

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

A Multimodal Approach to the Discursive Construction of Stances in Political Debates in Hong Kong

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/88s5q55k>

Author

Wan, Hoi Lun Helen

Publication Date

2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Multimodal Approach to the Discursive Construction of Stances in Political Debates
in Hong Kong

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Hoi Lun Helen Wan

2021

© Copyright by
Hoi Lun Helen Wan
2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Multimodal Approach to the Discursive Construction of Stances in Political Debates
in Hong Kong

by

Hoi Lun Helen Wan

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Hongyin Tao, Co-Chair

Professor Shoichi Iwasaki, Co-Chair

This dissertation looks into how Cantonese utterance final particles, especially question particles, and gestures are strategically employed in three televised political debates of the 2016 New Territories East by-election for the Legislative Council of Hong Kong. The study explores some of the most frequently used question particles and discusses how they are being manipulated with two prominent questioning strategies, i.e., “hypophora” (McCormick, 2003) and “question cascade” (Clayman and Heritage, 2002), to help project negative stance in this highly institutionalized discourse genre. With the help of the theoretical framework of Stance Triangle proposed by Du Bois (2007), I first investigate how various stance-taking activities are navigated through the use of question particles and questioning techniques that usually create adversarialness and hostility among the electoral candidates in the actual debates; secondly, I

also look into how the use of these question particles and question designs varies when the electoral candidates are delivering their individual speeches; lastly, I specifically investigate the elected Legislative Councilor to shed light on how he strategically deploys those linguistic and gestural practices to communicate with the “remote audiences” (Linell, 2009, p. 101) and the likely voters for him to win the election. The findings show that the most frequently used question particles are *le1* and *aa3* in the actual debates. These are two neutral question particles used in all types of questions (Matthews & Yip, 2011). Their pragmatic functions are exceptionally crucial in the heated electoral debate as they alleviate the degree of aggressiveness and negative stance communicated through the strategic use of hypophora and question cascade. Moreover, the *le1* particle becomes the only question particle that the electoral candidates rely on when their targeted audience is clearly the likely voters alone in their individual speeches. To account for the institutional data of the televised political debates where remote audiences are taken to be part of the communicative equation, a revised version of the Stance Triangle is proposed, which allows us to identify genuine stance objects in the political debate. Discovering the genuine stance objects reveals that the question designs, as well as the use of neutral question particles, are usually oriented to the “remote audiences” (Linell, 2009, p.101), who are playing an indispensable role in the actual debates and individual speeches even they are not physically present in the political debate.

The dissertation of Hoi Lun Helen Wan is approved.

Sung-Ock Shin Sohn

Steven E. Clayman

Hongyin Tao, Committee Co-Chair

Shoichi Iwasaki, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

To my family and friends in Hong Kong

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Methodology	3
1.3 Key concepts in questioning techniques and the notion of remote audiences	9
1.4 Data	12
Chapter 2 Question Particles and Questioning Strategies in Televised Debates	13
2.1 Introduction.....	13
2.2 Analysis.....	15
2.3 Understanding the use of question particles and rhetorical moves through Stance Triangle	49
2.4 Discussion.....	57
Chapter 3 Communicative Strategies in Individual Speeches	59
3.1 Introduction.....	59
3.2 Analysis.....	60
Chapter 4 Gestures and Stance Marking in Individual Speech and Actual Debate of the Winning Candidate	77
4.1 Introduction.....	77
4.2 Analysis.....	77
4.3 Discussion.....	111

Chapter 5 Conclusion	115
APPENDIX I	119
APPENDIX II	120
REFERENCES	121

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to all of my committee members for their generous support, trust and guidance throughout the past five years. Prof. Hongyin Tao has always been providing me with numerous opportunities and constructive advice to thrive in academia which bring hope to my future career path. Whenever I got lost in my research or even in life, Prof. Shoichi Iwasaki never failed to be my guiding light and got me through some of the most critical moments with his words of wisdom. I would also like to express my immense gratitude to Prof. Steven Clayman Sohn for his unfailing dedication in teaching and research which has tremendously inspired me and my most recent work on political discourse. I am incredibly grateful for Prof. Sohn's enthusiasm in teaching and guiding me to explore new linguistic topics.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Prof. Stephen Matthews for introducing me to Cantonese Linguistics. His profound interest in Cantonese continuously inspires me to never stop exploring my own native language and discovering Cantonese linguistic elements that I might have taken them for granted.

I would love to give a special shout-out to the family of UCLA where friendships have flourished and grown throughout the years. My sincerest thanks go to Vivien Yang, Liyan Shi, Axel Catelier, Justin Lau, Hayley Martinez, Chance Zhou, Effie Wang, Daisy Su, Insky Chen, Lin-chin Tsai, Meimei Zhang, Wanmeng Li, Don Lee, Seunggon Jeong, Natalia Konstantinovskaya, Philip Hsu, Ryoko Nishijima, Liz Carter, Hyobin Won, Saori Daiju, Yan Zhou, Ariel Chan, and Fatin Zubi.

I cannot thank my students at both UCLA and Pepperdine University enough for their love, support and prayers for the past two years.

Last but not least, my utmost gratitude and love go to those who have been pouring me their selfless love, care, and support during the journey. My Heavenly Father, loving papa, mama, Carman, May, Marine, Tom, Angus, William, Rosetta, Joyce, Julianne, Ceci and Albert: Thank you for your unfailing love along the way.

VITA

- 2020 Visiting Instructor of Chinese Language and Culture
Division of International Studies and Languages
Pepperdine University
- 2015-2019 Instructor, Teaching Fellow, Teaching Assistant
Department of Asian Languages and Cultures
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2013-2015 Teaching Assistant
Department of Linguistics
University of Hong Kong
- 2008-2009 M.A. in Linguistics,
University College London, United Kingdom
- 2006-2008 B.A. in Linguistics,
The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

- Wan, Helen. (2020). Understanding stancetaking through gestures and linguistic practices in a public political debate in Hong Kong. In W. Wang (Eds.), *Analyzing Chinese Language and Discourse across Layers and Genres* (pp. 120-146). John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/scld.13.07wan>
- Wan, Helen. (2019). “You liar! Don’t you lie to us!”: Understanding Stancetaking in Hong Kong Debates. *The 16th International Pragmatics Conference*. The Polytechnic University of Hong Kong. Hong Kong.
- Wan, Helen. (2018). Combining corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to the study of ‘Leftover Woman’ phenomenon in Hong Kong press. *The 4th Asia Pacific Corpus Linguistics Conference*. Sunport Hall Takamatsu, Japan.
- Wan, Helen. (2018). Understanding Stancetaking through gestures and linguistic practices in Hong Kong political debate. *The 5th International Symposium on Chinese Language and Discourse*. University of Sydney, Australia.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Research in political discourses has flourished cross-disciplinarily, including studies of the language of power in Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak & Forchtner, 2017), Conversation Analysis (Clayman, 2011), Critical Linguistics, and Political Linguistics. This is an exciting branch of the study of language because the study of politics inevitably correlates to “the socialization of humans involving the formation of coalition, the signaling of group boundaries, and all these developments imply, including the emergence of what is called reciprocal altruism” (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002, p.3). It thus provides us with a broader horizon on how group boundaries and alliances are formed through these highly institutionalized discourse settings. There are also studies particularly looking into the strategies of questioning in campaign interview (Clayman, 2011; Montgomery 2007, 2008), and new conferences (Clayman et al., 2012). Language in politics has also allowed an understanding of the power relation between the interviewers and interviewees. Although there is surging popularity in studies on stancetaking in daily conversation and other political settings, research on studying stancetaking in political debates in Cantonese, a highly institutionalized discourse setting that allows both planned individual speeches and unplanned interaction, remains scarce (Yap et al., 2017). Besides this, research combining linguistic and non-verbal forms in political debates in the Cantonese-speaking environment is nowhere to be found. This dissertation, therefore, throws new light on how both specific use of linguistic form, i.e., utterance final particles and question particles, and

gestural activities are being strategically deployed to help the politicians successfully navigate stance activities in the political debates and win the election.

Speakers of Cantonese also project their stance through a subjective expression of their mood, attitude, assessment, and perspective (Chor, 2014). Their stance is reflected at different linguistic levels, including lexical, phrasal and clausal levels (Yap et al., 2010). Cantonese, however, can also utilize utterance final particles, which are bound morphemes optionally attached to the end of an utterance, to modulate the strength of the epistemic stance (Chor, 2014). Various research identifies the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions of these Cantonese utterance final particles (Cheung, 2007; Law, 1990; Luke, 1990; Matthew & Yip, 2011). Utterance final particles can form particle clusters (Cheung 2007; Law 1990, Matthews & Yip 2011, Yau,1980) and can be combined up to seven single particles (Leung, 2005, pp.1–2). Some of the research focus on a particle group of particles, for example, the trio particles of *wo3*, *wo4*, and *wo5* (Matthews,1997), the focus particles of *zaa3* and *tim1* (Law, 2004), the quotative particles *wo3*, *wo5* and *bo3* (Leung, 2010), and the study of epistemic strength of various particles including *wo3* and *gaa3* as projecting strong epistemic stance whereas *ge2*, *gwaal*, *zalmaa3* as projecting weaker epistemic strength (Chor, 2014). Therefore, utterance final particles are perceived as a powerful grammatical system in Cantonese. They are utilized continuously in conversations to convey various meanings in aspect, modality, evidentiality, and speaker stance (Chor, 2014, 2018).

Question particles are a kind of utterance final particles found in Cantonese. Cantonese utterance final particles have a richer inventory compared to its Mandarin counterpart (Chor, 2018; Matthews & Yip, 2011). These particles serve a wide range of semantic, pragmatic and communicative functions. They may indicate a speech act types such as questions, assertions and

requests etc. They may also project evidentiality, and also may help add affective and emotional colouring to an utterance (Matthews & Yip, 2011, p.389). Kwok (1984) is the most comprehensive and ground-breaking research, which identified as many as 30 basic forms. C. Leung (1992) in her subsequent research has extended the total number to more than 70. One reason for such a diverse count is due to their elusive nature, especially in isolation. Thus, to analyze them properly, it is essential to consider contextual factors (Chor 2018; Matthews & Yip, 2011).

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Stancetaking and the stance triangle

Stancetaking is considered to be one of the most fundamental properties of communication (Jaffe, 2009). Jaffe argues that there is no such thing as a completely neutral position regarding one's linguistic production even some types of discourse and writing tend to be more stance-saturated than others, neutrality itself is a stance (Jaffe, 2009). Recent research in the area of stancetaking provides new insights for the study of social positioning (e.g. Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe 2009; Linell, 2009). Unlike other approaches, Du Bois' approach is not to interpret the variety of stances into distinct types of stance, for instance, assessment, appraisal or evaluation, etc., and such a question of how many stance types is remained unsolved (Du Bois, 2007). The diversity of stances, in Du Bois' words (2007), are "simply as different facets of a single unified stance act" (p. 145). Speakers perform specific stance acts, which have certain contents and are situated in a particular dialogic and sequential context, instead of merely performing generic stance types (Du Bois, 2007, p.145). Du Bois' (2007) contends that:

Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, concerning any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (p.163).

Therefore, the three types of stance in Du Bois' framework include the concepts of evaluation, positioning, and alignment. The interpretation of the stance triangle suggests that they are simply three subsidiary acts of a single central, unified stance act (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). How these concepts intertwine depending on three crucial roles in the triangle, two of which are the stancetakers, who are responsible for their specific stance utterances, and the last role will be the stance object which is what the stancetakers are responding to (see Figure 1).

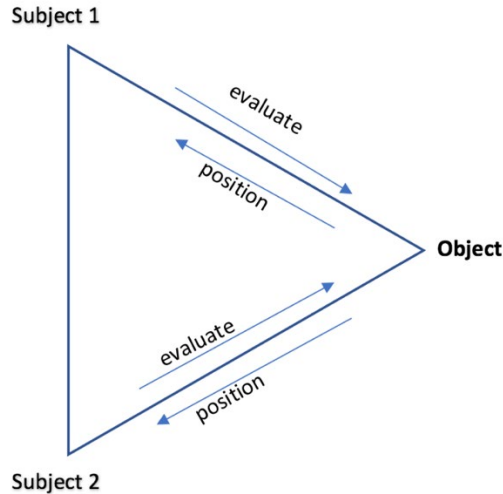


Figure 1. Du Bois' stance triangle

The object of stance is the entity being oriented to (Du Bois, 2007, p.152). Therefore, the coherent expression of the speaker's subjectivity requires both a subject and an object of stance.

It also requires socio-cognitive relations of objective, subjectivism, and intersubjective intentionality. As Du Bois suggests, the stance is to be understood as three acts in one, that is, a triune act, or tri-act. Evaluation, positioning, and alignment represent three different aspects of a single stance act. They are subsidiary acts of a single overarching unified “stance act” (Du Bois, 2007, p.162). Therefore, the stance triangle is a crucial framework for this current study to analyze the realization and interpretation of stance in this set of Cantonese data of political debates to explore how taking a particular stance is habitually and conventionally relevant to particular subject positions which associate to one’s political roles or identities, or even the notion of partisanship, and interpersonal relationships that play along during the political debates.

Prior to the analysis of the individual speech and political debates, it is necessary to specify that the use of affective and epistemic stances which are the focus of this current study, as Jaffe (2009) suggests “both affective stances that represent emotional states of the speakers and epistemic stances that convey speakers’ degrees of certainty about their propositions are socially grounded and consequential” (Jaffe, 2009, p.7). These two stances are sociocultural and can thus reflect one’s identities and roles through stancetaking activities. However, they are two fundamentally different types of stances: firstly, the affective display can not only project the emotional state of the speakers but also serve the functions of evaluation, self-representation, and positioning that are crucial in taking stances. Secondly, the affective display can index various social and moral values that help index shared, culturally specific kinds of feelings or norms and thus, can be utilized to draw social boundaries. It is fundamental for the work of social categorization and differentiation, which is also perspicacious in partisanship. Therefore, the affective display can serve as a kind of resource for speakers to lay claims to particular identities

and statuses and evaluating others' identities and statuses at the same time (Jaffe, 2009, p. 7). On the other hand, the epistemic stance is also culturally grounded as an interlocutor claims to know or possesses some knowledge that will then index particular regimes of knowledge and authority (Jaffe, 2009, p.7). Epistemic stance can also be used as resources for speakers to pursue social capital that accrues to being recognized as having authentic and authoritative knowledge in specific sociocultural fields, thus consolidating and legitimizing their role to evaluate others' claims. Studying the projection of both epistemic and affective stances is, therefore, a useful resource to analyze how candidates manipulate and negotiate their sociocultural and professional roles through the application of their authoritative knowledge to consolidate and position their political stances simultaneously as well as effectively evaluate their opponents.

1.2.2 Gesture analysis

Gesture analysis will be included in this study to look into how non-verbal communicative practices and verbal practices can help convey meaningful messages to the audience and the opponents. As Kendon (2004) suggests gestures can be deployed to serve various purposes, for instance, deictic references, describing objects or actions, and as a means of punctuating, marking up or showing aspects of the structure of their speech. It is crucial to investigate how gesture and speech are organized by speakers in relation to one another to help convey meanings. Similar to verbal communication, firstly, gestures can also be performative such as making a request, an invitation, and a rejection, etc., which all denote pragmatic meanings in the gestural expression. Secondly, gestures are operators that can serve as negatives and indicate the evidential status of something that is being said. Thirdly, some gestures have parsing or discourse structure marking functions, for example, one of the most commonly employed

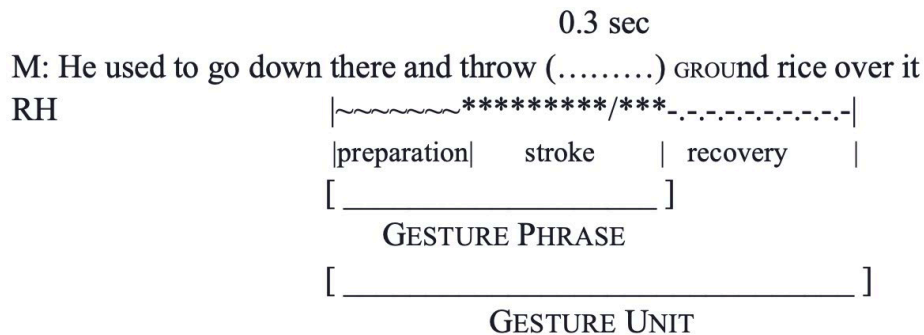
gesture, called the “air quote”, indicating the quotation marks in written discourse can be expressed with two fingers (the index and the middle fingers) of each hand in the air.

In Kendon’s term (2004), an utterance is used to refer to the collaborative of actions. They can be a composition of speech alone, or of visible action alone, or of speech and visible action, that counts for the speakers as a “turn” or “contribution” or “move” within the occasion of interaction in which they are engaging in. Utterances, therefore, will be used to represent both the spoken component and a gestural component in this study. Moreover, speakers may organize their gestural activities corresponding to the words or phrases of their speech within the same utterance. Gesture, just like speeches, is also a kind of expressive resources which are available to speakers for them to produce the final product along with their speeches. Therefore, gestures are not part of the processes that lead up to verbal formulation. Instead, an integral part of what an interlocutor does in shaping a stance object is fashioned to meet the expressive and communicative purposes and requirements of an interaction. Thus, a gesture is considered a partner with a speech in human interaction (Kendon, 2004, p.111).

Kendon (2004) further proposes that the units of gesture can be categorized as “the gesture phrase” and “the gesture unit” (p.108) for gestural analysis. He states that when a person participates in gesturing the body parts, they are employed in the activity of a succession of excursions. The terms of gestural analysis will be explained in the following paragraph. The mechanism of gestural analysis includes the distinction among the terms such as gesture units, gesture phrases, and the phases of gestural actions. It can be illustrated with the forelimb gesturing, the “articulators”, i.e., the hands, are moved away from some positions of rest or of relaxation, which is also known as “home position” by Sacks and Schegloff (2002), toward a region of space, and then, eventually, the articulators have moved back again to some position of

rest or relaxation. The whole excursion from the moment of articulators begin to depart from the resting position, and then return to that position will be referred to as a gesture unit. The phase of the excursion closest to its peak is usually considered as the phase when the “expression” of the gesture, whatever its meaning may be, is accomplished. It is the phase of the excursion in which the movement dynamics of “effort” and “shape” are demonstrated with the best clarity, and this phase is called the stroke. The phase of movement leading up to the stroke is termed the preparation. The phase of movement that follows, as the hand is relaxed, or is withdrawn, is referred to as the recovery. The stroke may sometimes be followed by a phase in which the articulator is sustained in the position at which it appeared at the end of the stroke. This has been referred to as the post-stroke hold (Kendon, 2004). It is noteworthy that “stroke and post-stroke hold together usually bracket a semantically complete phrase of speech” (Kendon, 2004, p.112). Therefore, the stroke and any post-stroke hold are considered to be the nucleus of the gesture phrase. This is a critical part of the gesture phrase that it is being analyzed as part of the action conveying meanings of the gesture phrase (p.112). Although the recovery is regarded as part of the gesture unit, the recovery movement is not included in the part of the gesture phrase. Within the nucleus of the gesture phrase, there is a tendency of the gestural activity being performed at approximately the same time as the pronunciation of the words that being uttered which together carry a semantic sense that achieves a combination of semantic coherence with one another (Kendon, 2004, pp.124–125). It supports that when producing gestures, the speaker must have already organized it simultaneously as he plans for the verbal part. Therefore, Kendon suggests that gesture and speech are planned for together, and gestural expression is an inevitable integrated component of the utterance’s construction. Example 1 is an extract from Kendon (2004) as a brief introduction of how the data will be transcribed:

Example 1



(Notes: RH right hand; ~~~ preparation, *** stroke action; -.-. recovery; (...) indicates a pause in speech. Length of pause in tenths of a second. Tonic syllables in SMALL CAPITALS.)

(in Kendon, 2004, p.114)

1.3 Key concepts in questioning techniques and the notion of remote audiences

This section briefly explains how two particular questioning strategies contribute to the shape of the debates. Second, it gives a brief introduction of the understanding of the notion of “remote audiences” (Linell, 2009, p.101) which is a crucial concept to comprehend how stance activities are being navigated among the electoral candidates with this idea of remote audiences being constantly kept in their minds.

1.3.1 Hypophora and question cascade in political debates

Questions are more than a simple information-seeking action but rather a powerful vehicle that allows the speaker to control interaction. For instance, a questioner can pressure a question recipient for a preferred response by asking a type-conforming question, impose presuppositions in a question that might lead the question recipient to validate the presuppositions, impose

agendas and preferences, or even perform speech acts etc. (Hayano, 2013). Thus, Sacks comments that as long as one is in the position of presenting questions, they have greater control over the conversation (1992).

A question can be identified through grammar (e.g. use of question particles such as *ma* in Mandarin), prosody (e.g. a rising intonation used in English), and pragmatics (e.g. epistemic asymmetry) (see Hayano, 2013). What is relevant for our purpose is the grammatical process of encoding an utterance with a question particle and the pragmatic process of knowledge imbalance recognition. If a question is recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, i.e., the question recipient is supposed to have the knowledge of the question, the question thus falls into the question recipient's knowledge domain (Heritage, 2002, 2012; Heritage & Roth, 1995; Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). This study mainly relies on the grammatical feature, i.e., question particles, to recognize when determining whether an utterance is a question.

Two essential questioning strategies used in political debates are question cascade and hypophora. The first strategy is the question cascade which is defined as a succession of interrogatives building toward a single question (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). It is suggested that the first interrogative in the cascade is highly assertive and is used to close the circle between factual grounds and adversarial conclusion (Clayman & Fox, 2017). This type of questioning is frequently deployed complemented with the question particles in Cantonese political discourse. The second strategy which is regularly employed in political debates is the Greek tactic of hypophora which appears when a questioner asks a question to the question recipient yet answering the very question immediately by himself without leaving the chance for the QR to respond to the question (McCormick, 2003). The function of this strategy is said to be used to confute an adversary, but it also helps hinder a response from the question recipient. A detailed

analysis of how these two question designs are being deployed will be discussed in Chapter 2 to understand how disalignment is created among the electoral candidates to highlight one's superiority over the other.

1.3.2 The notion of remote audiences

Linell (2009) explains conversations that exist “here and now” are not just between the two or more speakers who are mutually co-present in real time and place (p. 99). “Each participant also orients to, exploits and plays with ideas, traditions and communicative activity types that exist from before and which are carried further in and through the situated interaction” (99). Therefore, what the speaker says here-and-now will have possible consequences for future conversations and situations. However, not all the same speakers may take part in future conversations. What is being said here-and-now may thus be used and responded to at a later time, when speakers are not physically present. This is encapsulated in the idea that when speakers are engaging in communicative activities, they have to also think of “remote audiences” (Linell 1998: 107 as quoted in Linell 2009). Linell also created the umbrella term “third parties” made relevant by the primary speakers even if the third parties or the remote audiences may be silent throughout the interaction or play a relatively peripheral role compared to the primary speakers. However, the primary speakers still believe or consider the possibility that third parties or the remote audiences will say or do something, either in the present situations or later. Thus, remote audiences are often indirectly oriented to by primary speakers, who may adopt a “split audience design” (Linell 2009: 101) in planning their conversations. The primary speakers sometimes have to keep the absent remote audiences, for example, the likely voters who are watching the broadcast of the debate, in mind too. The notion of third parties and remote

audiences are thus particularly crucial for understanding how the audience of these debates, especially potential voters, may play a role in the debates despite their absence. To avoid any confusion in understanding this notion, “remote audiences” is the primary term being employed for the analysis of this dissertation.

1.4 Data

Data collected for this dissertation are from three televised debates, hosted by Now TV, Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK hereafter), and Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB hereafter). The video data transcriptions consist of approximately four hours and ten minutes of conversation recordings of the seven electoral candidates and their interaction with the hosts of the debate programs. These seven candidates running for the by-election include six male candidates and one female candidate: Chi Shing Lau (Lau in short for the rest of the dissertation), Sing Chi Wong (Wong in short hereafter), Holden Ho Ding Chow (Chow hereafter), Albert Sze Ho Leung (A. Leung hereafter), Christine Kwok Shan Fong (Fong hereafter), Edward Ting Kei Leung (E. Leung hereafter), and Alvin Ngok Kiu Yeung (Yeung hereafter)¹ Yeung was the candidate who won the election with *37.19% of the popular poll*² and was elected to be the incumbent to represent New Territories East in the Hong Kong Legislative Council. There is a total of 39, 295 Chinese and Cantonese characters transcribed for the dissertation data.

¹ <https://www.elections.gov.hk/legco2016by/eng/results.html?1576970838765>

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_New_Territories_East_by-election

Chapter 2

Question Particles and Questioning Strategies in Televised Debates

2.1 Introduction

Debating politicians seeking a political office need to accomplish multiple tasks to convince voters to vote for them. They need, first of all, to defeat the opponent with better thought-out policies backed by deep understanding of an issue and needed experiences to accomplish them. At the same time, politicians may also need to present themselves as a likable candidate who shares the interests of the voters. These two aspects do not always conflict with one another, but they often do. In other words, a politician appealing to capture the voters' support need to show an aspect of an aggressive debater and another aspect of a compassionate representative of the people. This chapter is to understand how the politicians achieve these competing goals using available linguistic means. I will specifically analyse question seeking strategies at the discourse level and the use of question particles at the morphosyntactic levels. Question design in political debates gives much insight into how electoral candidates manipulate linguistic resources to gain an upper hand over their opponents. When questioning, candidates often assume a more adversarial stance through communicative practices of disagreement and challenges. Although the adversarial sensations emitted throughout the debate can be perceived as a norm in this environment, research that investigates the measure of creating adversarialness in political debates is underdeveloped. Highlighting questioning as a typical strategy that is exploited in debates that occur in Hong Kong, this chapter takes a closer look at how questioning in Cantonese in the political debates is formed. More specifically, this chapter analyses how questions are strategically delivered by the questioner (Q in short) and how they are responded

by the question recipient (QR in short) around two specific questioning techniques, known as “hypophora” (McCormick, 2003), a strategy of self-answering to one’s own question and “question cascade”, an incessant wave of questioning with different phrasing (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). A political candidate may indeed corner the opponent with these techniques and give themselves credit as a skilful debater. At the same time, they need to balance these techniques skilfully because they not only have to attack the opponent, but also present themselves as a positive figure for the remote audiences or third parties (Linell, 2009), who are watching the broadcast of the debate on TV. One compensating linguistic strategy used in Cantonese debates is the use of utterance final particles, or the question particles in particular, which could alleviate an overly negative move shown by the rhetorical means. In other words, while the rhetorical moves are overly aggressive and encode a negative stance, some of the question particles and their harmonious nature can sometimes create a relatively positive stance. To analyse a complex interaction in political debate, I employ a revised stance triangle model to illustrate how stance acts are being navigated in the political debates.

With the background mentioned above, this chapter sets out to accomplish two main goals. First, I will examine excerpts from political debates to show how rhetorical techniques, together with question particles, provide needed linguistic resources to debaters to present themselves as a qualified politician and likable candidate. Second, I will present a revised stance diagram by adding another component, the third participant, in addition to the two debaters. This third party is an invisible audience involved from a larger perspective for a debate activity.

2.2 Analysis

Candidates poses 267 questions during the actual debates. The majority of the questions (63.30%, or 169 out of 267 questions) are asked with a question particle, while 36.70% of the questions (98 out of 267) are asked without question particles. The distribution of the question particles is shown in Table 1 below:

Rank	Question particles	Number of tokens (%)
1	呢(<i>ne1³/le1</i>)	88 (52.07%)
2	啊(<i>aa3</i>)	48 (28.40%)
3	咩(<i>me1</i>)	8 (4.73%)
4	㗎(<i>aa1</i>)	7 (4.14%)
5	㗎(<i>zek1</i>)	6 (3.55%)
6	啊嗎/吓嗎(<i>aa3maa5/haa3maa5</i>)	2 (1.18%)
7	嘅呢/㗎呢 (<i>ge3le1/gaa3le1</i>)	2 (1.18%)
8	喺嗰 (<i>laa3wo3</i>)	2 (1.18%)
9	呀(<i>aa4</i>)	1 (0.59%)

³ These numbers written after the romanization are tone indicating numbers

10	嘎 (<i>gaa4</i>)	1 (0.59%)
11	㗎 (<i>gaa3</i>)	1 (0.59%)
12	㗎咩 (<i>gaa3me1</i>)	1 (0.59%)
13	嗎 (<i>maa5</i>)	1 (0.59%)
14	噏 (<i>laa3</i>)	1 (0.59%)
	Total	169 (100%)

Table 1: List of the question particles used in three political debates

There are fourteen question particles identified in the debates. These question particles include both monosyllabic particle (e.g. *ne1/le1*) and particle clusters (e.g. *aa3maa5*) (which include no more than 2 particles in a cluster). Some particles have two variants in their pronunciation such as the particles clusters (*aa3maa5/haa3maa5*), but their function is identical. The two most frequently used question particles are *ne1/le1* and *aa3* with the frequency of 52.07% (88 out of 169) and 28.40% (48 out of 169) respectively. It should be noted that *ne1* and *le1* are two allophones of *le1*, and in the rest of the paper I will use *le1* to represent these two allophones. These two particles together account for more than 80% of the total particles used in the data, overshadowing all other particles (the next three particles, *me1*, *aal*, and *zek1*, which each appears around 4% or less). The 6th, 7th and 8th frequently used question particles in the debate are two-particle clusters which are *aa3maa5/haa3maa5*, *ge3le5/gaa3le5* and *laa3wo3* (which appear only 2 out of 169 each). The rest of the question particles included on the bottom

part of the list are *aa4*, *gaa4*, *gaa3*, *gaa3me1*, *maa5* and *laa3* which all occur only once (0.59%) in this data. The following section will be focusing the first five question particles on the list.

2.2.1 The use of *aa1*, *me1* and *zek1* as question particles in political debate

Before a discussion of the most frequently used question particles *le1* and *aa3*, the three less frequent particles being used in the political debates, *aa1*, *me1* and *zek1*, will be briefly discussed. Although *aa1*, *me1* and *zek1* are not being heavily used in questions during the debates, they usually carry emotive functions during daily conversations. They have the similar emotional effect when they are used in the political debate. However, they are usually projecting direct adversarial attitudes towards the question recipient. When *aa1* is being used in a question cascade during the debate, the tone of hostility embedded in the question is being magnified. Secondly, all instances of *me1* are formed with the sentence structure of either a positive or negative statement attached by the *me1* question particle at the end of the sentence turning the statement to a rhetorical question. The usage of *me1* in political debate, therefore, has a relatively strong emphasizing and challenging effect yet in disguise of a rhetorical question. The particle *zek1* is widely considered as a particle conveying affective value (Matthews & Yip, 2011) or even being labelled as an emotive particle (Law, 2002). It is also employed to form rhetorical questions. However, *zek1* as a question particle in these political debates has its own unique function that does not project any intimacy like it is used in daily conversation but rather projects either a feeling of annoyance or a sense of challenge from the questioners in the debate questions. These three question particles, especially *me1* and *zek1*, are known to be emotionally loaded particles even in daily conversation. When they are employed in the debate, the adversarialness is being amplified in an explicit manner. Although they are three of the

commonly used question particles in daily conversations, it seems that their usage is reduced to minimum in the political debate. They are not particularly popular in terms of their usages in the political debate yet the functions of these particles, especially *me1* and *zek1*, have similar attitudinal affects for the tone of voice. Details will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1.1 The use of *aa1*

Firstly, *aa1*, according to Matthews and Yip (2011), can be considered as a more tentative form of *aa3* in a question. Similarly, *aa1* has been used in mainly polar questions in the structure of A-not-A structure in Cantonese. The syntactic structure of this form of question includes reduplication of either a verb or an adjective with the negation, *m4*, in between (Matthews & Yip, 2011) which is similar to asking “is this pretty or not (pretty)?” In the debate, all of the instances of *aa1* employ this form of question structure. The exchange (example 2) below includes a question-answer sequence between Lau and Fong with the use of *aa1* in the question:

Example 2

- 01 Lau: 但係 有冇 切實- 有冇 切實 去 做 出嚟
 Q→ daan6hai6 jau5mou5 cit3sat6 - jau5mou5 cit3sat6 heoi3 zou6 ceot1lai4
 but have-not practical have-not practical go do out
- 02 㗎? 你 [知唔知道 佢哋 好 危險 㗎?
 aa1 nei5 zi1-m4-zil1dou6 keoi5dei2 hou2 ngai4 him2 gaa3
 QP you know-not-know 3rd PP very dangerous QP
 “But have any practical measures been done *aa1*? Do you know that
 they have been in great danger?”

- 03 Fong: [唔 單止 係 供油 問題, 我哋
 m4 daan1zi2 hai6 gung1jau4 man6tai4 · ngo5dei2
 not only is oil problem we
- 04 唔 單止- 仲要 改善 佢 嘅 一個 水質
 m4 daan1 zi2 - zung6jiu3 goi2sin6 keoi5 ge3 jat1go3 sei2zat1
 not only also improve it POSS one CL water quality
- 05 問題。
 man6tai4
 problem
 “(It’s not) just the problem of provision of fuel. We not only- also
 improve the issue of improving the quality of water.”

Example 2 illustrates the use of *aal* as a question particle for A-not-A structure. Lau explains to Fong that the fishermen express concerns with him related to the lack of fuel stations within the sea district. Lau challenges Fong if she, as a District Councillor of Sai Kung District, has constantly involved in any substantial measures to help the people of the district to solve the problems including providing additional fuel stations for the fishermen. The first question asked in the question sequence is a challenge in disguise. Fong attempts to answer the first question immediately by explaining that the lack of fuel stations is not the only problem (in her agenda), but she also pays attention to the improvement of the quality of water in the station which implies that there are more than one issues on the table. Her answer is evasive as she does not

directly answer whether she has done any practical measure to help the fishermen. It is noteworthy that her answer overlaps with Lau's second question which immediately follows his first question. His second question asks if Fong knows the fishermen have been in great danger as they have been working in the sea without sufficient fuel stations for them to refill the gas. The second question presumes that the fishermen have not been protected by any "practical measures" and thus they have always been in great danger when they go out to the sea. Lau's second question actually suggests the first question is not a genuine question, but a challenge posed to Fong which indirectly implies Fong has not done her job well and has not provided any practical measures to help the fishermen. In daily conversation, the effect of the question particle *aal* attached to the first question is commonly used in lively statement, question or request (Matthews & Yip, 2011). However, when it is being used in a sequence of questions especially the second question suggesting that the danger of the fishermen was a direct cause of the lack of practical measures being implemented by Fong. That sense of challenge or accusation, "but have any practical measures been done *aal*?", embedded in the first question is thus being magnified. That said, the question particle per se, *aal*, does not always convey an intense sense of adversarialness which is fairly different from the next two question particles, *mel* and *zekl*, that potentially project a much stronger sense of adversary in the questions, especially in the political debates. Typically, question particle *mel* in daily conversations is used to mark questions to express surprise with negative presuppositions (Matthews & Yip, 2011, p. 400) while question particle *zekl* is perceived as an emotive or affective particle (Law 2002; Matthews & Yip, 2011). The use of *zekl* also indicates a certain degree of intimacy between the speaker and hearer. These particles, nonetheless, may not indicate the same affective values as suggested by previous

scholars in the instances of these political debates. I will explain the use of these question particle in the following examples.

2.2.1.2 The use of *meI*

Question particle *meI* is usually used in rhetorical questions (Matthews & Yip, 2011) which is considered to be an effective persuasive device (Frank, 1990) that “posing questions that expect no answer” (p. 723). However, it can also be perceived as a regular question particle (Law, 2002) that a response can be expected. There are eight instances found in this set of data with the use of *meI* as a question particle. These instances include a sentence structure formed with a positive or negative statement attached by the *meI* question particle at the end which turns the statement to a rhetorical question, i.e., [positive statement+*meI*= negative statement] or [negative statement+*meI*=positive statement]. Therefore, when a questioner asks a rhetorical question with a positive statement attached by a question particle *meI* in Cantonese, it essentially turns the questions into negative statement with a strong emphasise being underscored by the *meI* particle in the political debate.

The following excerpt in Example 3 shows an exchange between A. Leung and Wong when Wong is attempting to form an ad hoc alliance with A. Leung to defy Yeung, another electoral candidate. Wong criticizes Yeung for proposing a filibuster in the Legislative Council when it is time for the discussion of the report of the financial budget. Wong suggests that most of the political parties are actually satisfied with the budget report except Yeung and his associated party – the Civic Party. Wong subsequently asks A. Leung whether he is in support of Yeung’s proposal to filibuster which Wong clearly opposes. A. Leung, out of Wong’s

expectation, defends Yeung's proposal to filibuster which later leads to the question-answer sequence as follows:

Example 3

- 01 Wong: 但係 今天 財政預算案 出咗 嚟 嘅
daan6hai6 gam1tin1 coi4zing3jyu6syun3ngon3 ceot1zo2 lai4 ge3
but today financial budget out -PFV⁴ come LP⁵
- 02 反應 呢, 財政預算案 出咗 嚟 嘅
faan2jing3 ne1 coi4zing3jyu6syun3ngon3 ceot1zo2 lai4 ge3
reaction PRT financial budget. Out-PFV come LP
- 03 Q→ 反應 係 好 㗎。 咁 唔通 即係 你
faan2jing3 hai6 hou2 gaa2bo3 gam3 m4tung1 zik1hai6 nei5
reaction is good PRT PRT then could-it-mean⁶ exactly you
- 04 覺得 佢哋 依家 仲 喺度 嗌 拉布 係
gok3dak1 keoi5dei2 ji1gaa1 zung6 hai2dou6 aai3 laai1bou3 hai6
think they now still here shout filibuster is
- 05 合適 㗎?
hap6sik1 *me1*
suitable QP

⁴ Perfective aspect marker in Cantonese

⁵ Linking particle: possessive marker

⁶ <https://nkin.wordpress.com/2010/06/02/%E5%90%8D%E4%BA%BA%E6%95%99%E8%8B%B1%E6%96%87%E7%EF%B9%95%E5%94%94%E9%80%9A%E3%80%81%E5%A5%BD%E5%BD%A9%E3%80%81%E4%B8%8D%E5%A6%82%E8%8B%B1%E6%96%87%E6%80%8E%E9%BA%BC%E8%AC%9B%EF%BC%9F%E6%AF%9B%E5%AD%9F/>

“But today, the reaction to the release of the budget report, the reaction to the release of the budget report is good. So does it mean that you still think that it is apt to propose a filibuster (in the Legislative Council) *me1?*”

- 06 A.Leung: 所以 我 話 九十四萬 選民, 二二八 嘅
so2ji5 ngo5 waa6 gau2sap6sei3maan6 syun2man4 · ji6ji6baat3 ge3
thus I say 940,000 voter 228 LP
- 07 時候 出 嚟 投票 表達 佢哋嘅 意願,
si4hau6 ceot1 lai4 tau4piu3 biu2daat6 keoi5dei2ge3 ji3jyun6,
moment out come vote express their want
- 08 想唔想 財政預算案 繼續 拉布。
soeng2m4soeng2 coi4zing3jyu6syun3ngon3 gai3zuk6 laai1bou3 °
want-not-want financial budget continue filibuster
- 09 我嘅 溫和 反 拉布 方案 係 可以
ngo5ge3 wan1wo4 faan2 laai1bou3 fong1ngon3 hai6 ho2ji5
my mild anti filibuster measure is can
- 10 令到 制止 拉布 四 子 繼續 拉布。
ling6dou3 zai3zi2 laai1bou3 sei3 zi2 gai3zuk6 laai1bou3 °
cause cease filibuster four sons continue filibuster

“So, I’d ask 940,000 voters, to come out and vote on February 28th to express their will – whether they want a filibuster for the financial budget. My mild approach against filibuster can stop the four legislators to continue filibuster.”

The above excerpt shows that Wong, the questioner, is not satisfied with A. Leung’s initial response that appears to support Yeung’s proposal to filibuster. Therefore, Wong continues to argue that the financial budget gains generally positive response from the general public and asks A. Leung if he still thinks it is suitable to support having a filibuster in the Legislative Council which will hinder the approval of the financial budget and thus against the public interest. Although Wong seems to end his turn with a question complement with the question particle *meI*, the question is constructed with a *meI question* particle [positive statement+*meI*= negative statement] which turns the question itself to a rhetorical question, the type of questions that do not expect an answer. It is noteworthy that the *meI* does have a magnifying or emphasizing effect as it emphasizes the opposite meaning of the positive statement. In this example, “so does it mean that you still think that it is apt to propose a filibuster (in the Legislative Council) *meI*?” This rhetorical question with the attachment of *meI* question particle actually strongly implicates that it is *NOT* suitable to filibuster in the Legislative Council. The usage of *meI* thus in political debate has a relatively strong emphasizing and challenging effect yet in disguise of a question form that does not expect an answer which is shown in the answer followed by A. Leung. A. Leung’s *answer* is more of a response to Wong’s emphasise of “it is *NOT* suitable to filibuster in the Legislative Council”. A. Leung’s response starts with a conjunction “so” which is to connect to Wong’s implicature, i.e., it is not suitable to filibuster in the Legislative Council, *so* the voters

are encouraged to express their views on whether filibuster is suitable in the Legislative Council on the election day. If the voters do not support filibuster, they should support A. Leung himself, who has a “mild approach” against filibuster. The *meI* question particle not only has an emphasizing effect of the opposite meaning of the attached statement but also a guiding effect on the QR’s answer as shown in the above example.

2.2.1.3 The use of *zekI*

The particle *zekI* is widely considered as a particle conveying affective value (Matthews & Yip, 2011) or even being labelled as an emotive particle (Law, 2002). Law (2002) claims that *zekI*, like other emotive particles, are speaker-oriented that they express the speaker’s perceived intimate relationship with the hearer (p.397) which is consistent with Matthews and Yip (2011) that they suggest this particle indicates a degree of intimacy and is only used between those have a close relationship. M. Chan (2002 as cited in Matthews & Yip 2011, p.408) even characterizes it as a unique feature of children’s and younger women’s speech. Nevertheless, there is, of course, no intimate relationship could be found in a political debate. Although it is possible that some form of alliances can be found among certain candidates but calling them being in an “intimate” relationship is beyond imagination as an election is always a competition for all of the electoral candidates. Therefore, it is proposed that *zekI* as a question particle in the political debate has its own unique function that does not project any intimacy like it is being used in daily conversation. On the contrary, *zekI* projects a rather hostile attitude towards the question recipient whenever *zekI* is being used in the debate. Example 4 here includes an interaction between Wong and Yeung in which Wong first starts criticizing Yeung for the use of slogan, “Hong Kong people, go into battle!”, which is considered to be propagandizing the young people

and protesters to resort to the use of violence. Wong condemns Yeung for igniting the conflict among young people by the use of his campaign slogan and imbuing Hong Kong people to fight against one another. Wong condemns Yeung for being hypocritical as Yeung helps justify the wrongdoing of the protesters whom Wong labels as “thugs” The young protesters who were being arrested in one of the protests, labelled as “2016 Mongkok civil unrest⁷” happened in Hong Kong in 2016. Yeung refutes Wong’s accusation by clarifying what “go into battle” actually means in his slogan. His clarification elucidates that “go into battle” is a way to encourage the voters to use the most peaceful method to make their voices heard, i.e., to utilize their votes to let the former leader of the city, Chun-ying Leung, know how dissatisfied they are with the Leung’s administration. The exchange is illustrated as follow:

Example 4

01 Wong: 我哋 嘅 論壇 開始 呢, 你 就 最 痛心
 ngo5dei2 ge3 leon6taan4 hoilci2 le1 · nei5 zau6 zeoi3 tung3sam1
 we LP forum start PRT you then most distressed
 02 呢, 香港 人 打 香港 人, 但係 你
 le1, hoeng1gong2 jan4 daa2 hoeng1gong2 jan4, daan6hai6 nei5
 PRT Hong Kong person hit Hong Kong person but you
 03 就 叫 香港 人 上陣。 香港 人
 zau6 giu3 hoeng1gong2 jan4 soeng5zan6 ° hoeng1gong2 jan4

⁷ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016 Mong Kok civil unrest](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_Mong_Kok_civil_unrest); <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-35529785>

then ask Hong Kong person go-into-battle Hong Kong person
 04 Q→ 上陣 打 邊 個 哪? 就 係 打 香港
 soeng5zan6 daa2 bin1 go3 *zek1*? Zau6 hai6 daa2 hoeng1gong2
 go-into-battle hit who CL *QP* then is hit Hong Kong
 05 人 之 嘛。 點 解 你 咁 偽 善 呢? 你 話
 jan4 zi1maa3 ° dim2gaai2 nei5 gam3 ngai6sin6 le1? nei5 waa6
 person PRTprt why you that hypocrisy QP you say
 06 周 浩 鼎 偽 善, 你 公 民 黨 楊 岳 橋
 zau1hou6ding2 ngai6 sin6, nei5 gung1man4dong2 joeng4ngok6kiu4
 Holden Chow hypocrisy you Civic Party Alvin Yeung
 07 唔 係 偽 善 咩? 你 哋 走 嚟 譴 責 暴 徒
 m4hai6 ngai6sin6 me1 ? nei5dei2 zau2 lai4 hin2zaak3 bou6tou4
 not hypocrisy QP you run come condemn thug
 08 譴 責 完 之 後 跟 住 又 貫 以 無 限 嘅
 hin2zaak3 jyun4 zi1hau6 gan1zyu6 jau6 gun3ji5 mou4haan6 ge3
 condemn finish then follow again assign unlimited LP
 理 由, 話 呢 班 暴 徒 呢, 因 為 梁 振 英
 lei5jau4, waa6 ne1 baan1 bou6tou4 le1, because Chun-ying Leung
 reason say this CL thug PRT

09 乜，因為 警察 乜，因為 乜，我- 喂，
mat1, jan1wai4 ging2caat3 mat1, jan1wai4 mat1, ngo5- wai3,
what, because police what because what I hey

10 任何 暴力 嘅 行為， 我哋 都 唔 應該
jam6ho4 bou6lik6 ge3 hang4wai4, ngo5dei2 dou1 m4 jing3goi1
any violence LP behaviour we also not should

11 認同-
jing6tung4-
agree with

“At the beginning of the debate, (you said) the most distressing was Hong Kong people are fighting against Hong Kong people. However, you are asking Hong Kong people to “go into battle”. Who are Hong Kong people fighting against (if they are) going into battle *zek1*? It’s (simply Hong Kong people) fighting against Hong Kong people. Why are you so hypocritical? You claimed Holden Chow as being hypocritical. Aren’t you Alvin Yeung of the Civic party hypocritical? You had condemned the thugs, yet you helped them finding unlimited excuses such as these thugs (did this) because of Chun-ying Leung, because of the police, because of what, I- Hey. I do not think we should tolerate any violent behaviors.”

12 Yeung: 黃成智， 我 由 參選 當 日 開始，

Wong4Sing4Zi3 · ngo5 jau4 sam1syun2 dong1 jat6 hoilci2,
 Sing-chi Wong I from run for office that day beginning
 13 已經 話 畀 香港人 聽, 上陣 就 係
 ji5ging1 waa6 bei2 hoeng1gong2jan4 ting3, soeng5zan6 zau6 hai6
 already say give Hong Kong people listen go-into-battle then is
 14 用 最 和平 嘅 方法, 運用 選票,
 jung6 zeoi3 wo4ping4 ge3 fong1faat3, wan6jung6 syun2piu3 ,
 use most peace LP method use vote
 15 入 去 投票 站, 話 畀 梁振英 聽,
 jap6 heoi3 tau4piu3 zaam6 · waa6 bei2 Loeng4Zan3Jing1 ting3,
 enter go polling booth say give Chun-ying Leung listen
 16 我哋 對 佢 嘅 不滿。 呢 個 就 係 我
 ngo5dei2 deoi3 keoi5 ge3 bat1mun5 ° ne1 go3 zau6 hai6 ngo5
 we towards he LP dissatisfaction this CL then is I
 17 由始至終 嘅 原意。
 jau4ci2zi3zung1 ge3 jyun4ji3 °
 from-beginning-to-end LP original intention
 “Sing-chi Wong. Since the day I decided to run for office, I have been
 telling Hong Kong people that going-into-battle means to use the most
 peaceful method. Using (their) votes and getting into the polling station

to tell Chun-ying Leung how unsatisfied we are towards him. This has always been my original intention from the outset.”

In lines 1- 2 of Example 4, Wong reminds Yeung that Yeung mentions at the beginning of the debate that the most distressing situation for him is that Hong Kong people are fighting against Hong Kong people. Nonetheless, Yeung is using the slogan, “Hong Kong people, go into battle” which implicates that Hong Kong people have to resort to violence to achieve their ends. Wong employs the questioning technique, hypophora, with the use of question particle *zek1* to ask Yeung who Hong Kong people are fighting against, “who are Hong Kong people fighting against (if they are) going into battle *zek1*?” Wong responds to his very own question right away by answering that “it’s (just Hong Kong people) fighting against Hong Kong people”. The use of question particle *zek1* does not project any intimacy according to the linguistic content of the interaction. Instead, in this interaction, the attachment of this question particle, *zek1*, turns the question as an indication of challenge which is very different from its usage in daily conversation. Matthews and Yip (2011) suggest that the use of *zek1* indicates “a degree of intimacy and it is *only* used between close acquaintances” (p. 408). Although the candidates know each other relatively well, there is no indication that they are close acquaintances at all. It can be concluded that the question particle *zek1* is an affective or an emotive particle that is loaded with emotion coloring. In political debate, however, it is mostly used to project negative emotions, annoyance or disdain, towards your opponents. Additionally, what immediately following the *zek1*-ending question is an answer provided by the questioner himself. This is consistent with one of the functions suggested by Matthews and Yip (2011) that *zek1* can form rhetorical questions that do not necessarily require an answer but to make a solid point across

especially in the setting of a political debate. The rest of the instances of the *zek1*-ending questions are all identified to be rhetorical questions that there are no responses produced by any of the question recipients in their interactions. For example, “how come these are the only few words you are able to utter *zek1*?” (produced by Alvin Yeung); “this (kind of responses) is an example of sitting on the fence. You haven’t really answered my question, have you *zek1*?” (produced by Edward Leung); and “how come you did not want to talk about it *zek1*? Let me tell you this problem...” (produced by Sing-chi Wong). These examples demonstrate that *zek1*-ending questions are usually rhetorical questions. This type of questions does not usually require responses from the question recipients in the political debates. On the contrary, it constantly projects negative emotions or challenges posed particularly onto the opponents to magnify their weaknesses, or to initiate a challenge to their opponents. The above examples shows that both *me1* and *zek1* are both forming rhetorical questions that do not require an answer. When they are used as question particles in the political debate, they are mainly projecting a sense of hostility that makes it difficult for the question recipients to refute or respond properly.

2.2.2 The use of *le1* and *aa3*

The question particles, *le1* and *aa3*, are two of the frequently used question particles in daily conversations, and are used in various forms of questions, such as polar questions, alternative questions and content questions. However, in contrast to *me1* and *zek1*, *le1* and *aa3* are rarely employed to form a rhetorical question. These two particles, *le1* and *aa3*, do not by themselves mark a question. Therefore, when one of these two particles are used in a question, there are always other indicators of a question such as question words or the A-not-A question structure. One would ask then—if the question itself is sufficient for the hearer to recognize it

without the question particle, then why do we still need a question particle at the end of the question? This is because these question particles include interpersonal and pragmatic functions. Some of the questions, especially for content questions, may sound like an interrogation without a question particle. Therefore, the use of *le1* and *aa3* may help soften the tone of interrogation in a question. *le1* and *aa3* are thus two of the frequently used question particles in casual conversations. Below are constructed examples to show how these particles are used in different types of questions:

Example 5 (Polar question with the A-not-A construction)

Q: 你 鍾唔鍾意 香港 啊/呢?

nei5 zung1m4zung1ji3 hoeng1gong2 aa3/le1

you like-not-like Hong Kong QP

‘Do you like Hong Kong *aa3/le1*?’

Example 6 (Alternative question with A or B construction)

Q: 你 鍾意 香港 定係 LA 啊/呢?

nei5 zung1ji3 hoeng1gong2 ding6hai6 LA aa3/le1

you like Hong Kong or LA QP

‘Which one do you like better – Hong Kong or L.A. *aa3/le1*?’

Example 7 (Content question with the question word *dim2* ‘how’)

Q: 你 哥哥 點 啊/呢?

nei5 go4gol dim2 aa3/le1

your older brother how QP

‘How’s your older brother doing *aa3/le1*?’

2.2.2.1 The use of *le1* and *aa3* in an interaction of a potential alliance

Although there is a subtle difference in the tone of voice between the use of *aa3* and *le1*, depending on the discourse content it is fair to say that they are question particles that do not carry much emotional coloring (subjective function) like other particles, but help soften the aggressive tone of a question (intersubjective function). Thus, the nature of these question particles is not as adversarial as *me1* and *zek1*, as explained above. Although hostility and adversarialness are generally expected to be the common ambiance in the political debates, it is not uncommon that alliances are sometimes formed among candidates themselves who share similar political ideologies. This can explain why there are some relatively “friendly” question-answer sequences in the debate with the use of these relatively neutral question particles *aa3* and *le1*. They are being used in the interaction of a potential alliance, in this case, between E. Leung and Yeung in Example 8. Moreover, overlapping talk between the candidates are kept to the minimal. Even when there is a brief moment of overlapping, E. Leung, the question recipient, ceases to continue with his answer and allows Yeung to finish his question first. Thus, the flow of the question-answer sequences is much smoother than any other interactions among all other candidates. Secondly, the exchange between Yeung and E. Leung has a relatively well-structured question-answer sequence. Their interaction includes four question-answer sequences which all four of them are initiated by Yeung with this identical preface, “*daan6hai6 nei5 tung4m4tung4 ji3*” (但係你同唔同意 in Cantonese), which means “but do you agree or not”. These four questions share the same syntactic structure as follow:

But do you agree or not + [statement] (+question particle)?

Yeung, in this particular interaction, starts his question with this identical preface – “but do you agree or not” which is complemented with a statement which content varies in each question

according to how E. Leung responds to Yeung's prior question. The conjunction "but" was used at the beginning of the question because E. Yeung responded three of the four questions with a disagreement token, "*ngo5 m4 tung4ji3*", (我唔同意 in Cantonese), which is translated as "I do not agree" with supplementary explanation for all of his negative responses. In Example 7, the topic of the interaction between Yeung and E. Leung is relevant to the MongKok civil unrest which happened during Chinese New Year in 2016. The media later labelled it as "Fishball Revolution" as the unrest was related to unlicensed street hawkers and fishball is one of the signature street food in Hong Kong. E. Leung was one of the protesters of the civil unrest. Both Yeung and E. Leung are considered to be part of the pro-democracy camp. However, E. Leung has a much stronger stance on pushing forward the democratic movement in Hong Kong that he suggests Hong Kong people should actively stand up against the radical political regime. His proposed approach includes measures or actions that might be considered as violent if they have to achieve full and authentic democracy as an ultimate end. Yeung, on the other hand, is one of the lawyers who represents some of the other arrested protesters. The topic of the question-answer sequences revolves around the harm or damage that might have involuntarily caused to some ordinary people, being referred as "the egg" which is standing up against the hard and hall wall, as a metaphor of a radical political regime or a tyranny. Yeung starts his first and second questions concerning the harm which has caused to some innocent citizens and how these citizens, being referred as "the egg" should be protected from any harm. E. Leung responds to the first two questions with an emphasis that he notices the damage the unrest might have caused to the society as well as to the innocent people, but he thinks it is necessary to experience this kind of social turmoil before attaining full and genuine democracy in Hong Kong. The following example is Yeung asking E. Leung another question in their third question-answer sequence:

Example 8

01 Yeung: 但係 你 同唔同意, 而家 我哋 其實

Q→ daan6hai6 nei5 tung4 m4 tung4 ji3 · ji4gaa1 ngo5dei2 kei4sat6

But you agree-not-agree now we actually

02 仲 有險可守; 香港 係 唔

zung6 jau5him2ho2sau2; hoeng1gong2 hai6 m4

zik6dak1

still can-defend-when-there-is-danger Hong Kong is not

03 值得 玉石俱焚 呢?

zik6dak1 juk6sek6keoi1 fan4 *le1* ?

worth destroy-everything *QP*

“But do you agree or not that we can still defend (Hong Kong) now

when there is danger. And it isn't worth destroying everything in Hong

Kong *le1*?”

04 E. Leung: 我 唔 同意, 我 覺得 香港 已經 係

ngo5 m4 tung4ji3 · ngo5 gok3dak1 hoeng1gong2 ji5ging1 hai6

I not agree I think Hong Kong already is

05 界 赤化 污染 到 污煙瘴氣⁸, 社會
bei2 cek3faa3. wu1jim5 dou3 wu1jin1zoeng3hei3 · se5wui2

be mainlandization pollution arrive messy-and-unpleasant society

06 嘅 道德 已經 完全 淪喪。

ge3 dou6dak1 ji5ging1 jyun4cyun4 leon4 song3 °

LP moral already completely perish

“I don’t agree. I think Hong Kong has been mainlandized and been polluted to an extent that it has become messy and unpleasant. The moral of the society has become completely perished.”

The question asked in lines 1 to 3 follows the structure of “*But do you agree or not + [statement] (+question particle)?*” Yeung asks E. Leung if he agrees with the statement -- [that we can still defend (Hong Kong) now when there is danger. And it isn’t worth destroying everything in Hong Kong] complemented by a question particle, *le1*, at the end of the question. Although the question could possibly still perform its own function without the emphasize of the question particle, adding the *le1* question particle can soften the tone of the question as an interrogation especially the question includes a rather discouraging statement in which two four-word idioms, i.e., *jau5him2ho2sau2* and *juk6sek6keoi1fan4* that explicate “we can defend where there is danger” and “destroy everything” respectively. The *le1* question particle embedded in the question, thus, helps mitigate the tone of adversarialness in the question especially the statement

⁸ <https://words.hk/zidin/%E7%83%8F%E7%85%99%E7%98%B4%E6%B0%A3>

suggests that any violent actions performed will potentially “destroy Hong Kong” which is a relatively strong statement against the question recipient, E. Leung, who is suggested to be an alliance of Yeung. This type of formed alliance is rather sporadic in political debates, especially for this particular election as these seven candidates are competing for one seat. Therefore, it is no surprise that the ambiance of these political debates is usually anything but amicable. Nevertheless, it can be observed that Yeung is trying to mitigate the tone of hostility in these question-answer sequences by adding *le1* question particle twice in four of his questions to E. Leung and following a fixed question structure in all four questions.

2.2.2.2 The use of *le1* and *aa3* with hypophora and question cascade

Although these question particles do not inherently express negative emotions, which is different from question particles like *me1* and *zek1*, they appear in different questioning strategies such as hypophora and question cascade that helps soften the negative impact caused by these question designs. McCormick (2003) suggests that this Greek tactic of hypophora is deployed to ask questions and immediately answer them so as to confute an opponent (p.117). In the current set of data, 5.92% (n= 10) of *le1*-ending questions and 10.06% (n= 17) of *aa3*-ending questions appear in this questioning strategy – hypophora. As noted above, *aa3* and *le1* can work to soften the hostile tone of the question presented in the hypophora and question cascade, which create a negative image of the speaker’s opponent.

It is important to first explain at this juncture how Heritage’s epistemic gradients in questioning works before we examine the details of how epistemic stances are manipulated in the debate. Heritage (2008) proposes that knowledge asymmetry is constitutive of question-answer

sequences. He further suggests that various question designs indicate epistemic gradients between questioner and question recipient. Take the questions below as examples:

- Q1) Content question: Who is your best friend?
- Q2) Polar question/Interrogative question: Is Betty your best friend?
- Q3) Tag question: Betty is your best friend, isn't she?

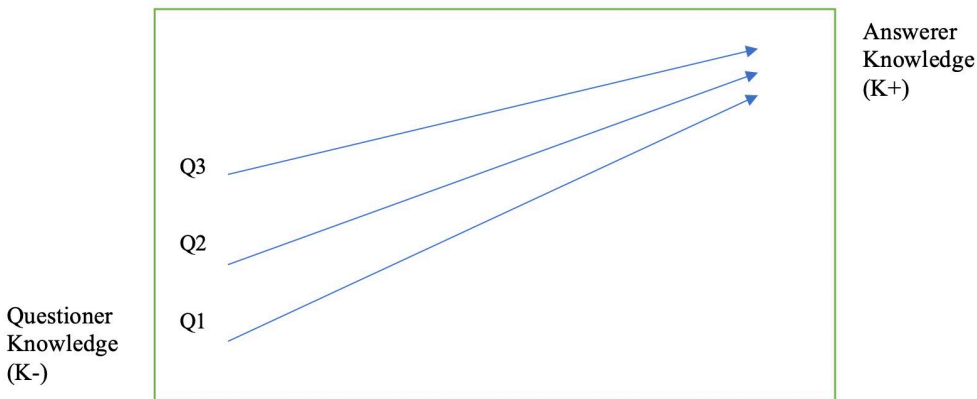


Figure 2. Question design and epistemic gradients (Heritage 2008)

Figure 2 indicates Q1 has the steepest slope in terms of questioner – question recipient knowledge which suggests that questioner has the least knowledge when he asks the content question “who is your best friend?” yet the question recipient, presumably, has best knowledge of the question. The chart suggests that different question designs may project various degrees of knowledge between the questioner and question recipient. However, in a political debate, it is clear that electoral candidates will not usually put themselves in a K- position because doing so automatically projects an image of someone lacking information, and thus an inferior and incompetent candidate. Therefore, it is crucial that candidates skillfully design their questions to avoid creating an image of incompetence to an audience of likely voters. The TV viewers are considered to be a group of “remote audiences” (Linell, 2009, p.101) who are constantly

indirectly oriented to by the electoral candidates. This group of people must be made relevant by the debating candidates, though they are completely silent in the interaction (Linell, 2009, p. 100). Here we need to acknowledge the role that hypophora can play in the debate. It can successfully demonstrate the speaker who asks a question is the one who is more knowledgeable than the recipient of a question. It can impose an undesirable image of a less knowledgeable person on the opponent.

Example 9 below shows how hypophora is deployed with the use of question particle *aa3* in an exchange between Fong and Chow. Fong challenges Chow for not having much knowledge in the matters related to New Territories East, the current electoral district. She also criticizes him for not capable of contributing to his previously represented district, Tung Chung South. Fong thus asks Chow how it is possible for the voters to cast their votes for him, challenging his competence in serving the district. Chow defends himself by saying that he has been following closely with the progress of the infrastructure in Tung Chung, one of the towns in New Territories East, and he continues that he is familiar with the issues related to the electoral district. He then challenges Fong by strategically employing hypophora in the following sequence:

Example 9

01 Chow: ...我 而家 問 你, 將軍澳 藍田 嗰 條
...ngo5 ji4gaal man6 nei5 · zoeng3gwan1ou3 laam4tin4 go2 tiu4

... I now ask you Tseung Kwan O Lam Tin that CL

02 Q→ 隧道, 你知唔知 幾時要 準備 開工 啊?

seoi6dou6 · nei5 zi1 m4 zi1 gei2si4 jiu3 zeon2bei6 hoilgung1 aa3 ?

tunnel you know not know when need prepare start work QP

03 Ans → 你應該知喇啲，二零一六年第二季，

nei5 jing3goi1 zi1 gaa2waa1 · ji6ling4jat1luk6 nin4 dai6 ji6 gwai3 ·

you should know PRT PRT 2016 year number 2 season

04 我提埋⁹你啦。但係就係因為多謝

ngo5 tai4 maai4 nei5 laa1 ° daan6hai6 zau6 hai6 jan1wai4 dolze6

I remind PRT you PRT But still is because thank

05 公民黨，多謝公民黨不斷噉

gung1man4dong2 · dolze6 gung1man4dong2 bat1tyun5 gam2

Civic Party thank Civic Party continuous ADV

06 拉布，而家擺咗個議程喺個

laai1bou3 · ji4gaal baai2 zo2 go3 ji5cing4 hai2 go3

filibuster now put-PFV CL agenda be-at CL

07 工務小組委員會都過唔到。所以，

gung1mou6siu2zou2wai2jyun4wui2 dou1 gwo3 m4 dou3 ° so2ji5 ·

Public Work Sub-committee also pass not arrive therefore

08 我邀請你同我一齊反對呢啲拉布。

⁹ Verbal particle: 'in addition' or 'along' (Matthews & Yip 2011, p.257)

ngo5 jiu1cing2 nei5 tung4 ngo5 jat1cai4 faan2deoi3 nei1di1 laai1bou3
I invite you with me together object these filibuster
“Now let me ask you – that Tseung Kwan O-Lam Tin Tunnel, do you
know when it is about to start the construction *aa3*? You should have
known, (that is), the second quarter of 2016, let me remind you (of
this). But it is because- thanks to the Civic Party, thanks Civic Party for
their constant filibuster. Even the agenda was in process at the Public
Works Sub-committee but it still has not been passed. Therefore, I’m
inviting you to join me to object this type of filibuster.”

09 Fong: 其實呢，我哋呢種，我哋嘅基建呢，
kei4sat6 le1 · ngo5dei2 nei1zung2 · ngo5dei2 ge3 gei1gin3 le1 ·
actually PRT we this type we LP infrastructure PRT
10 其實可以調個議事規則，如果你覺得
kei4sat6 ho2ji5 diu6 go3 ji5si6kwai1zak1 · jyu4gwo2 nei5 gok3dak1
actually can swap CL the rules of procedure if you think
11 重要嘅，其實你應該幫我哋市民
cung4jiu3 ge3 · kei4sat6 nei5 jing3goi1 bong1 ngo5dei2 si5man4
important PRT actually you should help we citizen

12 去 做 嘢。 正如 你 嘅 政黨 呢, 係 一黨
heoi3 zou6 je5 ° zing3jyu4 nei5 ge3 zing3dong2 le1 ,hai6 jat1dong2
 go do thing just as you LP political party PRT is one party

13 獨大, 其實 你 對唔住 我哋 嘅 香港
duk6daai6 · kei4sat6 nei5 deoi3m4zyu6 ngo5dei2 ge3 hoeng1gong2
 powerful actually you apologetic we LP Hong Kong

14 市民, 有 一啲 工作 呢, 其實 你 亦 都
si5man4 · jau5 jat1di1 gung1zok3 le1 · kei4sat6 nei5 jik6 dou1
 citizen have some work PRT actually you also also

15 出爾反爾, 你哋 嘅 政黨 呢,
ceot1ji5faan2ji5 · nei5dei2 ge3 zing3dong2 le1 ,
 constant-revision-of-decision you LP political party PRT

16 實在係, 係 扼殺 咗 市民 嘅 聲音。
sat6zoi6 hai6 · hai6 aak1saat3-zo2 si5man4 ge3 seng1jam1 °
 practical is is smother-PFV citizen LP voice
 “Actually, people like us, our infrastructure, we can switch the rules of
 procedure. If you think (it is) important, actually you should do more
 things to help our citizens. Like your political party, (it is) the only
 powerful party. Actually, you owe our Hong Kong citizens an apology,

and you have constantly changed your minds on some of your work.

Your political party is actually suppressing the voice of the citizens.”

In the transcript of the above Example 9, Chow first defends that he indeed possesses knowledge in New Territories East to refute Fong’s accusation about him not knowing much about the district. Then, he challenges Fong by asking if she is aware of what is happening in the district. He asks the question with a preface “now let me ask you”, and continues with the question “that Tseung Kwan O-Lam Tin Tunnel, do you know when it is about to start the construction *aa3*?” The polar question appears to be an information seeking question complemented with the question particle *aa3*. However, Chow utters the answer immediately after his own question to prove that he does not actually hold a K- position. Additionally, he adds on two challenging phrases right after giving the answer to his own question saying that “you should have known” and “let me remind you (this)” to imply again that Fong is not able to answer the question and thus, she is the one who is in a K- position instead. In this case, according to Heritage (2002), the questioner is demonstrating he has a better knowledge than the QR if the questioner is actually holding a K+ position. The utterance formatted as a question can thus be considered as a challenge rather than a genuine question. Chow strategically employing the hypophora leaves no opportunity for Fong to demonstrate that she has better knowledge. Indeed, Fong is not able to follow up with any additional information about the infrastructure of the tunnel and shifts the topic to attack Chow and his political party by criticizing them for their inconsistency and contradiction in dealing with their work in her turn of response. Most importantly, she clearly understands that she is being put in a rather inferior position, i.e., a candidate who is in lack of knowledge of the district. The strategic use of hypophora can

therefore be perceived to pose a real challenge to the opponent, the question recipient, in the political debate.

Another rhetorical device that the candidates frequently use is question cascade. This strategy of questioning includes a succession of interrogatives building toward a single question (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Clayman and Heritage (2002) suggest that the recurring of the first interrogative within a cascade is highly assertive and is dedicated to closing the circle between factual grounds and adversarial conclusion. For instance, in Example 10 below, the debate between Wong and Yeung is a discussion of the most efficient communicative methods for Hong Kong people to express their concerns to the government. Wong first condemns that the protesters against the government resorted to violence to make their voice heard. The user of violence, according to Wong, is not what most of the Hong Kong people desire. Wong suggests that he will invite different institutes and organizations to ‘sit down’ with the government and find a moderate solution to ease the tension between the protesters and the government. Furthermore, Wong also implies Yeung is not adopting the same moderate approach as he is. Yeung then cuts off Wong’s statement and asks Wong if he has indeed found any efficient methods to communicate with the government. The extract below demonstrates how Yeung deploys question cascade in his turn.

Example 10

01 Yeung: ...噉 你 究竟, 你 可唔可以 提出 多 一 個

Q1→ ...gam2 nei5 gau3ging2 · nei5 ho2 m4 ho2ji5 tai4ceot1 dol jat1 go3

...then you exactly you can-not-can propose more one CL

- 02 Q2→ 方法 呢? 你 聲稱 嘅 中間派, 你
fonglfaat3 le1? nei5 senglcingl ge3 zunglgaanlpaai3 · nei5
 method **QP** you claim LP moderate/centrist you
- 03 聲稱 嘅 溫和 路線 點樣 溫和 法
senglcingl ge3 wanlwo4 lou6sin3 dim2joeng6 wanlwo4 faat3
 claim LP gentle route how gentle how
- 04 Q3→ 呢? 定係 你 只係 叫 大家, 你 唔好 拗
le1? ding6hai6 nei5 zi2hai6 giu3 daai6gaal · nei5 m4hou2 aau3
QP or you only ask everyone you don't argue
- 05 喇, 唔好 拗 喇, 不如 聽 政府 啦, 定係
laal · m4hou2 aau3 laal · batl1jyu4 ting3 zing3fu2 laal · ding6hai6
 PRT don't argue PRT why-not listen government PRT or
- 06 呢個 先係 你 嘅 態度 啊?
nei1go3 sin1 hai6 nei5 ge3 taai3dou6 aa3?
 this first is you LP attitude **QP**
 “Then you, exactly, can you propose more than one approach *le1*? You
 claimed (to be a) centrist, and how moderate your so-called moderate
 style is *le1*? Or you are simply asking everyone, ‘you don’t have to

argue, don't argue anymore, (let us) just listen to the government', or is this actually what your attitude/stance is *aa3*?"

- 07 Wong: 嘩, 大家 睇 到 呢, 楊岳橋 嘅 態度 就
laa4 , daai6gaa1 tai2 dou3 le1 · joeng4ngok6kiu4 di1 taai3dou6 zau6
- PRT everyone see arrive PRT Yeung Ngok Kiu CL attitude then
- 08 冇 得 傾 嚟喇。 因為 公民黨 呢, 噉
mou5 dak1 king1 gaa2laa1 ° jan1wai4 gung1man4dong2 le1 · ci1
- not-have able talk PRT PRT because Civic Party PRT then
- 09 零四 年- 一四 年 嘅 時候 呢, 上 上海
ling4sei3 nin4- jat1sei3 nin4 ge3 si4hau6 le1 · soeng5 soeng5hoi2
- zero-four year- one-four year LP time PRT up Shanghai
- 10 淨係 呢, 就 走 去 派 單張, 就 唔 肯
zing6hai6 le1 , zau6 zau2 heoi3 paai3 daan1zoeng1 · zau6 m4 hang2
- only PRT then go go distribute leaflet then not willing
- 11 去 傾 政改方案, 就 令到
heoi3 king1 zing3goi2fong1ngon3 · zau6 ling6dou3
- go talk the proposal of the constitutional reform then cause
- 12 呢, 大家 到 最後 到 依家 都 冇 民主。

le1, daai6gaal dou3 zeoi3hau6 dou3 ji1gaal dou1 mou5 man4zyu2
PRT, everyone til the-end arrive now also not-have democracy
“Right, everyone can see that the attitude of Yeung Ngok Kiu just
won’t allow us to discuss further. Because in 2004- 2014, the Civic
Party went to Shanghai just to distribute leaflets and did not want to
discuss the proposal of the constitutional reform. This ultimately leads
to the absence of democracy in Hong Kong nowadays.”

Yeung refutes Wong’s suggestion that it is not practical to invite the government to communicate with them because the government has been ignoring them. Yeung then initiates the three-question cascade, starting with a polar question in line 1, “can you propose more than one approach *le1?*”, which is then followed by a content question from line 2 to line 4, “you claimed to be a centrist, and how moderate your so-called moderate style is *le1?*” and finished with a polar interrogative favouring a yes-type answer with the inclusion of “actually” in it, “or you are simply asking everyone, ‘you don’t have to argue, don’t argue anymore, (let us) just listen to the government’, or is this actually what your attitude/stance is *aa3?*” Yeung is closing the cascade with an adversarial conclusion leading to a positive answer to his last question. Therefore, the first two questions in the question cascade should actually be considered Yeung’s arguments against Wong. First, that Wong does not have any practical approach in hand, and second, that Wong claims to be a centrist and takes a so-called moderate approach. These two arguments are intended to explain how ambiguous Wong’s approach is and lead the audience to an adversarial conclusion that Wong does not actually have any practical solution to mend the

relation between the protesters and the government. The only intent Wong has is to ask Hong Kong people to listen to the government”, i.e., be compliant to the government. The cascade questions end with two regular question particles, *le1* and *aa3*. As mentioned above, they are question particles that generally require authentic answers. However, their general function, which is to change an utterance to a question, subsides when they are being used in a question cascade that aims to deliver an adversarial conclusion. The question particles do not help induce answers especially in a question cascade. On the contrary, they are acting more as a *pragmatic* particle that help soften the tone of a series of questions which then lead to a rather adversarial conclusion towards the end of the turn produced by Yeung, and then Yeung imposes a stance onto Wong in his final question. A stance that Yeung paraphrases it as an attitude that Wong has towards the protesters and the government as a disguise as an alternative question ended with an *aa3* question particle. Wong’s response also indicates that he is aware of that the questions asked by Yeung are not authentic. Therefore, Wong does not respond to any of the questions asked by Yeung. Instead, he invites “everyone” to examine Yeung’s manner and criticizes Yeung for his hostile manner that does not welcome nor invite any discussion. Wong continues criticizing Yeung’s political party instead of answering any of the three questions in the question cascade. Wong’s response reflects that he is either unable to answer the questions or he realizes that the question cascade is an assertive adversarial conclusion than an information-seeking sequence. What is also noteworthy is the fact that Wong addresses whoever is watching the debate, including not only the live audience but also those who are not physically there, i.e., the remote audiences, by using “everyone” at the beginning of his turn. It appears that the turn of Wong is directly oriented to anyone who is watching and listening to his turn but Yeung. This adds support to the argument that the primary speakers here, the electoral candidates, always have the

third parties in the mind during the debate. Therefore, it should also be understood why the use of the regular question particles, *le1* and *aa3*, are essential during the debate, since the pragmatic function of these question particles is to soften the aggressive tone of a question so that the questions sound less hostile to the ears of the remote audiences. However, it is noteworthy that the question techniques and the content of the questions themselves are not as pleasant to the primary participants of the debate. The above two examples show how the deployment of two questioning strategies, hypophora and question cascade, can help pose a real challenge (in Example 9) and create adversarial conclusion (in Example 10) which helps project negative stances to their opponents. The question particles, on the other hand, play a crucial pragmatic role in softening the hostile interrogative manner of electoral candidates.

2.3 Understanding the use of question particles and rhetorical moves through Stance Triangle

Question particles, *le1* and *aa3*, as shown in examples 5, 6, 7 and 8, normally turn the utterances into questions that request genuine answers as a response. However, in the context where an utterance is clearly understood as a question, their secondary pragmatic function as tone softener plays a more significant role. This pragmatic function is exceptionally crucial in the debate to alleviate the tone of hostility emitting from the questions per se as well as the strategic use of question designs. The softening function is critical especially for the sake of the remote audiences in order to mitigate the overly aggressive tone of a question.

This strategy is best understood if we turn to the stance model proposed by Du Bois (2007) with the added understanding of the third party provided by Linell (2009). Therefore, in this section, I will explore how stance triangle can help us understand the navigation between the

electoral candidates in the debate and how it can help us identify the genuine stance object. Most importantly, it will lead to a better understanding of the candidate’s interaction with their opponents as well as with “remote audiences”.

The Stance Triangle presented as Figure 1 in section 1.3.1 must be modified to sketch out the complexity of interaction exhibited in a political debate, which is framed in the two questioning techniques: hypophora and question cascade deployed with pragmatic particles. A revised stance triangle now looks more like a rhombus shape, as shown below:

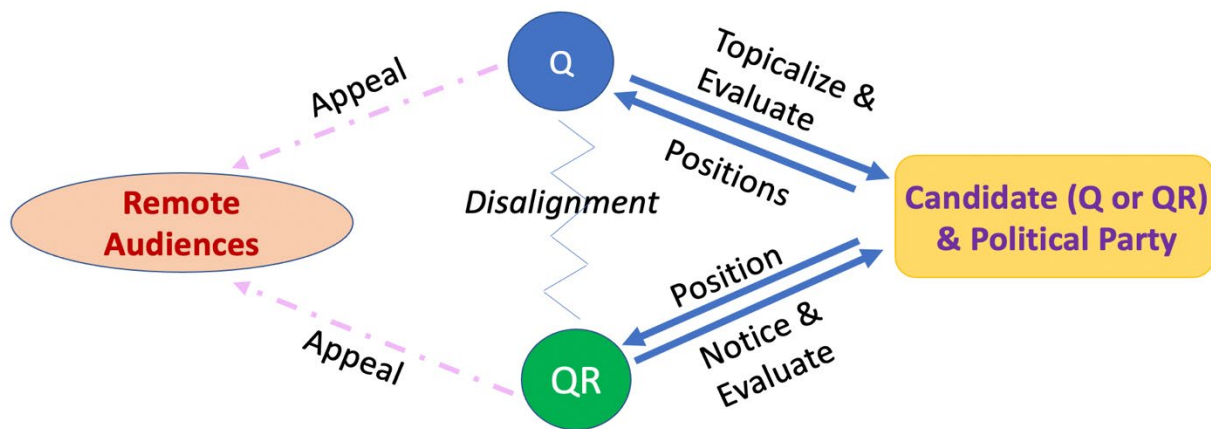


Figure 3. Revised Stance Triangle when special questioning techniques and question particles are employed (Q: questioner and QR: question recipient)

Let’s examine Example 9 again to clarify the modification I need to make to the original triangle. Recall in this debate, Chow, as the questioner and stance subject, first topicalized the Tseung Kwan O-Lam Tin Tunnel as the agenda of discussion. Chow then asked Fong whether she knows when the infrastructure is going to start, yet immediately answering the question himself leaving no chance for Fong to respond. Although Chow appeared to be topicalizing the Tunnel as the stance object, he does not directly evaluate the Tunnel as a stance object. Instead,

he topicalized the Tunnel in order to project and evaluate himself as a stance object by deploying hypophora, and most importantly, to demonstrate that he possesses better knowledge about the progress of the infrastructure than his opponent, Fong. Thus, the Tunnel is being topicalized as a pseudo-stance object, but the underlying genuine stance object is in fact Fong. He successfully *positions* himself in a K+ position while putting Fong in a K- position when he deploys hypophora in his turn which, instead, poses a challenge to Fong. Fong, as the QP, is not given the opportunity to answer the question, nonetheless *notices* the genuine stance object is herself and that the Tunnel is merely deployed as a pseudo-stance object. Therefore, she switches between these genuine and pseudo- stance objects at the beginning of her turn by uttering “actually, people like us (the stance object), our infrastructure (the pseudo-stance object)”. It is likely that she was confused at first regarding what is being evaluated, i.e., the Tunnel, Chow, or her viability as a candidate. She then realized the genuine stance object is her candidacy and therefore the beginning of the utterance includes ‘people like us’. Nevertheless, she also understands the need of addressing the pseudo-stance object, the Tunnel, and thus she briefly mentions it as “our infrastructure”. However, there is nothing left for her to respond as Chow has already answered the question himself. Therefore, Fong decided to criticise Chow’s representing political party instead.

Although the topicalized tunnel is placed as a stance object on surface, the candidates themselves are always the main and genuine stance objects that are being evaluated when hypophora is being deployed. The second stance subject, the QR, usually *notices* the use of pseudo-stance object and evaluates the genuine stance object and position herself accordingly as shown in example 8. The dis-alignment between the two candidates in a debate like this is inevitable because it is practically impossible for a candidate to endorse his/her opposing

candidate in a political debate. The electoral candidates and their associated political parties are always under scrutiny and being attacked. In a way, their political agenda is generally secondary to the true stance object. On the other hand, topics relevant to political and public policies, for instance, infrastructure/the Tunnel in Example 9 and ways of effective communication with the government in Example 10, are brought up as an instrument to either demonstrate one's knowledge is better than one's opponent (as in Example 9) or criticise his opponent's political stance (Example 10). Therefore, in Figure 3, there is a zigzag line, replacing the straight line in the original triangle, connecting between the stance subjects to indicate the dis-alignment between the questioner and the question recipient.

Notice that the revised stance diagram has an additional point representing remote audiences, making the shape a rhombus shape instead of a triangle. As emphasized in Linell (2009:99), communication and dialogue are not just between the two or more speakers who are co-present in real time and place, especially for political candidates. They do not just talk with some concrete speakers who are present physically in the debate setting but also orient themselves to the remote audiences who are watching the debate somewhere else and are playing a critical role in the election as potential voters. Whether the candidates will be elected depends heavily on the support of the voters. Therefore, it is almost guaranteed that the candidates are aware of the *presence* of the remote audiences when they are debating among each other. As shown in line 7 of Example 10, the candidate Wong directly addresses "everyone" in his turn "everyone can see that the attitude of Yeung Ngok Kiu just won't allow us to discuss further". Wong is not orienting his response to Yeung alone but also to the audiences (and/or other candidates) and directing them to evaluate Yeung's attitude. Introducing the idea of "remote audiences" helps us understand why the regular question particles are being deployed in the

debate. The questioning techniques, hypophora and question cascades, help Chow project his superiority in his epistemic stance in Example 9 and help Yeung deliver an adversarial conclusion in Example 10. However, the candidates are taking a risk by using these questioning strategies. Chow may project a presumptuous image while he is manipulating the epistemic stance to project a much superior position than Fong whereas Yeung may project a rather assertive role as he is asking a series of questions (the strategy of question cascade) that drawing an adversarial conclusion to his opponent's political stance. Both Chow in Example 9 and Yeung in Example 10 understand asking extremely acute questions in the debate may project a less desirable image to them, being presumptuous and too assertive respectively. Therefore, the pragmatic role of the question particles, *le1* and *aa3*, is crucial to soften the interrogative tone of their questions and makes Chow and Yeung sound less aggressive in the debate. The dotted line connecting the stance subjects and the remote audiences in Figure 3 thus represents the intention of both stance subjects to appeal to their voters, i.e., the remote audiences. The candidates hope that the remote audiences will in turn align with them by casting their votes favorably. It can be thus concluded that the functions of the question particles are not only to soften the aggressiveness of the candidates' questions but also are an instrument that the candidates deployed linguistically to appeal to their remote audiences to align with them by choosing an interactive linguistic feature embedded in their questions. The revised stance triangle in Figure 3 becomes a much more complicated rhombus shape idea that fully capture the intention of the candidates' interaction as the primary participants of the interaction, the electoral candidates, are constantly having the remote audiences, the voters, in their minds.

Similarly, the revised triangle in Figure 3 can be modified to illustrate the interaction between Yeung and E. Leung in Example 8 when these two electoral candidates are considered

to have formed an alliance before the debate broadcasted by TVB J5. The obvious differences between the two revised triangles will be the stance object and the dotted line connecting the subjects. The details of the revised stance triangle of an interaction of a formed alliance which can be found in Figure 4:

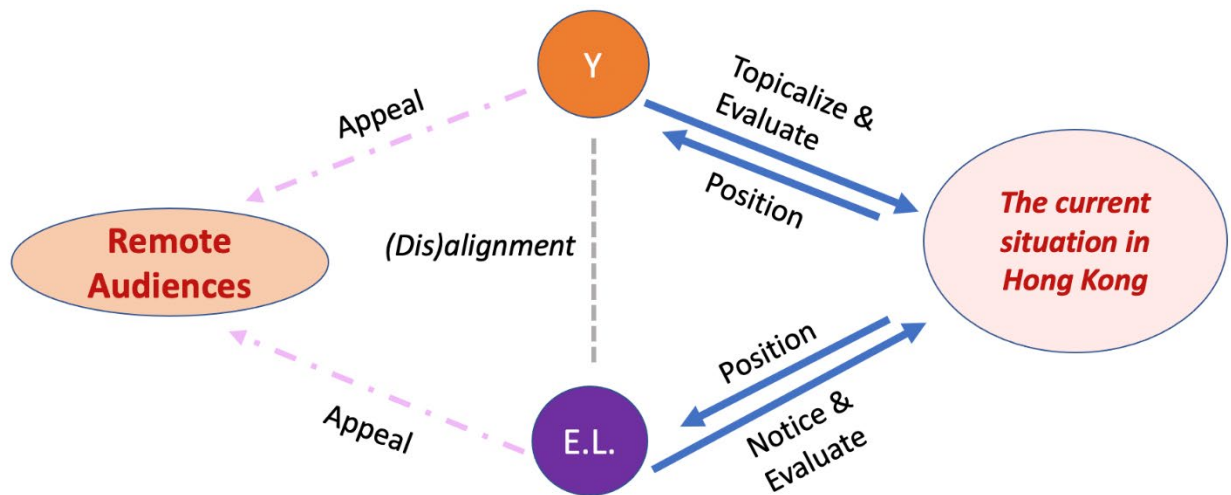


Figure 4. Revised Stance Triangle of the interaction between Alvin Yeung (Y in short in the above figure) and Edward Leung (E.L. in short in the above figure)

As mentioned in section 2.2.2.1, the interaction of Yeung and E. Leung includes issues that are relevant to the Mongkok civil unrest which caused harm and inconvenience to some of the Hong Kong people. There are four question-answer sequences in this particular interaction in which all four questions are initiated by Yeung as a questioner. He first topicalizes the most current situation in Hong Kong as the stance object in Example 8 and evaluates the situation accordingly. He asks E. Leung whether he agrees that Hong Kong could still be defended when there is danger and that it isn't worth destroying everything in Hong Kong. Yeung evaluates the situation in Hong Kong with a relatively positive stance. In this example, Yeung is indirectly referring to the Mongkok civil unrest and the harm and damage caused by the protesters during

the unrest. He evaluates the situation in Hong Kong is still defensible and is not worth being destroyed which implies Hong Kong would potentially be destroyed by the radical violent actions enacted by the protesters. However, Yeung does not explicitly position himself towards his own statements with stance markers such as “I think” or “I agree” etc. His stance, instead, is made obvious at the very end of the interaction where he closes his final turn with “I just wanted to let you know that *we* consider that setting limits is very important (or necessary)”. Yeung uses the inclusive pronoun “we”, himself included, which indicates that they think that the protesters should not cross the line and Yeung himself does not actually condone those violent actions enacted by the protesters. In contrast, E. Leung does not agree with Yeung in Example 8, he explicates that “Hong Kong has been mainlandized and been polluted to an extent that it has become messy and unpleasant. The moral of the society has become completely perished”. The example indicates that he does not really align with the statements suggested by Yeung that there is still hope in Hong Kong. E. Leung’s radical approach to attain democracy and Yeung’s explicit declaration that he thinks “setting limits is very important”, i.e., he does not think it is ideal to resort to violence in the journey of attaining democracy. Their polarized views towards how they should broach issues relevant to the political development of Hong Kong infers that there is a disalignment between the two on the surface of the interaction. Although they may not be sharing divergent views in terms of the most desirable way to attain democracy and the current situation of Hong Kong, their political views are very close to one another – as they both support the pro-democracy movements in Hong Kong. Therefore, this particular interaction is predominantly amicable even they may not appear to agree with one and other regarding the stance object. Those four question-answer sequences flow rather smoothly with only one brief second of overlapping in the fourth question-answer sequence where E. Leung ceases talking

once he finds that his response overlaps with Yeung's unfinished question. This kind of cooperative manner of interaction can be rarely found in any other interactions in the political debates. Most importantly, E. Leung's response to Yeung's final turn, "I just wanted to let you know that *we* consider that setting limits is very important (or necessary)", is also a rare one. Instead of making any further comment or remark towards Yeung's declaration of setting limits, E. Leung simply closes the interaction with a "thank you" which is not always a common practice for question recipient to thank the questioner for their questions in a debate even though the electoral candidates always try to appeal to the remote audiences. Although Yeung and E. Leung are suspected to have formed an alliance ahead of time, they are also thought to be constantly thinking about the remote audiences even the stance object may appear to be about a social issue in this particular interaction. One of the purposes of the alliance is to make sure that the candidates are given sufficient amount of time and opportunity to explain or clarify their intentions or political agenda more clearly in this "cooperative" interaction so that the voters will have a better idea of their political agenda which might have been previously distorted by other electoral candidates in the debate or in the previous debates. For instance, E. Leung, who is one of the protesters of the Mongkok civil unrest, has been condemned by various candidates in all three political debates while Yeung, as one of the representing lawyers of the protesters, has been accused by other electoral opponents that Yeung is trying to protect the protesters without considering the law and order. Therefore, their interaction can be considered as part of the intention to clear what has been distorted throughout the interactions of the political debates. Lastly, the formed alliance and their interaction happens in the last debate before the election day. Therefore, this is the last chance for the candidates to elucidate their ideas and appeal to the remote audiences before the actual date of the election. One of the ultimate goals of the debates

for the candidates, therefore, is to assure that they can present their best self in front of the camera and the remote audiences as well as attaching a rather negative image to their opponents so that they can win that single seat in the Legislative Council.

2.4 Discussion

The frequent use of question particles *le1* and *aa3* function as a softening pragmatic instrument and alleviate the aggressiveness and hostility of the electoral candidate in order for them to appeal to the remote audiences. Therefore, the strategic use of hypophora and question cascade are always accompanied by the use of these question particles because these question designs can effectively bring advantage to the questioner in the political debates. In Example 9, Chow is using hypophora, answering his very own question, in order to manipulate his epistemic stance by putting himself in a K+ position while, at the same time, assigning a K- position to his opponent. His opponent, Fong, is attacked on the grounds that she lacks sufficient knowledge of the electoral district and is thus incompetent. On the other hand, Yeung in Example 10 employs question cascade and turns his final question into an adversarial conclusion that project an unfavourable stance to his opponent, Wong as someone who is biased. This can also explain why emotive question particles such as *zek1* and *me1* are not as frequently used as the neutral question particles because the candidates would not want to sound hostile and aggressive the entire time in the debate by filling the questions with emotive particles. This is the reason why *le1* is also being employed in the question-answer sequences between two candidates, Yeung and E. Leung who have formed a potential alliance before the debate.

Lastly, the stance triangle is revised to help understand how various stance objects are being navigated and negotiated in those questioning techniques and the importance of

recognizing the genuine stance objects. Discovering the genuine stance objects reveals that question designs are often oriented to the remote audiences whom the candidates are constantly appealing to during a political debate. The revised stance triangle thus helps us understand how the stance subjects manipulates the pseudo-stance objects, usually some political policies, in order to assess and evaluate other electoral candidates with a question-answer sequence. The revised stance triangle also emphasizes the importance of the role of remote audiences who are not physically present in the interaction. However, they are constant in the minds of the electoral candidates: the remote audiences are either being directly addressed to by Wong in Example 10 or being implicitly appealed to through the manipulation of epistemic stances by Chow to indicate that he himself is a more competent candidate while others, such as Fong, are not, in Example 8. Thus, I contend that a revised stance triangle which includes remote audiences can yield a better representation of how complicated human communication can be, especially in the political debates and the importance of understanding how linguistics and questioning techniques can help project various stances, be it positive or negative, to the electoral candidates.

Chapter 3

Communicative Strategies in Individual Speeches

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the significant linguistic features being employed in the individual speeches of these three political debates when the electoral candidates are crafting their individual speeches specifically to the remote audiences. One of the most salient features is the greeting being used at the beginning of most individual speeches. There are 21 individual speeches included in this set of data. 14 out of 21 of the speeches (66.67%) begins with at least some kinds of greetings, for instance, “hello everyone” (n= 8), as a more general phrase to address the audiences while there are some other more specific ways to address the remote audiences such as directly calling them as Hong Kong citizens in “hello, every Hong Kong citizen”, or simply, “every citizen”, or the simplest form of all, “hello”. Most of the greetings used in the openings help get the remote audiences’ attention for them to get themselves ready for the message delivered by the current speaker.

Additionally, there are some consistent linguistic patterns that the electoral candidates seem to employ in their individual speeches. Firstly, different from the interaction of the actual debate, the use of the utterance final particles is kept to minimal among those 21 individual speeches from these seven electoral candidates. Only a total of ten utterance final particles are identified among 4,202 Chinese characters included in this set of data. Half of these UFPs (n=5) serve as the question particle *lel*. This chapter will further prove the effective use of *lel* question particle in the individual speeches and the political debates and explains the importance of the constant usage of this question particle. Moreover, this chapter will also discuss which

questioning technique is frequently employed by the electoral candidates to create a relatively interactive communication in an individual speech with the likely voters without sounding too authoritative.

3.2 Analysis

The set of data collected for this chapter includes individual speeches that are assigned within the time frame of 30 seconds to one minute for each candidate varying from different television broadcast companies. Two of the televised debate programs, NOWTV and TVB J5, allocate each candidate a one-minute-long time slot to deliver their individual speeches while the time frame from RTHK lasts for only 30 seconds. This set of data contains the analysis of twenty-one individual speeches which constitute a total number of 4,202 Chinese characters.

3.2.1 General content of the individual speeches

It is observed that there are a few components that are essential for these individual speeches conducted in Cantonese. Since the individual speeches collected for this set of data are delivered at the beginning of the debate, they can also serve as an opening speech for the candidates to elucidate their political policies. More than 60% of the individual speeches begin with at least the basic greeting such as “hello”, translated as “*nei5 hou2*” in Cantonese, to more specific and engaging greetings such as “hello, every Hong Kong citizen” as in “*gok3wai2 Hoeng1gong2jan4, nei5dei2 hou2*” in Cantonese. This indicates that the electoral candidates usually have clear targeted audiences in their minds, and they realize that the likely voters are probably watching the political debate when they are delivering their speeches during the broadcast. Thus, addressing the audience at the beginning of debate can be seen as a way to

understand the core purpose of the political debate which is not just for the electoral candidates to debate against one another among themselves. However, most importantly, they have to make sure that their messages will reach to the remote audiences, the likely voters successfully. The end goal is to be selected by the remote audiences and thus, win the election. Although properly addressing the remote audiences is crucial to grasp their attention at the beginning of the speech, greetings to the audience are actually optional, especially when the electoral candidates are assigned a much shorter amount of time for their individual speeches. For instance, RTHK's political debate allocates each candidate only 30 seconds for each of their individual speeches. 4 out of 7 candidates do not start their speeches with any forms of greetings. Alternatively, the candidates decide to start their speeches with specific yet concise details of what kinds of social and political problems the society is now facing, and some candidates even go further on how the current politicians or members of Legislative Council have failed to tackle those problems. Thirdly, they always end their speeches by calling the remote audiences to cast their votes on them to help solve the social and political issues that are not resolved. Example 11 below illustrates how these key components play out in an individual speech:

Example 11

01 Chow: 大家 好, 我 係 三 號 嘅 周浩鼎。

daai6gaa1 hou2, ngo5 hai6 saam1 hou6 ge3 Zau1hou6ding2 °

everyone good I am three number LP Holden Chow

02 旺角 暴動、 議會 拉布 不斷。 大家

Wong6gok3 bou6dung6 、ji5wui2 laai1bou3 bat1tyun5 。 daai6gaa1

Mongkok riot council filibuster constant everyone
 03 未必好關心政治，但係政治
 mei6 bit1 hou2 gwaan1sam1 zing3zi6 , daan6hai6 zing3zi6
 not necessarily very care-about politics but politics
 04 真係影響緊香港。我同大家
 zan1 hai6 jing2hoeng2-gan2 Hoeng1gong2 ° ngo5 tung4 daai6gaa1
 really is influence-PROG Hong Kong I with everyone
 05 一樣，有家庭，有一個一歲半嘅
 jat1 joeng6, jau5 gaa1ting4 · jau5 jat1 go3 jat1 sei3 bun3 ge3
 same have family have one CL one year-old half LP
 06 仔。作為父母，我好擔心香港
 zai2。 zok3wai4 fu6mou5 · ngo5 hou2 daam1sam1 Hoeng1gong2
 son being parents I very anxious Hong Kong
 07 將來會變成點，唔想人再
 zoeng3loi4 wui2 bin3 sing4 dim2 · m4 soeng2 jan4 zoi3
 future will become how not want people again
 08 搞亂香港、破壞香港。請
 gaau2lyun6 Hoeng1gong2 、 po3waa1 Hoeng1gong2。 cing2
 mess up Hong Kong ruin Hong Kong please/invite

09

大家 集中 票 源 投 三 號, 救 救
daai6gaa1 zaap6zung1 piu3 jyun4 tau4 saam1 hou6, gau3 gau3
everyone focus-on ballot source vote three number help help

10

香港, 守護 我哋 哩 個 家, 多謝。
Hoeng1gong2 · sau2wu6 ngo5dei2 lei1 go3 gaa1 · do1ze6 °

Hong Kong protect our this CL home thank you
“Hello everyone. I am (candidate) number 3, Holden Chow. The riot in
Mongkok, (and) constant filibuster in the (Legislative) Council. Not
everyone cares about politics, but politics is indeed affecting Hong
Kong. I, just like everyone, have a family (and) a one-and-a-half-year-
old son. Being a parent, I’m really concerned about what Hong Kong
will become in the future. I do not want anyone to mess up Hong Kong
(and) destroy Hong Kong. Everyone, please, cast your votes to number
three. Save Hong Kong (and) protect our home. Thank you.”

The content of the individual speech as illustrated above shown that Chow starts his speech with a brief greeting, “hello everyone”, to his audience and a rather concise introduction of himself, “I am (candidate) number 3, Holden Chow”, in line 1 which is immediately followed by two specific examples of unresolved social problems which are the Mongkok riot and the constant filibuster at the Legislative Council in line 2. He then emphasizes how politics has been affecting Hong Kong and everyone including himself. Being a parent himself, he is looking for a brighter future of Hong Kong for his son. Therefore, he is explicitly asking his remote audiences

to vote for him so that he can “save Hong Kong and protect *our* home”. The use of the inclusive pronoun, “our”, at the end of his individual speech consolidates what Chow has been emphasizing throughout his individual speech as he constantly stresses that he belongs to part of the community where his remote audiences also belong to. His components being included in his individual speech is reasonably similar to that of others’. The individual speeches, thus, can be briefly generalized to include at least two key components below:

- (i) Greeting (and name of the current speaker) [optional]
- (ii) Unresolved social and political problems
- (iii) Calling for support and vote from the remote audiences

As mentioned above, greetings can be an optional element especially in the broadcast hosted by RTHK when each of the candidates is given only 30 seconds for their individual speech and the time for the candidates to elaborate their views to the remote audiences is drastically reduced to half of the total time they are being assigned to in other broadcasted debates. It is also discovered that the use of utterance final particles is reduced to none for most of the candidates in their individual speeches of the RTHK broadcast except for Sing-chi Wong whose linguistic style includes extensive use of topic particle *leI* which will not be discussed for the current study. It is mentioned in Chapter 2 that the use of utterance final particles has both interactive and pragmatic purposes that they can help alleviate the hostility and aggressiveness of the electoral candidates for them to appear to be less hostile particularly to the remote audiences. If the candidates are continually making good use of this useful linguistic resource, i.e., utterance final particles, to interact with their opponents to make them appear to be friendlier, there is no

surprise that they would be deploying the same tool in their individual speeches in order to appear to be more interactive and approachable, especially to their likely voters who are the determining factor of whether they will be winning from this election. Therefore, the candidates are expected to be, at least, appearing to be friendly and engaging to his remote audiences in their individual speeches by using more utterance final particles. Nonetheless, it is shown that most of the candidates tend not to use utterance final particles when they are delivering individual speech. One of the reasons can be explained through the above generalized content and structure of the individual speeches. First of all, the individual speeches usually start with a brief and engaging greeting with a brief introduction of the current speaker. Secondly, one of the most frequent and essential elements of the messages include the emphases on the most current unresolved social and political problems that have not been tackled by the most current members of the Legislative Council. This is the first significant strategic move they make to appeal to the remote audiences by informing the remote audiences what the current members have failed to do. Thirdly, the candidates will convince the remote audiences how competent they are to solve the current social and political issues. This, thus, implies that the candidates deserve the votes from the likely voters. Similar to Example 11, Chow's individual speech is highly audience-oriented that he invites his audience to cast their votes to him at the end of his speech. Therefore, as shown in the example, the remote audiences are considered the only targeted audience that the current speaker of the individual speech is constantly trying to establish an alignment with. Although the use of utterance final particles is rather limited in these individual speeches, some of the candidates still strategically employ hypophora and question particle *leI* in their speeches to interact with the remote audiences. However, the way they deploy the *leI*-ending question and hypophora is different from how they use them in the debate. The following section will provide

details of how these two linguistic strategies are being deployed differently in individual speeches that can help actively engage the remote audiences and provide an opportunity for the candidates to clarify their political stances.

3.2.2 The use of question particle *le1* in individual speech

Firstly, ten questions are being identified in this set of individual speeches. Half of the questions are ended with a question particle that they are all *le1*-ending questions. They are used to ask polar questions (40%, n=2), content questions (40%, n=2), and an alternative question (20%, n=1). Other than this question particle, four other utterance final particles are being sporadically used in different speeches, but their usage is not significant. Table 2 below indicates the variety of UFPs used in these individual speeches:

Rank	Utterance final particles	Number of tokens
1	呢 (<i>le1</i>) (question particle)	5
2	啦 (<i>laa1</i>)	2
3	啊 (<i>aa3</i>)	1
4	嘅 (<i>ge3</i>)	1
5	嘅呢 (<i>ge3le1</i>)	1
	Total	10

Table 2: List of the utterance final particles used in individual speeches

Four of the five *le1*-ending questions include concerns raised over whether the current political parties are doing anything constructive to society. For example, both questions asked

by Fong and Chow mention issues related to “political parties”, *zing3dong2* in Cantonese, that their questions invite their remote audiences to align with them and criticize certain political parties together with their question designs. The examples below illustrate how Fong and Chow asks their questions with the *le1* question particle:

Example 12

- 01 Fong: 政黨 爭拗 不斷, 為 民生 做過
zing3dong2 zang1aau3 bat1tyun5 · wai4 man4saang1 zou6-gwo3
political-party argue continuously for livelihood do-EXP
02 啲 咩 呢?
di1 me1 *le1*?
CL what QP
“The political parties have been non-stop arguing. What have they done to people’s livelihood and welfare *le1*?”

Example 13

- 01 Chow: 有 啲 政黨 叫 人哋 上陣, 不斷 咁
jau5 di1 zing3dong2 giu3 jan4dei2 soeng5zan6 · bat1tyun5 gam3
have CL political-party ask people go-into-battle continue thus
02 鼓吹 對抗 同埋 抗爭。 今日 搞咗
gu2ceoi1 deoi3kong3 tung4maai4 kong3zang1 ° gam1jat6 gaau2zo2

03 promote confrontation and resistance today make-PFV
香港 咁 多 嘅 暴力、 衝突, 包括

Hoeng1gong2 gam3 do1 ge3 bou6lik6 、 cung1dat6, baau1kut3

04 Hong Kong so many LP violence conflict including

年初 一 嘅 暴動, 哩 啲 政黨 有 有

nin4co1 jat1 ge3 bou6dung6 · lei1 di1 zing3dong2 jau5 mou5

05 New year first LP riot these CL political party have not

責任 呢?

zaak3jam6 *le1* ?

responsibility QP

“Some of the political parties have been calling people to “go-into-battle” and have been continuously promoting confrontation and resistance. (Thus, they) have created a lot of violence and conflicts to Hong Kong today, including the riot on the (Chinese) New Year’s Day. Are these political parties responsible *le1*?”

Both of Examples 12 and 13 show that these two candidates are criticizing the current political parties for not being able to solve the social and political problems because the political parties have been in conflict as suggested by Fong in Example 12 or because some of the political parties have been continuously promoting confrontations and resistance within the society as suggested by Chow in Example 13. One of the reasons why the candidates are

focusing on criticizing the current political parties is that most of these electoral candidates competing for this current seat at the Council are either a member of these current political parties or associated to one of these parties. Therefore, criticizing these political parties can not only emphasize how the current parties have failed the general public's expectations but also indirectly project that the party-associated electoral candidates will possibly also fail to work for the welfare and well-being of the general public. This strategic use of questions helps highlight the incompetence of certain political parties, their associated members, and the electoral candidates. However, these questions are useful to trigger a favorable response from the remote audiences, i.e., the likely voters. Since the question recipients are the likely voters, attaching this question particle *lel* makes the question sound more interactive and interpersonal. As mentioned in Chapter 2, some questions may sound like an interrogation without a question particle. Therefore, the use of *lel* here helps soften the tone of interrogation in the questions, especially the recipients of the question is the likely voters. As a result, this question particle *lel* is also being used to reinforce its pragmatic function in the individual speeches when the candidates deliver their speeches directly to the likely voters. However, not all of the questions are asked with the use of the question particles. When the question technique, hypophora, is being deployed in the individual speeches, no question particle is attached to any of the questions. The following section is trying to explain why and how hypophora is being deployed in the candidate's individual speeches.

3.2.3 Clarifying political stances with the use of hypophora

The primary function of hypophora in the actual debate as discussed in Chapter 2 is to allow the candidates to manipulate their epistemic stance by putting themselves in a K+ position

while assigning a K- position to his opponent. Thus, the candidates can show that they are possessing more knowledge than their opponents and appearing to be more competent than others. This questioning technique is just as beneficial for candidates to clarify their political stances, particularly when they get to speak to the remote audiences *alone* during their individual speeches. The electoral candidates are regularly being assessed, evaluated and criticized by one and other throughout the actual debates. Some of their political views and opinions are very likely to be misconstrued or distorted by their opponents. Therefore, that fixed time frame assigned to them for their individual speeches is crucial for clarifying their misinterpreted political views and stances. For instance, Alvin Yeung is one of the candidates who is continuously being criticized by other candidates, see Example 4 in Chapter 2 and Example 13 in this chapter, for promoting violence and conflicts in the society because of his role as one of the representing lawyers of the Mongkok civil unrest and his campaign's slogan – “Hong Kong people, go into battle”. In two of his three individual speeches, Yeung begins his speeches emphasising his view on the Mongkok civil unrest. One of his speeches starts with the use of hypophora and articulates his view concerning the civil unrest right after the question. An excerpt of his speech is illustrated in the example below:

Example 14

01 Yeung: 初一 旺角 事件, 香港人 鬥
 coljat1 wong6gok3 si6gin6 · Hoeng1gong2jan4 dau3
 New Year's Day Mongkok incident Hong Kong people fight
 02 香港人, 背後 點解? 暴政 生

Hoeng1gong2jan4 · bui3hau6 dim2gaai2 ? bou6zing3 saang1

Hong Kong people at-the-back why tyranny trigger

03

暴力。

bou6lik6 °

violence

“What is the reason behind the Mongkok incident happened on the
(Chinese) New Year’s Day and that Hong Kong people fighting against
Hong Kong people? (It is because) Tyranny causes violence.

Different from the hypophora employed in the actual debate, Example 14 above indicates that the questioner, Yeung, is not using this question technique to manipulate his epistemic stance to show that he possesses better knowledge than the question recipients. On the contrary, this question technique helps engage the remote audiences into thinking about the “unresolved social and political issues” that the society has right now and most importantly, provide them a preferred answer by the candidate himself. The unresolved problem is the ruling government which, according to Yeung, triggers the occurrence of the “Mongkok incident” and “Hong Kong people fighting against Hong Kong people” (in lines 1-2). The immediate answer to his own question asking about the reason behind the occurrence of “violence” is because of the tyranny, in Yeung’s own words. As illustrated in Example 4 of Chapter 2 and Example 13 of this chapter, other candidates such as Wong and Chow have criticised Yeung for being part of the civil unrest and triggering potential conflicts among Hong Kong people. In this particular example of his individual speech, Yeung clarifies and implies that he should not be blamed for the cause of the

civil unrest or any other violent incidents happening within the society. Instead, he redirects his remote audiences to ponder the real cause of all these conflicts by asking the question at the beginning of his speech. Yeung's immediate answer helps shake off the criticism that has been attached to him by his opponents and redirect his remote audience to the unresolved problem, i.e., the ruling government, which Yeung labels as "tyranny". Another example that demonstrates the use of hypophora as a way for candidates to clarify their political stance can be found in one of Sing-chi Wong's individual speeches as illustrated below:

Example 15

- 01 Wong: 好多 人 問 我 呢, 乜嘢 叫 中間 路線?
hou2do1 jan4 man6 ngo5 ne1 , mat1je5 giu3 zung1gaan1 lou6sin3 ?
a lot people ask me PRT what call centrist route
- 02 中間 路線 就 係 新 政治、 新 希望、
zung1gaan1 lou6sin3 zau6 hai6 san1 zing3zi6 、 san1 he1mong6 、
centrist route then is new politics new hope
- 03 新 思維; 舊 政治 呢, 就 係 泛民 對
san1 silwai4 ; gau6 zing3zi6 ne1 , zau6 hai6 faan3man4 deoi3
new mindset old politics PRT then is pro-democracy versus
- 04 建制。
gin3zai3 。

pro-establishment

“Many people have asked me: what is (a) centrist? (A) centrist means new politics, new hope, (and) new mindset. Old politics is pro-democracy versus pro-establishment.”

This example also reflects that Wong's political stance as a centrist has been questioned and challenged along the political debates. In Example 10 of Chapter 2, Yeung asks Wong in a question cascade to specify what a centrist is and how moderate his “moderate style” is as Wong has been emphasizing that he is adopting a moderate approach as his political stance. Nonetheless, in Example 10, Wong chooses not to respond to any of those questions embedded in the question cascade. Instead, he criticizes Yeung for having a bad attitude in that interaction. In Example 15, Wong has his opportunity to elaborate his political stance in his individual speech without any interruption from other opponents. Deploying hypophora in his individual speech can not only clarify his political stance as a centrist, but it can also remedy what he does not answer in the previous debate with Yeung. In his immediate answer to his own question in Example 15, Wong defines himself as a centrist who is different from the “old politics” which is “pro-democracy versus pro-establishment” whereas he as a centrist is representing “new politics, new hope and new mindset”. He is thus appealing to his remote audiences for their support and their vote as he considers himself different from the rest of the pro-democracy and pro-establishment candidates and thus can bring new hope and a new mindset to the Legislative Council. Another main difference of use of hypophora between the actual debates and the individual speeches is that no question particle is being used in this questioning technique in the individual speeches because the candidates are not boasting their knowledge here to project a

competent image. The main function of hypophora being employed in the individual speeches is to allow them to clarify and elaborate their political views or stances which may be distorted or misinterpreted by other candidates in previous debates. Therefore, they do not appear to be hostile and adversarial when they are deploying hypophora in their individual speeches. Using question particles to alleviate the tone of hostility is not necessary in most cases when hypophora is used in the individual speeches.

3.2.4 Discussion

Although the Stance Triangle proposed by Du Bois (2007) suggests that there should be two stance subjects who are engaging in the stance activity through overt communication means, this current study also attempts to understand the socio-cognitive processes of an individual through the understanding of how the electoral candidates organize his/her individual speech in order to achieve alignment with the remote audiences and win the election. The entire individual speech would become meaningless without assigning the corresponding node to the remote audiences in the revised stance triangle. It is essential to include the remote audiences to understand how the individual speeches are made meaningful to their targeted audiences and become effective in communication. Instead of taking a rhombus shape like Figure 3 in Chapter 2, the revised stance triangle of individual speeches is similar to the original triangle proposed by Du Bois'. The first stance subject is the speaker (marked as S in Figure 5 below), i.e., the candidate himself/herself and the second stance subject is the speaker's targeted audience, the remote audiences who are watching the delivery of the individual speech on the television broadcast.

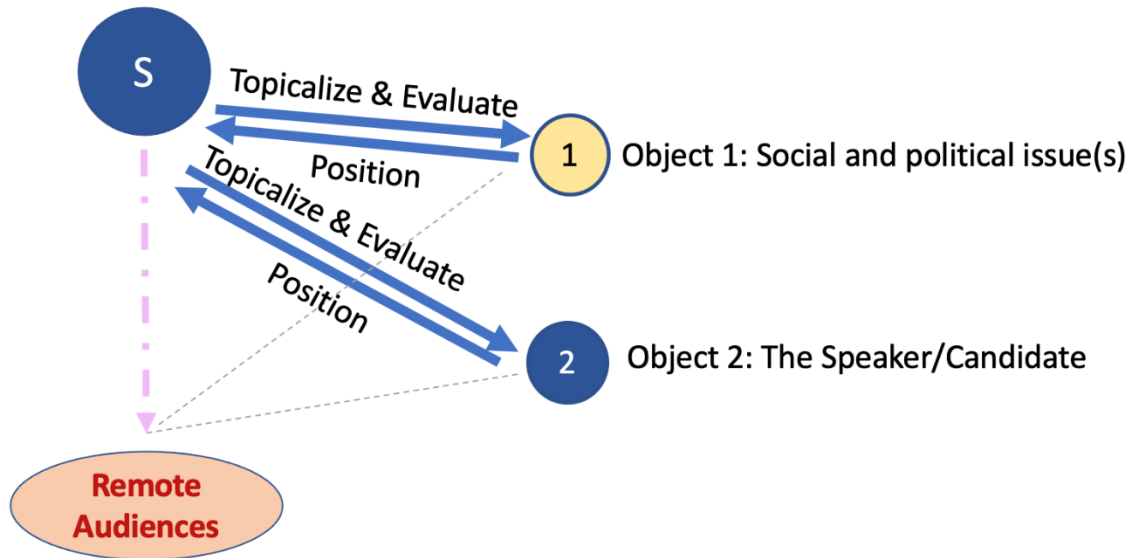


Figure 5. A Generalized and Revised Stance Triangle for individual speeches

It is suggested that the first stance subject, the electoral candidate, is actively seeking alignment with the second stance object as they are trying to win their votes from the second stance object. It can be generalized that there are at least two stance objects being identified in all of the individual speeches collected for this study. The candidates always topicalize some of the most current unresolved social or political issues in their speeches to highlight what the current members of the Legislative Council have failed to perform to the interest of the general public. For instance, some of the candidates such as Yeung and Chow include the Mongkok civil unrest implicitly and explicitly in their speeches. However, how they position themselves towards this civil unrest can be very different. Chow in Example 13 considers the civil unrest as a violent act that causes chaos to the society and certain political parties should take the responsibility of triggering the civil unrest. On the other hand, Yeung in Example 14 considers the unrest is the direct cause of a failing government. Therefore, it can be seen that a stance object can be evaluated quite differently by different candidates in their individual speeches. Nonetheless, the

candidates always evaluate the second stance object, i.e., the candidates themselves, favourably in their own individual speech. It is essential to pay attention to the sequence of the stance objects because the second stance object is always placed after the first stance object to show that the candidates themselves are the one that the voters should cast their votes for if the voters want to improve the current situation of the society. Hence, it can be expected that the candidate expects that the remote audiences will notice and evaluate the same social and political issue as he/she does and finally align with them on agreeing that the current speaker, i.e., the candidate, is the most suitable person to help them to solve those unresolved social and political issues. Therefore, these two stance objects are inevitably crucial to help understand why all of the individual speeches in these political debates are organized with these critical components, i.e., (i) unresolved social or political issues and (ii) calling for support and votes from the remote audiences to the candidate.

Chapter 4

Gestures and Stance Marking in Individual Speech and Actual Debate of the Winning Candidate

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to shed light on how gestures play an integral part in understanding the candidates' intended expressive and communication goals in the political debate and overthrow the long-standing belief that gestures are merely secondary, if not being completely ignored, in conveying meaning in discourse analysis. The chapter will continue to look into a specific linguistic feature in Cantonese – utterance final particles (UFPs in short) to investigate how they play a crucial role in stancetaking activity in political debates and to see the relationship between the use of utterance final particles and gestural activities in this genre of political discourse. Lastly, this chapter also focuses on how the winning and elected candidate, Alvin Yeung, manipulates his gestures and verbal cues in the political debates to secure his votes from the remote audiences to win the election.

4.2 Analysis

The chapter looks explicitly into the televised debate hosted by the Television Broadcast Limited dated 25th February 2016. The taped episode lasts for roughly 70 minutes. The episode first starts with an individual section where each candidate can present their agenda individually, followed by a debate over various political or social policy and current issues of the society. This current study focuses on the elected candidate, Alvin Yeung, who won the election and was

selected to be the legislator for the East New Territory district and one of his opponents, Holden Chow, to see how and what strategies they deploy linguistically and non-verbally in the debate.

4.2.1 Individual speech in the debate

The first part of the analysis will be emphasizing the individual speech in which each of the electoral candidates was assigned 60 seconds individually to promote their agenda and to make an appeal to the audience and the voters to cast their votes to the candidates on the election day. Alvin Yeung delivers a 48-second speech illustrated as Example 16 below with gestural analysis:

Example 16

- 01 Yeung: 大家 好, 我 係 楊岳橋。 歡迎 你
 daai6gaa1 hou2, ngo5 hai6 joeng4ngok6kiu4 ° fun1jing4 nei5
 everyone good I am Alvin Yeung welcome you
 G1→ LH¹⁰ |~ *****
- 02 收睇緊 無線電視 J5 台。 我 希望
 sau1tai2gan2 mou4sin3din6si6 J5 toi4 ° ngo5 hei1mong6
 watch-PROG Television Broadcast J5 channel I hope
 -.-.-.-.-| RH |~~~~~
- 03 而家 哩行 字幕 係 繁體 字。
 ji4gaa1 lei1 hang4 zi6mok6 hai6 faan4tai2 zi6 °

¹⁰ LH: left hand; RH: right hand; BH: both hand

- dou1 bik1 dou3 ngo5dei2 tau3 m4gwo3 hei3 °
- all force PRT we breathe not pass air
- 10 今 個 禮 拜 日, 你, 有 得 出 嚟 發 聲。
- gam1go3 lai5baai3jat6 · nei5 · jau5 dak1 ceot1lai4 faat3seng1 °
- This CL Sunday you have able out come speak up
- G3 → RH |~*****-.-.-.-|
- 11 Q2→ 你 要 選 擇 嘅 究 竟 係 繼 續 麻 木
- nei5 jiu3 syun2zaak6 ge3 gau3ging2 hai6 gai3zuk6 maa4muk6
- you want choose LP exactly is continue numbness
- 12 保 皇 定 係 中 間 騎 牆, 要 有
- bou2wong4 ding6hai6 zung1gaan1ke4coeng4 · jiu3 mou5
- pro-government or sit-on-the-fence want no
- 13 底 線 有 原 則, 定 係 我 哋 呢 一 種,
- dai2sin3 mou5 jyun4zak1 · ding6hai6 ngo5dei2 nei1 jat1 zung2 ·
- limit no principle or we this one CL
- 14 革 新 之 餘, 有 原 則 有 底 線 呢?
- gaak3san1 zi1jyu4 · jau5 jyun4zak1 jau5 dai2sin3 lei1 ?
- innovation except have principle have limit **QP**
- 15 選 擇 權 係 你 手 上。 希 望 你

syun2zaak6 kyun4 hai6 nei5 sau2 soeng5 ° heilmong6 nei5

choice right is you hand up hope you

16

星期日 支持 我, 我 係 楊岳橋。 多謝

sing1kei4jat6 zi1ci4 ngo5 · ngo5 hai6 joeng4ngok6kiu4 ° do1ze6

Sunday support me I am Alvin Yeung Thank

17

你。

nei5 °

you

"(01¹¹) Hello everyone. I am Alvin Yeung. **Welcome** (and) **you** (02) are watching TVB Channel J5. I hope (03) **the subtitles here** are displayed as traditional Chinese characters. (04) However, is the battle of word choice between using (05) traditional or the simplified Chinese characters the only conflict we have in Hong Kong now? Over the past few years since (06) Chun-ying Leung took office, (there have been protests against) the national (07) education, the rejection of granting the free-to-air license to Hong Kong TV, (08) the Li Kwok-cheung incident, etc. (09) All of these incidents are overwhelmingly suffocating for us (to handle). (10) This Sunday, **you**, can make your voice heard. (11) Are you going to continue to choose blindly and support the (12) pro-government (parties) or those who are sitting on

¹¹ Indicated as corresponding transcription line number

the fence without (13) any limits and principles or (support) us who are not only (14) innovative, but also following (our) principle and knowing (our) limits *leI*? (15) The choice is in your hands. Hope you can (16) support me this Sunday (the election day). I am Alvin Yeung. Thank (17) you."

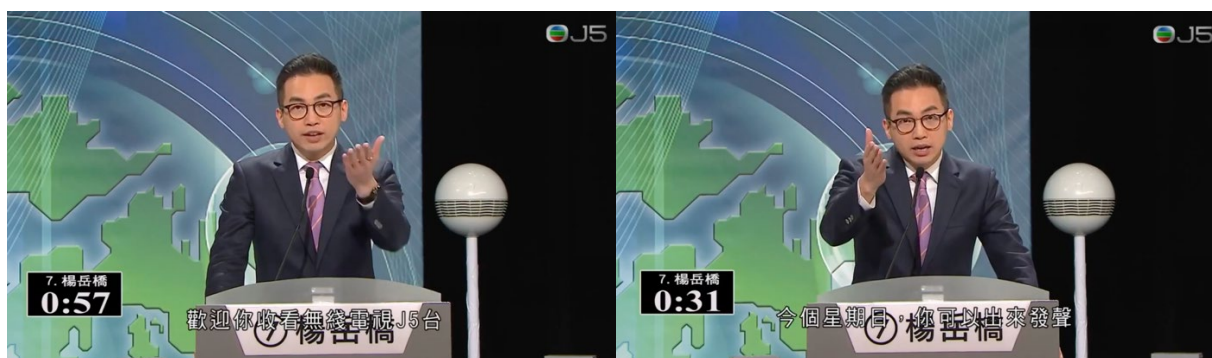
The speech transcribed above includes both gestural activity and other linguistic stylistic deployments. However, the use of question particles and the use of utterance final particles or the lack of them are the main discussions of this session. UFPs, as mentioned previously, are one of the most distinctive features being extensively used in conversation in Cantonese. There are more than 30 varieties in Cantonese UFPs. Not only can they act as an epistemic marker that suggests certainty, but some of them can also project emotion colouring (Matthews & Yip 2011). However, Yeung's individual speech shows very limited use of UFPs except one which is *leI* (underlined in line 14 in Example 16) being employed in line 14 as a question particle in the second question (Q2) he asks in his speech. In Yeung's speech, he targets his second question at the potential voters, i.e., related to the notion of the remote audiences. His question, "are you going to continue to choose blindly and support the pro-government (parties) or those who are sitting on the fence without any limits and principles or (support) us who are not only innovative, but also following (our) principle and knowing (our) limits *leI*?", where provides several choices for the audience to choose from, and those choices are different representations of the electoral candidates and lastly, he ends his question with *leI* question particle to invoke introspection from his audience. As discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, *leI* is one of the commonly used question particles in both daily conversations and this set of political debates, more than half of the

questions (52.07%) ended with question particles are *lel*-ending questions in the actual debates while all of the questions (n= 5, 100%) ended with *lel* question particles in individual speech. In Example 16, Yeung makes his question recipient explicit by using the second singular person pronoun, "you", at the beginning of his question. Since the question recipient is the likely voters of the election, Yeung has to ensure that the question does not sound less authoritative or interrogative by employing the use of one of the neutral question particles, i.e., *lel*. Different from the second question in the individual speech, the first question asked in lines 4 to 5, "however, is the battle of word choice between using traditional or the simplified Chinese characters the only conflict we have in Hong Kong now?", does not directly address the remote audiences. However, the role of the first question plays is crucial for the understanding of the use of gestural activity in Yeung's individual speech which is to be discussed further in the following paragraph.

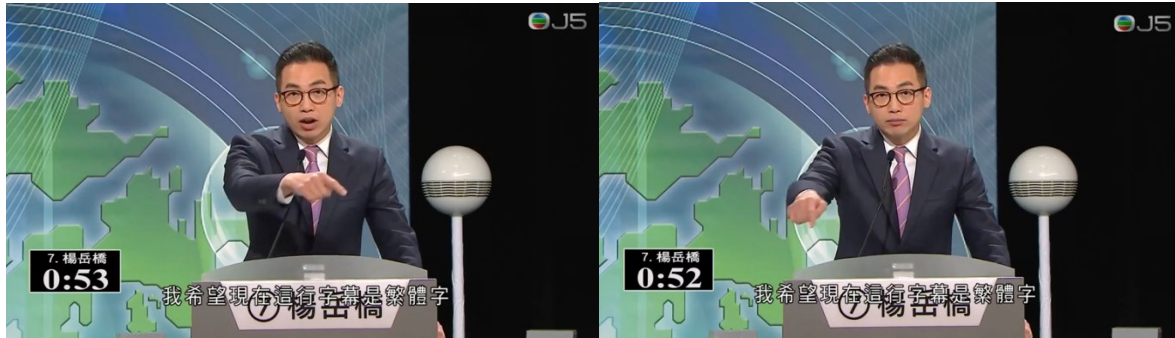
There are three significant and meaningful gesture units found in Yeung's 48-second individual speech. Two of the three gesture units, as marked as G1 in line 1 (Screen capture 1) and as G3 in line 10 (Screen capture 2), are deployed to directly address the audience and voters who are watching the television broadcast while the other one is a gliding movement of Yeung's index finger to locate the subtitles on the screen to the audience as marked as G2 in line 10. He first directly addresses his audience by directing his eye gaze on the camera and opens the palm of his hand when he delivers the message with the pronoun "you" as if he is personally talking to a particular person and inviting that member of the remote audiences listen to him when he says "Welcome (and) **you** are watching TVB Channel J5". This palm-opening gesture is employed in line 1 as well, but it is not deployed as an act of request. In contrast, it is considered to be a direct address to the remote audience, both verbally and gesturally, and most importantly, as a way of

locking the attention of the audience to his speech. Although it is understood that he would be the only one speaking in the individual speech, the palm-opening gesture is useful to direct the audience's attention to his speech accompanied with the sense of inclusiveness conveyed in the gesture. The gesture suggests that he is not just talking to a television screen or a camera but rather as if the speaker, Yeung, can look through the camera lens and talk directly to his audience. This helps Yeung as a candidate to project a more personal and approachable image. Yeung uses a second gesture from lines 2 to 3 as his index figure gliding from the right to the left to point at the line of the subtitles appearing on the television screen when he delivers "I hope **the subtitles here** are displayed as traditional Chinese characters" (Screen captures 3 and 4). This pointing gesture can be categorized as a gesture of reference which is employed to direct the audience's attention to a certain area of the television screen. When He uses the index-finger pointing during the stroke in line 3 highlighting these three words "the subtitles here" in his speech, his attempt is not only to direct the audience's attention to the subtitles on the screen but also to what follows his speech as he delivers the rest of the message in his individual speech. After successfully securing the attention from his audience with two consecutive gesture units, G1 and G2, he asks "is the battle of word choice between using traditional or the simplified Chinese characters the only conflict we have in Hong Kong now?" As mentioned in the previous paragraph, this question is asked without a question particle and does not specify a particular question recipient. The first two gesture units work together with this question to secure his audience's attention to invite them to ponder upon on his question and ensure that the voters will make a sound choice on the election day. This shows that these verbal and gestural activities are working hand in hand to make sure that Yeung as a speaker is having the full attention of his remote audience so the rest of his message can be reached to the likely voters successfully. The

third gesture unit Yeung deploys in his speech in line 10 where he requests "you" (Screen capture 2) to respond to his requests, i.e., "to make your voice heard". This palm-opening gesture is also employed in line 1 when he first "welcomes" those who are watching his individual speech. However, his direct address to the audience is different this time as it is complemented by a request where he asks "you", the remote audiences and the voters, to cast a vote by saying "this Sunday, **you**, can make your voice heard" highlighting the pronoun "you" with the palm opening gesture. The *le1*-ending question followed it, "are you going to continue to choose blindly and support the pro-government (parties) or those who are sitting on the fence without any limits and principles or (support) us who are not only innovative but also following (our) principle and knowing (our) limits *le1*?", where the question recipient is the remote audiences. The G3 gesture helps assure the audience to realize the fact that the speaker is directly talking to them and thus also notice that the following question which requests the audience to make a sound choice on the election day is another important message that the speaker specifically desires to direct the audience to.



Screen capture 1: palm-opening gesture 1 Screen capture 2: palm-opening gesture 2



Screen capture 3: pointing at the subtitles 1 Screen capture 4: pointing at the subtitles

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the question particle, *le1*, again plays a crucial role to soften the tone of questioning in the individual speech. What's more, gestural activities are significant here, especially they are employed to directly address the remote audiences in order to secure their attention and thus help the speaker to build on further arguments along with the speech and guide the audience to follow. In the following section, another revised version of Stance Triangle is being employed to elucidate how stance-taking activity is being projected in his speech.

4.2.2 Analyzing the individual speech with the Stance Triangle

The Stance Triangle proposed by Du Bois is to describe how speakers project stances in their speech. It is supposed that there should be more than one speaker in the exchange to see how stance is being positioned, evaluated and projected in the interaction. Therefore, it is relatively more challenging to analyze the sociocognitive processes for the individual speech through the original stance triangle proposed by Du Bois because one of the stancetakers, the audience, is not physically present. Du Bois (2007) claims that stance is a public act produced by the social actors and achieved dialogically through overt communicative means. However, not

being physically present in the scene does not mean that the stancetaker, i.e, the audience, is not included in the stancetaking activity especially if Yeung has to make certain that his speech is meaningful to the audience and is effective in the communication. Therefore, this study attempts to assign both Yeung and his targeted audience onto a revised stance triangle to understand how the sociocognitive process works within the candidate's 60-second speech to impress his voters. Generated from the analysis in the section above, the revised stance triangle of Yeung's individual speech can be interpreted as below:

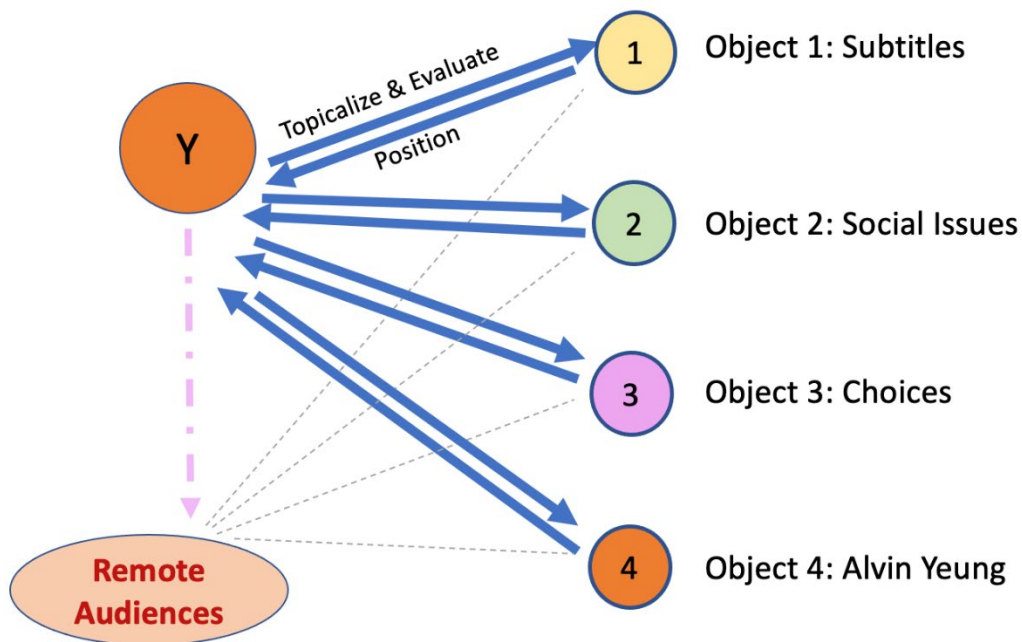


Figure 6. Revised Stance Triangle for Yeung's individual speech

In place of being a shape of a regular triangle, the "triangle" of the Yeung's individual speech transforms into a stance multi-triangle as multiple objects are being evaluated within the same speech. Although there is no overt two-way verbal interaction involved in the individual speech as it appears to be a "monologue" produced by Yeung alone, there are two stance subjects in this example, i.e., one is Yeung, and the other one is the remote audiences who are watching

the broadcast. He starts his speech by greeting and proceeds by addressing the audience with the second singular pronoun "you" in "Welcome (and) you are watching TVB Channel J5". He includes a palm-opening gesture when he produces the above utterance to directly invoke the audience's attention and invite them to join him for the stancetaking activity. The entire speech is inundated with the second singular pronoun "you" (6 times) as well as the use of the inclusive pronoun "we" which have the effect of inviting the audience to engage in the content of his speech. For instance, he also uses rhetorical questions, "however, is the battle of word choice between using traditional or the simplified Chinese characters the only conflict we have in Hong Kong now?" to provoke thinking or response from the audience. The entire speech is thus considered relatively interactive, including asking thought-provoking questions and using the highly interactive question particle, *leI*, to invite the audience in the stancetaking process to reach his ultimate purpose of the speech, i.e., to win the votes from the audience.

In addition to the stance subjects, the above revised stance triangle incorporates at least four stance objects. The first stance object he evaluates is the subtitles of his speech appearing on the television screen by making a statement 'I hope the subtitles here are displayed as traditional Chinese characters' that topicalizes the subtitles considered to be significantly relevant to the following stance objects of his speech. Moreover, the hope of the display of subtitles to be traditional Chinese characters may subtly project a political identity – a pro-democracy political candidate who resists the use of simplified Chinese which signifies the ruling of the communist party, and thus projects a reasonably strong political stance. Resisting the use of simplified Chinese is not just a linguistic choice, but a symbolic choice of resisting the process of "mainlandization" – a term used to denote the influence of Mainland China has on Hong Kong. The second stance object is the current conflict in Hong Kong. He starts the evaluation with a

rhetorical question that does not necessary request a response but intends to provoke profound thinking and introspection from the remote audiences. He further evaluates the stance object with a list of political protests and events occurring in Hong Kong in the recent years which projects an epistemic stance through a list of known facts as well as indexing an affective stance when he evaluates and labels those social incidents as "overwhelmingly suffocating for us (to handle)".

Thirdly, the stance object is the choices that the remote audiences or the likely voters have for this election. Although Yeung does not explicitly articulate the word, "vote" or "voting", in his individual speech, the importance of voting is not at all implicit since he uses phrases like "make your voice heard", or verbs such as "choose" and "support" throughout his speech. He evaluates the remote audiences' choices by elucidating and specifying what they can choose from, which include "the pro-government (parties) or those who are sitting on the fence without any limits and principles" and "us who are not only innovative, but also following (our) principle and knowing (our) limits". He positions himself with the use of the inclusive pronoun "us" to indirectly index himself as a member of the Civic Party. However, choosing "us", the Civic Party, is not the main purpose nor the only focus of the speech. It is precisely, Yeung, who desires the votes from his audience. Therefore, the last stance object, Alvin Yeung, appears at the very end of the speech, which echoes with the evaluation of the previous stance. In the immediate stance object, he evaluates himself as someone who is not only innovative, but also following his principle and knowing his limits. This directly leads to him explicitly evaluates himself as the most suitable candidate who deserves the audience's support and votes at the very end of his speech.

The carefully crafted speech lasts less than a minute (48 seconds), yet it is inundated with several invitations of possible convergent alignment with the remote audiences. It demonstrates

how the sociocognitive process functions when intersubjectivity is involved even the remote audiences are not physically present. However, the remote audiences should be considered the main target of the individual speech even if they are not physically co-present in real time and place. The individual speech is specifically designed for the remote audiences and the likely voters. Although there is no apparent trace of direct responses in the revised stance triangle, thus the dotted line in Figure 6, on how they evaluate and position themselves towards the stance objects, their "responses" and the stance will only be explicit and be reflected upon on when they cast their votes. This is why the individual speech is crucial to be understood and explained through the revised stance triangle because Yeung has to be aware of the involvement of intersubjectivity of the stancetaking act. He can thus be assumed to have strategically included his audiences' thoughts into consideration when he crafted his speech before the participation of the political debates.

4.2.3 Interim summary for stancetaking in individual speech

The above revised stance triangle provides an understanding of how the sociocognitive process of how individual speech is being crafted carefully for Yeung to communicate with the likely voters in his individual speech. The limited use of utterance final particles in the above individual speech indicates that the question particle, *lel*, is preferred only when Yeung is directly asking an alternative question to his remote audiences. On the other hand, the functions of gestural activities employed by Yeung in his individual speech intend for attention-seeking and deictic references instead of projecting any obvious stances. It is thus the linguistic forms being the most important feature in Yeung's individual speech to deliver the messages and various stances whereas the gestural activities are employed to direct his audience's gaze on

particular of the television screen and secure the attention of his remote audiences and voters to his speech. Therefore, we can conclude that although UFPs play a limited role in individual speech, they still help project epistemic stance in Yeung's individual speech. In the following section, I will look closely into the interplay of gestures, verbal cues as well as UFPs to investigate how epistemic and affective stances are being projected with these communicative forms.

4.2.4 The debate between Alvin Yeung and Holden Chow

The extract used in Example 17 below is the one that focuses on the exchange between Alvin Yeung and Holden Chow, another candidate of the election who is also a lawyer belonging to another political party called Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB hereafter), which is a pro-government political party. Their exchange's main topic involves an incident that happened in early February of 2016 when there was civil unrest occurring in Mong Kok. The Hong Kong government later labeled the civil unrest as a "riot" and the participating protesters as "rioters" whereas the media, instead, named it as a "Fishball revolution". As one of the candidates of the election, Yeung provided legal support and advice to the protesters during that time. The exchange between these two lawyers in this political debate suggests that the candidates can deploy different linguistic strategies to project stances. One of the most distinctive linguistic features in this exchange is the comparatively extensive use of UFPs. Take the following example as an illustration of the use of gesture and UFPs (underlined):

Example 17:

01 Chow: 你 可能 一支公 真係 未必 明白,

02

nei5 ho2nang4 jat1zi1gung1 zan1hai6 mei6bit1 ming4baak6 ,
you probably single really not-necessary understand

人地 做 父母 好 心痛 架 。

jan4dei6 zou6 fu6mou5 hou2 sam1tung3 *gaa3* °

people being parents very heartbroken **UFP**

BH |~*****-.-.-.-.-|

"You probably won't be able to understand as you are single, but those
parents are heartbroken."

The above example demonstrates the use of the epistemic stance of the speaker, Chow, being marked at the end of the utterance by a UFP, *gaa3*. The UFP along with the utterance here projects the epistemic stance of "having the knowledge of" or "being able to understand and relate" to something that "you", Alvin Yeung, the recipient of the utterance, do not have the knowledge of "being a parent", and thus, will not be able to understand the feelings of being a parent. The speaker of the above utterance, Chow, who is married and has his own child, clearly establishes his epistemic stance by implicitly establishing his role as a father and then exhibiting his knowledge of being a parent in his statement as an attack towards Yeung. In other words, Chow demonstrates one of the main differences between him and Yeung is that he can relate his feelings to the parents of the protesters, some of whom were being arrested, because he himself is a parent and possesses the knowledge of being a parent while Yeung is single, and thus, he does not have the knowledge of being a parent and is not able to relate to the feelings of those parents. If the utterance, "...but those parents are heartbroken" alone without the UFP, would appear to be merely a reported speech of a piece of information. Nonetheless, by adding the

UFP, *gaa3*, it turns the utterance into a projection of epistemic stance of the speaker because it adds authenticity and authoritative knowledge in the cultural domain, i.e., being a father, and thus, the speaker not only consolidates his own stance but also legitimates his role to evaluate Yeung's claims later. In addition to his speech, it is also noteworthy to pay attention to Chow's gesture when he utters a statement "those parents are heartbroken". Here he reinforces his statement by using an upward open-palm gesture with both of his hands, then changing to a cupped-palm gesture and moving his hands towards himself to emphasise his statement by pointing himself as if he was one of the parents whose children were being arrested. This referencing gesture reinforces the epistemic stance he is projecting because he can relate to those affected parents' feelings as a father himself. This confirmation of his knowledge and feelings are marked by the use of UFP, *gaa3*, which usually conveys a tone of affirmation (Matthews & Yip 2011) and disapproval.

In response to Chow's argument, Yeung made a fight-back as illustrated in Example 18 below:

Example 18

- 01 Yeung: 周浩鼎, 唔係 大聲 就 有用 嘅。 你
 Zau1hou6ding2 , m4hai6 daai6seng1 zau6 jau5jung6 ge3 ° nei5
 Holden Chow not loud then useful UFP you
 RH (Y>C¹²) |~*****
- 02 認為 我地 一句 口號 可以 鼓吹 人

¹² The symbol > denotes pointing, therefore, Y>C means Yeung points at Chow while Y>L means Yeung points at Leung (Leung is another candidate of the debate)

jing6wai4 ngo5dei6 jat1 geoi3 hau2hou6 ho2ji5 gu2ceoi1 jan4
think our one CL slogan can promote people

---|

03 上陣? 你有無問過梁天琦呀?

soeng5zan6? nei5 jau5 mou4 man6 gwo3 loeng4tin1kei4 aa3?

protest you have not ask EXP¹³ Edward Leung **QP**

RH(Y>L) |~~~~~*****|

04 你覺得我地一句口號就可以鼓動

nei5 gok3dak1 ngo5dei6 jat1 geoi3 hau2hou6 zau6 ho2ji5 gu2dung6

you think we one CL slogan then can instigate

05 倒咁多人, 香港就已經好和諧

dou3 gam3 do1 jan4, Hoeng1gong2 zau6 ji5ging1 hou2 wo4haai4

PRT so many people Hong Kong then already very harmonious

06 啦。其實, 民建聯你地先係最

laa1 ° kei4sat6 , man4gin3lyun4 nei5dei6 sin1 hai6 zeoi3

UFP actually DAB you first is most

07 虛偽。第一日開始, 就已經係度話

heoi1ngai6 ° dai6 jat1 jat6 hoi1ci2 , zau6 ji5ging1 hai2dou6 waa6

hypocritical number one day beginning then already here say

RH |~~~~~*****| |~~~~~*****|

¹³ EXP = experiential aspect

08

人地 暴徒, 暴動。 跟 車太 貼 好

jan4dei6 bou6tou4 , bou6dung6 ° ¹⁴gan1 ce1 taai3 tip3 hou2

people thug riot follow car too close very

---|

09

危險 架, 周浩鼎, 你 作為 一個 律師

ngai4him2 *gaa3*, Zau1hou6ding2, nei5 zok3wai4 jat1 go3 leot6si1 ,

dangerous *UFP* Holden Chow you being one CL lawyer

10

唔該 你, 睇 清楚 先 啦。

m4goi1 nei5 , tai2 cing1co2 sin1 *laa1* °

please you see clearly first *UFP*

"Holden Chow, speaking loudly isn't going to help *ge3*. You think one single slogan from us can encourage people to participate in the protest? Have you ever asked Edward Leung (whether he was being encouraged) *aa3*? If just one single slogan can spread propaganda, Hong Kong would have been a harmonious society *laa1*. The fact is that (members of) DAB is the most hypocritical. You have been calling them (the protesters) thugs since the first day (of the incident). It's very

¹⁴ It is used as a trendy slang which denotes someone who judges the situation too quickly without knowing too much of the entire picture. Just like when you are driving, you usually remain an appropriate distance with the preceding car but if you get too close to the car in front of you, you are risking yourself an accident.

dangerous to drive too close to the front vehicle *gaa3*. Holden Chow, being a lawyer yourself, please, observe with all details first *laa2*."

The response from Yeung shows that he employs both linguistic strategy and gestural activity in this fight-back. The verbal strategy Yeung employs here is, firstly, to switch the focus of an epistemic stance and social role, as a father, which he cannot take, to a professional role, as a lawyer. Secondly, there are frequent uses of UFPs in this turn. The first UFP used in line 1, *ge3*, can be denoted as an affirmative tone (Matthews & Yip 2011). Additionally, it also carries a tone of disdain when Yeung tells Chow that speaking loudly will not help. Speaking loudly in Hong Kong, especially in public space, can be perceived as lacking proper manners. Therefore, this utterance is loaded with the affective display in its verbal content. The second UFP used in his turn includes a question particle "*aa3*" in line 2 which is to indicate a polar question. The third UFP used in line 3 is *laa1* which can be used as seeking common ground in daily conversation. On the contrary, Yeung uses the UFP, *laa1*, to share his own point of view which conflicts with Chow's previous statement about them encouraging the youths to protest. The *laa1* is used in a conditional clause denoting "if what Chow has said was true, then something should have happened in a certain way" which is not the case in reality. Therefore, the use of *laa1* is also part of the evaluation Yeung uses to assess Chow's statement about Yeung encouraging the youths to protest against the government. Yeung's utterance is an affective display of disdain with the use of various linguistic devices such as using affective UFP, *ge3*, and asking a rhetorical question with UFP, *aa3*, and refuting Chow's statement through the use of the conditional clause. Yeung also demonstrates he possesses more knowledge about what is happening relating to the incident than Chow does in the following lines from 7 to 10 in Example

18. The second half of the turn contains two UFPs where the first UFP, *gaa3* in line 9, is attached to a slang expression and a piece of advice. The Cantonese slang, "*gan1ce1taai3 tip3*", literally means 'following too close to the front vehicle', is to describe a political situation when politicians are too quick to make a political judgment without providing substantial evidence. As a result, it sometimes leads to an undesirable political consequence. In this context, Yeung is warning Chow not to make his unwarranted judgment before a trial by declaring the incident as a "riot" and labeling the protesters as "a group of thugs". Chow, as a lawyer, has to take legal responsibility for his inaccurate accusation. The *gaa3* in line 9 carries an affirmative tone for an epistemic stance here because what Yeung says after the utterance is relevant to both of their profession as a lawyer. This is a significant move made by Yeung as he switches Chow's epistemic stance of being a father to an epistemic stance of being a lawyer, which is a shared professional role for both of them. By switching the roles in the debate, Yeung places himself as a competent lawyer who seemingly possesses an authoritative role in this professional position who claims to have more legal knowledge in the incident. Yeung continues his utterance by emphasizing Chow should look for more information before making any unwarranted judgment, implying Chow being not professional in his role as a lawyer.

On the other hand, the pointing gesture being employed in line 1 in Example 18 is used to address the person the speaker directs his comment, question, or judgment to by placing the gestural stroke consistent with the pronoun "you". On the contrary, the gesture in line 4, "you have been calling them (the protesters) thugs since the first day (of the incident)", demonstrates an emphasizing movement on lexical items including "since the first day" and "thugs" when Yeung moves his arm upward with his palm open for both gesture units. The palm-opening gesture employed here can add emphases on the superlative nature in the verbal expressions, i.e.,

the previous utterance is about how members of DAB is the most hypocritical people as they called those young protesters as thugs "since the first day", before a legal trial. The use of superlative has a strong correlation with a subjective stance. Therefore, the gestures employed subsequently can help emphasize the previous comment he made about the DAB party being the most hypocritical in an affective manner. It is also found that the use of UFPs seems not to overlap with the use of gestures. It can be argued that UFPs tend to be suppressed when gestures can help project affective stances. In other words, when gestures can project emotions, the use of UFPs will be reduced in political debates.

The second segment of the debate shows how two candidates argue against each other through overlapping speeches. Overlapping is often minimized or otherwise considered problematic in casual conversation (Schegloff 2000) but excessive overlapping talk is not uncommon in political debates. In the exchange, it is discovered that gestural activity reaches its peak especially in an overlapping exchange where UFPs are less frequently used during the overlapping. It can be illustrated by the exchange between Yeung and Chow in Example 19 below:

Example 19

- 01 Yeung: 我 作為 一個 律師, 我好 嚴正 話 俾
ngo5 zok3wai4 jat1 go3 leot6si1, ngo5 hou2 jim4zing3 waa6 bei2
I being one CL lawyer I very solemn tell give
02 香港人 聽, 我 不 同意 暴力, 但 我
hoeng1 gong2jan4 ting3, ngo5 bat1 tung4ji3 bou6 lik6, daan6 ngo5
Hong Kong people listen I not agree violence but I

03 會 絕對 保護 佢地 所有 嘅 法律
wui2 zyut6deoi3 bou2wu6 keoi5dei6 so2jau5 ge3 faat3leot6
will absolute protect their all LP law

04 權利, 我 唔 似 你 周浩鼎, 作為 一個
kyun4lei6 , ngo5 m4 ci5 nei5 Zau1hou6ding2 · zok3wai4 jat1 go3
right I not like you Holden Chow being one CL

RH(Y>C) |~~~~~*****/*****

05 執業 [律師, 你 竟然 咁樣 誣讒 人, 你=
zap1jip6 [leot6si1, nei5 ging2jin4 gam3joeng6 mou4mit6 jan4 , nei5 =
practicing lawyer you actually like-that vilify people you
*****/*****-.-|

"As a lawyer, I have to tell everyone in Hong Kong solemnly, I do not support violence, but I have to protect their legal rights. I am nothing like you, Holden Chow, (you) as a practicing lawyer, how can you slander them, you-

06 Chow: [你 豬喻 啦, 因為 點解 呢 個
[nei5 zyu1jung1 laa1 , jan1wai4 dim2gai2 ne1 go3
you nonsense UFP because why this CL

07 無罪推定, 我 同 你 做 律師 都 知,

mou4zeoi6teoi1ding6 , ngo5 tung4 nei5 zou6 leot6si1 dou1 zi1 ,
 presumption of innocence I with you be lawyer also know
 08 但 我 憑 良心 做 人, 我 唔 會 幫
 daan6 ngo5 pang4 loeng4sam1 zou6 jan4 , ngo5 m4 wui2 bong1
 but I rely on conscience be people I not will help
 09 暴徒=
 bou6tou4 =
 thug
 "You are full of nonsense, why this "presumption of innocence", we as
 lawyers both know, I have a sense of conscience, I won't help defend
 those thugs."

10 Yeung: [=完全 唔 識得 尊重 法治, 你 更加 唔
 [=jyun4cyun4 m4 sik1dak1 zyun1cung4 faat3zi6, nei5 gang3gaal m4
 completely not know respect rule of law you even not
 RH(Y>C) |~~~~*****

11 知道 乜野 叫 無罪推定, 周浩鼎! 你
 zi1dou6 mat1je5 giu3 mou4zeoi6teoi1ding6, Zau1hou6ding2! nei5
 know what call presumption of innocence Holden Chow you
 *****/*****-.-.-|

12 宜家 完全 誣鑊緊 律師 哩 兩 個 字,
 ji4gaal jyun4cyun4 mou4mit6-gan2 leot6si1 ne1 loeng5 go3 zi6,

- 13 now completely vilify-PROG lawyer these two CL word
 你 宜家 企 係度, 你 就 係 嘗試 喺度
 nei5 ji4gaa1 kei5 hai6dou6, nei5 zau6 hai6 soeng4si3 hai2dou6
 you now stand here you then is try here
 RH(Y>C) |~*****
- 14 呢緊 香港人, 香港 法治 就 係
 aak1-gan2 Hoeng1gong2jan4, hoeng1gong2 faat3zi6 zau6 hai6
 lie-PROG Hong Kong people Hong Kong rule of law then is
 RH(Y> lectern) *****-.-.-/*****/~~~~***
- 15 衰 喺 哩 啲 人 手 上=
 seoi1 hai2 ne1 di1 jan4 sau2 soeng5 =
 ruined at these CL people hand up
 RH(Y>C) *****-.-.-.-|
 "(you know) nothing about respecting the law, you don't even know
 what presumption of innocence is about, Holden Chow! You brought
 shame to your job as a lawyer! You are now standing right here trying
 to lie to the Hong Kong people. It is (lawyers like) you who bring
 demolition to Hong Kong's legal system."
- 16 Chow: [=咁 多 人 要 幫 你 都 唔 去 幫,

gam3 do1 jan4 jiu3 bong1 nei5 dou1 m4 heoi3 bong1,
syun2zaak6

17 so many people need help you also not go help
選擇 幫 暴徒, 其實 你就係企喺
syun2zaak6 bong1 bou6tou4, kei4sat6 nei5 zau6 hai6 kei5 hai2
choose help thugs actually you then is stand at
18 暴徒 嗰邊, 公民黨 就係企喺暴徒
bou6tou4 go2 bin1, Gung1man4dong2 zau6 hai6 kei5 hai2 bou6tou4
thug that side Civic Party then is stand at thug
19 嗰邊=

go2 bin1=

that side

"There are so many people you can defend, why did you choose to
defend the thugs? You side with the thugs! Civic party sides with the
thugs."

20 Yeung: [=過去 咁 多 年, 民建聯 嘗試 做過
[=gwo3heoi3 gam3 do1 nin4, <an4gin3lyun4 soeng4si3 zou6-gwo3
past so many year DAB try do-EXP

RH(Y> |~*****

lectern)

21 啲乜野? 你就喺度協助香港政府,

di1 mat1je5? nei5 zau6 hai2dou6 hip3zo6 Hoeng1gong2 zing3fu2,
CL what you then here help Hong Kong government

RH(Y>C) *****/~~~~*****/*****/

22 喺度 破壞 香港 法治]

hai2dou6 po3waa16 Hoeng1gong2 faat3zi6]

here destroy Hong Kong rule of law

RH(Y>C) *****-.-.-|

"What has the DAB party done over the years? You are destroying the
legal system of Hong Kong with the Hong Kong government."

23 Chow: [=香港 搞成 咁, 就係 公民黨 嘅

[=Hoeng1gong2 gaau2sing4 gam3, zau6 hai6 Gung1man4dong2 ge3

Hong Kong become like-this then is Civic Party LP

24 禍害, 公民黨, 害香港, 人盡皆知

wo6hoi6, Gung1man4dong2, hoi6 Hoeng1gong2, jan4zeon6gaai1zi1

disaster Civic Party harm Hong Kong everyone-knows

25 喇!]

laa1!]

UFP

"Hong Kong has becoming like this now is all because of the Civic
Party. Civic Party poisons Hong Kong. It's a everybody known fact!"

26 Yeung: 周浩鼎, 你 呢緊 香港人=

Zau1hou6ding2 · nei5 aak1-gan2 Hoeng1gong2jan4 =

Holden Chow you lie-PROG Hong Kong people

RH(Y>C) |~~~~*****-.-|

"Holden Chow, you are lying to the Hong Kong people."

27 Chow: =你 呢 人, 豬喻
 =nei5 aak1 jan4 , zyuljung1
 you lie people nonsense
 "You liar. Nonsense."

In the above extract, there is no UFP found in Yeung's verbal activity whereas there are two UFPs found in Chow's. Yeung uses phrases such as "you know nothing about respecting the law" and "you don't even know what presumption of innocence is about" that demonstrates that Yeung is projecting a firm epistemic stance stressing Chow's lack of knowledge of "respecting the law" and "presumption of innocence" which the latter is a legal term. The strategy he deploys here is to contrast Chow by highlighting his "not knowing" how to respect the law, then later criticizes Chow by saying that he is destroying Hong Kong legal system along with the government throughout the past few years. This demonstrates a relatively strong epistemic stance of Yeung through his professional role as a lawyer. It can also be explained that it is linguistically economical to not produce or utter UFPs as it may take slightly more time to produce a UFP when there is constant overlapping throughout their interaction. Therefore, it is strategically reasonable that the electoral candidates avoid using UFPs to make their arguments sound more solid and concrete. Most importantly, they are timesaving, so more arguments can be

produced when they are attacking one another in a heated debate inundated with overlapping talk.

It can thus help explain why gestures are being frequently employed during the entire overlapping interaction. All of these gestures project a relatively strong affective stance, particularly anger in Example 19. The video extract displays that there are two main types of gestures Yeung employs. Although these two types can be categorized as pointing, they occur in different linguistic environments when conveying different meanings and representing different entities. The first type is "pointing at the opponent", i.e., Chow, and it always occurs when Yeung starts the statement with the pronoun "you", for instance, "you are now standing right here trying to lie to the Hong Kong people" (refer to screen capture 5 below), "You are destroying the legal system of Hong Kong with the Hong Kong government", etc. Yeung points his finger at Chow when he is accusing Chow of being an incompetent lawyer and sabotaging the legal system. Another type of gesture is "the downward-pointing towards the lectern" when he mentions about the Hong Kong legal system, the Hong Kong government, and the DAB party. This group of "entities" can be categorized as a group of distant objects that Yeung intends to emphasize when they are not physically present in the political debate.



Screen capture 5: Yeung pointing at Chow

Therefore, he employs the downward-pointing gesture to amplify the importance of the message as well as making accusations against these distant objects, including the Hong Kong government and the DAB party in this case. These two types of gestures carry a powerful accusation sentiment. It is nearly impossible to produce these types of gestures without any emotion. Therefore, combining the study of gestures and the linguistic forms allows us to read Yeung messages in both epistemic and affective perspectives. His anger and disdain are displayed through the gestures of pointing. Thus, the affective stance is projected more prominently through gestural activities, mostly when it is employed to pointing at the opponent and his associated party and alliance in this example. The affective stance is being amplified by displaying the pointing gestures while the epistemic stance is clearly projected in the linguistic forms and occasionally through UFPs, as shown in Example 18 when overlapping is absent.

4.2.5 Analyzing the debate with the Revised Stance Triangle

The stance subjects of the Revised Stance Triangle are Yeung and Chow in the debate. The pseudo stance object these two candidates evaluate in the above extract is the Mongkok civil unrest happened in February of 2016. Yeung topicalizes the incident and emphasizes his professional role as a lawyer. He then starts evaluating his role as a lawyer and stressing that lawyers should be cautious about labeling the Mongkok civil unrest before the actual legal trial. When he evaluates the incident with an epistemic stance, Yeung is essentially emphasizing that he has a positive epistemic stance, i.e., he has better knowledge in law. In contrast, Chow is evaluated as having less knowledge in law, comparatively speaking. Yeung evaluates Chow as a lawyer who fails to respect the law and wrongfully labels the unrest as a "riot". Therefore, Yeung argues that Chow does not deserve to be a lawyer. It can be concluded that Yeung positions himself with a relatively higher epistemic stance when he is evaluating Chow. On the other hand, the most salient stance Chow employs is also an epistemic stance but the role he takes is the identity of a father. Contradictorily, however, he also calls those young protesters as "thugs" who triggered a "riot" which implies that he takes on another role, as a political member of the pro-government party, DAB, and accuses the young protesters who triggered the "riot" should take legal responsibility. Therefore, how Chow is evaluating the pseudo-stance object, i.e., the unrest, contradicts with how he positions himself with an epistemic stance of being a father. Chow strategically positions himself as a father when he explains how he can relate to the feelings of those parents involved but he continuously calls the protesters as a group of thugs, which is usually referred to those who may bear legal responsibility, before a trial. It can be argued that electoral candidates actively negotiate and manipulate multiple social and professional roles they can identify with to appeal to the remote audiences who are watching the debate. The social and professional roles that Chow adopts include the role of a father, a lawyer as well as a member of

the DAB party whose legal and political stances are against the young protesters. Although Chow's role as a lawyer is the main focus that Yeung brings up a few times in their debate, it is evident that Yeung and Chow show divergent alignment in the entire stance act as they are evaluating their opponents' roles differently with opposing stances attaching to one another. It is again challenging to understand this particular debate through the original stance triangle. Hence, a revised stance triangle can help understand how complicated this particular debate's stance act is. Firstly, there are more than one node being added to Chow as a stance subject as shown in Figure 7 to represent different social and professional identities he is simultaneously playing in this particular interaction with Yeung, his turns can be analyzed more comprehensively to understand what roles he is switching to in order to appeal to the remote audiences and his voters. Combining the gestural analysis, we could see when gestures are involved, the affective stances are being intensified. Therefore, it can be argued that when gesture and verbal practices are both included in the analysis, the data as a whole is being enriched and there is no single perfect framework can illustrate how the stances are evaluated or how the stance subjects position themselves as their roles or social political identities change following the flow of the debates.

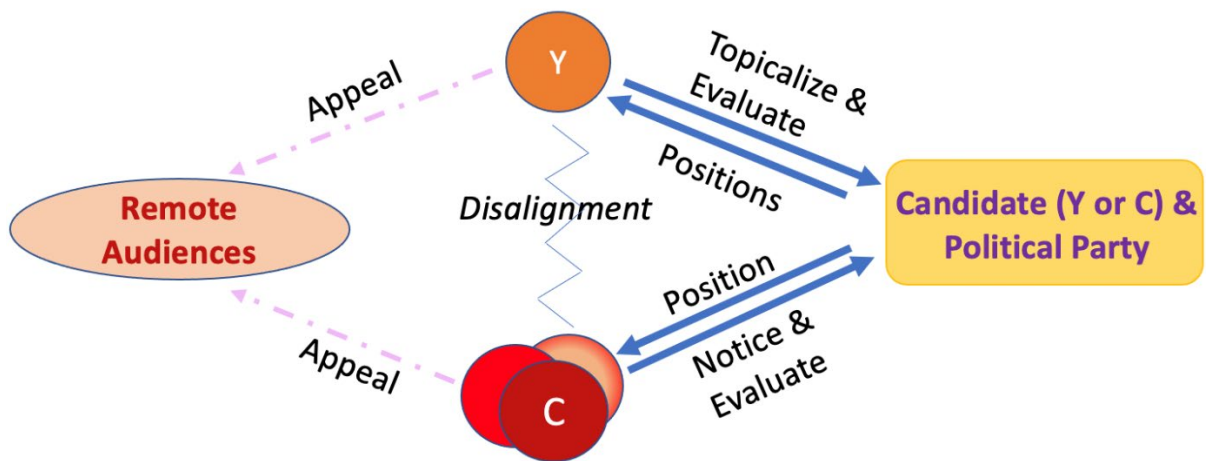


Figure 7. Revised Stance Triangle for the debate between Alvin Yeung and Holden Chow

4.2.6 Interim summary for the debate

In the above example, the use of utterance final particles includes *gaa3* and *ge3*, which both convey a tone of affirmation, and *laa1*, which acts as a marker of seeking common ground, as well as *aa3* as a question particle for the rhetorical question. Most of the UFPs employed in the debate help project an epistemic stance such as affirming a statement by the use of *gaa3* and *ge3*, etc. These UFPs help speakers to "claim to have the knowledge" of a specific profession, for instance, the legal profession in this particular debate. The use of UFPs is significantly useful in pursuing a social capital that indicates an authentic and authoritative knowledge in a certain sociocultural or professional field and thus, helps the speaker to consolidate and legitimate his role to evaluate his opponent's claims. Even though UFPs play a crucial role in projecting an affective stance, it is noteworthy that UFPs are nearly absent in the overlapping talk between these two candidates in their debate. It can be explained through the nature of the overlapping talk which always involve two or even more candidates arguing against each other with the accusations, for example, "you are full of nonsense", "you brought shame to your job as a lawyer", and "you liar" etc. The electoral candidates usually demonstrate or project an image that they possess sufficient knowledge or evidence to project an epistemic stance to "accuse" their opponent as a liar or as a shameful lawyer. It is clear from the example above that this kind of utterances projects various degrees of affective display through both linguistic and gestural activities. Most importantly, these intensive gestural activities are being constantly employed by Yeung when the overlapping talk is produced. Pointing is the main focus for this current gestural analysis which Yeung employs two main different pointing gestures. One of which is Yeung

pointing at his opponent, Chow, whereas another way of pointing is "the downward-pointing towards the lectern". The downward pointing is deployed when he denotes some distant entities, for instance, the legal system of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong government, and the DAB party, which are not physically present in the physical setting of the political debate. The entire overlapping interaction is inundated with emotional and affective displays such as anger and disdain. The affective stances are being amplified with both visual and verbal components which are critical in the political debate as the vote will be very likely to go to the candidate(s) who *wins over* the debate. Therefore, the stronger the arguments they can deliver, the higher the opportunity they could win the votes from the remote audiences who are the likely voters. This chapter, however, has no intention to make an absolute claim that whenever there are intensive gestural activities, UFPs will be suppressed or completely absent. There are examples of which both gesture and UFPs being employed simultaneously in an utterance. However, it is rarely the case in overlapping interaction in this particular debate. Lastly, the revised stance triangle, including multiple nodes attached to the candidate indicating multiple roles he is taking in the interaction, can help reflect how different identities or roles a single candidate plays can affect how the stance object(s), the candidates themselves, is being evaluated. It is always assumed that when one puts himself into different social and professional roles, he or she will thus be evaluated differently as a stance object. For instance, Chow is playing with different social and professional roles such as being as a father, a DAB member, and a lawyer whereas Yeung emphasizes only professional role as a lawyer and evaluates the civil unrest with his own professional role the entire time in the above extract of the debate. Yeung, therefore, seems to be able to stay focused on just a single professional role in the debate and demonstrates to be

possessing more authority in his professional field and thus he has more authority to evaluate Chow's claims legitimately with his professional knowledge effectively.

Consequently, Yeung appears to be a more competent candidate compared to Chow. In this piece of an information-loaded extract of the debate, the use of UFPs can be found in expressing epistemic stance but when the debate becomes heated and filled with overlapping interaction, pointing gestures come into play with intensive affective displays. The content of the discourse embeds both affective and epistemic stances. Therefore, gesture and linguistic forms both establish irreplaceable and distinctive roles in political debates to assist the speakers in projecting their stances appropriately.

4.3 Discussion

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that gestural activities play an integral part in understanding the comprehensive meaning of this political genre. In the individual speech, Yeung's main functions of gestural activities are to direct his audience's gaze to the subtitle of the screen, address them, and secure the attention of the remote audiences. This kind of attention-securing gesture is essential especially the electoral candidate has only a minute to deliver his speech while the remote audiences who are watching the debate at home may not be paying full attention. Therefore, there are different kinds of strategies needed in order to secure the remote audiences' full attention while delivering his individual speech. The frequency of UFPs being used in his individual speech is relatively limited. Yet, their role displays interactive nature of the individual speech which is to invite the remote audiences to engage in his speech by answering or thinking about his questions and the social issues that he raises. The structure of how he organizes his speech and his thoughts reflects upon the revised stance triangle in Figure 6 where

it shows that four stance objects are being evaluated within the 48-second speech. The revised stance triangle elaborates how intersubjectivity works even in an individual speech. The stancetaking activity helps Yeung to overtly index his political identity as a pro-democracy member working for the Civic Party. However, how the audience evaluates all the stance objects that he proposes, how they position themselves, whether it is alignment or disalignment remains unknown until the release of the electoral results. It is because the candidates do not know the stance of the remote audiences during the debate. Yeung has to ensure that his speech is strategically organized to make himself a favorable candidate to the remote audiences and likely voters. The modified stance triangle thus helps us trace the candidate's sociocognitive process and shed light on how a successful political individual speech is being constructed with the remote audiences being kept in the candidate's mind.

In the debate between Chow and Yeung, gestural activities reach its apex during the overlapping interaction. Most of the gestural activities are loaded with affective displays, including anger and disdain. The gestures amplify and consolidate these affective stances in political debate. In this set of data, Yeung projects an epistemic stance through the display of his legal knowledge and employs UFPs to convey affirmation. In contrast, gestural activities are employed along with the verbal content to project affective displays to reflect negative emotions. The synergy of gestural and verbal activities can thus project both affective and epistemic stances, respectively. These findings give a more comprehensive picture of how different stances can come into play in the same utterance if gestures are included in the analysis.

On the other hand, the core function of UFPs in the debate is to project epistemic stances, for instance, seeking common ground and asking questions with question particles. The frequent use of question particles is not uncommon since UFPs mainly serves interactive purposes in

conversation. Question particles thus help challenge opponents' knowledge and authority and affirm one's epistemic stance when it is necessary to claim to possess more knowledge over the others. However, UFPs seems to be suppressed especially during overlapping interaction of a heated debate. Yeung uses fewer UFPs and instead, employs a considerable number of gestures to emphasize his affective stance while his verbal message can be heavily epistemically loaded. It can be argued that when there is overlapping interaction, candidates will not deploy additional linguistic effort, such as using UFPs to index epistemic or affective stance. Alternatively, gesture, for example, index-finger pointing, is a direct and effective method to express affective stance in this particular political debate. Therefore, it can be suggested that gestures play an integral part in what an electoral candidate does in the utterance along with the verbal practices to create expressive and communicative goals in the political debate. However, more evidence is needed to see whether there is a negative correlation between the use of gestures and UFPs, especially during the overlapping interaction. The role of UFPs in this study shows that they are effectively used as a projection of epistemic stance that it can help affirm the speaker's professional authenticity or checking the opponent's authority in specific sociocultural fields. Generally speaking, the revised stance triangle helps us understand how the socio-cognitive process operates in the individual speech of the political discourse when the remote audiences are included in the analysis. Besides that, the revised stance triangle can also illustrate how candidates are manipulating different sociocultural and professional roles as stance subjects to take advantage of those various roles to project different stances when necessary. In this current study, it is shown that if a candidate is playing multiple roles at the same time, like Chow, in a relatively short interaction, may not be able to deliver the message as clear as just Yeung who is just playing one single powerful role at the time which is a lawyer. This may also shed new light

on how electoral candidates should carefully negotiate various roles or identities in political debates to project and consolidate their stance without confusing the audience.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

From the analysis of the actual debates, it is found that the most frequently employed question particles in the political debates include *le1* and *aa3*, as two common neutral question particles, which can efficiently lessen the tone of aggressiveness and hostility emitting from the strategic use of hypophora and question cascade as these two questioning techniques always draw significant advantages to the questioner in the actual debates. For instance, electoral candidates can deploy hypophora to immediately answer their own question to manipulate their own epistemic stance by placing themselves in a K+ position and simultaneously assigning a K- position to their question recipient. Similarly, question cascade is also a strategic question technique being regularly employed with these two neutral question particles by candidates to ask a series of questions and drawing an adversarial conclusion at the final question to attack their opponents. These two neutral question particles can successfully alleviate the aggressive nature of these two questioning techniques used among two competing electoral candidates. Therefore, it is also shown in the data that question particle *le1* is usually preferred in questioning when the two candidates are thought to have formed a potential alliance before the debate. In Example 8 of Chapter 2, Yeung utilizes a fixed syntactic form in all four of his questions to E. Leung. Two of his questions are ended with the *le1* question particle which help soften the interrogative tone of the questions. Even the content of the questions may appear to be aggressive, this question particle can help lessen the negative impact it has on the question recipient. The findings explain why emotive question particles such as *me1* and *zek1* are less

frequently used in the actual debates even they can project affective stances easily because emotive question particles can further intensify the hostility in the candidates' speeches which would eventually hurt the candidates' professional and competent image if they appear to be overly emotional in the debates.

Besides this, *leI* is the only question particle being employed in the individual speeches when the targeted audience of this type of speeches is the remote audiences. The content of these *leI*-ending questions is usually relevant to how the current political parties have failed to solve the social and political issues in Hong Kong. The *leI*-ending questions are deployed to engage with the remote audiences to establish an alignment with the current speaker of the individual speech. Therefore, using the *leI*-ending question is helpful to create an engaging manner and to not make a question sound like an interrogation to the remote audiences. Nonetheless, none of the question particles are being employed when hypophora is employed in the individual speeches. Hypophora is usually being deployed with the neutral question particles in the actual debates as explained previously in order to alleviate the hostile nature of the questions. By contrast, hypophora is used rather differently in the individual speeches as the candidates are using this questioning technique as a tool to help themselves to clarify their political views or stances which are possibly being previously distorted or misinterpreted by other candidates. Hypophora used in the individual speeches does not intentionally project a higher epistemic stance of the questioner over the question recipients. Instead, it helps the candidates to clarify any misconstrued political views to their audience and allows them to possibly re-gain support from them.

Similar to individual speeches, utterance final particles and question particles are found to be heavily suppressed in their usage when there is a heated debate between two competing

candidates and overlapping interaction is inevitable. Utterance final particles are used mainly to project epistemic stances. Question particles are also deployed to help challenge opponents' knowledge and authority in order to affirm a questioner's epistemic stance when it is necessary to claim to have more knowledge over the other. In the debate between Chow and Yeung in Example 19, gestural activities reach its peak during the overlapping interaction. Most of the gestural activities in this example are inundated with affective displays, including anger and disdain. Various pointing gestures further amplify and consolidate both of these affective stances in this interaction. The elected candidate, Yeung, projects his epistemic stance through the display of his legal knowledge as well as deploying UFPs to convey affirmation. Gestural activities, on the other hand, have become a useful resource for him to project affective stances. The findings suggest that the synergy of gestural and verbal analyses can provide a more comprehensive picture of how various types of stances are reflected through both linguistic and non-verbal cues. Therefore, studying how gestural activities are being deployed in political debates can help us understand different linguistic and gestural communicative instruments the candidates are deploying in the debates and shed light on whether these communicative tools play a favorable role in the winning candidate.

Lastly, although this study adopts the stance triangle proposed by Du Bois (2007), which is an everyday talk-in-interaction based theoretical framework, the stance triangle has to be revised for all the analyses of the political debates and individual speeches analysed in this dissertation in order to include the notion of remote audiences as part of the socio-cognitive analysis. For example, the stance triangle is revised to become more like a rhombus shape (refer to Figure 3) in Chapter 2 to help understand how various stance objects are being navigated and negotiated in those questioning techniques and the importance of recognizing the genuine stance objects.

Finding the genuine stance objects reveals that question designs are often oriented to the remote audiences whom the candidates are constantly appealing to in the debates. The stance triangle with multiple stance objects (Figure 5) revised to analyze individual speeches helps us understand how the first stance subjects, the candidate, manipulates different stance objects, usually some social or political issues, in order to assess and evaluate themselves as a capable candidate who can efficiently solve those unresolved issues and seek alignment with the remote audiences (as the second stance subject). Adding the remote audiences to these revised stance triangles emphasizes the importance of its role and explain how speeches in both debates and individual speeches are effectively organized even those remote audiences are not physically present in the interaction of the debate setting. They are either being directly addressed to or being implicitly appealed to throughout the debates. Therefore, these revised stance triangles can produce a better representation of how complicated human communication can be, particularly in the political arena and underscore the importance of examining how grammar, bodily behaviour, and communicative (questioning) techniques working together in projecting various stances, be it positive or negative, by political actors.

APPENDIX I

Abbreviations

CL	noun classifier
EXP	experiential aspect
LP	linking particle
PFV	perfective aspect
POSS	possessive marker
PROG	progressive aspect
PRT	particle
QP	question particle
UFP	utterance final particle

APPENDIX II

Transcription conventions

- [beginning of an overlap or simultaneous talk
-] end of an overlap or simultaneous talk
- = contiguous utterance; no discernible pause between two utterances
- a glottal stop; cut-off or self interruption

REFERENCES

- Biber, D., & Finegan, E. (1989). Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. *Text & Talk*, 9 (1): 94-124.
- Cheung, H. N. (2007). *Cantonese as spoken in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.
- Chilton, P., & Schaffner, C. (2002). *Politics as text and talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.4>
- Chor, W. (2002). *Directional particles in Cantonese: Form, function, grammaticalization*. John Benjamins.
- Chor, W. (2014). Epistemic modulations and speakers stance in Cantonese conversations. In H. Mark & A. Antonia (Eds.) *The 45th ALS Conference Proceedings*, (pp. 104–130). Newcastle, Australia: NOVA Open Access Repository.
- Chor, W. (2018). Sentence final particles as epistemic modulators in Cantonese conversation: A discourse-pragmatic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 129: 34–47.
- Clayman, S. & Romaniuk, T. (2011). Questioning Candidates. In M. Ekstrom & M. Patrona (Eds.). *Talking Politics in the Broadcast Media: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Political Interviewing, Journalism and Accountability*, (pp.15–32). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.42.05cla>

- Clayman, S., & Fox, M. (2017). Hardballs and softballs: Modulating adversarialness in journalistic questioning. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 16 (1), 19-39.
- Clayman, S., & Heritage, J. (2002). Questioning presidents: Journalistic deference and adversarialness in the press conferences of U.S. President Eisenhower and Reagan. *Journal of Communication*, 52 (4), 749-775.
- Clayman, S. E. (2011). Questioning Candidates. In Mats Ekstrom, and Marianna Patrona Talking Politics in the Broadcast Media: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Political Interviewing, Journalism and Accountability, ed. by Mats Ekstrom, and Marianna Patrona, 15–32. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.42.05cla>
- Clayman, S. E., Elliott, M. N., Heritage, J., and Beckett, M. K. (2012). The president's questioners: Consequential attributes of the White House press corps. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 17 (1), 100–121. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161211420867>
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.). *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139-182). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.164.07du>
- Englebretson, R. (2007). Stancetaking in discourse: An introduction. In R. Englebretson (Ed.). *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 1–25). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.164.02eng>
- Hayano, K. (2013). Question design in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.). *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 395-414). USA: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester, UK. doi: 10.1002/9781118325001.ch19.

- Heritage, J. (2002). The limits of questioning: negative interrogatives and hostile question content. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34 (10-11), 1427-1446.
- Heritage, J. (2008). Constructing and navigating epistemic landscapes. *The Journal of Studies in Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 2, 14-25.
- Heritage, J. (2012). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45, 1-29.
- Heritage, J., & Roth, A. (1995). Grammar and institution: Questions and questioning in the broadcast news interview. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 28(1), 1-60.
- Jaffe, A. (2009). *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195331646.001.0001>
- Kärkkäinen, E. (2007). The role of I guess in conversational stancetaking. In R. Englebretson (Ed.). *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 183–219). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.164.08kar>
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511807572>
- Kwok, H. (1984). *Sentence particles in Cantonese*. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.
- Labov, W. & Fanshel, D. (1977). *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

- Law, A. (2002). *Cantonese sentence-final particles and the CP domain*. London: UCL.
- Law, S. P. (1990). *The syntax and phonology of Cantonese sentence-final particles*. Doctoral dissertation, Boston University.
- Law, Y. K. A. (2004). *Sentence-final focus particles in Cantonese*. London: University of London, University College London.
- Leung, C. S. (2005). *A study of the utterance particles in Cantonese as spoken in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Language Information Sciences Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong.
- Leung, C.S. (1992). *A study of the utterance particles in Cantonese as spoken in Hong Kong*. M. Phil. Thesis, Hong Kong Polytechnic.
- Leung, W. M. (2010). *On the synchrony and diachrony of sentence-final particles: The case of 'wo' in Cantonese*. Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert.
- Linell, P. (1998). *Approaching dialogue: Talk, interaction, and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking language, mind and world dialogically: Interactional and contextual theories of human sense-making*. Information Age Pub.
- Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking language, mind, and world dialogically: Interactional and contextual theories of human sense-making*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

- Luke, K. K. (1990). *Utterance particles in Cantonese conversation*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.9>
- Matthews, S. & Yip, V. (2011). *Cantonese: A comprehensive grammar*. London; New York: Routledge.
- McCormick, S. (2003). Earning one's inheritance: Rhetorical criticism, everyday talk, and the analysis of public discourse. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 89(2), 109-131.
- Montgomery, M. (2007). *The discourse of broadcast news: A linguistic approach*. London: Routledge.
- Montgomery, M. (2008). *The discourse of the broadcast news interview*. *Journalism Studies*, 9 (2): 260–277.
- Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on Conversation. Vols 1 and 2* (G. Jefferson (Ed.)). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Sacks, H. & Schegloff, E. A. (2002). Home position. *Gesture*, 2(2), 133–146.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/gest.2.2.02sac>
- Schegloff, E. A. (2000). Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language in Society*, 29(1), 1–63. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500001019>
- Scheibman, J. (2002). *Point of view and grammar: Structural patterns of subjectivity in American English conversation*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.11>

Stivers, T. & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing Response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43(1), 3-31.

Wodak, R. & Forchtner, B. (2017). The fictionalisation of politics. In R. Wodak & B, Forchtner (Eds.). *The routledge handbook of language and politics*. Oxon: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315183718-43>

Yap, F. H., Wang, J. & Lam, C. (2010). Stance phenomena in Chinese: Diachronic, discourse, and processing perspective (Special Issue). *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics*, 8(2).

Yau, S. C. (1980). Sentential connotations in Cantonese. *Fangyan*, 1, 35–52.