaiming tone (falling), the speaker projects a context in which the answer to the question is unnegotiated and he/she asks for removal of uncertainty. The speaker offers the question to the hearer to concur with or to reject. In this way, concurrence or rejection are said to alter the speaker’s worldview (Brazil, 1997: 107-108). When asked with a referring tone, the same question projects a context in which the response has been negotiated. The speaker asks of his interlocutor for either confirmation or denial of the assumptions of common ground that he/she is projecting. According to Brazil, the speaker ‘modifies his/her world view in advance and submits the modification for the hearer’s approval’ (ibid.: 107-108). The referring tone choice projects the speaker as wanting to have his/her assumptions confirmed which he/she presents as having been negotiated. With proclaiming tones, the projection is of a context in which the respondent has to make a selection from an unnegotiated set of options. (ibid.: 112)

In SFL, Halliday and Greaves argue that different speech functions have a typical or ‘unmarked’ tone associated to them, and that variation from the typical - the ‘marked’ option - gives rise to other meanings (2008: 111). They say that in the mood system, a question is realised by an interrogative clause in its unmarked form, spoken on a rising tone or on a falling tone depending on which type of interrogative it is. Yes/no questions have an unmarked realisation of a polar interrogative realised with a choice of rising tone. Wh-questions are realised in an unmarked way by a non-polar interrogative, spoken on a falling

tone. They argue that the rising tone is a signal of uncertainty, and more particularly, of uncertainty as to the polarity of a question. Hence, the natural association between a polar interrogative and the choice of rising tone, where what is at stake is the polarity of the interrogative. In the same way, they go on to explain that with non-polar interrogatives the unmarked choice of tone is a fall. This is further developed as they argue that this type of lexical interrogatives function like ‘a declarative with a missing piece, which the respondent is called upon to supply’ (Halliday and Greaves, 2008: 116). The unmarked choice then is that associated with a declarative: a falling tone.

Halliday and Greaves argue that each type of interrogative displays a set of marked alternatives. A polar interrogative spoken on a falling tone has the effect of enforcing attention to the question, and of signalling a demand for an answer, ‘often calling for reassurance of explanation’ (ibid: 116). The same polar interrogative, when associated with a rising falling movement, they argue, turns the question into something that sounds: ‘no it’s not just a simple question; it’s something I need to have explained or to be reassured about’ (ibid: 116). Non-polar interrogatives with a rising tone and neutral tonicity make the question sound milder, it is modulated by a request of permission to ask. They also add that there is a prosody of puzzlement in the questioner. The wh-question spoken on a rising tone, but with marked tonicity is a special type of interrogative, since the focus of information is on the wh-element itself. These are commonly known as ‘echo questions’, where the speaker is alluding to a previous utterance where there is an element he/she did not hear properly, or has forgotten, for example. With a rising-falling tone, the wh-interrogative brings together a movement from uncertainty to certainty. The initial rise gives the interrogative an air of

surprise, which is then overridden by the fall at the end, which demands information that needs to be supplied.

CHAPTER 3

MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Selection of texts

I will analyse newspaper commentaries, as an instance of frequently-encountered texts which aim to engage directly with their audience in order to encourage persuasion and affiliation.

The texts selected for analysis are video commentaries in which different authors present their arguments orally. The data consists of a small selection of four videos from *The Guardian*, UK, which can be accessed through their website in a section entitled '*Comment is Free*'. The texts are described as 'thought-provoking opinion videos from independent thinkers' and were published over the period between July 2014 and June 2017. Figure 3.1 below gives details of each of the texts selected for analysis, including the publication date, title of the video commentary, the name of the speaker, the topics for each commentary, and the authors of each text.

Figure 3.1: Details of the video commentaries

Publication	Video title	Speaker	Topics	Authors
<i>The Guardian</i> Wed 23 Nov 2016	<i>How far is too far for Donald Trump?</i>	Steven W. Thrasher	Donald Trump/In my Opinion Steve Bannon/The far right/ US politics/US elections 2016	Steven W. Thrasher, Leah Green, Bruno Rinvoluceri, Laurence Mathieu-Léger and Chris Whitworth
<i>The Guardian</i> Wed 17 Jun 2015	<i>I have two boyfriends. It's time polyamory</i>	Simon Copland	Relationships/In my Opinion Sex/Family/Equal marriage	Simon Copland, Leah Green, Maya Wolfe-

	<i>became socially acceptable.</i>			Robinson, Tom Silverstone and Bruno Rinvoluceri
<i>The Guardian Wed 24 Jun 2015</i>	<i>My hijab has nothing to do with oppression. It's a feminist statement.</i>	Hanna Yusuf	Feminism/In my Opinion Women/Islam/Religion/France	Hanna Yusuf, Maya Wolfe-Robinson, Leah Green, Caterina Monzani and Bruno Rinvoluceri
<i>The Guardian Wed 22 Apr 2015</i>	<i>I'm a lesbian, but I wasn't born this way.</i>	Julie Bindel	LGBT rights/In my Opinion Relationships and sex education/Women/Sexuality	Julie Bindel, Maya Wolfe-Robinson, Leah Green, Bruno Rinvoluceri and Caterina Monzani

3.2 Formulating the research question

As stated above, the data for analysis consists of four oral commentaries in which interrogatives are a recurrent lexicogrammatical choice deployed by the different speakers. The videos selected range from a minimum of six to a maximum of ten interrogatives each and are the ones that display the largest number of interrogative forms in the complete 'Comment is Free' series. After selecting the texts, I formulated the following overarching research question:

How does intonation support or extend the meanings of interrogatives as a resource to construct interaction between author and audience in The Guardian 'Comment is Free' video commentaries?

The above research question can be further divided into a set of more specific and interconnected questions, as follows:

1. What is the function of interrogative forms at different stages in the video commentaries?
2. How do the authors of the commentaries engage with their arguments and with their viewers through the use of interrogative forms?
3. What roles do the authors assume with respect to their own arguments and with respect to their audience?
4. How are viewers modelled and invited to participate in the dialogue established by the choice of interrogative forms?
5. What do the choices in intonation contribute to the interpersonal relationship established between author and audience?

3.3 Transcription of texts:

Firstly, a written transcription of the four video commentaries was made, and the different stages in each text were numbered for ease of reference. The interrogative forms were numbered as being a stage on their own. Next, an intonation transcription was made of the interrogative forms in each text, following the notation system described in Appendix 1. The perceptive analysis of intonation choices was validated with the software for speech analysis

Praat (Boersma & Weenik 1992-2019). Nevertheless, at this point, it is relevant to highlight what Couper-Kuhlen argues about computer programs for speech analysis:

Since participants have only their ears (and in face-to-face interaction their eyes) to go on, analysts who wish to take a participant's perspective must use their ears (and eyes) first. The auditory phenomena identified through careful inspection of the record can, however, be subjected to acoustic analysis subsequently. This can be useful for visualizing – and to a certain extent validating – auditory impressions. Ultimately, however, it is our auditory impressions that must be accorded priority (Couper-Kuhlen, 2018: 3)

3.4 A discursive phonological approach to the texts

The main argument of each video was first summarized to set the background for the questioning moves. After that, each interrogative was examined in context to determine its pragmatic and dialogic function. The methodology employed was to observe how questions functioned in terms of intersubjective positioning. To this effect, the resources of the Engagement system outlined by Martin and White (2005) were used, with a special focus on the categories of *leading* and *expository* questions. The analysis of the function of the interrogatives was also informed by the studies of questions that were outlined in the theoretical framework, namely Hyland's description of questions in academic articles and Thompson's categorisation of questions in newspaper editorials. Likewise, Cornelia Ilie's contributions to the study of rhetorical questions and Irene Koshik's work on reversed polarity questions were also integrated in the analysis, in order to provide a more detailed account of the interpersonal meanings created through questioning forms.

Simultaneously, a phonological examination was carried out to explore possible correspondences between the intersubjective positioning derived from the lexicogrammatical and semantic choices referred to above and from the phonological ones. The phonological

analysis was based on the SFL description of intonation systems: Tonality, Tonicity and Tone (Halliday & Greaves 2008; Trench 1996), and on the Discourse Intonation systems of Prominence, Key, Termination and Tone (Brazil *et al.* 1980; Brazil 1997).

The interdisciplinary procedure adopted for this dissertation enhances the study of interrogative forms in monologic spoken texts. Rather than simply listing the abstract meanings of intonation for a surface-level account of the questions in the video commentaries, the merging of the different approaches seeks to contextualise the patterns that emerge from the interaction between speaker and viewer/listener. A final conclusion will be made on whether this combination of methods is of merit in explaining the interpersonal function of the questioning moves that form the corpus of this study.

CHAPTER 4

A DISCURSIVE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ‘QUESTIONS’

This chapter presents a detailed discursive phonological analysis of ‘questions’ in four video commentaries from the series *Comment is Free* from *The Guardian*, UK. The analysis shows how a combination of choices from the lexicogrammar as well as the meaning potential afforded by the phonology both serve to give a more comprehensive account of the function of interrogative forms in oral commentaries. In this chapter, each of the four videos will be considered in turn. After the detailed analysis, chapter five will summarise the main findings and attempt to answer the questions that motivated this dissertation.

4.1 Analysis of ‘*How far is too far for Donald Trump?*’

‘*How far is too far for Donald Trump?*’ is a video commentary by Steven W. Thrasher in which he argues that Donald Trump should not be seen as ‘just another president’. His main concern is to understand what it will take for the public and political class to stop normalising him. The speaker titles his text with an expository question (1) which unambiguously announces a position of aversion to Donald Trump and which prefaces his main argument.

(1) || [↘]H How >far || is [˘]H too far || for 'Donald `L Trump?

As Ilie argues, expository questions are commonly used to preface arguments (2017: 79). Phonologically, the speaker chooses to break the question into three units, selecting a focal point in each intonation phrase, hereafter IP. The first IP focuses on the epithet *far*, and the speaker selects a mid-level tone, which is the default tone to signal non-finality. The second

IP has the tonic on *too* realised with a mid fall-rise, both choices which work to highlight the negative contrast projected from the lexicogrammar between *far* and *too far*. In the last IP, the speaker selects Trump as his focal point and he produces a low falling tone. The phonological realization of the full rhetorical question -hereafter RQ- foregrounds the speaker's stance, as the choice of a high onset on *how* stepping down to a low tonic on *Trump* is representative of a common pattern with expressions of irritation and complaint (Halliday and Greaves, 2008: 213). The choice of low termination is a signal of the speaker closing the pitch sequence, a choice that works at the textual level to separate the title off the rest of the text, and at the interpersonal level to indicate to the listener that the topic is put forward to be extensively analysed and debated. The listener who is projected right from the start is one who also takes a negative view of Trump's policies, and so speaker and listener are aligned as standing together against Trump's ideology.

The body of the text proper begins with another questioning move, which is announced by the speaker addressing the listener directly through an imperative clause (2): *Ask yourself*.

According to Brazil (1997: 91) 'the kind of speaker/listener relationship that sanctions the use of imperative mood would often be the kind in which the speaker would signal overtly an assumption of dominant role.' Once the speaker has overtly taken control of the interaction, he asks:

(2) || Ask yourself: ˩H what will have to >happen || before we 'stop
 ˩normalizing Trump || like 'just a ˩nother ˩L president?

Phonologically, he makes the same choices as in the title, going from a high onset on *what* to a low falling tone on *president*, underscoring once more his dominant stance through the low

termination. The low ending marks, again, that the proposition is put forward for discussion and debate. Added to the interpersonal load of the negative assessment implicit in the RQ, the fact that the interrogative is placed at the beginning of the text signals that it frames the discourse (Hyland, 2002: 541). Thus positioned, it works to hold the listener's interest and to signpost what is to come in the argumentative stages of the talk. In Thompson's terms, this type of question is termed 'discourse oriented' (2014: 89), as it relates to the listener's processing of the argumentative line.

The following expository RQ (8) comes halfway through the text after the speaker has built his argument with values of entertain. All the utterances (3, 4, 5 & 6) preceding RQ 8 begin with 'perhaps', in a clear attempt of the speaker to allow and validate other voices and value positions in the current argumentative context. This dialogically expansive move ends with a counter-argument realised by the choice of 'but' in (7): 'But those things have happened now', and immediately after this the speaker queries (8):

(8) || So, 'H what `H will it take. ||

RQ 8 works as an insist and it projects a marked contrast with the 'bad things' about Trump's administration that have already been referred to in the argument. Such insistence and contrast imply some resistance of other voices against which the speaker asserts himself. According to Martin and White, 'it is only necessary to insist when there is some counter viewpoint against which the insistence is directed' (2005: 128). Hence, while RQ 8 is an expository one and it acknowledges the diversity of voices in the current context, the speaker tries to challenge or discredit the alternatives. These meanings are reinforced phonologically through the choice of

marked tonicity on the finite *will*, which is given a high falling tone. With regards to discourse control, through his choice of high termination, the speaker projects a listener who is demanded to provide an answer, and to actively engage in the debate. Given the monologic nature of the commentary, however, the expectation that the questioning move sets up for the listener is resolved by the speaker assuming the active role and supplying the answers himself.

The argumentative context that the speaker builds is manifest in the choice of the leading questions that immediately follow RQ 8. The speaker elaborates on the idea that anything can be expected from Trump, and he does so by starting the stage with the conjunctive resource *if*, which marks the logical relation of the argument (9): ‘*If grabbing women by the pussies is normal...*’ The condition is resolved immediately when the speaker questions ‘*then why not accept the swastika graffiti?*’

(9) || If 'grabbing women by the >pussies is °normal, || then 'why `not accept the °swastika graf. fiti? ||

This contracting negative question (9) has a marked choice of tonicity, as the tonic falls on *not*. The speaker selects to give *not* a mid-falling tone, which suggests that the RQ is not put forward as a personal recommendation of a plausible course of action -as suggested by the lexicogrammar- but rather it underscores the ridiculousness of Trump’s policies. In doing so, the listener is assumed to accept the proposition passively, and not to provide an active evaluation of it. The fact that the speaker has left *swastika graffiti* unaccented -as part of the tail – projects an idea of taken-for-grantedness, which he assumes the listener will also recognise as such.

This initial RQ is immediately followed by a triad of distasteful events presented in the form of three leading polar interrogatives (10) which extend the negative meaning of the first question:

(10) || Should we 'even 'blink || that a 'black ° student has been at° tacked with a ° hot ' glue gun? || 'Or that there's a ° surge in ° hate crimes against ' Muslims? || 'Or about ° calls to ° criminalize ' protests? ||

By the nature of the events referenced, the RQs work as what Ilie describes as 'emotion triggering arguments' (2017: 79). The rhetoric is one by which the author assumes that the wrongfulness of these behaviours is so self-evident to the listener that it is only necessary to ask for confirmation of the projected answers. The RQs function to evoke, to allude to a shared experience with the listener, who is being aligned into a community which is strongly critical of the social events going on under Trump's government. The choice of rising tone projects a speaker who is simply asking for confirmation of his assumptions. All three RQs in (10) are produced in tone concord, on a mid-rising tone, 'giving each a parallel but informationally independent status' (Halliday and Greaves, 2008: 214). Not only does the repetition of tone choice create a cohesive tie for the three questions, but it also strengthens the effect of insistence. The second and third questions of this cluster are introduced with the conjunction *or*, each selected as onset in additive mid key, which also helps build the insisting effect of the ideas projected in the RQs. The dominant role adopted by the consecutive choice of simple rising tones is also expressive of the speaker's indignation at Trump. In line with Brazil's argument, 'it is hard to express indignation without adopting a dominant stance' (1997: 88).

The last RQ the speaker asks is (12):

(12) || and 'H how many women °dying from °unsafe a>bortions || is 'too
`L many? ||

This graded wh-interrogative (Martin and White, 2005: 198) functions as an expository RQ. In the same way that the title argues Trump has gone far, but that we need to know what *too far* means, this RQ, which appears before the argument starts to round off, presupposes that many unsafe abortions are taking place, but we need to know what *too many* means.

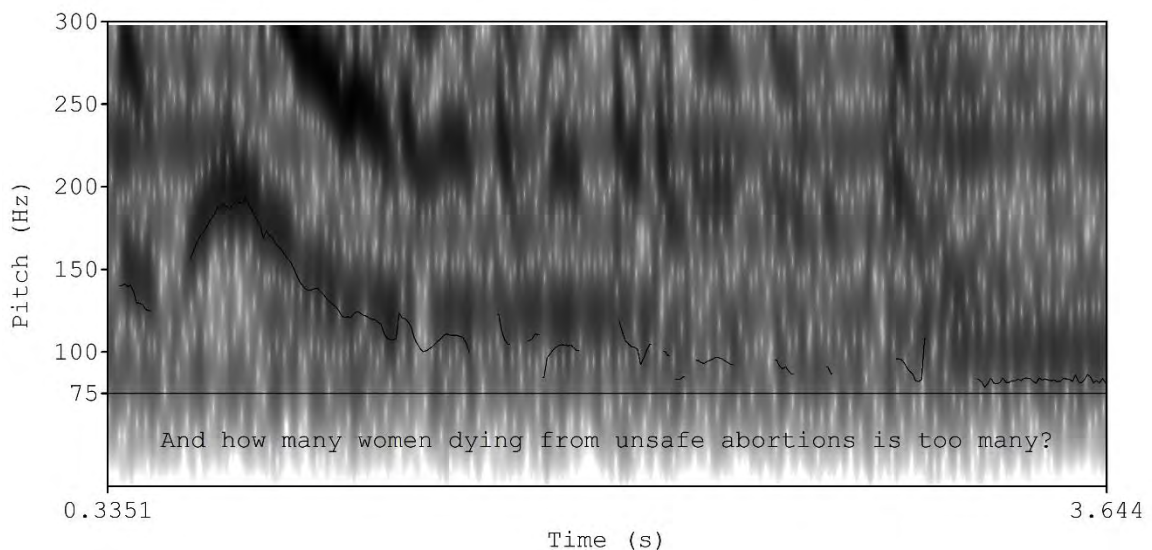


Figure 4.1.1 Praat image: high key descending to low falling termination

Phonologically, the speaker asserts his dominant stance by choosing a low termination, with a falling movement on the tonic *many*. By repeating the pattern of high onset stepping down to a low fall (Figure 4.1.1), the speaker once again reinforces the projected attitude of indignation and discontent which the listener is being aligned with.

4.2 Analysis of *'I've got two boyfriends. It's time polyamory became socially acceptable'*.

'I've got two boyfriends. It's time polyamory became socially acceptable' is the title of Simon Copland's video commentary. In his argument, he discusses his own polyamorous lifestyle and contends that those people in alternative relationships should not miss out on the social and legal benefits that other couples enjoy.

He starts to build his argument by describing his own polyamorous lifestyle. Once the audience is informed about what polyamory implies, the speaker brings to the surface the underlying dialogic nature of text by constructing the listener as asking a cluster of four RQs he assumes will arise at this point of the argument. The assumption is made evident when the speaker prefaces his RQs with *'I know what you're thinking'*, which addresses the virtual audience directly. This preface acts to present the RQ (4) that will follow as generally agreed and shared with the projected listener, or as widely held in the context set up for the viewpoints being advanced. The questioning move is formulated in the voice of the listener, with the speaker supplying the answers immediately and thus closing the dialogic space. These types of questions, according to Thompson, have a text-structuring function (2014: 92).

- (4) || 'H How can you ° possibly > love || ' two people at ` once? || Do you ' love one ° more than the ´ other? || ' Don't you get ´ jealous? || Do you ' all have ° constant ´ threesomes? ||

The first RQ in the cluster is *'How can you possibly love two people at once?'*. Although a non-polar interrogative in form, this is meant to be heard as a challenge to the speaker himself, and not as a demand for an explanation. This concurring leading question is employed to present the unreasonableness of polyamory as self-evident. It invites the listener

to deduce that you cannot love two people at once. Heritage and Clayman argue that questions of the form 'How could/can you X' are accusatory, and that 'they carry the implication that there is no acceptable explanation for the action or statement under discussion' (2010: 240). Phonologically, the onset on *how* is realised with high key, textually marking the beginning of the questioning move as a new stage within the argument. Additionally, there is the added value of contrastivity attached to high key. As the question implies 'unanswerability', the high key choice projects the binary opposition: it *is*/ it *is not* possible to love two people at once, and it explicitly denies and excludes the implied alternative. Tonicity is unmarked, with the tonic falling on *once* and realised as a mid-falling tone. The mid termination invites concurrence, with the speaker projecting an assumption that the listener will accept the implied answer without question (Brazil, 1997: 61). Hence, the speaker sets up a context in which he does not want his assertion to be evaluated.

This initial leading RQ is followed by a set of three polar interrogatives that consolidate the accusatory role of the projected listener: '*Do you love one more than the other? Don't you get jealous? Do you all have constant threesomes?*'. These RQs are also formulated in the voice of the listener and are directed to the speaker himself. They function as leading questions in that they project that the implied answers are those of the opposite polarity for each question, i.e., 'I don't love one more than the other', 'I don't get jealous', 'we don't have constant threesomes'. Phonologically, they are produced in tone concord, on mid simple rising tones. This is a way to tell the listener to consider them all part of the same message. The choice of the dominant version of the rising tones projects the assumption that the answer to each question is already known. Likewise, the choice of mid termination in each question asks for confirmation of the assumed common ground. That is, in their imposed questioning role, the

listeners ask the speaker to confirm their presuppositions. However, the speaker steps back from the role he is assigned and rejects the natural assumptions arising from the questioning move. As was previously stated, he challenges all RQs at once and answers straightforwardly: *‘The answer to most of these questions is none of your business.’*

The next RQ (10) is made up of an expository RQ plus a leading RQ.

(10) || ~H But || if we be[↘]H lieve that ° all love is ~H equal, || then 'H why does ~H my love || not `H count? || With 'same-sex ° marriage now being ° legalized around the ´ world, || 'H isn't it ´ time || the ´ law || caught 'up with the di° versity of re´ lationships, || ´ family, || and ´ parenting structures|| that e´ xist? ||

The speaker introduces the first RQ with the clause *‘But if we believe that all love is equal’*, which serves to adjust the listener’s expectations and to counter predictions they might be making. He then goes on to ask: *‘then why does my love not count?’*. This initial expository RQ is used to problematize the argument. Phonologically, there are two breaks in tonality, signalling two focus domains. The first IP has a high key choice on *why* and the tonic falls on *my*, realised as a high fall rise. The tone choice hints at the contrast between *all* love being equal, and *my -his-* love not being so. The contrastive high key choice on *why* adds to this meaning, by projecting a feeling of going against expectations. The high termination on *my* has some force as ‘why everybody else’s love and not mine’, and so the listener is invited to adjudicate, to actively consider the proposition. The IP that follows also invites adjudication with the choice of high termination on *count* (Figure 4.2.1). In this case, the discrimination projected in the question is put forward for the audience to evaluate, and are thus invited to provide an active explanation for the proposition at stake.

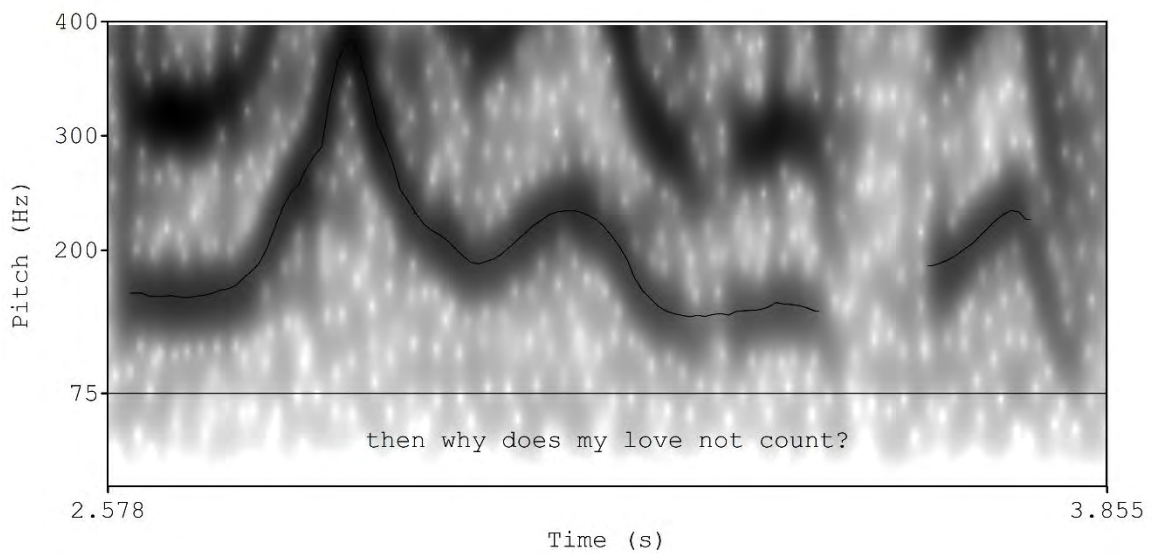


Figure 4.2.1 Praat image: contrastive high falling rising tone on ‘my’ and high falling termination on ‘count’.

This expository RQ is not answered in the text directly, but the speaker rushes to pose a leading question in the form of a negative polar interrogative (10): ‘...*isn't it time the law caught up with the diversity of relationships, family, and parenting structures that exist?*’. As Martin and White argue, negative interrogatives invite a positive response and they are ‘dialogically contractive rather than expansive’ (2005: 198). The answer expected is that of the opposite polarity of the question: ‘it is time the law considered all of us.’ Martin and White maintain that this strategy ‘(the addresser standing with the addressee against some dialogic adversary) is frequently exploited in [...] journalistic commentary’ (2005: 130). Thus, by questioning the discrimination as unfortunate, the listener is being invited to stand with the speaker in opposition to the current ‘discriminatory’ legal system.

Phonologically, the speaker breaks the RQ into six tone units and the choice of a mid simple rising tone is repeated for each IP. For the first unit, the speaker selects high key on *isn't*, which serves to project the idea of a contrast in polarity. The mid termination for each unit

projects a listener that is invited to concur, i.e., the listener is requested to agree without questioning the ideas being advanced. The leading RQ framed as a negative interrogative, together with the choices of intonation, both construe a listener that should commit themselves to the implicit answer to the ‘question’.

The next contracting expository RQ (12) is divided into four IPs.

(12) || And 'H why `H not allow || 'multiple ´partners || to be
'signatories on `bank acounts || or `H mortgages? ||

The first unit selects for high key and high termination on *why* and on *not*, respectively. They both work to project a context of contrastivity, and to invite the reader to actively evaluate the proposition put forward in the question. The same adjudicating role is projected on to the listener with the choice of high termination on *mortgages* in the last IP. Through this, the listener is requested to actively consider the possibilities proposed by the speaker.

The last RQ move (14) repeats the dialogic strategies used in (10): an initial expository question followed by a leading question:

(14) || If 'H 3 or °more °loving ´adults || 'want to become ´parents, ||
what's `H wrong with ,that? || Isn't 'more °love in a °family
°better than ´less? ||

The intonation choices are very similar too. The expository RQ ‘*what's wrong with that?*’ is framed as a non-polar interrogative with high falling tone, projecting an expectation of an active answer on the part of the listener. Immediately after that, the leading RQ ‘*Isn't more*

love in a family better than less?' with unmarked choice of simple rising tone in mid termination, invites the listener to concur with the expected answer, i.e., the listener is assumed to passively accept the corresponding affirmative assertion: *'more love is better than less'*.

4.3 Analysis of *My hijab has nothing to do with oppression. It's a feminist statement.*

In her video commentary *'My hijab has nothing to do with oppression. It's a feminist statement'*, Hanna Yusuf asks why the hijab is seen as the embodiment of oppression. She contends that many women find empowerment in rejecting the idea that women can be reduced to their sexual allure – and that we should not assume that every woman who wears the hijab has been forced into it.

The speaker begins her argument by stating that for many men and non-hijabi women, the hijab is a symbol of oppression. Just after entertaining these voices, she introduces her first RQ (2).

- (2) || But 'H in a ~H world || where a 'woman's ~value || is 'often reduced to her °sexual al~lure, || 'H what could be °more em~powering than || re`jecting || that `notion? ||

The RQ is preceded by a proposition starting with the conjunction *but* in *'but in a world where a woman's value is often reduced to her sexual allure'*. This proposition is presented as the 'normal' expectation arising from the dialogic context the speaker sets up, and so it projects on to the listener these particular beliefs and ideas. This expectedness or taken-for-grantedness is represented phonologically by the choice of falling rising movements in each

of the three IPs the proposition is divided into. The speaker's choice of tone allows her to present the information as shared with the listener, as part of their already negotiated common ground. Immediately after this state of convergence is built with the audience, the speaker makes a jump up in pitch on *what* to mark the beginning of the RQ proper and selects *empowering* as the tonic with a fall rise. The choice of tone also helps build the intended answer as shared. The speaker then makes a choice of marked tonality as she produces two IPs, so there are two focus domains, both with falling tones: one on *rejecting*, and another one on *notion*. The RQ projects the assumption that '*nothing* could be more empowering than rejecting sexual allure as the principle that gives women value', and the choice of mid termination invites the listener to agree with this assumed proposition coming from the leading question.

She then continues to explain how hijabi women oppose the marketization of women's bodies and asks the following RQ (4):

(4) || So 'H why ~does the hijab || seem to 'cause such of `fence? ||

This is an expository question that the speaker assumes will arise at this point of her argument. The speaker elaborates an answer herself and it serves to guide the listener through her argument. Phonologically, the first IP has a choice of marked tonicity with a falling rising tone on the tonic *does*. The falling rising tone also helps project the proposition as shared with the listener. Both the choice of tone and of marked tonicity highlight the fact that the hijab *does* cause offence, and the idea is presented as common ground between speaker and listener. The next unit has its tonic on *offence* and is realised with a mid-falling tone. This is

the unmarked tone choice for a non-polar interrogative, yet the mid-termination suggests that the listener is not invited to question the proposition being advanced, but only to passively accept it. As O’Grady argues, ‘a mid-termination selection [...] signals an expectation that the hearer will listen passively and not exercise an independent judgement’ (2010: 172).

In the next RQ (8), the proposition that the hijab is seen as oppression is construed, through the use of the conditional, as being a possibility, that is to say, as but one possible viewpoint in a diversity of voices. The statement is attributed to some external voice as shown by the choice of a passive construction.

(8) || If 'H pressure to ° wear the hi ˇ jab || is ' seen as op ˇ pression, ||
 and ˇ L rightly so, || ' H why is ` social pressure || or ` legal pressure
 || to ˇ not wear it || ex ˇ cused || as ' female emanci ` pation? ||

Phonologically, the concession is presented as shared and as common ground knowledge, as is signalled by the choice of falling rising tones. The speaker also shows where she stands with respect to these other voices by overtly expressing her attitudinal assessment ‘*and rightly so*’ with a fall rise that projects solidarity. This third evaluative IP has a choice of low termination which is disjunctive with the selection of high key on *why* in the beginning of the counter-argument move that follows. This high key choice serves to highlight the contrast with the previous concession, and to position the listener to view the proposition as unexpected. The falling mid termination on *emancipation* projects the information of the RQ as not open to negotiation. That is to say, the speaker argues that pressure to not wear the hijab is excused as female emancipation, and through her intonation choices she expects the listener to accept her ideas without advancing any active evaluation.

RQ 10 acts as a bridge between a couple of examples the speaker introduces and the argument she derives from it.

(10) || And 'H what's >that you're thinking? ||

RQ 10 is formulated in the voice of the listener. By the second person subject selection and the choice of a mental process in '*you're thinking*', the speaker builds the listener as an individual who cannot seem to make sense of what has come before. She also builds closeness, at the same time that she assumes a position of knowledge to guide the listener through her arguments. Phonologically, the high key choice on *what* is a sign of the unexpected, of a proposition that seems to be contrary to expectations; the listener is built as if taken out of their common ground area. The tonic on *that* with a choice of a level tone projects the matter of the RQ as self-evident, i.e., the speaker assumes that the listener will most probably ask such question.

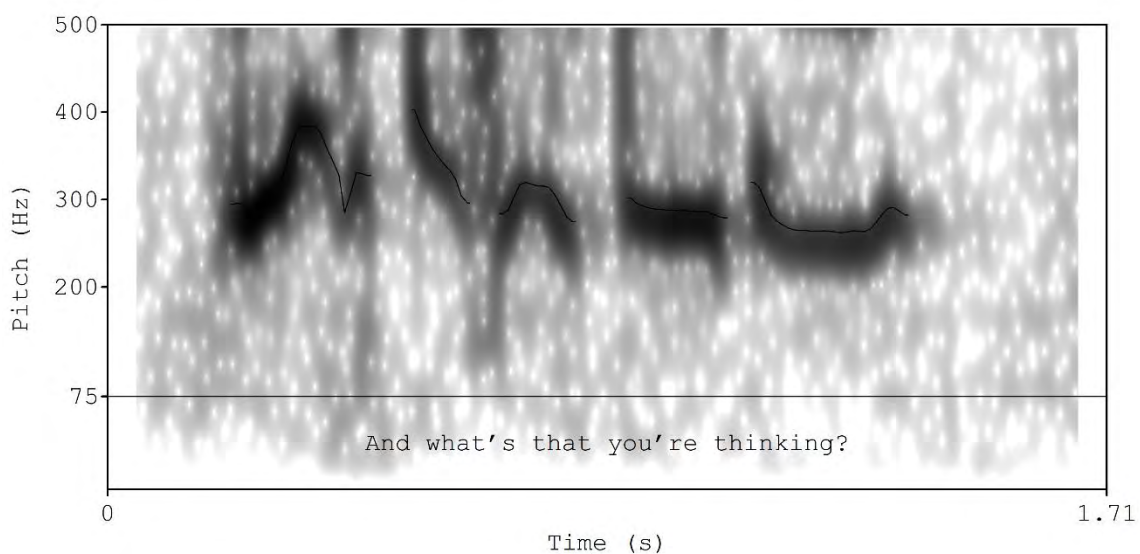


Figure 4.3.1 Praat image: level tone choice on 'that'

Thus used, the RQ has an expository function as it generates more debate, and it allows the speaker to continue developing her argument.

RQ (12) is 'prefaced' (Hasan, 1989) with '*do you really believe...*'. The structure of the question could have been 'is it a scarf that controls sexuality?'.

(12) || Do you 'really be^ˇlieve || it's a ^ˇscarf || that con'trols a °woman's
sexu^ˇality? ||

However, the preface element creates engagement with the intended listener, yet the nub of the RQ does not pertain to this element. Thus, the 'yes' or 'no' is not about whether you do or do not believe this, but whether it *is*, or it *is not* the hijab that controls sexuality. The RQ is used as a resource of dialogic contraction and addresses a listener that needs to be convinced of the speaker's contention. By using *really*, the RQ has a disclaiming functionality, as the speaker sets herself against the idea that a scarf can control sexuality. Phonologically, *really* is selected as the onset of the IP in mid-key and is pronounced with an extension of segments that makes more apparent the assumption built into the question: the hijab *does not* control sexuality. Thus framed, the RQ presents the unreasonableness of the idea as self-evident and it is leading in that it constrains the listener's 'response'. The claim that wearing the hijab is a symbol of control over sexuality is thereby characterized as in some way surprising or otherwise doubtful and is completely disclaimed. The RQ is divided into three IPs and realised with a falling rising tone on *believe*, *scarf*, and *sexuality*. According to Tench, the fall rise conveys 'some insinuation in making the statement, expecting the hearer to understand more than is said' (1996: 84). The speaker does not answer the question verbally, but through

her tone choice she assumes the listener can infer the additional message from the context, i.e. 'a scarf does not control sexuality'.

Towards the end of her discussion, the speaker produces the last RQ (14) as a way of closing her argument:

(14) || But 'H what do ~I know? ||

She challenges her own arguments by questioning her own voice and identity as a hijab user. The presupposed response is 'I know nothing because I am a woman who can't think for herself'. Thus formulated, the RQ is an effective way of concluding her text and a powerful form of closure to emphasize the main points of her commentary. This way of stating her proposition confronts the listener and there is an obvious challenge to -at least- part of the projected audience. Phonologically, this RQ is realised with a falling rising movement on *I*, which marks a contrast in people; in this case women who wear a hijab vs. those who see the hijab as a symbol of oppression. If the speaker had not answered her own question, the implicational undertone of the fall rise on *I* would probably have been enough for the listener to infer the projected meaning. However, the speaker does elaborate an answer and adds: 'I'm only a passive little hijabi who can't think for herself'.

4.4 Analysis of *I'm a lesbian, but I wasn't born this way*.

In her text '*I'm a lesbian, but I wasn't born this way*', Julie Bindel argues that science has not been able to find a gay gene and explains why she believes she chose her sexuality, rather than it having chosen her.

She opens her argument with a series of expository yes-no questions linked by *or*:

- (1) || Are 'H we °born 'gay? || Or 'is it `possible || to make a 'positive
'choice || to reject 'heterosexu`ality || and de'cide to switch `sides? ||
Of `course, it is.||

This opening section operates to emphasize the dichotomy between two opposite perspectives on gender and sexuality. The speaker presents two alternatives which serve to problematize a controversial issue, while she engages with other voices.

Phonologically, the speaker selects neutral tonicity, with a mid-rising tone on *gay* in the first RQ, and a mid-falling tone on *sides* in the second one. The pattern of a rise on the first 'question' and a fall on the second one reinforces the projected idea that the alternatives are mutually exclusive. Couper-Kuhlen argues that in this type of alternative questions, the fall on the second unit claims 'greater epistemic certainty on the part of the questioner', and that 'the absence of a response to the first alternative are the grounds on which a second (mutually exclusive) alternative can be proposed with greater certainty' (2012: 134). Thus, although the speaker uses the RQ to generate debate, the choice of a mid-falling tone on the second interrogative projects a context in which the listener is invited to accept as valid the proposition in the second question over that projected in the first.

This rhetorical positioning of the listener is evident when the speaker poses the RQ only to reply immediately: '*Of course, it is*', opening and closing the apparent dialogue simultaneously. The use of '*of course*' overtly announces that the speaker and the projected listener share the same opinions on the subject. White argues that with *of course*, 'the textual

voice actively and explicitly presents itself as aligned with the construed reader, as having the same belief or attitude or ‘knowledge’ (2003: 269). This alignment with the listener is reinforced phonologically, as the speaker produces her own ‘answer’ in mid-key, thus concurring and supplying the expected *yes* that the mid termination in the interrogative had set up.

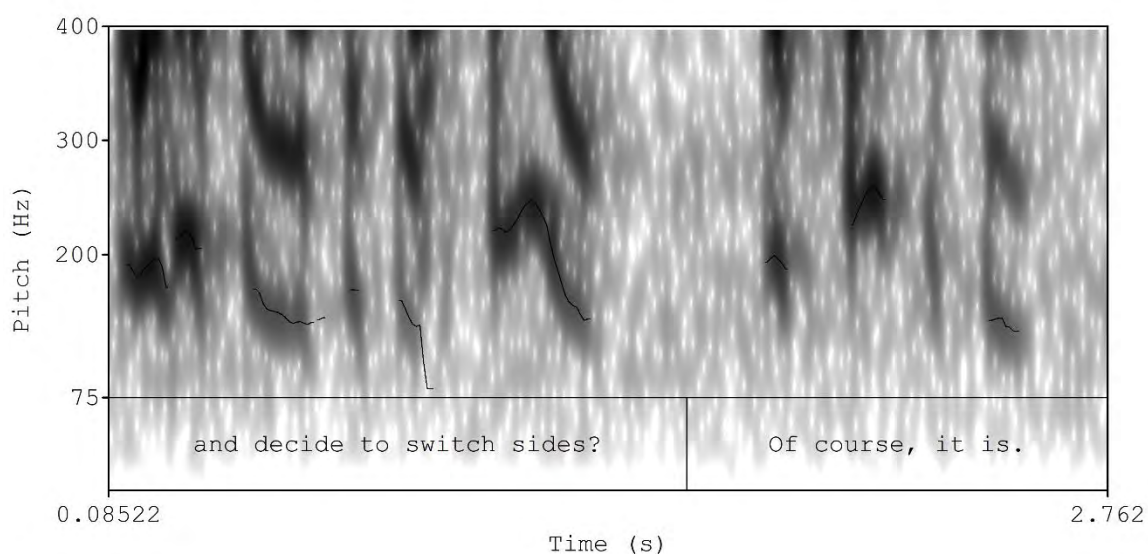


Figure 4.4.1 Praat image: matching of mid falling termination on ‘sides’ with mid key choice on ‘course’.

The next expository question (3) has a text structuring function in the argument and seems to be projected in the voice of the listener. Thompson (2014: 92) argues that ‘such questions involve the reader-in-the-text in the construction of the unfolding organization of the text’.

(3) || So^h what made me finally de^{cide} || I would em^{brace} [`]L lesbianism? ||

Phonologically, there is a selection of high key on *what* and of low termination on the last lexical item *lesbianism*, so the question constitutes a pitch sequence in itself. As this RQ has a mainly textual function, the choice of a high beginning serves to guide the listener in the

processing of the argument as text. The low falling ending in the question projects no expectations of an adjudicating or of a concurring type as to what should follow. Rather, it puts forward the content of the RQ as something to be debated.

Once the speaker explains how the feminist movement in the 1960s helped her choose her sexuality, she asks the following leading RQ (5):

(5) || But 'H have we re~turned || to the es'sentialist ~notion || that we are either ~H born that way || or that we are un'thinkingly hetero~sexual? ||

The choice of *but* to introduce the RQ marks the start of a counter-argument. At the same time that she acknowledges other voices, the speaker contracts the dialogic space. Phonologically, she chooses high key on *have* to highlight the contrast in polarity that the question projects: *have we / have we not* returned? The RQ ends with a selection of a mid falling-rising movement on *heterosexual*. The choice of tone helps the speaker project a context in which the response has already been negotiated; she 'asks' the listener for confirmation that the assumption she is making about the common ground is appropriate. According to Brazil, with referring tone the speaker 'modifies his/her world view *in advance* and submits the modification for the hearer's approval (1997: 108). Added to this, the mid-termination choice simultaneously signals to the listener the expectation of a concurring 'yes'.

The argument advances to a point in which the speaker shares her experience of undergoing gay conversion therapy as an undercover character named Joanna. After retelling the anecdote, she produces the following cluster of RQs (8):

- (8) || But 'H do you think my `therapist || `L Lydia || actually ^H cared whether I could be turned 0 straight? || Whether I'd been > born that ° way || or 'made an im°moral > choice || to become a `H lesbian? || Or 'H was her ˇH mission || 'H really to per ˇH suade me || to 'stop having ° sex with ˇ women || so that 'I could be ° welcomed ° back as a `Christian? ||

Dialogically, this set of RQs shares functions with those of RQ (1). It is presented as a set of mutually exclusive alternatives, with the speaker favouring -and thus leading the listener to accept as valid- the implied answer to the second interrogative. This is realised phonologically by a mid-termination choice and a fall on *Christian*. As was the case in RQ (1), the fall on the second interrogative projects the speaker's greater epistemic certainty, and her choice of mid termination invites the listener to concur with the expectation set up. The falling rising tones in the three previous IPs on *mission*, *persuade*, and *women* project a heteroglossic context for the content of the RQ, which is presented as containing an implication that the listener can infer. O'Grady argues that this type of inference 'serves to foster a sense of social solidarity: only intimates can be able to infer more than has been overtly stated' (2010: 146).

The first question in the alternatives differs from that of (1) in that, instead of a rising tone, the speaker produces a high rise-falling tone on *cared*. This leaves '*whether I'd been born that way*' as tail in the tone unit, projecting it as information that the listener can easily recover from the co-text. The tone choice underlines the speaker's dominant stance. Locally, the meaning derived from this rising-falling intonation makes manifest the speaker's control of the discourse. She is overtly stating that her belief is true and so she 'positions [her]self within the discourse as a voice which is not prepared to listen to any contradictory opinion' (O'Grady, 2010: 150). The choice of a rise fall tells the listener that if they were to argue against the projected proposition, the attempt would likely be 'perceived as face threatening

and lead to a rift in the speaker/hearer social harmony' (O'Grady, *ibid.*). The choice of high termination on *lesbian* projects the proposition in the RQ as likely to be contrary to her listener's expectations, i.e., her therapist did *not* care about why or how she had become a lesbian. The IP in the middle of the three options is realised with a level tone on the tonic *born*. This choice is related to the textual function of intonation in that it signals that the idea is not yet complete, and the listener is assumed to wait until the whole question has been formulated.

The last RQ (12) is attributed to an external source 'people', though there is also a strong sense that the speaker is implicated in the argument being advanced:

(12) || So, when 'people >ask || if 'H being °gay was a ˇchoice || then
'why would we °choose to live a ˇlife || where op'pression °violence
and discrimiˇnation || are i'nevita`bilities? ||

The IPs that form part of the RQ itself are all produced with falling rising tones on *choice*, *life*, and *discrimination*. The recurrent choice of falling rising intonation in IPs 2, 3 and 4 allows the speaker to project the content as shared knowledge, as part of the common ground with the listener. As this is projected in the voice of 'people' -other than the speaker and the virtual listener- the effect is to engage with other voices and to construe them as querying about a commonly held social belief. The last IP in the RQ has a choice of falling tone on mid termination, which makes that part of the claim the new, the focus of information. Projected in the voice of a third party, these people are built as challenging the speaker with something they think is unanswerable; and presented in the form of an interrogative, the speaker is forced to provide the grounds for the challenge: 'it is inevitable that you will suffer violence,

oppression and discrimination’. Phrased as a question, it acquires the force of a challenge to which the speaker has to react and argue against. The RQ is then used by the speaker as a stepping stone to deny the claim and to prove them wrong. This is done with the speaker taking control of the dialogue and elaborating her own response: ‘Of course, no one would choose to face prejudice and social exclusion’.

In keeping with the aims of this dissertation, the choices speakers make in terms of dialogic engagement and of intonation have been studied in detail. Because of the highly context-specific nature of intonation and of the function of the questions, this chapter has offered a local description and interpretation of interrogative forms and phonology as used by each speaker in each video commentary. The following chapter is restricted to discussing major tendencies in the way phonological choices interrelate with engagement resources to build interpersonal meanings.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has aimed to understand how interrogative forms function in video commentaries as a resource to build speaker-viewer interaction. It has also aimed to study how the meanings of phonology support or extend the choice of interrogative forms as a resource to build interpersonal meanings. The following sections will seek to answer the questions that motivated this research.

5.1 The functions of rhetorical questions

In the first place, it has been shown that the functions of interrogative forms in the four video commentaries vary depending on the setting, on the context set up for the opinions expressed, and on the stage they appear within each argument. Interrogative forms are distributed differently in different texts: in the samples studied, they are used to title a commentary, they serve as a closing stage or as a preface to an argument, or they appear in mid position to signal a change of stage, for example. In this respect, these rhetorical questions fulfil a textual function in that they signal to the listeners/viewers how the commentary unfolds as text.

These questions are commonly -though not exclusively- realised as expository questions and are used to problematize an issue and to open up the space for debate.

Secondly – and in line with Bakhtin’s dialogic view of texts- by making use of rhetorical questions, the authors of the video commentaries take into account the virtual audience’s utterances, which they contest, or challenge, or take for granted. At least for the time the video commentary lasts, the audience is assigned a role that potentially matches their own

expectations as viewers. Thus, the interrogative form is an effective choice to achieve each speaker's persuasive goals.

Rhetorical questions also build affiliation with the projected audience. At the interpersonal level, speakers build for themselves a role and in so doing, they assign the listener a complementary one. Often, speakers project their opinions on to the audience, but instead of using a congruent declarative form, they choose an interrogative. The choice is a clear attempt to make the listener a direct participant in the negotiation of the meanings at stake. Questions make interaction evident and in assigning a 'responding role' to the viewers they are more coercive. They also project more intimacy while the speakers are able to put their audience's ideas and thoughts into words.

Interrogative forms explicitly model the listener/viewer as an active participant in the dialogic space set up for an argument. Sometimes, authors claim solidarity, sometimes they acknowledge alternative views and opinions, sometimes they contract the dialogic space, but they always invite the listener to overtly engage in the argument. Speakers offer their virtual viewers spaces where they can 'respond'. Nevertheless, viewers are commonly led to a preferred viewpoint, and to interpret a given rhetorical question as an ironic remark, as a reminder, as a criticism, or as a warning, to name some.

5.2 Some phonological tendencies

Szczepek Reed argues that it is not possible to assume a straightforward form-function relationship between intonation choices and discourse actions, and she goes on to add that 'speakers may routinely orient to certain patterns, but nevertheless negotiate individual

sequences afresh' (2015: 193). However, if there is a very general tendency to be drawn from this small-scale study it is that the resources in the lexicogrammar to build intersubjectivity tend to be accompanied by congruent choices in the phonology. That is to say, where the speakers are opening up the dialogic space to other voices, there is a frequent choice of convergent rising tones appealing to sharedness and solidarity, for example. Where the argumentative space built for the listener is contracted, a choice of divergent falling tones often reinforces the same meaning. These general findings are in line with Couper-Kuhlen's argument that 'when lexico-syntactic choices already convey explicit meanings, prosodic and phonetic configurations do not need to do as much work as when lexico-syntax is minimal and/or ambivalent – then much depends on prosodic and phonetic choices' (2018: 1).

Often, where the rhetorical questions function as insists, the insistence is commonly built by repetition of interrogative structure - with two or three leading questions - and reinforced by the repetition of the same intonation pattern in each question. A common rhetorical move in the commentaries studied is the pairing of an initial expository question followed by one or more leading questions. This is an apparent way of opening the dialogic space to other voices and of immediately contracting it, with the speaker leading the listener to assume a given answer. This is often realised with falling intonation in the expository question and rising intonation and mid termination in the leading ones. Here, the choice of mid termination reinforces the idea that the listener is 'asked' to passively accept the implied response.

Speakers also claim control of the argumentative space when they themselves 'ask' and 'answer'. The way the 'answer' is to be interpreted depends, not only on the wordings of the answer itself, but on its phonological realisation. The choice of key in the answer will

influence the listeners/viewers to interpret them as an expected response, as contrary to expectations, or as taken for granted, for example.

More often than not, speakers align or disalign their viewers with an intended interpretation of their arguments. The rhetorical questions, especially the choice of termination, is a signal of the dialogic space that is being created. The choices of tone and of pitch level on the tonic project a role on to the viewers/listeners from which they are invited to ‘respond’. Viewers are thus led to passively accept an assumption, or they are persuaded to actively consider a proposition. These meanings derive from an accumulation of meanings resulting from the form and function of the question, and from its phonological realisation. Thus, the interpersonal game between speaker and viewer is not a corollary of the rhetorical questions per se, but of the function they perform within the argument and of the expectations set up by the intonation choices speakers make.

5.3 Concluding remarks

Cornelia Ilie criticises studies in which questions have been approached from a syntactic or semantic viewpoint exclusively, and she adds that a major inadequacy has been the disregard for ‘pragmatic factors involved in specific contexts and situations of use’ (2010: 405). This is a valid observation, but I would add that the meaning-making potential of phonology also has to be integral to the study of language, if oral language is our concern.

This is a small scale study of video commentaries, but the analysis – by no means exhaustive – offers grounds to disclose the intersubjective positioning that speakers build through the choice of interrogative forms and intonation. Speakers use wordings and phonological

patterns – resources of different kinds – to materialize their intentions and to position themselves -and their projected audience- in their desired roles.

As has been stated above, it is difficult draw generalisations as to whether phonological choices congruently accompany lexicogrammatical ones. What this study has shown is that a more comprehensive understanding of the value of rhetorical questions in video commentaries is possible if the meanings of phonology are considered. In the same way that speakers choose an interrogative form over a declarative one for persuasive reasons, they also make intonation choices which are meaningful to understand how the texts are organized, but most importantly, to understand how interpersonal meanings are built.

As I have tried to argue, these general conclusions cannot be derived from a study of the interrogative forms solely, or from an examination of the lexicogrammatical resources that build engagement on their own. A more comprehensive understanding of speaker/listener relationship in oral language is possible if the meaning-making potential of phonology is given due consideration. As Tench argues, it is impossible to account for any kind of linguistic communication without intonation. ‘From the process of reception by the addressee to interpretation and evaluation, intonation is recognised, processed and taken into account. Even in writing, and then reading, intonation plays a part’ (1996: 151).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Notation: the intonation symbols used in this dissertation

Tone is indicated by the symbols ` ˘ ˆ > placed before the nuclear syllable, to show fall, rise, fall-rise, rise-fall, and level tone respectively. The symbols show mid pitch movement.

To indicate a low or a high pitch movement, the symbols **L** and **H** are placed immediately after the tone symbol.

Onsets are marked ˘ if they are falling, or with the symbol ' -to show mid-onset syllable-. To indicate pitch level height, the symbol **L** is used immediately after the choice of onset, if the level is low, and **H** if the level is high.

Rhythmic stresses (with no changes in pitch movement) are marked with a degree sign ° (or ◦ if low).

Tonality choices are shown with double vertical bars || and they indicate the division between successive intonation phrases.

Appendix 2

Transcript of the four video commentaries.

1. How far is too far for Donald Trump?

(1) || How >far || is ~H too far || for 'Donald `L Trump? ||

(2) || Ask yourself: ~H what will have to >happen || before we 'stop
~normalizing Trump || like 'just a°nother `L president? ||

(3) Perhaps you would have said it would have been normal for Trump to hire Steve Bannon as a senior advisor. Bannon, who ran the white supremacist website Breitbart, who insinuated that African-Americans are naturally violent and aggressive, and strong women are dykes.

(4) Perhaps you'd have questioned racist senator Jefferson Beauregard sessions being tapped as attorney general, who was heard saying the Ku Klux Klan was okay, until he found out some of them smoked pot.

(5) Or, perhaps you thought you might worry when the KKK themselves announced they were holding a march to celebrate the president elect's victory.

(6) Or when Trump declared mass deportations from his gold throne.

(7) But those things have happened now.

(8) || So, 'H what `H will it take. ||

(9) || If 'grabbing women by the >pussies is °normal, || then 'why `not
accept the °swastika graf°fiti? ||

(10) || Should we 'even 'blink || that a 'black ° student has been at°tacked
with a °hot ' glue gun? || 'Or that there's a °surge in °hate crimes against
'Muslims? || 'Or about °calls to °criminalize ' protests? ||

(11) As these things become the new normal, the next worst thing won't seem as bad. Maybe we'll really wake up when Trump's promise ban on Muslims actually takes effect. Or if he actually jails his political rivals

(12) || and 'H how many women °dying from °unsafe a>bortions || is 'too
'L many? ||

(13) The belief that Trumpism will soon be defeated at the ballot box ignores the president elect's own clear messages the very side that added oppressive voting laws in states which flip from Obama, now has even more control of the electoral system.

(14) The ruling class wants to normalize Trump because they'll do anything with a smile to stay close to whoever wields power and everyday folk want to normalize him because it's easier than admitting how bad the situation is.

(15) The writing is on the wall friends. And while it may feel easier to try and fit Trump into our existing worldview, we mustn't.

(16) Don't consider it normal. Resist.

2. I've got two boyfriends. It's time polyamory became socially acceptable.

(1) I have 2 boyfriends. It's time polyamory became socially acceptable.

(2) This is James. James and I met 9 years ago in a drunken night that neither of us really remember. It wasn't the most romantic start, but we've been together ever since. And this is Martin. Martin and I started seeing each other last year after I met him on a holiday to the UK. Now I'm right in the Scottish cold and living with him in Edinburgh. Martin and James know about each other. In fact, it was James who introduced us. The 3 of us are allowed to date or have sex with other people as much as we want. We're polyamorous.

(3) I know what you're thinking. Lots of people find this hard to get their heads around.

(4) || 'H How can you ° possibly > love || '2 people at ` once? || Do you 'love one ° more than the ´ other? || ' Don't you get ´ jealous? || Do you 'all have ° constant ´ threesomes? ||

(5) The answer to most of these questions is: none of your business.

(6) But basically, our relationships are built on one simple philosophy: love is limitless. Loving a second or even a third or fourth person doesn't diminish the love you have for anyone else. We are part of a growing community of people breaking away from the norms of the nuclear family whether it's same-sex couples, open marriages, polyamorous unions, friends who live communally, lesbian couples and their sperm donors raising children together.

(7) A global poll in 2013 founded the vast majority of people in the west and south America found homosexuality in a morally acceptable or not a moral issue. This is huge progress from even 10 years ago.

(8) But people in alternative relationships still face serious discrimination. People I know in polyamorous relationships have been ostracized from friends and family, and there are cases where parents have lost custody of the children due to their lifestyle. A recent American poll found that only 16 percent of people believe polygamy to be morally acceptable.

(9) And while I might expect discrimination from the socially conservative, depressingly it often comes from progressives, too. Take the times when I tried to discuss polyamory with same-sex marriage advocates, they weren't interested, worried it would detract from their fight to gain legal recognition.

(10) || ~H But || if we believe that °all love is ~H equal, || then 'H why does ~H my love || not `H count? || With 'same-sex °marriage now being °legalized around the ´world, || 'H isn't it ´time || the ´law || caught 'up with the di°versity of re´lationships, || ´family, || and ´parenting structures|| that e´xist? ||

(11) I am not advocating for polyamorous marriage. I think that marriage is far too limited for the various types of love and relationships people experience. But legal rights should not be limited to those in monogamous unions. We need to rethink the way we structure tax, social welfare, and immigration benefits around relationships.

(12) || And 'H why `H not allow || 'multiple ´partners || to be 'signatories on `bank ac,counts || or `H mortgages? ||

(13) It should extend to more complex rights too, even child custody.

(14) || If 'H 3 or °more °loving ´adults || 'want to become ´parents, || what's `H wrong with ,that? || Isn't 'more °love in a °family °better than ´less? ||

(15) Around the world more people are rejecting monogamy. It's about time our society and our law caught up.

3. My hijab has nothing to do with oppression. It's a feminist statement.

(1) It was probably the first thing you noticed, but I'm wearing a hijab. It's just a scarf that some women wear to cover parts of their bodies. But you wouldn't think so, given the uproar it causes. For many men, and non-hijabi women, this piece of clothing is the very epitome of oppression.

(2) || But 'H in a ~H world || where a 'woman's ~value || is 'often re°duced to her °sexual al~lure, || 'H what could be °more em~powering than || re`jecting || that `notion? ||

(3) By covering up, we reject the message that women must be sexy, but not slutty, stick-thin, but still curvy, youthful, but all natural. It's a market that pressures women to try to attain the unattainable.

(4) || So 'H why ~does the hijab || seem to 'cause such of `fence? ||

(5) It's not that it poses any real threats to progressive values, but because it resists the commercial imperatives that support consumer culture. Let me explain. Capitalism constructs women as both merchandise and consumers. Look at how we market cars, beer, and computer games. Hijabi women don't fit into that mould. Their presumed modesty is a direct contrast to more commercially viable images of women as clothes sources, sex symbols, and shopaholics.

(6) Now, my concern with the hijab being unfairly portrayed as a symbol of oppression is in no way a denial of the fact that some women are forced to wear it in some parts of the world, sometimes through appalling violence. And yes, some might say there's nothing inherently liberating in covering up, just as there's nothing inherently liberating in wearing next to nothing.

(7) But the liberation lies in the choice. By assuming that all veiled women are oppressed, we belittle the choice of those who want to wear it. Even when women are vocal about wanting to wear the hijab, they are conveniently unheard or silenced, like the time FEMEN leader, Inna Shevchenko, kindly reminded us that Muslim women can't think for themselves. Her response to a group of women campaigning against FEMEN was: 'They write on their posters that they don't need liberation, but in their eyes it's written 'help me''.

(8) || If 'H pressure to °wear the hi ˇjab || is 'seen as opˇpression, ||
and ˇl rightly so, || 'H why is `social pressure || or `legal pressure || to
ˇnot wear it || ex ˇcused || as 'female emanci `pation? ||

(9) Only a few months ago, a young girl from France, where a woman [inaudible] for wearing a face veil was excluded from school because her skirt wasn't short enough, I mean secular enough. And then another Muslim woman was denied a job because she chose to wear a scarf.

(10) || And 'H what's >that you're thinking? ||

(11) The hijab controls sexuality. Just stop right there. We have ad campaigns and women's magazines with step-by-step guides on how to look smile and breathe so that you drive him wild with pleasure,

(12) || Do you 'really beˇlieve || it's a ˇscarf || that con'trols a °woman's
sexuˇality? ||

(13) Let's be real this pseudo feminist argument against the hijab reinforces existing power structures and goes against the feminist values it claims to defend. The truth is that for many women the hijab allows them to reclaim their bodies and have full control over them. And that makes a lot of people uncomfortable.

(14) || But 'H what do ˇI know? ||

(15) I'm only a passive little hijabi who can't think for herself.

4. I'm a lesbian, but I wasn't born this way.

(1) || Are 'H we °born ´gay? || Or 'is it `possible || to make a 'positive ´choice || to reject 'heterosexu`ality || and de'cide to switch `sides? ||
Of `course, it is.

2) Sexual attraction normally comes about as a result of opportunity, luck, or curiosity. For me it all began when I developed a crush on my best friend at the tender age of eleven. But less than a year later, I was in love with Colin. I soon fell out with him and gravitated back to my female friends. But the pressure on me not to be a lesbian was enormous, and I struggled with self-hatred and low self-esteem.

(3) || So'H what made me finally de`cide || I would em'brace `L lesbianism? ||

(4) The feminists I met in the 1970s, who helped me understand that loving women can be truly liberatory. I loved the feeling that I'd chosen my sexuality.

(5) || But 'H have we re`turned || to the es'sentialist `notion || that we are either `H born that way || or that we are un'thinkingly hetero`sexual? ||

(6) We have given up the pride in our radical sexual identity for a medical diagnosis with no scientific basis. But a number of scientists, in the main gay men, such as Cassie Raman, Glenn Wilson, and Dick Swab -yes, that is his real name- have devoted their efforts to proving the existence of a gay gene. Take neuroscientist Simon Levay, who claimed in 1991 that gay men's brains were more like women's. Then there was the one that discovered that boys with older brothers are 33% more likely to be gay because they occupied a womb where a male fetus had already been. But none of the science holds water, and let's face it bigots don't care either way.

(7) Last January, I went undercover to a Christian counselling centre in Colorado posing as an unhappy lesbian who lost her family and her church when she came out. My character Joanna

underwent a week of intensive gay conversion therapy during which everything negative about being a lesbian was rubbed in my face.

(8) || But 'H do you think my `therapist || `L Lydia || actually ^H cared whether I could be, turned ,straight? || Whether I'd been >born that °way || or 'made an im°moral >choice || to become a `H lesbian? || Or 'H was her ~H mission || 'H really to per~H suade me || to 'stop having °sex with ~women || so that 'I could be °welcomed °back as a `Christian? ||

(9) Needless to say, Lydia did not succeed in her mission and I'm still an out and proud lesbian.

(10) But it is possible to be against gay conversion therapy and still argue against the existence of a gay gene. And yet the widely held view within much of the gay community goes like this: the estimated 3 percent of the population who are gay were born this way we do not make a choice. Those who claim they choose to be lesbian or gay are not real gays, they're just experimenting.

(11) It is dangerous to say we choose to be gay because then the bigots will insist we can choose to be straight. Look, some gays might feel that finding a gay gene will end homophobia. Racism is not diminished because we know that blackness or whiteness is genetic. Sexism exists even though we know that sex is genetic.

(12) || So, when 'people >ask || if 'H being °gay was a ~choice || then 'why would we °choose to live a ~life || where op'pression °violence and discrimi~nation || are i'nevita`bilities? ||

(13) It is obvious that they're confusing anti-gay bigotry with being gay. Of course, no one would choose to face prejudice and social exclusion. But many are more than happy to make

that transition if the right woman or man comes along. Asking for our human rights on the basis that we can't help how we are is counterproductive.

(14) Let's put some pride back into our identity and stop apologizing for it. Being gay or lesbian is obviously not a choice, like which sauce to have with your pasta, but more a mix of chance and, quite frankly, bravery. It is a positive choice, and if anti-gay bigotry disappeared tomorrow many more of us would have the opportunity to choose it for ourselves.