

**“WHO CAUSED THIS? IS THIS FAIR?”:
A MULTI-MODAL ETHNOPOETIC ANALYSIS OF
CANTONESE ORAL NARRATIVE AND RHETORIC**

by

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Abstract

This study contributes to a growing body of multi-modal ethnopoetic research by incorporating analyses of paralinguistic features and their contribution to discourse structure. The study investigates the poetic structuring of a minimally interrupted stretch of spontaneous polemical speech from a well-known Hong Kong social activist. The data comes from a Cantonese television program which interviews prominent and controversial social figures in an intimate living-room setting, and the stretch of speech was prompted by a question regarding the plight of the lower class during a time when Hong Kong society was experiencing a widening gap between the rich and the poor. The monologue is part of a discourse of resistance against predominant social and government views on the poor, and contains two poignant personal narratives. Textual, prosodic, and gestural features are examined and they are found to be used jointly to structure the flow of the narratives as well as arguments in the data. Findings suggest the speaker employs these multi-modal resources to create a predominance of three- and five-part patterns that are parallel between the narratives and the overall argument structure. The narratives are found to play a central role in the development of the arguments, both semantically and structurally, and are intricately linked to the rhetorical effect of the entire stretch of speech.

1. Introduction

Dell Hymes (1981, 1982, 1984, 1992, 1994, 2003), one of the pioneering researchers in ethnopoetics, dedicated much of his life's work to uncovering the poetic structuring of Native American oral narratives in an effort to show sophisticated levels of linguistic coherence beyond the text and into the spoken, as well as outside of Western languages. He sought to persuade us "that spoken narrative has a level of patterning that is likely to be found everywhere" and believed that "in many languages, perhaps all, there is an organization of lines in terms of which the shape of a narrative can be discovered inductively and shown on the page" (Hymes, 1984:475). The linguistic signs of patterning in Hymes' work include semantic and syntactic parallelisms, lexical items such as sentential particles and discourse markers, and recurrent forms of content transitions and movement (such as *Onset*, *Ongoing*, and *Outcome*) across narrative performances as well as performers.

While Hymes' work emphasizes the formal properties of oral narratives—that is, *text*—as the foundation for analyzing structure, Dennis Tedlock (1977, 1983), another influential scholar in ethnopoetic research, has emphasized the role of prosody instead. Other researchers have subsequently taken more holistic approaches, considering both textual and prosodic analyses and the interplay between the two (such as Woodbury, 1985; Gee, 1986) as well as incorporating analyses of multi-modal semiotic resources such as gesture (Cassell & McNeill, 1991) as well as spatial environment (Kataoka, 2009, 2010). The ethnopoetic study of oral narratives has also expanded beyond Western and Native American languages (Hymes, 2003:439), including recent work by Kataoka (2009, 2010) on Japanese and by Masuda (2002, 2010) on creole languages.

This paper aims to follow in Cassell & McNeill and Kataoka's footsteps in incorporating gesture along with text and prosody as semiotic resources in the structuring of oral narratives. I

will examine a stretch of polemical speech in Cantonese with two major narratives which serve as illustrations of the arguments presented in the speech. Unlike previous studies which examine only narrative, this study also examines the textual environment, i.e., the arguments, in which the narratives are situated, and the interplay between the structures of the two, between *narrative* and *rhetoric*. I will also show how prosody and gesture play an important role in reinforcing structural boundaries in tandem with textual cues.

The paper will be presented in the following order: Section 2 addresses the two key concepts in this study—narrative and rhetoric; Section 3 briefly discusses methodological approaches by previous researchers and the approach taken in this study to analyze text, prosody, and gesture; Section 4 introduces background information on the data; Section 5 presents a global overview of the results of this study, and then addresses textual, prosodic, and gestural analyses one by one; Section 6 summarizes and discusses the findings; and finally Section 7 concludes the study.

2. Key Concepts

2.1. Narrative

The definition of *narrative* in this paper follows the most basic Labovian (1997) sense of a minimum of two sequential events. However, this study will not employ Labov's methodology of determining narrative structure through sequential ordering, but does borrow two concepts, narrative components which are found to mark narrative boundaries in both the data in this study and often in the narratives examined under the Labovian framework. *Orientation*, which typically marks the beginning of narratives, introduces the initial conditions of the narrative events, such as time, location, and person (Labov & Waletzky 1967:29); and *Coda*, which often marks the end of the narrative, brings the perspective back to the present, or to the time of the

narrative performance itself (Labov & Waletzky 1967:35). The content structure of the narratives will be addressed in Section 5.2. on textual analysis.

The major narratives examined in this study relate personal experiences of the narrator and exhibit near-identical structures. They also contain embedded narratives within them—the story that recounts the experiences of the narrative performer (i.e., the actual speaker of the data) will be called the *outer narrative*, whereas the story that recounts the experiences of a character mentioned in the outer narrative will be termed the *inner narrative*.

2.2. Rhetoric and rhetorical structure

Rhetoric and *rhetorical* are here loosely defined in Aristotelean terms as “an ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion” (Aristotle, 1991). For the purposes of this study I emphasize “means of persuasion” as the central definition. *Rhetorical structure* then refers to the patterned and distributional use of discursive resources (textual, prosodic, and gestural) to achieve this persuasive end. Crucially, this paper will examine how the patterns of different resources converge meaningfully to contribute to and reinforce their discursive functions. In Woodbury’s (1985:154-155, 180) study, rhetorical structure is analyzed in terms of the overlapping patterning of syntactic and prosodic components. This study follows Woodbury’s definition of inter-reinforcement between structuring components as the locus of rhetorical structure, but in addition includes (a) gestural features as an extra component (on top of textual and prosodic components) in the speaker’s strategy for structuring his discourse, and (b) the ultimate function of persuasion specific to the data under examination.

3. Methodology

3.1. Text

Hymes' method of poetic analysis is based on the understanding that stories "have parts and internal relations" and that "the parts and internal relations are frequently signaled" (Hymes, 1984:476-477). These parts include, from the smallest to the largest: lines, verses, stanzas, scenes, and acts. The definitions for these parts have been rather flexible depending on each researcher's methodology and aims, as well as to the specific language or data in question. A line is typically defined as a word or string of words representing any of the following or a combination thereof: an idea unit, an intonation unit, or if no audio representation of the data is available, a clause. Verses and stanzas may involve one or more lines, typically involving shifts in temporal or spatial relations, whereas scenes and acts usually indicate drastic changes in temporal and spatial relations (Kataoka 2009:290). There are essentially no hard and fast definitions on what these parts should constitute, since discursive strategies vary cross-linguistically, let alone from performance to performance as well as from speaker to speaker. The usage of these terms serves more to indicate transitional boundaries and to facilitate analysis.

I will use some of the Hymesian terms with the following definitions in Figure 1. These definitions were not chosen prior to analysis, but emerged during the process:

Figure 1

Structural Unit	Definition	Numbering
line	an intonation unit (discussed in detail in the next section)	numerals (1, 2, 3...)
verse	[not used in this study]	
sub-stanza	the same as a stanza, with the crucial difference where sub-stanzas indicate sections of inner narratives, and stanzas indicate sections of outer narratives	lowercase letters (a, b, c...)
stanza	may consist of one or more lines that are thematically grouped as either a part of a narrative or as a component of an argument	capital letters (A, B, C...)
scene	contains more than one stanza and is either an argument set (i.e., contains at least two argument stanzas) or a narrative that is sandwiched between two argument scenes	lowercase Roman numerals (i, ii, iii)
act	contains an argument-narrative-argument trio of scenes; for the data examined in this paper, there are only two acts, referred to as Argument Acts I and II	capital Roman numerals (I, II)

All structural units, except for lines, were determined by identifying recurring patterns in the text, including sentential particles, repetition of phrases and content, semantically parallel clauses, reported speech, discourse and temporal markers, shifts in topic, and in the case of some of the narrative sections, shifts in location, actor, or events. I will explore these in detail in Section 5.2.

3.1.1. Lines and Intonation Units

An *intonation unit* (Chafe, 1994), also known as *intonation group* (Cruttenden, 1986) and *tone group* (Halliday, 1967), is essentially an intonation contour. Chafe's account (1994:58) of what constitutes an intonation unit has been the most utilized in research on naturally occurring

discourse. According to him an intonation unit may include any of the following six features: (a) resetting of the pitch baseline; (b) increased speech rate in the beginning; (c) includes at least one stressed syllable or word; (d) is often, but not necessarily, preceded and followed by pauses (but may contain pauses as well); (e) sometimes may begin or end with non-modal voicing; and (f) a change in speaker turn.

While words and sentences are considered units of grammar, intonation units are considered to be units of performance, where “cognition, syntax, physics, phonetics, and phonology of speech converge” (Wennerstrom, 2001:28). They do not necessarily conform to full grammatical clauses or sentences (though they do tend to coincide with syntactic units); instead, they are “information blocks” (Halliday, 1967) or “idea units” that speakers focus on from moment to moment as they speak (Chafe, 1980:13, 1994:69).

Because Cantonese is a tone language which relies heavily on maintaining the relative pitch height differences between any two adjacent tones (Flynn, 2003; Francis et al., 2005), there is much less freedom in pitch manipulation, resulting in intonation being expressed predominantly by either boundary intonation in utterance-final position or global rises and falls (Lam, 2002). However, like most languages, Cantonese also exhibits global declination over time. What this means is that, for example, within any single utterance, all syllables with the high level Tone 1 will gradually lower in pitch every time the next Tone 1 syllable appears, and all other syllables with other tones will also lower in pitch (while still maintaining the same relative pitch height differences between adjacent syllables). Up to a certain point, this maintained pitch span will reset and start at a higher pitch again. In Flynn’s (2003) descriptive analysis of Cantonese intonation, the resetting of the pitch span is the sole criterion for what she terms “intonation group.” Moreover, it is also “a unit of information a speaker wants to convey, which

coincides with a syntactic unit—a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence” (p.78). This description is very close to that characterized for intonation units in English, by Chafe as well as Halliday and Cruttenden. I adopt Flynn’s criterion for “intonation groups” in Cantonese to separate intonation units in the data.

The determination of the intonation units for this study is done impressionistically with the aid of drawn pitch contours. Where in doubt, I adopt Flynn’s method of looking at the corresponding pitch contours, determining the tone values of all the syllables in that portion of data, and finding out whether it is possible to draw relatively straight (and downward) lines connecting all the syllables which share the same tones. If there is a significant break in the continuation of a straight line, it indicates a boundary between two intonation units.

The intonation units in this study correspond remarkably well with syntactic units and boundaries (phrases, clauses, and sentences), with very few cases of truncated intonation units where the utterance is abandoned midway and followed immediately by a repair.

3.2. Prosody

Two aspects of prosody were investigated in this study: pause lengths and pitch heights (in Hz). The speech analysis software program Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2011) was used to obtain the measurements.

Pause lengths were measured and rounded to 0.1 seconds (100 milliseconds). Where a pause is shorter than 0.1 seconds, it is indicated as (<0.1). For pitch heights, I used 60 Hz for the pitch floor and 250 Hz for the pitch ceiling. Maximum pitch as well as mean pitch heights were obtained for each line as well as for larger units (sub-stanzas and stanzas), after the latter had been determined through textual analysis.

3.3. *Gesture*

Because the data is devoid of any visible hand movements, the gestures under examination are head movements and eye contact.¹ Although these are not typically the focus of gesture studies, research has found eye contact to play a role in marking topic shifts in sign languages (Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006; Engberg-Pedersen, 2011). In Engberg-Pedersen's examples of American Sign Language and Danish Sign Language, an introduction of a new topic is often indicated by a slight backwards movement of the head accompanied by establishing eye contact with the addressee, before shifting one's gaze back to the hands or the referenced object (p.700). Previous research by Cassell & McNeill (1991) and Kataoka (2009, 2010) on gesture in oral narratives have focused on the location and movement of the hands and their function in marking discourse transitions as well. It stands to reason that in the absence of hand gestures, nonmanual features such as head movements and eye contact should be equally capable of being utilized as resources for discursive functions.

For the majority of the 5.5 minutes of the data, the speaker maintains steady eye contact with the addressee.² There are very few moments where the speaker moves his head and/or the direction of his gaze. Where he does so, the direction of the movement of the head and eyes are recorded as to whether they move to the left or right of, as well as upward or downward from, the speaker's predominant gaze. The lines in which the movements occur are also noted, as well as their timing with respect to the utterance of the line.

¹ Since the data is obtained from a television program, the video does not show frames continuously from the same camera with the same location or focus. However, the majority of the time the speaker's upper body can be clearly seen. Although the hands are rarely shown, no movement can be observed in the arms or shoulders to indicate the speaker gestured with his hands.

² Due to the video recording rarely showing both interlocutors at the same time, it is impossible to ascertain that the speaker's steady gaze is indeed directed at the addressee. There is however no reason to believe the contrary, and the speaker can nonetheless be seen to gaze in one specific direction for the great majority of the time.

4. Data

The data examined in this study is a 5.5-minute segment taken from a 21-minute episode of a television interview program from Hong Kong, titled *Mei Mei Jyu* (微微語, popularly translated as *Face to Face with Siu Mei*), broadcast on October 13, 2009.³ The program features prominent and sometimes controversial figures in Hong Kong for its interviews. In this particular episode of the program, the host Lee Siu Mei (李小薇) interviews Ho Hei-wah (何喜華), a well-known social worker and grassroots activist who advocates for socially vulnerable groups. Prior to the segment, the interviewer asks Ho Hei-wah about his observation regarding the social atmosphere in Hong Kong and whether he has noticed that the lower class has become disgruntled. Most of the interview is centered around the topic of social injustice and particularly that of poverty and of treatment of the poor by the government and by the society at large.

This 5.5-minute segment is a minimally interrupted stretch of speech by the interviewee Ho Hei-wah. Except for two very soft “mm” and “hm” sounds from the interviewer (as emotional reactions to the stories told by the interviewee), this stretch of speech would otherwise constitute one full turn in the interview. The segment contains two of the three most salient personal narratives to appear in the entire interview; both of them are Ho Hei-wah’s accounts of his encounters with individuals from the lower class, which he uses as illustrations for his arguments. The extracted data takes place between approximately 2.5 minutes and 8 minutes into the interview, with a total of 135 lines as determined by intonation units. The interview is entirely in Cantonese and the data is transcribed using Jyutping Romanization established by the Linguistics Society of Hong Kong.

³ The interview is obtained through a copy available on Youtube.com, separated into two video files, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lr9eqXEL4NY> (Part 1), and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XdgTNYuQmLY> (Part 2).

There are no perceivable signs that the 5.5-minute segment had been edited in any manner so as to misrepresent the original chronology or audio quality of the performance. However, since the television episode is a montage and the original audio-video recordings are inaccessible, this study can only be based on what is available for observation. The analyses in this paper are nonetheless faithful to the observable data, and what can be observed shows a high degree of structural intricacy between textual, prosodic, and gestural features that drastic manipulation of the data would be highly unlikely.

A full text transcription in Cantonese with interlinear translation and free English translation is provided in Appendix A.

5. Analysis

5.1. Global Overview of the Data Structure

The data can be divided into two Acts which encompass two large argument sets, as illustrated in the outline provided on the next page in Figure 2. The two Acts have nearly identical internal structures, each with three Scenes that proceed in the following manner: (i) an argument is presented (I.i. and II.i., Argument Opening), (ii) a narrative is recounted that serves as illustration and support for the argument (I.ii. and II.ii., Narrative), and (iii) the argument is reiterated or elaborated (I.iii. and II.iii., Argument Closing). Moreover, the three Scenes from both Acts also exhibit parallel structures. Both Argument Openings (I.i. and II.i.) contain two parts: a main claim (I.i.A. and II.i.A., Opening Claim), and a supporting claim (I.i.B. and II.i.B., Opening Supporting Claim). The Argument Closings (I.iii. and II.iii.) also contain two parts, with an inverted parallel structure to the Argument Openings: first a reiteration or continuation of the supporting claim (I.iii.A. and II.iii.A., Closing Supporting Claim), and a reiteration or continuation of the main claim (I.iii.B. and II.iii.B., Closing Claim) which closes the Argument

Act. Sandwiched between the two Scenes is the Narrative, which in the two Acts only differ in terms of the presence or absence of a final Coda section; otherwise, the Narrative sections of the two Acts both contain a section each of Orientation, Onset, Ongoing, and Outcome, and the Outcome furthermore contains an inner narrative. The structures of the inner narratives mirror that of the outer narratives as well, and will be discussed in detail in Section 5.2.1.

Figure 2: Outline of the data structure

Act	Scene	Stanza	Lines	Content summary
I. Argument Act I				
			1-38	
		i. Argument Opening	1-11	poverty causes society to become less tolerant—the poor trample the poor
		A. Opening Claim		
		B. Opening Supporting Claim		
		ii. Narrative	12-36	narrative illustrating an example of “the poor trample the poor”
		A. Orientation		
		B. Onset		
		C. Ongoing		
		D. Outcome (<i>Inner narrative, sub-stanzas a.-e.</i>)		
		E. Coda		
		iii. Argument Closing	37-38	the poor trample the poor—society became intolerant
		A. Closing Supporting Claim		
		B. Closing Claim		
II. Argument Act II				
			39-135	
		i. Argument Opening	39-66	who caused this (current generation of the poor)?—it’s the government, who had denied them public education
		A. Opening Claim		
		B. Opening Supporting Claim		
		ii. Narrative	67-123	narrative illustrating a man who became a victim of poverty due to lack of public education during childhood
		A. Orientation		
		B. Onset		
		C. Ongoing		
		D. Outcome (<i>Inner narrative, sub-stanzas a.-e.</i>)		
		[no E. Coda]		
		iii. Argument Closing	124-135	now the government says the poor don’t work hard enough, don’t get better educated—is this fair?
		A. Closing Supporting Claim		
		B. Closing Claim		

The rest of the analysis section will be organized as follows: Section 5.2. examines textual features and how they are used to create the structure of the data as presented in Figure 2—the structure of the narratives will be explored just before moving on to the argument structure of the data; Section 5.3. investigates the prosodic features that reinforce this structure, and their contribution to the macro structure of the data; and Section 5.4. examines how gesture contributes additionally to the multi-modal rhetorical structuring of the data.

5.2. Textual Analysis

5.2.1. The two narratives (I.ii. and II.ii.)

The two stories feature two different individuals from the lower class that Ho Hei-wah had encountered. The first is an elderly man in his seventies who was still working to take care of his unemployed son. The second is a man in his forties who used to be a shoemaker but ended up working as a day laborer and collecting recyclables from trash cans at night. Both are portrayed to have become poor through no fault of their own, and are instead victims of societal ostracization.

The two outer narratives further contain inner narratives in the Outcome sections (I.ii.D. and II.ii.D.). While the outer narratives recount Ho Hei-wah's encounter with the two men, the inner narratives recount the situation or life stories of those men themselves. Ho Hei-wah tells the first inner narrative by assuming the 70-year-old man's voice, while he tells the second one mostly in third person, with only three instances where he embodies the voice of the 40-year-old shoemaker in quoted speech. A summary of the content of the narratives is presented in Figure 3:

Figure 3: Content summary of Narratives I.ii. and II.ii.

Narrative Layer		Scenes / Stanzas / Sub-stanzas (lines) [] = interviewer turn	Summary
OUTER NARRATIVE I	I.ii. Narrative (12-36), from Argument Act I		
		A. Orientation (12)	I (Ho Hei-wah) was fundraising in Central
		B. Onset (13-17)	an elderly man approached and scolded me for helping out poor, “lazy” people while he worked hard to make a living
		C. Ongoing (18-24)	I urged him to get welfare
	INNER NARRATIVE I	D. Outcome (25-35)	elderly man tells his story why he can’t live on welfare
		a. Orientation (25)	I have no solution for my situation
		b. Onset (26-27)	I have a son in his forties
		c. Ongoing (28, [29])	he’s been looking for a job for many years without success
		d. Outcome (30-34)	and ends up staying at home relying on me and becoming mentally unstable
		e. Coda (35)	what can I do?
	E. Coda (36)	after I heard that I felt really sad	
OUTER NARRATIVE II	II.ii. Narrative (67-123), from Argument Act II		
		A. Orientation (67-70)	I was drinking beer on the street in Sham Shui Po
		B. Onset (71-78)	A man was collecting recyclables from the trash can
		C. Ongoing (79)	I went over to chat with him
	INNER NARRATIVE II	D. Outcome (80-123)	I found out his story and this is what I learned
		a. Orientation (80-84)	he started working after sixth grade, because secondary school was the privilege of the rich
		b. Onset (85-98, [99])	he became a shoemaker in mainland China, but one day got fired
		c. Ongoing (100-115)	he returned to Hong Kong, but couldn’t find a better job
		d. Outcome (116-121)	that’s why he ended up collecting recyclables to maintain a living
		e. Coda (122-123)	he asked me, “what did I do wrong?”
	[no E. Coda]		

The internal structures of both the outer and inner narratives have been found to be marked by a number of reinforcing features both in terms of textual cues and content, summarized below in Figure 4:

Figure 4: Internal Structure and Features in Narratives I.ii. and II.ii.

Narrative Layer		Scenes / Stanzas / Sub-stanzas (lines) [] = interviewer turn	begins (sub-) stanza (*, #)	ends (sub-) stanza (°, ^)	locality of events ({}); character in focus (§)	
OUTER NARRATIVE I	I.ii. Narrative (12-36), from Argument Act I					
		A. Orientation (12)	* <i>jau jat ci</i> ‘once’			
		B. Onset (13-17)		° quoted speech	§ elderly man	
		C. Ongoing (18-24)	# <i>hauloi</i> ‘afterward’	° quoted speech	§ Ho Hei-wah	
	INNER NARRATIVE I		D. Outcome (25-35)	# <i>hauloi</i> ‘afterward’	° quoted speech	§ elderly man
			a. Orientation (25)			
			b. Onset (26-27)			
			c. Ongoing (28, [29])			
			d. Outcome (30-34)			
		e. Coda (35)		^ quoted rhetorical question		
	E. Coda (36)					
OUTER NARRATIVE II	II.ii. Narrative (67-123), from Argument Act II					
		A. Orientation (67-70)	* <i>jau jat jat</i> ‘one day’			
		B. Onset (71-78)			§ 40-year-old man	
		C. Ongoing (79)			§ Ho Hei-wah	
	INNER NARRATIVE II		D. Outcome (80-123)			§ 40-year-old man
			a. Orientation (80-84)			
			b. Onset (85-98, [99])	# <i>laumei</i> ‘afterward’	° quoted speech	{ mainland China }
			c. Ongoing (100-115)	# <i>gitgwo</i> ‘in the end’	° quoted speech	{ Hong Kong }
			d. Outcome (116-121)	# <i>jyusifu</i> ‘therefore’	° quoted speech	{ Sham Shui Po street }
		e. Coda (122-123)	# <i>hauloi</i> ‘afterward’	° reported speech; ^ quoted rhetorical question		
	[no E. Coda]					

The most salient aspect of both narratives is the use of quoted speech (see items marked with ° in Figure 4), i.e., reporting what people have said by assuming their voices. Interestingly, the only two interruptions in the entire data—emotional responses from the interviewer (“hm” in line 29; “mm” in line 99)—occur within, and immediately after, segments of quoted speech, respectively. The quoted speech has been found to end stanzas, a point I will come back to later in this section.

Both outer narratives have clear boundaries: an introduction (* in Figure 4) signaling a story to be told by orienting the listeners to the time and place of the story, and a last line followed by a long pause as well as a transition outside the setting of the storytelling. These elements are outlined below in Figures 5 and 6:

Figure 5: Boundaries of outer narrative I.ii.

Scene	Line	Text
		[left-edge boundary]
I.ii. Narrative (in Argument Act I)		
	12	<i>ngo5 waa6 bei2 nei5 teng1 jau5 jat1 ci3 ngo5 hai2 zung1waan4 cau4fun2</i> (0.8) let me tell you, <u>once</u> I was raising money in Central (0.8)
	...	
	36	<i>ngo5 teng1-dou2 hou2 naan4gwo3</i> (5.0) after I heard that I felt really sad (5.0)
		[right-edge boundary]
I.iii. Argument Closing		
	37	<i>zau6hai6 kung4 jan4 cin5daap6 kung4 jan4</i> (0.3) it's precisely because the poor are trampling the poor (0.3)

Figure 6: Boundaries of outer narrative II.ii.

Scene	Line	Text
		[left-edge boundary]
II.ii. Narrative (in Argument Act II)		
	67	<i>jau5 jat1 jat6 (1.1)</i> one day (1.1)
	68	<i>jat1 maan5 ngo5 (0.5) hai2 sam1seoi2bou2 (0.8)</i> one night I (0.5) was in Sham Shui Po (0.8)
	...	
	123	<i>keoi5 man6 ngo5 ho4-saang1 ngo5- (1.5) ngo5 co3 (1.2) co3 hai2 bin1dou6 ne1(2.0)</i> he asked me, ‘Mr. Ho, what- (1.5) what did I (1.2) I do wrong? (2.0)
		[right-edge boundary]
II.iii. Argument Closing		
	124	<i>nei5 zing3fu2 ji4gaa1 zau6 seng4 jat6 waa6</i> yet the government now keeps saying

The beginning of both outer narratives are cued by phrases semantically similar to ‘once upon a time’: *jau5 jat1 ci3* ‘once’ in line 12 for the first outer narrative, and *jau5 jat1 jat6 / jat1 maan5* ‘one day / one night’ in lines 67-68 for the second outer narrative. These lines also introduce the location of the narratives—line 12 specifies *zung1waan4* ‘Central’ and line 68 *sam1seoi2bou2* ‘Sham Shui Po,’ both of which are districts within Hong Kong.

The ending of the outer narratives, on the other hand, are signaled by a line that transitions out of the narratives and back to the argument that had been introduced before the narratives were told. Lines 37 and 124 (see Figures 5 and 6) no longer continue the storylines of the outer narratives nor comment on them, indicating that the narratives have completely ended.

Having established the boundaries of the outer narratives, a 5-part pattern for the first narrative can be observed, consisting of Orientation, Onset, Ongoing, Outcome, and finally Coda, and also a 4-part pattern for the second narrative where only the Coda is missing (see Figure 3). In both narratives, the Onset, Ongoing, and Outcome sections are further reinforced

structurally by transitions in terms of the character who is the focus of the events. The Onset sections of both narratives feature the men whom Ho Hei-wah met, describing what they were doing. In the first narrative, the 70-year-old man approaches Ho Hei-wah and scolds him (lines 13-17); in the second narrative, the shoemaker is seen searching for recyclables in trash cans on the street (lines 71-78). The Ongoing sections then describe Ho Hei-wah's reaction to these situations—encouraging the elderly man to live on welfare (lines 18-24) in the first narrative and going over to chat with the shoemaker (line 79) in the second narrative. The Outcome stanzas then shift the attention back to the elderly man and the shoemaker, recounting personal stories of the elderly man (lines 25-35) and the shoemaker (lines 80-123). Both of these inner narratives can be further divided into the same 5-part structure found in the first larger narrative.

Although the two outer narratives do not mirror each other exactly in overall structure (the second narrative is missing the last Coda stanza), there are some interesting parallels in terms of the poetic features that help define their structures. In the first outer narrative (I.ii.), the Onset, Ongoing, and Outcome stanzas (I.ii.B.-D.) all end with quoted speech (° in Figure 4); moreover, the Ongoing and Outcome stanzas also begin with the word 'afterward' (*hauloi*, lines 18 and 25; see items marked with # in Figure 4), which function like discourse markers in indicating major transition points in the development of the narratives.

In the second *inner* narrative (II.ii.D.) in Argument Act II, these same features help define the internal sub-stanzas. The Onset, Ongoing, Outcome, and Coda sub-stanzas (II.ii.D.a.-e.) all end with quoted speech (° in Figure 4) and begin with lexical items semantically similar to *hauloi* 'afterward' (# in Figure 4). These four stanzas begin with, respectively, *laumei* 'afterward' (line 85), *gitgwo* 'in the end' (line 100), *jyusifu* 'therefore' (line 116), and again *hauloi* (line 214), which all function to indicate a transition as well as continuation in the storyline. The Onset,

Ongoing, and Outcome stanzas (II.ii.D.b.-d.) in this second inner narrative are further reinforced by locality in the story (items marked with { } in Figure 4)—Onset takes place in mainland China, Ongoing in Hong Kong generally, and Outcome on a specific street in Sham Shui Po where Ho Hei-wah met the shoemaker.

Additionally, the last lines of both inner narratives end in a rhetorical question (items marked with ^ in Figure 4) from the protagonists, the elderly man and the shoemaker, after telling their stories of how they ended up struggling to make ends meet. The rhetorical questions are shown below in Data Extracts 1 and 2:

Data Extract 1: Rhetorical question in inner narrative I.ii.D.e.

35 *“nei5 waa6 dim2 aa1?”* (3.2)
 ‘what can I do?’ (3.2)

Data Extract 2: Rhetorical question in inner narrative II.ii.D.e.

123 *keoi5 man6 ngo5 “ho4 saang1 ngo5- (1.5) ngo5 co3 (1.2) co3 hai2 bin1dou6 ne1”* (2.0)
 he asked me, ‘Mr. Ho, what- (1.5) what did I (1.2) I do wrong? (2.0)

Both lines are the only members of their respective Coda sections (I.ii.D.e. and II.ii.D.e.) in the inner narratives, ending the narration by bringing it back to the present. In presenting these rhetorical questions, the respective characters of the elderly man and the shoemaker appeal the audience (Ho Hei-wah himself as well as the audience of the interview program whom Ho Hei-wah recounts these stories for) to reflect upon the situation or life story that they had just imparted. The rhetorical questions are clearly still related to the inner narratives, but are no longer part of the events in the storylines, since they are evaluative in nature, effectively marking the end of the inner narratives.

The poetic features so far examined that are employed by Ho Hei-wah to structure his narratives can be summarized as follows:

- (a) lexical items *jau jat ci* ‘once’ and *jau jat jat* ‘one day’ are used to mark the beginning of the outer narratives;
- (b) transition markers semantically similar to *hauloi* ‘afterward’ are used to mark the beginning of some of the major sections (stanzas or sub-stanzas) of both inner and outer narratives;
- (c) quoted speech is used to mark the end of major sections of the narratives; and
- (d) the features in (b) and (c) reinforce the temporal transitions in the narratives—transitions in the character of focus, and transitions in location of events in the second inner narrative.

We turn to the text surrounding the narratives to examine the role of the narratives in the greater rhetorical structure of the data.

5.2.2. The surrounding arguments

Beyond the boundaries of the first outer narrative (I.ii.), are the two parallel scenes Argument Opening and Argument Closing (I.i.A. and I.iii.A., see Figure 7), which both contain two stanzas. The two stanzas in Argument Opening (I.i.)— Opening Claim (I.i.A.) and Opening Supporting Claim (I.i.B.)—are mirrored by Closing Supporting Claim (I.iii.A.) and Closing Claim (I.iii.B.) in Argument Closing (I.iii.). In these four stanzas, two sets of lines (lines 2 & 38, and lines 11 & 37) surround the narrative in a chiasmus-like (ABBA) structure. They are the salient claims that make up part of Ho Hei-wah’s overall argument:

Figure 7: Parallelisms in the argument structure of Argument Act I

Act	Scene	Stanza (Encompassing Lines)	Line and representative text
I. Argument Act I (1-38)			
i. Argument Opening (1-11)			
		A. Opening Claim (1-8)	2 <i>pang4kung4 ne1 hai6 ling6-dou3 go3 se3wui5 hai6 gang3gaa1 siu5 baau1jung4</i> poverty causes society to become less tolerant
		B. Opening Supporting Claim (9-11)	11 <i>zau6hai6 kung4 jan4 cin2daap6 kung4 jan4</i> <u>it's the poor trampling the poor</u>
		ii. (Outer) Narrative (12-36)	[narrative of the 70-year-old man as an example of “the poor trample the poor”]
iii. Argument Closing (37-38)			
		A. Closing Supporting Claim (37)	37 <i>zau6hai6 kung4 jan4 cin2daap6 kung4 jan4</i> <u>it's precisely because the poor are trampling the poor</u>
		B. Closing Claim (38)	38 <i>go3 se3wui2 mou5-zo2 baau1jung4</i> that society has become intolerant

The original Cantonese shows a word-for-word repetition between lines 11 and 37 (underlined in Figure 7), marking the outside boundaries of the first outer narrative. The repeated pair and the stanzas they represent are further enveloped by parallel stanzas with parallel representative phrases (in lines 2 and 38, in bold) where line 38 is a strengthened iteration of line 2 (from line 2 *gang3gaa1 siu5 baau1jung4* “become less tolerant” to line 38 *mou5-zo2 baau1jung4* “become intolerant”). These parallel lines also mark both the beginning and the end of Argument Act I (although line 2 is not technically the first line, line 1 *ngo5 waa6 bei2 nei5 teng1* ‘let me tell you’ introduces line 2 as the topic).

The text surrounding the second narrative in Argument Act II is more complicated in structure. There is also a chiasmus of two sets of stanzas enveloping the narrative, but in addition, the two parallel stanzas immediately surrounding the narrative (i.e., II.i.B. Opening Supporting Claim and II.iii.A. Closing Supporting Claim, see Figure 8 below) each contain non-personal narrative accounts. A sketch of parallel lines and parallel content in the argument sections of Argument Act II is summarized in Figure 8:

Figure 8: Parallelisms in the argument structure of Argument Act II ⁴

Act	Scene	Stanza (Encompassing Lines)	Line, representative text and content
II. Argument Act II (39-135)			
	i. Argument Opening (39-66)		
	A. Opening Claim (39-46)		39 <u>who caused this?</u> (2.3) (<i>ni1 di1 bin1go3 zou6sing4 ZEK1</i>) 40 it's the government (0.2) who single-handedly caused this (1.6)
	B. Opening Supporting Claim (47-66)		... 48 now a lot of these poor people (1.3) 49 are the result of their irresponsibility (0.8) [50-63] (decades ago the government bowed to the interests of the wealthy and delayed implementing free universal education so that labor costs would remain low) 65 <u>they came out on their own</u> (0.5) 66 <u>and became what you see today</u> (1.5)
	ii. (Outer) Narrative (67-123)		[narrative of the 40-year-old shoemaker as an example of someone who worked hard but has now become poor not due to laziness but due to the government having denied him education when he was young]
	iii. Argument Closing (124-135)		
	A. Closing Supporting Claim (124-134)		[124-126] (the government keeps saying the poor don't work hard, don't try to get more educated) [127-128] (but since the poor did not have the opportunity to go to school) 129 <u>they came out on their own to study</u> (0.7) 130 <u>they came out on their own to</u> (0.3) <u>suffer</u> (1.4) 131 <u>suffering through today</u> (0.7) [132-134] (and now the government is afraid of the poor siphoning money by obtaining welfare, and so they say the poor aren't hard-working, aren't catching up with the times)
	B. Closing Claim (135)		135 <u>I want to ask, Is this fair?</u> (2.2) (<i>ngo5 soeng2 man6 gung1-m4-gung1dou3 ZEK1</i>)

As shown in Figure 8, the boundaries of Argument Act II are marked by rhetorical questions (lines 39 'who caused this?' and 135 'is this fair?', underlined and in bold). These lines

⁴

Most Cantonese text removed in this table to facilitate reading. Full transcription available in Appendix A.

also contain the utterance-final particles *zek1* (italicized, in bold, and in small capitals).

According to Sybesma & Li (2007:1756), who have consulted a wide range of literature on Cantonese final particles, *zek1* is often found in utterances that express “high affective value” or “strong emotional force.” In these cases, they appear to reflect Ho Hei-wah’s emotional outreach to the audience, appealing them to reflect on the question and to perhaps take action.

The two stanzas immediately surrounding the narrative, stanzas II.i.B. Opening Supporting Claim and II.iii.A. Closing Supporting Claim, are linked by lexico-semantic repetitions between the underlined lines 65 and 129-130 (all three lines express ‘they came out on their own’), as well as between the underlined lines 66 and 131 (both of which describe the result of the poor coming out on their own). Moreover, the general contents of the two stanzas in which these lexico-semantic repetitions are found are also parallel. While II.i.B. Opening Supporting Claim talks about how the government denied education to the poor and caused them to remain poor, II.iii.A. Closing Supporting Claim mentions how the government blames the poor for their own misfortunes when it is the government who had contributed to their situation.

In both of the Argument Acts I and II, we have observed the same ABCBA pattern of [Opening Claim]–[Opening Closing Claim]–[Narrative]–[Closing Supporting Claim]–[Closing Claim]. The outer A layers for both Argument Acts contain parallel lines that mark the boundaries of the Acts—line 2 ‘society to become less tolerant’ and line 38 ‘society has become intolerant’ for Argument Act I, and the rhetorical questions in line 39 ‘who caused this?’ and line 135 ‘is this fair?’ for Argument Act II. The B layers also contain either identical lines (for Argument Act I) or parallel lines as well as content (for Argument Act II). The core C, the narratives, serve as illustrations of layers B, which in turn support the arguments presented in layers A. The ABCBA pattern is summarized as follows in Figure 9:

Figure 9: ABCBA argument structures

Act	Scene	Stanza	Content summary	Structure
I. Argument Act I				
		i. Argument Opening		
		A. Opening Claim	society has become less tolerant	A
		B. Opening Supporting Claim	it's the poor trampling the poor	B
		ii. Narrative	[story illustrating 'the poor trampling the poor']	C
		iii. Argument Closing		
		A. Closing Supporting Claim	because the poor trample the poor	B
		B. Closing Claim	society has become intolerant	A
II. Argument Act II				
		i. Argument Opening		
		A. Opening Claim	who caused this? / it's the government	A
		B. Opening Supporting Claim	poor people became poor because the government denied them education	B
		ii. Narrative	[story illustrating someone who became poor due to lack of education caused by the government]	C
		iii. Argument Closing		
		A. Closing Supporting Claim	now the government says the poor became poor because they are lazy, not catching up with the times	B
		B. Closing Claim	is this fair?	A

5.2.3. Interim Summary

By examining the text of the data and its semantic content, we have seen a predominant five-part patterning throughout the data, in both the argument and outer and inner narratives (with the only exception of the second outer narrative which lacks a fifth section). The features that help develop these structures include content transitions, parallel and repeated lexical items and phrases, narrative discourse markers, and quoted speech. Many of these features and the structures they help define are further reinforced by prosodic and gestural features, as we will explore in Sections 5.3. and 5.4.

5.3. Prosody

5.3.1. Pauses, climaxes, and endings

Pairs of the longest pauses are found in the inner narratives of both Argument Acts. If we look at the longest pause of each sub-stanza and stanza of the narratives, we find the longest pause of each Act in the Outcome sub-stanza of the inner narratives, after lines 31 and 121, respectively, as highlighted in bold in Figure 10). These Outcome sub-stanzas immediately precede the Coda sub-stanzas (I.ii.D.e. and II.ii.D.e.), where we find rhetorical questions from the elderly man and the shoemaker that end the inner narratives (line 35 ‘what can I do?’ and line 123 ‘what did I do wrong?’).

Figure 10: Longest pauses per section in the data

Act	Scene	Stanza	Sub-stanza	Long pause in section (including pauses after, but not before the section; <u>underlined</u> pauses are section-final)
I. Argument Act I (lines 1-38)				
		i. Argument Opening (1-11)		1.7 seconds (after line 8)
		ii. Narrative (12-36)		
		A. Orientation (12)		<u>0.8 (after line 12)</u>
		B. Onset (13-17)		<u>2.3 (after line 17)</u>
		C. Ongoing (18-24)		<u>2.0 (after line 24)</u>
		D. Outcome (25-35)		
		a. Orientation (25)		<u>3.6 (after line 25)</u>
		b. Onset (26-27)		<u>1.4 (after line 27)</u>
		c. Ongoing (28, [29])		<u>1.5 (after line 29)</u>
		d. Outcome (30-34)		6.6 (after line 31) – longest in Act I
		e. Coda (35)		<u>3.2 (after line 35)</u>
		E. Coda (36)		5.0 (after line 36) – second longest in Act I
		iii. Argument Closing (37-38)		<u>4.4 (after line 38)</u>
II. Argument Act II (39-135)				
		i. Argument Opening (39-66)		2.9 (after line 42)
		ii. Narrative (67-123)		
		A. Orientation (67-70)		<u>1.2 (after line 70)</u>
		B. Onset (71-78)		1.5 (after line 77)
		C. Ongoing (79)		<u>2.5 (after line 79)</u>
		D. Outcome (80-123)		
		a. Orientation (80-84)		<u>1.8 (after line 84)</u>
		b. Onset (85-98, [99])		2.0 (after line 92)
		c. Ongoing (100-115)		<u>2.8 (after line 115)</u>
		d. Outcome (116-121)		3.8 (after line 121) – longest in Act II
		e. Coda (122-123)		3.0 (after line 122) – second longest in Act II
		[no E. Coda]		
		iii. Argument Closing (124-135)		<u>2.2 (after line 135)</u>

It can be argued that the longest pauses of each Act function to signal the upcoming rhetorical questions. No doubt the long pauses and quoted speech are both used to appeal to the audience's emotions, since it is in these sections where we are given the saddest details of the personal stories of the elderly man and the shoemaker. Ho Hei-wah as animator, in Goffman's (1974, 1981) terms, brings the voice of the elderly man and the shoemaker directly to the audience as if they were speaking through him. The emotional climax is not only cued by the long pause, but further highlighted by another contextualization cue: Ho Hei-wah's eyes begin to wet during both of the two longest pauses in their respective Acts.

The second longest pause of each Act is on the other hand found at the very end of the outer narratives (5.0 seconds after line 36 and 3.0 seconds after line 122; see Figure 10). I suggest these pauses have the double function of (a) working in tandem with the longest pauses to highlight the emotional climax of the narratives, as well as (b) acting as buffers, or indicators, that the narratives have come to an end and that Ho Hei-wah is about to resume the arguments he had made prior to the narratives. This second function is similar to the finding in Rühlemann et al.'s (2011) analysis of English conversational narratives, where longer pauses tend to appear in transitional positions between the end of narratives and post-narrative conversation (p.206).

If we look at the underlined pauses in Figure 10, which indicate they are not only the longest in their respective sections but also the last one that ends their sections, we may also argue that longer pauses are often, even though not consistently, used to indicate transitional boundaries in the data. The instances where they do coincide with transitional boundaries—and they are too many to be merely coincidental (at least 15 out of the 21 presented in Figure 10)—indicate that pauses are indeed part of Ho Hei-wah's rhetorical strategy. This is not to say he had preplanned long pauses to occur in these places, but that they are emergent as he constructs his

speech, and that Ho Hei-wah tends to talk in chunks of topically-related utterances demarcated by longer pauses.

5.3.2. *Pitch and the greater argument structure*

To examine whether pitch plays a role in the rhetorical structure of the data, I measured the highest pitch of each section (sub-stanzas and stanzas) and also the mean pitch of each section to obtain more representative figures. The mean pitches help mitigate the influence of outliers (either due to non-speech noises in the data or due to occasional calculation errors in the phonetic analysis program). The two short interruptions from the female interviewer, who has a naturally higher-pitched voice than Ho Hei-wah, were excluded from the measurements. A clear pattern can be immediately observed where the argument scenes (I.i., I.iii., II.i., and II.iii.) tend to have higher mean pitches as well as pitch ceilings than the narrative scenes (I.ii. and II.ii.). A figure with pitch contours and waveforms is provided in Figure 11, and a table listing the pitch measurements is provided in Figure 12 on the next page:

Figure 11: Pitch contours and waveforms of the entire data

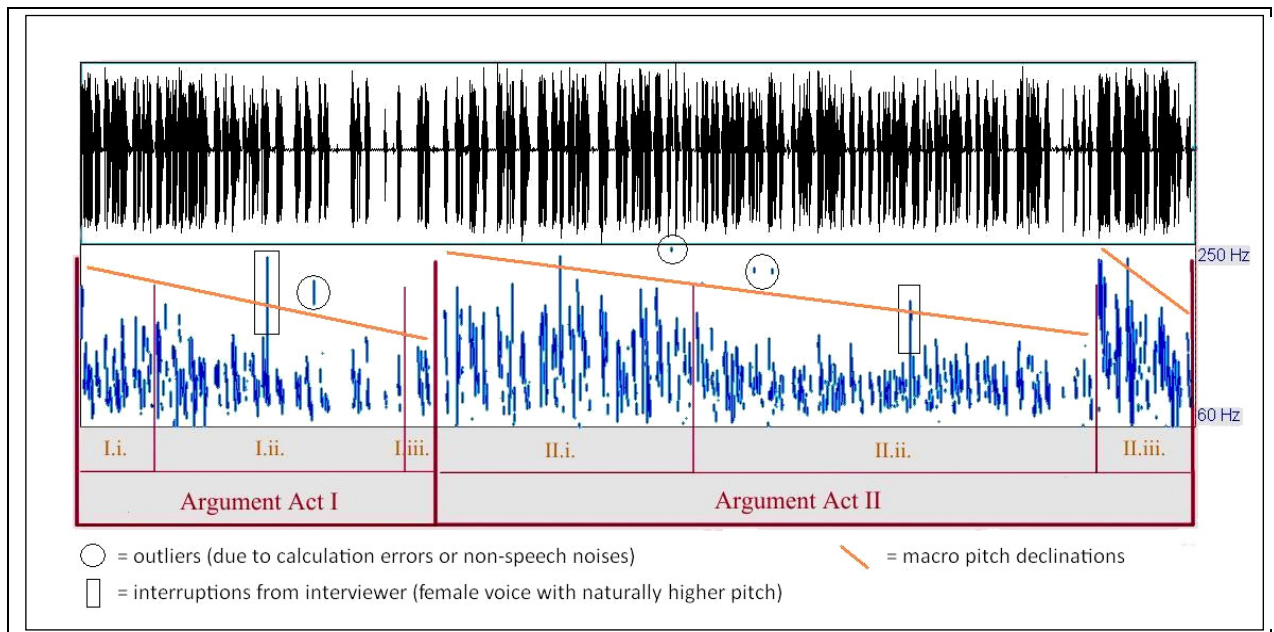


Figure 12: Pitch measurements per section

Act	Scene	Stanza	Sub-stanza	Highest pitch in section (in Hertz)	Mean pitch of section (in Hertz)
I. Argument Act I (lines 1-38)					
		i. Argument Opening (1-11)			
		A. Opening Claim (1-8)		207.00	113.04
		B. Opening Supporting Claim (9-11)		175.01	114.83
		ii. Narrative (12-36)			
		A. Orientation (12)		169.01	129.96
		B. Onset (13-17)		177.99	106.78
		C. Ongoing (18-24)		155.13	106.30
		D. Outcome (25-35)			
			a. Orientation (25)	119.66	97.14
			b. Onset (26-27)	116.62	99.68
			c. Ongoing (28, [29])	133.62	100.77
			d. Outcome (30-34)	153.69	99.99
			e. Coda (35)	97.22	88.29
		E. Coda (36)		134.12	99.82
		iii. Argument Closing (37-38)			
		A. Closing Supporting Claim (37)		143.11	104.42
		B. Closing Claim (38)		138.78	103.3
II. Argument Act II (39-135)					
		i. Argument Opening (39-66)			
		A. Opening Claim (39-46)		217.97	123.27
		B. Opening Supporting Claim (47-66)		245.93	134.94
		ii. Narrative (67-123)			
		A. Orientation (67-70)		178.59	114.65
		B. Onset (71-78)		152.33	104.43
		C. Ongoing (79)		113.23	96.84
		D. Outcome (80-123)			
			a. Orientation (80-84)	122.29	95.95
			b. Onset (85-98, [99])	155.1	101.43
			c. Ongoing (100-115)	153.41	104.52
			d. Outcome (116-121)	148.98	99.76
			e. Coda (122-123)	150.69	99.76
		[no E. Coda]			
		iii. Argument Closing (124-135)			
		A. Closing Supporting Claim (124-134)		235.44	132.22
		B. Closing Claim (135)		157.25	116.32

In both Argument Acts, the opening scenes Argument Opening (I.i. and II.i.) contain pitches of over 200 Hz (in bold in Figure 12). The highest pitches and the mean pitches of each stanza and sub-stanza can be observed to lower gradually as both acts progress toward the end of the narratives. In Argument Act I, there is barely a rise in the Argument Closing (I.iii.), whereas in Argument Act II, there is a sharp rise in the Argument Closing (II.iii.), back to over 200 Hz (in bold in Figure 12). In both of the outer narratives (I.ii. and II.ii.), the Orientation stanzas in the very beginning also contain higher pitch ceilings and mean pitches than most of the rest of narratives.

As previously mentioned in Section 3.1.1., Cantonese exhibits global declination, where the pitch span gradually decreases in every intonation unit before it is reset at a higher pitch span than at the end of the previous intonation unit. It appears that in our data, the resetting of the pitch span does not only occur locally to separate intonation units, but also occurs at a macro level to mark major discourse transitions. If we look at Figure 11 with the pitch contours and waveform again, we can draw three major descending lines as illustrated—the first one encompassing the entire Argument Act I, the second one starting from the beginning of Argument Act II all the way to the end of its outer narrative (II.ii.), and the third line encompassing II.iii. Argument Closing.

If we reexamine the entire data in terms of its overall argument content, we can actually see that the resetting of the pitch span at the macro level reinforces this content structure. Recall Figure 9 where a five-part ABCBA structure was determined in both Argument Acts, reproduced here in Figure 13:

Figure 13: ABCBA argument structures

Act	Scene	Stanza	Content summary	Structure
I. Argument Act I				
		i. Argument Opening		
		A. Opening Claim	society has become less tolerant	A
		B. Opening Supporting Claim	it's the poor trampling the poor	B
		ii. Narrative	[story illustrating 'the poor trampling the poor']	C
		iii. Argument Closing		
		A. Closing Supporting Claim	because the poor trample the poor	B
		B. Closing Claim	society has become intolerant	A
II. Argument Act II				
		i. Argument Opening		
		A. Opening Claim	who caused this? / it's the government	A
		B. Opening Supporting Claim	poor people became poor because the government denied them education	B
		ii. Narrative	[story illustrating someone who became poor due to lack of education caused by the government]	C
		iii. Argument Closing		
		A. Closing Supporting Claim	now the government says the poor became poor because they are lazy, not catching up with the times	B
		B. Closing Claim	is this fair?	A

This summary can be further pared down by (a) ignoring the repetitions of the Argument Closing in Act I (that is, I.iii.), since they do not develop or elaborate the arguments in I.ii. Argument Opening, but merely repeat them; and (b) by subsuming the narratives (I.ii. and II.ii.) under the Opening Supporting Claim stanzas (I.i.B. and II.i.B.), since the narratives are illustrations of the claims. The result gives us six parts, grouped into three pairs according to the macro pitch span resets:

Figure 14: Skeletal Content Outline

Act	Scene	Stanza	Content Summary	Pitch Line
I. Argument Set I				
		i. Argument Opening		First macro pitch declination
		A. Opening Claim	- poverty causes society to become less tolerant	
		B. Opening Supporting Claim	- the poor are trampling the poor (with story to illustrate)	
		ii. Narrative		
		iii. Argument Closing		
II. Argument Act II				
		i. Argument Opening		Second macro pitch declination
		A. Opening Claim	- who caused this? it's the government	
		B. Opening Supporting Claim	- poor people became poor because the government denied them education (with story to illustrate)	
		ii. Narrative		Third macro pitch declination
		iii. Argument Closing		
		A. Closing Supporting Claim	- now the government says the poor are lazy, not catching up with the times	
		B. Closing Claim	- is this fair?	

It is possible to further posit a five-part pattern within this sequence of six parts, in a pattern

Hymes terms *interlocking* (1994:332):

Sequences of three tend to give an implicit rhythm of onset, ongoing, outcome. A development of this last...integrates two sequences of three within a sequence of five. It is possible (not necessary) to have the third unit a pivot, completing one succession of three and beginning another.

With this in consideration, the six parts may be reanalyzed as follows:

Figure 15: Interlocking structure

I	A1 society has become intolerant	
II		A2 [here's how:] the poor are trampling the poor (with story to illustrate)
III		A3 who caused this? B1 it's the government [who caused this]
IV		B2 [here's how:] the government denied them education (with story to illustrate)
V	B3a now the government says the poor are lazy B3b is this fair?	

Part III in Figure 15 functions as the pivot point in this interlocking structure—it features a rhetorical questioning of Parts I and II (A3 ‘who caused this?’), as well as an answer that acts as an introduction to Parts IV and V (B1 ‘it’s the government [who caused this]’). It would not be too much of a stretch to collide B3a. and B3b. into “it is fair that the government says the poor are lazy?” However, I believe there is also a good reason for keeping the two parts separate within the third part of that B sequence. Keeping them together as B3, “is this fair?” would be parallel to A3’s “who caused this?” as rhetorical questions. Keeping them separate as B3a and B3b, “is this fair?” can also apply to the entire argument of the data—not just that the government says the poor are lazy, but how the government postponed implementing free universal education—and taking the entire interview into consideration, also the general situation of the poor, how they are treated and how they have to suffer through life. It can be interpreted to ask, “Is it fair that they have to or have had to go through all of this injustice?” The intricate layering of rhetorical questions here reinforces the persuasive effect of the speaker’s arguments.

There is yet another set of parallelisms between the set of rhetorical questions here in A3 and B3b and another set of rhetorical questions. Recall that a quoted rhetorical question appears at the very end of each of the inner narratives: ‘what can I do?’ (line 35) and ‘what did I do

wrong?’ (line 123). This parallelism connects the innermost narrative structure with the outermost argument structure. That they are the endings to their respective structures only further highlights the intricate layering of poetic features in this stretch of spontaneous speech, reinforcing the structure of the two interlocking sets of three.

5.3.3. Interim Summary

Two aspects of prosody are found to contribute to the macro structure of the data. In terms of pause lengths, the longest pauses of each Argument Act highlight the emotional climax of the narratives while the second longest pauses mark the boundary between the end of the narratives and the resumption of the argument which Ho Hei-wah advances throughout in his 5.5 minutes of monologic speech. In terms of distribution of pitch, major pitch span resets divide the data into three macro pitch declinations. These macro pitch declinations bring the two Argument Acts together and reinforce the overall argument structure of the entire data, contributing to the outer parallel to the local argument and narrative structures in the respective acts.

5.4. Gesture

Despite the lack of a continuous and complete view of the speaker’s front body in the data, his head movements and eye gaze can be observed for the majority of the time. For the most part, the speaker gazes directly at the interviewer; where his head or eyes move away from this gaze, most of these instances are found to coincide with section beginnings. Out of the 135 lines of the entire data, only roughly 25 (or 18.5%) of the lines do not show a clear front view of the speaker. A table of all observed gestures and all lines where the speaker cannot be clearly seen is provided in Figure 16. There are 17 lines in which the head and eyes have been observed to move away from his predominant gaze at the interviewer:

Figure 16: Gestural features

Act	Scene	Stanza	Sub-stanza	Head movement	Eye movement	No clear front view of speaker	
				(in bold = begins the section)			
I. Argument Act I (lines 1-38)							
		i. Argument Opening (1-11)					
		A. Opening Claim (1-8)					
		B. Opening Supporting Claim (9-11)					
		ii. Narrative (12-36)					
		A. Orientation (12)			12 left	12 lower left	
		B. Onset (13-17)					13-15
		C. Ongoing (18-24)			18 right	18 right	
		D. Outcome (25-35)			25 right	25 right	
			a. Orientation (25)				
			b. Onset (26-27)			26	
			c. Ongoing (28, [29])				
			d. Outcome (30-34)				
			e. Coda (35)				
		E. Coda (36)					
		iii. Argument Closing (37-38)					
		A. Closing Supporting Claim (37)					
		B. Closing Claim (38)					
II. Argument Act II (39-135)							
		i. Argument Opening (39-66)					
		A. Opening Claim (39-46)					42
		B. Opening Supporting Claim (47-66)			47 left	47 lower left	52,53,56,59-62
		ii. Narrative (67-123)					
		A. Orientation (67-70)			67 left	67 lower left	
		B. Onset (71-78)				73 lower left 74 lower center 75 up 78 eyes follow head	71-72
					78 turns around		
		C. Ongoing (79)					79
		D. Outcome (80-123)					
			a. Orientation (80-84)	80 right	80 right		
			b. Onset (85-98, [99])		85 left	93	
				91 right	91 right		
			c. Ongoing (100-115)			104, 105, 108, 115	
			d. Outcome (116-121)	116 left	116 lower left	121	
			e. Coda (122-123)				
		[no E. Coda]					
		iii. Argument Closing (124-135)					
		A. Closing Supporting Claim (124-134)			124 left 127 left 132 left	124 lower left 127 lower left 132 left	129-131
		B. Closing Claim (135)					

Figure 16 shows the majority of eye and head movements (listed in bold) to correspond exactly with (a) the beginning of scenes (gestures found at the beginning of lines 12, 67, and 124), (b) the beginning of stanzas (lines 18, 25, 47, 80), as well as (c) the beginning of sub-stanzas (lines 85, 116, 122), suggesting they have the discourse function of signaling transitions into new topics and narrative junctures.

There are only seven lines where movements of the eyes and head away from the interviewer do not correspond to section boundaries; however, in four of the lines these movements are iconically motivated. In lines 73, 74, 75, and 78, the eye and head movements accompany Ho Hei-wah's description of what the shoemaker was doing on the street:

Data Extract 3

Line	Text	Gestures
73	<i>lo2-zyu6 go3 hung4 gaau1-doi2-zai2 (0.1)</i> carrying a little red plastic bag (0.1)	eyes to the lower left
74	<i>lo2-zyu6 zi1 zuk1-zai2 (1.5)</i> carrying a little bamboo stick (1.5)	eyes to lower center
75	<i>hai2 go3 (0.3) laap6saap3 tung2 go2dou6 (0.4)</i> at the (0.3) trash can (0.4)	eyes up
76	<i>liu1-haa2 liu1-haa2 (0.2)</i> <u>poking here and poking there (0.2)</u>	[returns gaze toward interviewer]
77	<i>lo2 go2.di1 tit3gun3-zai2 (1.5)</i> picking up those cans (1.5)	
78	<i>keoi5 zau1wai4 mong6-haa2 mong6-haa2 mou5 jan4sin1zi3 san1 zek3 sau2 jap6 heoi3 (0.8)</i> he looked carefully around him and made sure there was no one before he reached in (0.8)	head turns around (eyes following)

In lines 73 and 74, the double gesture of looking to the lower left and then to the lower center seems to be both iconic as well as deictic representations of the red plastic bag that the shoemaker is holding in one hand and the bamboo stick in the other, as though Ho Hei-wah sees

the shoemaker in front of him. In line 78, Ho Hei-wah mimics the movement of the shoemaker who looks around him before reaching into the trash can. The eye movement in line 75 does not seem to represent an object in view nor the actions of the shoemaker (eyes looking up cannot refer to trash cans, which are usually below eye level). However, since it is found between three gestures that do refer to objects or mimic actions, we can reasonably assume the eye movement in line 75 to be part of the speaker's attempt to animate the scene that he narrates.

We are left with only three lines, 91, 127, and 132, where the function of the gestures are still unaccounted for. If we examine the text surrounding line 91 in Data Extract 4, we would find a minor transition in events.

Data Extract 4

Line	Text	Gestures
87	<i>keoi5 ji5ging1 gan1-zo2 (0.2) haai4 cong2 (0.1)</i> he already followed (0.2) the shoe factory (0.1)	
88	<i>faan1-faan1 daai6luk6 (0.3)</i> and returned to mainland China (0.3)	
89	<i>zou6-zo2 si1fu2 (0.5)</i> became a shoemaker (0.5)	
90	<i>jau5 maan6 gei2 man1 sau1jap6 (1.8)</i> had an income of ten thousand some dollars (1.8)	
91	<i>ne1 mou5gei2loi1</i> <i>jau6 git3-zo2-fan1 (1.3)</i> not long after that he got married too (1.3)	head and eyes to the right
92	<i>jau5-zo2loeng5 go3 sai3lou6zai2 (2.0)</i> had two children (2.0)	

Line 91 here describes a new event that occurred to the shoemaker after he had gone to mainland China to become a shoemaker, the new transition reinforced by the words *ne1 mou5 gei2 loi1* 'not long after that.'

If we examine the context of lines 127 and 132 in Data Extract 5, we can also find transitions in the argument flow:

Data Extract 5

Line	Text	Gestures
124	<i>nei5 zing3fu2 ji4gaa1 zau6 seng4 jat6 waa6</i> yet the government now keeps saying	
125	<i>ni1.di1 jan4 (0.3) tung4 go3 si4doi6 m4 pui3hap6 (1.0)</i> that these people (0.3) aren't catching up with the times (1.0)	
126	<i>m4 zi6lik6gan1sang1 m4 duk6-do1di1-syu1 (1.5)</i> that they don't word hard, don't try to get more educated (1.5)	
127	daan6hai6 <i>dong1 nin4 keoi5 zi6gei2 mou5 dak1 (0.1)</i> but in the past they weren't able (0.1)	head to left and eyes to lower left
128	<i>mou5 gei1-wui6 soeng5 (0.3) hok6haau6 ge3 si4hau6 (0.1)</i> when they didn't have the opportunity to go to (0.3) school (0.1)	
129	<i>zi6gei2 ceot1lei4 duk6 (0.7)</i> they came out on their own to study (0.7)	
130	<i>zi6gei2 ceot1lei4 (0.3) ngaai4 (1.4)</i> they came out on their own to (0.3) suffer (1.4)	
131	<i>ngaai4 dou6 ji4gaa1 (0.7)</i> suffering through today (0.7)	
132	<i>nei5 zau6 zing3fu2 ji4 gaa1 zau6 (0.1) geng1 keoi5dei6 lo2 fuk1lei6 aa3</i> and now the government (0.1) is afraid of them getting welfare	head and eyes to left

While lines 124-126 present the argument of the government who regards poor people as being lazy, line 127 introduces the counter-argument, describing how poor people did not have the opportunity to get educated and remained poor as a result. The transition in line 127 is also signaled lexically by the initial word *daan6hai6* 'but'. Lines 128-131 continue to describe how the poor ended up staying poor as part of the counter-argument introduced by line 127, while line 132 returns the focus to the government, which is again described as shunning the poor ('is afraid of them getting welfare'). The gestures at the beginning of lines 127 and 132 thus signal as well as reinforce these transitions in the development of Ho Hei-wah's argument.

Remarkably, all of the nonmanual gestures observed here in the data have been found to be functionally motivated. Out of the 17 lines where the eyes and/or head move away from the predominant direct gaze at the interviewer, in 10 of the lines these movements coincide with and

reinforce section beginnings, in 4 of the lines they serve to animate a scene in one of the narratives, and in 3 of the lines they coincide with transitions of minor groups of temporal events and arguments.

5.4.1. Interim Summary

Although there is diversity in the functions of the gestures found in the data, more than half of them coincide with many of the transitional boundaries of sub-stanzas, stanzas, as well as scenes in the data already determined through textual analysis. The gestures cannot be said to be devices for creating rhetorical structure, since they are not found consistently marking the beginning of *all* sections, or even all the major sections. However, they are definitely a paralinguistic resource that is used in tandem with textual cues to reinforce rhetorical structure. What we have here is a holistic performance in the sense that multi-modal resources are employed simultaneously to engage the audience in the emergence of the structure of the discourse.

6. Summary and Discussion

In the 5.5 minutes of virtually monologic speech, the three resources of text, prosody, and gesture are found to be used jointly to organize the content in recurring patterns. The *textual features* that contribute to the content structure include lexico-semantic parallelisms (highly similar or repeated phrases and lines, including rhetorical questions and final particles), content transitions (change of location, events, or topic), discourse markers ('once' to begin narratives, 'afterward' to indicate transition points within the narratives), and use of quoted speech. Through examining these textual features, the data can be divided into two large Argument Acts with identical internal structures of three scenes: (i) Argument Opening, (ii) Narrative, and (iii)

Argument Closing. Further, Argument Opening and Argument Closing both contain two stanzas which exhibit an inverted parallel pattern (ABBA), with Narrative in the center, making a five-part pattern of ABCBA. The Narrative scenes in both Argument Acts have near-identical structures—the first has five stanzas of Orientation, Onset, Ongoing, Outcome, and Coda, while the second only has the first four. However, both contain an inner narrative in the Outcome section, and both of the inner narratives also contain five sub-stanzas of Orientation, Onset, Ongoing, Outcome, and Coda.

Prosodic features are also found to reinforce the content structure. Long pauses are used to highlight the end of the inner narratives as well as the end of the outer narratives. The longest pause in each Argument Act precedes the rhetorical question that ends the inner narrative, and also highlights the emotional climax, while the second longest pause ends the outer narrative. Resetting of the pitch span at the macro level is found to divide the data into three parts, each beginning a major argument section (I. Argument Act I; beginning of II. Argument Act II through end of II.ii. Narrative; and II.iii. Argument Closing). Combining this latter finding with a content analysis of the argument flow of the entire data, a more intricate pattern of two sets of three are found to interlock into a five-part rhetorical structure.

Finally, *gestural features* in the form of eye and head movements are found to perform three functions: (a) to reinforce the beginning boundaries of sub-stanzas, stanzas, as well as scenes in the data; (b) to animate an event in one of the narratives; and (c) to mark transitional boundaries of minor shifts in temporal events and arguments.

All of the features analyzed are summarized in Figure 17, where parallelisms between the features can be observed within each Act as well as between the two Acts (marked in the table with recurring symbols and descriptions). The table also shows where different linguistic and

paralinguistic features are employed simultaneously to mark structural boundaries. Features in bold begin sections; features in italics end sections; and features in small capitals encompass entire sections:

Figure 17: Summary of textual, prosodic, and gestural features

Act	Scene	Stanza	Sub-stanza	Textual features	Prosodic features	Gestural features
				<i>(in bold = begins section; in italics = ends section; SMALL CAPS = ENCOMPASSES ENTIRE SECTION)</i>		
I. Argument Act I (lines 1-38)						
		i. Argument Opening (1-11)			Beginning of 1st macro pitch declination	
		A. Opening Claim		<-- parallel		
		B. Opening Supporting Claim		--> repetition		
		ii. Narrative (12-36)				
		A. Orientation		* 'once'		head/eyes
		B. Onset		° <i>quoted speech</i> § ELDERLY MAN		
		C. Ongoing		'afterward' ° <i>quoted speech</i> § HO HEI-WAH		head/eyes
		D. Outcome		'afterward' ° <i>quoted speech</i> § ELDERLY MAN		head/eyes
			a. Orientation			
			b. Onset			
			c. Ongoing			
			d. Outcome		longest pause in Act I (eyes also tear up)	
			e. Coda	†† <i>rhetorical question inside quoted speech</i>		
		E. Coda			<i>second longest pause in Act I</i>	
		iii. Argument Closing (37-38)				
		A. Closing Supporting Claim		--> repetition		
		B. Closing Claim		<-- parallel		

(Act II continued on next page)

Figure 17 (continued)

Act	Scene	Stanza	Sub-stanza	Textual features	Prosodic features	Gestural features
				(in bold = begins section; <i>in italics</i> = ends section; SMALL CAPS = ENCOMPASSES ENTIRE SECTION)		
II. Argument Act II (39-135)						
	i. Argument Opening (39-66)			Beginning of 2nd macro pitch declination		
		A. Opening Claim		† rhetorical question		
		B. Opening Supporting Claim		<<-- PARALLEL		head/eyes
	ii. Narrative (67-123)					
		A. Orientation		* ‘one day / one night’		head/eyes
		B. Onset		§ SHOEMAKER		
		C. Ongoing		§ HO HEI-WAH		
		D. Outcome		§ SHOEMAKER		
		a. Orientation				head/eyes
		b. Onset		‘afterward’ ° <i>quoted speech</i> {MAINLAND CHINA}		head/eyes
		c. Ongoing		‘afterward’ ° <i>quoted speech</i> {HONG KONG}		
		d. Outcome		‘afterward’ ° <i>quoted speech</i> {SHAM SHUI PO}	<i>longest pause in Act II (eyes also tear up)</i>	head/eyes
		e. Coda		‘afterward’ ° <i>quoted speech</i> †† <i>rhetorical question inside quoted speech</i>	<i>second longest pause in Act II</i>	head/eyes
		[no E. Coda]				
	iii. Argument Closing (124-135)			Beginning of 3rd macro pitch declination		
		A. Closing Supporting Claim		<<-- PARALLEL		head/eyes
		B. Closing Claim		† rhetorical question		

While textual features structure the data at both local and global levels (sub-stanzas, stanzas, scenes, as well as acts), gestural features mostly only reinforce local structures (sub-stanzas and stanzas), and prosodic features mark major junctures (overall argument flow and narrative climaxes and endings).

The narratives in this data, particularly the ones recounting personal experiences, serve a crucial function toward the rhetorical force of the arguments. In terms of time allocation, the narratives occupy more than half of the entire 5.5 minutes of the data. In terms of content, they serve as illustrations of the claims made about the situation of poverty in Hong Kong, providing specific events and individuals that are easy to remember and visualize. More importantly, they also serve to appeal to the emotions of the audience, specifically their sympathy, since they recount the dire plight of these individuals, and to this end contribute to the persuasiveness of Ho Hei-wah's arguments about social injustice, particularly that of the government's role in perpetuating poverty.

Many linguistic analyses of oral narratives have tended to rely heavily or only on textual features to uncover their structures. While the results of this study show that a textual analysis sufficiently provides insight into the structure of the data at both local and global levels, it does not necessarily tell us which parts of the structure are particularly salient. The data in this study shows that paralinguistic features can and do provide us this important aspect of the discourse structure; they work in tandem with linguistic features and tend to do so at major structural junctures. The speaker simultaneously signals these structural junctures via multimodal resources—textual and prosodic, and textual and gestural—and engages the listener's cognitive, aural, and visual faculties. This multi-modal engagement highlights the importance of these structural junctures, making sure the listener does not miss them and at the same time guiding the listener in processing the speaker's presentation of ideas. Where studies focusing only on textual analysis can only speculate about what structural components are salient or intended to be salient, a holistic approach incorporating multi-modal analyses provides a much richer understanding of, as well as supporting evidence for, this dimension of the discourse structure.

I hope this study will serve as groundwork for future research examining larger data sets, to see whether other speakers of Cantonese or even other Sinitic languages would employ similar strategies in structuring narratives and arguments, or even if the speaker himself reuses these strategies in his other spoken performances. A holistic study bridging linguistic as well as paralinguistic analyses in the realm of language performance in different language families may serve to further expand our typological understanding of discourse grammar.

7. Conclusion

This study has shown a strong preference for three and five-part patterns in both the narrative and argument structures in a minimally interrupted stretch of spontaneous speech in Hong Kong Cantonese. These structures are organized not only through the use of textual recourses, but also in tandem with prosodic and gestural features, suggesting that the speaker utilizes multi-modal resources at his disposal to convey discourse meaning and structure, where these resources are not limited to purely linguistic elements. The three and five-part structures are mirrored at various levels, from sub-stanzas to scenes and acts. Paired parallelisms are also found linking inner and outer structures, and surrounding the narratives as variational reiterations or elaborations of arguments. The findings show the narratives playing a central role in the development of the arguments. The parallel structures between the narratives and the arguments—created by the speaker through employment of a confluence of multi-modal resources—reinforce the links that tie the two together, contributing to a rhetorical cohesion of the whole and a rich and complex form of rhetorical argument.

Appendix A Data Transcription

Symbols

- (1.2) pause duration in seconds and tenths of seconds
co- truncated/cut-off word (hyphen)

Abbreviations

CL	classifier	DUR	durative aspect	PROG	progressive aspect
DEL	delimitative aspect	PERF	perfective aspect	PRT	particle
DIM	diminutive	POSS	possessive	VOC	vocative

- 1 **Ho Hei-wah:** *ngo5 waa6 bei2 nei5 teng1*
I say to you hear
let me tell you
- 2 *pang4kung4 ne1 hai6 ling6dou3 go3 se3wui5 hai6 gang3gaa1 siu5 baau1jung4 (0.7)*
poverty PRT be cause CL society be more little tolerance
poverty, causes society to become less tolerant (0.7)
- 3 *daan6hai6 hou2 ho2bei1 ne1 (<0.1)*
but very sad PRT
but sadly (<0.1)
- 4 *ngo5 waa6 bei2 nei5 teng1 (1.2)*
I say to you hear
let me tell you (1.2)
- 5 *jau5 cin2 jan4 keoi5dei6 m4 wui5 caat3gok3-dou2 ni1di1 je5 (0.4)*
have money people they not will notice-PRT these things
rich people they won't notice these things (0.4)
- 6 *keoi5dei6 siu1fai3 keoi5dei6 sang1wut6 (0.1)*
they expenses they lives
their expenses, their lifestyle (0.1)
- 7 *keoi5dei6 m4 hai2 haa6 bin6 (0.2)*
they not at below side
they're not down there (0.2)
- 8 *keoi5dei6 gan1bun2 mou5 gei1wui6 zip3zuk1-dou2 ni1di1 jan4 (1.7)*
they basically not-have opportunity contact-PRT these people
they won't ever come in contact with these people (1.7)

- 9 *kung4 jan4 ne1 (0.5) zau6 min6deoi3-zyu6 kung4 jan4 (0.4)*
 poor people PRT then face -DUR poor people
 poor people (0.5) face poor people (0.4)
- 10 *hou2 do1 si4hau6 ne1 (0.8)*
 very many times PRT
 often (0.8)
- 11 *zau6hai6 kung4 jan4 cin2daap6 kung4 jan4 (1.1)*
 exactly poor people trample poor people
 it's the poor trampling the poor (1.1)
- 12 *ngo5 waa6 bei2 nei5 teng1 jau5 jat1 ci3 ngo5 hai2 zung1waan4 cau4fun2 (0.8)*
 I say to you hear exist one time I in Central raise_money
 let me tell you, once I was raising money in Central (0.8)
- 13 *jau5 go3 aa3 baak3 cat1sap6 gei2 sei3 (0.5)*
 exist CL VOC uncle seventy some years_old
 there was an elderly man in his seventies (0.5)
- 14 *laai1 mat1- laai1 maai4 ngo5 jat1 bin1 (0.3)*
 pull what- pull closer me one side
 he pulled- pulled me aside (0.3)
- 15 *zuk1zuk1 laau6-zo2 ngo5 sap6m4 fan1zung1 m4 ting4 hau2 gam2 laau6 (0.5)*
 fully scold-PERF me fifteen minutes not stop mouth thus scold
 scolded me for a full fifteen minutes without stopping (0.5)
- 16 *keoi5 waa6 "nei5 zau6 seng4 jat6 bong1 maai4 saai6 di1 laan5 jan4 aa3 (0.6)*
 he says you then all day help also all CL lazy people PRT
 he said, 'you're always helping all those lazy people (0.6)
- 17 *"dang2 keoi5dei6 zi6gei2 aa2 (0.1) lo2 zung1wun4 aa3 dang2dang2" (2.3)*
 let they selves PRT take welfare PRT et_cetera
 'so they can (0.1) get social welfare and so on' (2.3)
- 18 *hau6loi4 ngo5 maan6-maan2 teng1 go3 baak3 gong2 (1.1)*
 afterward I slow-slow listen CL uncle say
 afterward I slowly listened to the elderly man speak (1.1)
- 19 *go3 baak3 zi6gei2 sung3ngoibmaai6 (1.0)*
 CL uncle self do_delivery
 the elderly man worked in restaurant delivery (1.0)

- 20 *sei3 cin1 gei2 man1 lin4mai4 tip1si2 m5 cin1 gei2 man1 (1.2)*
 four thousand some dollars include tips five thousand some dollars
 four thousand odd dollars with tips five thousand odd dollars (1.2)
- 21 *zou6 zuk1 sap6 go3 zung1 (0.7)*
 do fully ten CL hours
 working ten full hours (0.7)
- 22 *ngo5 waa6 “aa3 baak3 (0.3)*
 I say VOC uncle
 I said, ‘Sir, (0.3)
- 23 *“gam3 san1fu2 nei5 kei4sat6 m4 hou2 zou6 aa3 (1.1)*
 so miserable you actually not good do PRT
 ‘you work so hard actually you should stop working. (1.1)
- 24 *“m4 hou2 zou6 zing3fu2 dou1 ho2ji5 fu6daam1-dou2 nei5-ge3 sang1wut6” (2.0)*
 not good do government also can bear-PRT you-POSS life
 ‘Even if you stop working the government can still take care of you.’ (2.0)
- 25 *hau6loi4 keoi5 tung4 ngo5 gong2 keoi5 waa6 “ngo5 mou5 baan6faat3 aa3 ho4-saang1 (3.6)*
 afterward he with me say he say I not_have solution PRT Ho-mister
 afterward he told me he said, ‘There’s nothing else I can do, Mr. Ho. (3.6)
- 26 *“ngo5 jau5 go3 zai2 (<0.1)*
 I have CL son
 ‘I have a son (<0.1)
- 27 *“sei3aa6(sap6) gei2 sei3 (1.4)*
 forty some years_old
 ‘forty-some years old (1.4)
- 28 *“wan2 gung1 wan2-zo2 gei2 nin4 dou1 wan2 m4 dou2” (0.6)*
 search work search-PERF several years still search not succeed
 ‘been looking for a job for several years without success’ (0.6)
- 29 **Interviewer:** hm (1.5)
 hm
 (Interviewer expressing sympathy)
- 30 **Ho Hei-wah:** *“hai2 uk1kei2 lei5bin6 (0.4)*
 be_at home inside
 ‘he’s at home (0.4)

- 31 ”sik6 ngo5-ge3 zyu6 ngo5-ge3 (6.6)
eat I-POSS live I-POSS
‘eating what I have, living on what I have (6.6)
- 32 ”jat6 jat6 lei1maai4 hai2 uk1kei2 (0.7)
day day hide at home
‘everyday he hides at home (0.7)
- 33 “mou5 jan4 bong1 keoi5 (1.6)
not_have people help him
‘no one helps him (1.6)
- 34 “zing1san4 dou1 jau5 man6tai4 (4.5)
mental_faculty also have problem
‘even his mental health has deteriorated (4.5)
- 35 “nei5 waa6 dim2” (3.2)
you say how
‘what can I do?’ (3.2)
- 36 ngo5 teng1-dou2 hou2 naan4gwo3 (5.0)
I hear-PRT very sad
after I heard that I felt really sad (5.0)
- 37 zau6hai6 kung4 jan4 cin5daap6 kung4 jan4 (0.3)
exactly poor people trample poor people
it’s precisely because the poor are trampling the poor (0.3)
- 38 go3 se3wui2 mou5-zo2 baau1jung4 (4.4)
CL society not_have-PERF tolerance
that society has become intolerant (4.4)
- 39 ni1di1 bin1go3 zou6sing4 zek1 (2.3)
these who cause PRT
who caused this? (2.3)
- 40 ni1di1 zau6hai6 zing3fu2 (0.2) jat1 sau2 zou6sing4 (1.6)
these precisely government one hand cause
it’s the government (0.2) who single-handedly caused this (1.6)
- 41 ngo5dei6 cyu5- co5-zyu6 jau5 maan6 gei2 jik1 cin2 hai2dou6 (1.2)
we store- sit-DUR have 10,000 several billion money here
we’re storing- sitting on tens of thousands of billions of money here (1.2)

- 42 *ni1 go3 zoeng3 min2 soeng6gou1 ge3 zek1 (2.9)*
 this CL books surface above PRT PRT
 and this is just what's on the books (2.9)
- 43 *zai1 gu2piu3 zai1 caau2maai6 si5coeng4 (0.7)*
 put stocks put speculation market
 putting it in stocks, putting it in market speculations (0.7)
- 44 *zai1 fu3fong4 m4 juk1 (0.4)*
 put treasury not move
 putting it in the reserves not moving it (0.4)
- 45 *dou1 m4 lo2 ceot1 lei4 (1.8)*
 still not take out come
 won't even take it out (1.8)
- 46 *kei4sat6 ho2ji5 hou2 do1 fong1faat3 heoi3 goi2sin6 hou2 ni1di1 sang1wut6 (2.7)*
 actually possible very many ways to improve well these lives
 actually there are many ways to help make these lives better (2.7)
- 47 *zung6 jau5 aa3 ngo5 nei5 tai2-haa2 (0.1)*
 also have PRT I you see-DEL
 and what's more I you see (0.1)
- 48 *ji4gaa1 hou2 do1 ni1di1 kung4 jan4 (1.3)*
 now very many these poor people
 now a lot of these poor people (1.3)
- 49 *hai6 keoi5dei6 sing4daam1 ge3 hau6gwo2 (0.8)*
 be they bear POSS result
 are the result of their (the government's) irresponsibility (0.8)
- 50 *dong1 si4 ngo5 siu2hok6 ge3 si4hau6 (1.4)*
 that time I primary_school POSS time
 back when I was in primary school (1.4)
- 51 *ngo5dei6 luk6 (0.4) luk6 nin4 baan1 (0.7)*
 we six six year class
 when we were in sixth (0.4) sixth grade (0.7)
- 52 *saam1 baan1 lei5bin6 (0.2)*
 three classes inside
 out of three classes (0.2)

- 53 *zi2 jau5 jat1 baan1 ho2ji5 sing1soeng5 (0.2) zung1 hok6 (3.0)*
 only have one class can ascend secondary_school
 only half of the students could go on to (0.2) secondary school (3.0)
- 54 *soeng5-dou3 zung1-saam1 leoi5bin6 (0.2)*
 ascend-PRT secondary_school-three(third year) inside
 by the time they went on to ninth grade (0.2)
- 55 *jau6 sai1 gam2 jat1 bun3 (2.5)*
 again sift about one half
 half of them were slashed again (2.5)
- 56 *ji5cin4 zung1joeng1zing3caak3zou2 ge3 gu3man6 (0.4)*
 in_the_past Central_Policy_Unit POSS consultant
 a former consultant for the Central Policy Unit (0.4)
- 57 *zeoi3 gan6 dak1 ngo5 tai2 keoi5 se2 pin1 man2 (1.1)*
 most recent able I see him write CL article
 recently I saw an article he wrote (1.1)
- 58 *keoi5 zau6 waa6 jan1wai6 zik6man4dei6 si4doi6 (0.6)*
 he thus say because colony period
 he said because in colonial times (0.6)
- 59 *go2di1 soeng1gaal (0.4)*
 those merchants
 those merchants (0.4)
- 60 *hai6 soeng2 kok3bou2 jau5 lim4gaa3 lou5gung1 (1.2)*
 be want guarantee have cheap labor
 wanted to ensure they had cheap labor (1.2)
- 61 *so2ji5 jat1lou6 hai2dou6 (0.2)*
 therefore continuously be_at
 so they continually (0.2)
- 62 *zo2zi2 zing3fu2 (1.4)*
 prevent government
 prevented the government (1.4)
- 63 *heoi3 teoi1hang4 nil go3 min5fai3 gaau3juk6 (0.9)*
 go implement this CL free education
 from implementing free education (0.9)

- 64 *git3gwo2 nil pai1 jan4 dim2 ne1 (1.2)*
 result this CL people how PRT
 in the end what happened to these people (1.2)
- 65 *mai6 zi6gei1 zau2-zo2 ceot1 lei4 (0.5)*
 therefore self go-PERF out come
 they came out on their own (0.5)
- 66 *zau6 bin3-seng4 wai4 gam1jat6 (1.5)*
 then change-PRT into today
 and became what you see today (1.5)
- 67 *jau5 jat1 jat6 (1.1)*
 there_is one day
 one day (1.1)
- 68 *jat1 maan5 ngo5 (0.5) hai2 sam1seoi2bou2 (0.8)*
 one night I at Sham Shui Po
 one night I (0.5) was in Sham Shui Po (0.8)
- 69 *ngo5 co5 hai2 gaai1 go3dou6 (0.6)*
 I sit at street there
 I was sitting out on the street (0.6)
- 70 *jam2-gan2 be1zau2 (1.2)*
 drink-PROG beer
 drinking beer (1.2)
- 71 *ngo5 tai2 go3 (0.2) jat1 go3 naam4 jan2 sei3aa6(sap6) gei2 seoi3 (0.5)*
 I see CL one CL male person forty some years_old
 I saw a (0.2) a man in his forties (0.5)
- 72 *ji1saam1 laam4lau5 (0.5)*
 clothes disheveled
 in raggedy clothes (0.5)
- 73 *lo2-zyu6 go3 hung4 gaau1-doi2-zai2 (0.1)*
 carry-DUR CL red plastic-bag-DIM
 carrying a little red plastic bag (0.1)
- 74 *lo2-zyu6 zi1 zuk1-zai2 (1.5)*
 carry-DUR CL bamboo-DIM
 carrying a little bamboo stick (1.5)

- 75 *hai2 go3 (0.3) laap6saap3 tung2 go2dou6 (0.4)*
 be_at CL trash bin there
 at the (0.3) trash can (0.4)
- 76 *liu1-haa2 liu1-haa2 (0.2)*
 poke-DEL poke-DEL
 poking here and poking there (0.2)
- 77 *lo2 go2di1 tit3gun3-zai2 (1.5)*
 take those cans-DIM
 picking up those cans (1.5)
- 78 *keoi5 zau1wai4 mong6-haa2 mong6-haa2 mou5 jan4 sin1zi3 san1 zek3 sau2 jap6 heoi3 (0.8)*
 he everywhere look-DEL look-DEL no people then reach CL hand into go
 he looked carefully around him and made sure there was no one before he reached in (0.8)
- 79 *ngo5 heoi3 zau2 maai4 tung4 keoi5 king1-haa2-gai2 (2.5)*
 I go walk closer with him chat-DEL-chat
 I went over to chat with him (2.5)
- 80 *jyun4loi4 keoi5 hai6 yat1 go3 (0.9)*
 actually he is one CL
 it turned out he was a (0.9)
- 81 *ji5cin4 siu2hok6 bat1jip6 ne1 (0.2)*
 in_the_past primary_school graduate PRT
 when he had graduated from sixth grade (0.2)
- 82 *zau6 ji5ging1 ceot1lei4 zou6 aa3(+L%) (0.2)*
 then already come_out work PRT
 he had already come out and started working (0.2)
- 83 *zou6 haai4 aa3(+L%) (0.4)*
 make shoes PRT
 working with shoes (0.4)
- 84 *zou6 haai4si1fu2 (1.8)*
 do shoemaker
 working as a shoemaker (1.8)
- 85 *lau1mei1 haai4 cong2 aa6(zau6) bun1-zo2 faan1 daai6luk6 (0.6)*
 in_the_end shoe factory then move-PERF return mainland_China
 in the end the shoe factory moved to mainland China (0.6)
- 86 *baat3sap6 nin4 doi6 ji5ging1 keoi5 (0.1)*
 eighty year period already he
 in the 80s he already (0.1)

- 87 *keoi5 ji5ging1 gan1-zo2 (0.2) haai4 cong2 (0.1)*
 he already follow-PERF shoe factory
 he already followed (0.2) the shoe factory (0.1)
- 88 *faan1 faan1 daai6luk6 (0.3)*
 return back mainland_China
 and returned to mainland China (0.3)
- 89 *zou6-zo2 si1fu2 (0.5)*
 do-PERF master[shoemaker]
 became a shoemaker (0.5)
- 90 *jau5 maan6 gei2 man1 sau1jap6 (1.8)*
 have 10,000 some dollars income
 had an income of ten thousand some dollars (1.8)
- 91 *ne1 mou5gei2loi1 jau6 git3-zo2-fan1 (1.3)*
 PRT soon also marry-PERF-marry
 not long after that he got married too (1.3)
- 92 *jau5-zo2 loeng5 go3 sai3lou6zai2 (2.0)*
 have-PERF two CL children
 had two children (2.0)
- 93 *daan6hai6 zou6-zo2 sap6 gei2 nin4 zi1hau6 ne1 (1.4)*
 but do-PERF ten some years after PRT
 but after working ten or so years (1.4)
- 94 *go3 lou5baan2 waa6 (1.0)*
 CL boss say
 his boss said (1.0)
- 95 *“deoi3m4zyu6 aa3 nei5 maan6 gei2 man1 jan4gung1 taai3 gou1 laa3 (0.8)*
 sorry PRT you 10,000 some dollars salary too high PRT
 ‘I’m sorry your ten-thousand dollar salary is too high (0.8)
- 96 *“ngo5 hai2 daai6luk6 ceng2-zo2 si1fu2 (0.5)*
 I in Mainland_China hire-PERF master
 ‘I hired someone from the mainland (0.5)
- 97 *”saam1 cin1 man1 (0.2)*
 three thousand dollars
 ‘three thousand dollars (0.2)

- 98 “*ceoi4fei1 nei5 hang2 lo2 saam1 cin1 man1 jan4gung1*” (0.7)
 unless you willing take three thousand dollar salary
 ‘unless you’re willing to take a three-thousand dollar salary’ (0.7)
- 99 **Interviewer:** *mm* (0.2)
 mm
 (Interviewer expressing sympathy)
- 100 **Ho Hei-wah:** *git3gwo2 mou5 baan6faat3* (0.4)
 result not-have way
 in the end there was nothing he could do (0.4)
- 101 *keoi5 zau6 faan1-faan1 lei4* (1.3)
 he go return-back come
 so he came back (1.3)
- 102 *zou6-zo2 gei2 sap6 nin4 haai4* (0.4)
 do-PERF some ten years shoes
 having worked ten or more years in shoemaking (0.4)
- 103 *m4-sik1 zou6 dai6di1 je5* (1.0)
 not-know do other things
 he didn’t know how to do anything else (1.0)
- 104 *faan1 dou3 lei4 hoeng1gong2* (0.3)
 return succeed come Hong_Kong
 after returning to Hong Kong (0.3)
- 105 *soeng2 zyun3 hong4* (0.6)
 want change career
 whether he wanted to change occupations (0.6)
- 106 *soeng2 zou6 faan1 haai4* (1.1)
 want do back shoe
 whether he wanted to work with shoes again (1.1)
- 107 *so2jau5 pou3tau2 dou1 mou5 saai3 laa3* (0.2)
 all stores already not-exist all PRT
 all the (shoe) stores had already disappeared (0.2)
- 108 *mai6 zau2 heoi3 zou6* (0.1) *zaap6gung1 aa3 go2di1 aa3* (1.3)
 therefore go to do manual_labor PRT those PRT
 so he went to work (0.1) as a laborer, that type of work (1.3)

- 109 *gan1zyu6 pai-zo2 loeng5 go3 sai3lou6zai2 lei4 (1.6)*
 then applied-PERF two CL children come
 and then he obtained documents to get his children to move over here (1.6)
- 110 *zi6gei2 zou6 daa2zaap6 (1.3)*
 self do manual_labor
 he worked in labor (1.3)
- 111 *dak1 go3 sei3 (0.2)*
 get CL four
 only four (0.2)
- 112 *dak1 go3 sei3 cin1 gei2 man1 (0.4)*
 get CL four thousand some dollars
 only four thousand some dollars (0.4)
- 113 *jat1 gaal saam1 hau2*
 one family three members
 a family of three
- 114 *zyu6 hai2 gaak3 baan2gaan3 fong2 go2dou6 (1.1)*
 live at CL plank room there
 living in a room separated by wooden planks (1.1)
- 115 *keoi5 waa6 “m4 gau3 sai2 aa3 ho4-saang1” (2.8)*
 he say not enough spend PRT Ho-mister
 he said, ‘I don’t have enough money to spend, Mr. Ho’ (2.8)
- 116 *nei5 je6maan5 jyulsi6fu4 mai6 zau2 lok6 gaai1 go2dou6 (1.2)*
 you night therefore therefore go down street there
 so you go down to the streets at night (1.2)
- 117 *zap1 di1 mat1 (0.7)*
 pick_up CL what
 what do you pick up? (0.7)
- 118 *zap1 di1 zi2pei4 (0.2)*
 pick_up CL cardboard
 you pick up cardboard paper (0.2)
- 119 *heoi3 maai6 (0.4)*
 to sell
 to sell (0.4)

- 120 *keoi5 jau6 paa3 jan4dei6 gin3 dou2 (1.3)*
 he yet fear people see succeed
 yet he's afraid of people seeing him (1.3)
- 121 *keoi5 waa6 "ngo5 m4 soeng2 coeng2 ni1di1 je5" (3.8)*
 he say I not want compete_for these things
 he said 'I don't want to compete for these things (against people in similar situations)' (3.8)
- 122 *hau6loi4 (3.0)*
 afterward
 afterward (3.0)
- 123 *keoi5 man6 ngo5 "ho4-saang1 ngo5- (1.5) ngo5 co3 (1.2) co3 hai2 bin1dou6 ne1" (2.0)*
 he ask me Ho-mister I I wrong wrong at where PRT
 he asked me, 'Mr. Ho, what- (1.5) what did I (1.2) I do wrong? (2.0)
- 124 *nei5 zing3fu2 ji4gaa1 zau6 seng4 jat6 waa6*
 you government now then all day say
 yet the government now keeps saying
- 125 *ni1di1 jan4 (0.3) tung4 go3 si4doi6 m4 pui3hap6 (1.0)*
 these people with CL times not match_up
 that these people (0.3) aren't catching up with the times (1.0)
- 126 *m4 zi6lik6gan1sang1 m4 duk6-do1di1-syu1 (1.5)*
 not self_empower not study-more-study
 that they don't work hard, don't try to get more educated (1.5)
- 127 *daan6hai6 dong1 nin4 keoi5 zi6gei2 mou5 dak1 (0.1)*
 but then year he self not-have able
 but in the past they weren't able (0.1)
- 128 *mou5 gei1wui6 soeng5 (0.3) hok6haau6 ge3 si4hau6 (0.1)*
 not-have opportunity attend school POSS time
 when they didn't have the opportunity to go to (0.3) school (0.1)
- 129 *zi6gei2 ceot1lei4 duk6 (0.7)*
 self come_out study
 they came out on their own to study (0.7)
- 130 *zi6gei2 ceot1lei4 (0.3) ngaai4 (1.4)*
 self come_out suffer
 they came out on their own to (0.3) suffer (1.4)
- 131 *ngaai4 dou6 ji4gaa1 (0.7)*
 suffer through now
 suffering through today (0.7)

- 132 *nei5 zau6 zing3fu2 ji4gaa1 zau6 (0.1) geng1 keoi5dei6 lo2 fuk1lei6 aa3*
you then government now then fear they take welfare PRT
and now the government (0.1) is afraid of them getting welfare
- 133 *nei5 zau6 waa6 keoi5dei6 m4 zi6lik6gan1sang1 (0.2)*
you then say they not self_empower
and they say they aren't hard-working (0.2)
- 134 *waa6 keoi5dei6 (0.3) m4 nang4gau3 jyu5 si4 bing3 zeon3 (1.5)*
say they not able with time together advance
they say they (0.3) can't catch up with the times (1.5)
- 135 *ngo5 soeng2 man6 gung1-m4-gung1dou3 zek1 (2.2)*
I want ask fair-not-fair PRT
I want to ask, Is this fair? (2.2)

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