Title: Gender, interaction and intonational variation:
               The discourse functions of High Rising Terminals in London[1]

Abstract: In this paper, I examine the different conversational and interactional

               functions that High Rising Terminals (HRT) fulfil among young, White,

               middle-class speakers of London English. Data are drawn from sixteen small-

               group interviews with forty-two individuals (28 women and 14 men) aged 18-

               25. From this corpus, 7351 declarative Intonation Phrases were extracted, and

               auditorily coded for the presence/absence of HRT as well as for a variety of

               social, interactional and pragmatic factors. I combine quantitative and

               qualitative methods to demonstrate that while all of the speakers investigated

               use HRT to accomplish relational work in conversation, the specific

               interactional strategies that the feature is recruited to perform differ markedly

               across genders. I consider the ramifications of this finding for our

               understanding of "politeness" as a gendered practice, and illustrate the

               importance of examining a variable like HRT in its discourse-functional

               context.

Keywords: HRT, gender, London English, pragmatic function, politeness, face

Short Title: High Rising Terminals in London

Word Count: 11,092

One of the central arguments of recent sociolinguistic research is that identifying the social meaning of variation requires us not only to examine aggregate patterns of variability across populations, but also to locate those patterns in the specific interactional contexts in which they occur. Doing so is what allows us to understand how particular variable meanings emerge in the course of interaction, and to see how those meanings are related both to one another and to broader social categories in a unified indexical field (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Eckert 2008, 2012; Moore & Podesva 2009; Moore & Snell 2011). In this paper, I apply this methodological precept to the analysis of High Rising Terminals (HRT), or the use of phrase-final rising tunes on declarative utterances, in the speech of young Londoners. Combining quantitative and qualitative techniques, I investigate a range of social, interactional and pragmatic factors that constrain the appearance of HRT in discourse. Through this analysis, I identify two distinct patterns of HRT use in London. One pattern, which is predominant among the women in the sample, is broadly similar to what has been reported elsewhere in the literature on HRT. In contrast, the pattern used by the men differs markedly from what has been discussed in previous research. My goal in this article is to demonstrate how these different patterns correlate with distinct pragmatic functions in the women's and men's speech, and to describe how these differences are linked to gendered ideologies of interactional style more broadly. In the process, I also aim to highlight the benefit of close quantitative analysis to the study of social meaning as it unfolds in discourse (Pichler 2010).

In order to accomplish this, I draw on recent developments in interpersonal pragmatics to model the kinds of interactional moves HRT is used to perform. In particular, I follow Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2008) in distinguishing between linguistic strategies used to manage *face* and those used to manage what she terms *sociality rights*. For Spencer-Oatey, face involves the claiming by interactants of the positive social *value* associated with

contextually-relevant attributes (Goffman 1967). This is a somewhat more restricted conceptualization of face than that offered by Brown and Levinson (1987), in that for Spencer-Oatey face needs (and face threats) crucially only involve an individual's sense of self-worth. This more limited use of the concept is complemented by Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) parallel notion of sociality rights, which she defines as the claiming of social *entitlements* that individuals feel they are due in a given interactional context. In other words, while face involves the presentation of a particular conceptualization of self as possessing certain valued traits (as being, e.g., friendly, intelligent or attractive), sociality rights refer to the expectancies we have about how we should be treated when interacting with others (e.g., with fairness or due consideration). The two concepts are obviously related in practice since our beliefs about how we should be treated (sociality rights) are clearly linked to our own sense of self (face). Nevertheless, Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2008) argues that it is important to keep them conceptually distinct given that a threat to one need not necessarily also imply a threat to the other (i.e., not being treated fairly does not automatically mean that our own sense of self-worth is compromised). To illustrate this, Spencer-Oatey (2008) cites the example of a student who requests a letter of support from her supervisor with virtually no prior notice. In this case, the supervisor's sense of self-worth (i.e., her face) may not be threatened; it may even be enhanced. But the supervisor may nevertheless be annoyed at the request's infringement of her sociality rights. Spencer-Oatey's separation of face needs and sociality rights in this way is useful since it allows us to move beyond the enforced binarity of Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, where every pragmatic move is categorised as addressing either an interactant's positive or negative face. Under Spencer-Oatey's framework, we are able to capture the fact that socially meaningful uses of language often enact both "positive" and "negative" pragmatic moves simultaneously, and so provide a more

robust analysis of the various pragmatic functions language can perform. I return to a discussion of the benefits of Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) model in the discussion below.

In what follows, I examine how the speakers in my sample use HRT to maintain, enhance and/or aggravate their own and others' face and rights needs as they engage in the inter-subjective relational work of conversation (Locher and Watts 2005, 2008). Unlike the more unidimensional understanding of politeness used in prior HRT research, this perspective allows me to go beyond a focus on the mitigation of face-threat to explore the different ways in which HRT can be used to manage the multiple rights- and face-needs of both speakers and listeners. I begin in the next section by briefly reviewing some of the literature on the pragmatic function of HRT in discourse, in both the UK and elsewhere. I then go on to describe the corpus under investigation, including details of the data collection and analysis protocols. Next, I turn to a quantitative analysis of the occurrence of HRT in the corpus, moving from an examination of more large-scale social and interactional features (e.g., speaker sex, text type, turn length) to more fine-grained pragmatic ones (e.g., information status, position in narrative). I then present qualitative examples of HRT in use that serve to illustrate and clarify the quantitative patterns identified, before concluding with a brief discussion of the larger ramifications of the findings.

PRIOR RESEARCH

HRT is an increasingly common feature of varieties of English around the world. Sometimes also called Australian Question Intonation (AQI) or uptalk, HRT refers to the use of one of a number of final-rising tunes in declarative utterances where standard descriptions of English intonation would normally expect a falling tune to occur. Phonologically, the specific tune employed can take a variety of forms, including low- and high-onset high-rises (L*H-H%, H*H-H%), low rises (L*L-H%) or fall-rises (H* L-H%) (Fletcher, Striling, Lushin and Wales

2002; Fletcher, Grabe and Warren 2005; Barry 2008; Ritchart and Arvaniti 2014). While some studies have indicated that these different tunes may correspond to distinct sociolinguistic and pragmatic profiles (e.g., Warren and Daly 2000), I follow previous research on the pragmatic function of HRT in discourse and consider all variants of rising tunes on declaratives as instances of HRT (see, e.g., Fletcher, Grabe and Warren 2005: 5; Ladd 2008: 126, 154-55; see also Warren 2016: 20-46). Figure 1 presents illustrative examples of two different types of rising contours in the dataset that were both coded as HRT.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

In doing so, I do not mean to imply that variability in the phonological shape of the HRT contour is unimportant. Yet, I follow Warren (2016: 2) in conceiving of HRT as 'a *marked* rising intonation pattern found at the end of intonation units realised on declarative utterances' (emphasis added). As previous research has shown (e.g., Britain and Newman 1992; Di Giaocchino and Crook Jessop 2011), there is no one-to-one correspondence between phonetic/phonological shape and intonational markedness of this kind. For this reason, a static or purely acoustic operationalisation of HRT (as, for example, a terminal contour that rises at least 40% above the mean pitch frequency of the phrase; Guy et al. 1986) is inadequate since it runs the risk of overlooking intonational patterns that are perceived by interactants as instances of HRT despite not falling within the pre-defined acoustic parameters. In the present study, I therefore choose to auditorily code for the presence of HRT in discourse. I argue that this allows me to capture the fact that HRT is a coherent intonational phenomenon that can nevertheless take a variety of specific phonetic/phonological forms, while at the same time remaining open to the possibility that

realisational differences among the forms may themselves be socially and/or functionally specified in the dataset. In other words, since my principal goal in the current analysis is to describe the kinds of interactional work that Londoners use HRT to perform, I adopt a coding schema based on the impressionistic categorisation of whether (any variety of) HRT is present in a given phrase or not and, for the moment, abstract away from more fine-grained differences in tune shape. I provide details of the auditory coding protocol in the methods section below.

The first sustained body of research on HRT as a sociolinguistic variable was conducted in Sydney, Australia in the early 1980s (Guy and Vonwiller 1984; Guy, Horvath, Vonwiller, Daisley and Rogers 1986; Horvath 1985). In that work, Guy and colleagues examine the distribution of HRT as a function of speaker age, ethnicity, sex and social class. They discover that HRT (or AQI, as they call it) is used more frequently among working-class speakers, teenagers and women. In addition, they find that HRT is used more frequently in more complex types of discourse (e.g., in recounting narratives as opposed to simple statements of fact) and on longer conversational turns. Based on these findings, Guy and colleagues argue that HRT is used by speakers as a tool both to request continued control of the conversational floor (cf. Schegloff 1982) and to seek verification from listeners that they have understood what has been said (cf. Gussenhoven 1984). Taking these two functions together, they argue that the basic underlying meaning of HRT is to solicit greater interactivity by 'request[ing] the heightened participation of the listener' in conversation (Horvath 1985: 132) (for more recent replications of Guy et al.'s principal findings, see Fletcher et al. 2002; Fletcher and Loakes 2006).

Britain and colleagues (Britain 1992; Britain and Newman 1992; Warren and Britain 2000) come to a similar conclusion in their examinations of HRT in New Zealand, though they focus in that work more on the *affective*, as opposed to the *instrumental*, function of the

feature. Like Guy and colleagues, Britain (1992) finds increased use of HRT among young speakers and women, and, for these speakers, in narratives. He also identifies, however, a high prevalence of HRT use among Māori men. What this means is that the gender effect in Britain's dataset (whereby women use more HRT than men) only applies among Pākehā (i.e., European descent) speakers in the sample. All Māori speakers, both women and men, are frequent HRT users. Britain (1992: 80) uses these findings to argue that in New Zealand HRT acts 'as a marker of positive politeness toward the addressee, inviting him or her to participate vicariously and empathetically in the production of talk and emphasizing the in-group nature of the relationship between speaker and hearer.' For Britain, it is the affective meaning of HRT (i.e., the creation of a solidary common ground) that causes it to be used more frequently by Pākehā women and Māori speakers, groups that he maintains are more invested in the creation of interactional cooperation and cohesion. Thus while Britain's ultimate argument that HRT works to promote a high-involvement interactional style resonates with the conclusion reached by Guy and colleagues (1986), he argues that the underlying motivation for using the feature is based on the promotion of in-group solidarity, rather than on the successful organization of conversation (see also Meyerhoff 1991; Warren and Britain 2000).

In contrast to these studies in Australia and New Zealand, the earliest discussion of the pragmatic function of HRT in North America (Lakoff 1975) argues based on anecdotal evidence that the feature serves to convey uncertainty or deference, which is why it occurs more frequently in the speech of women and young people. This assertion was, however, quickly refuted by empirical studies demonstrating a much wider range of uses for HRT. Ching (1982) describes six different functions for HRT in the US South, including deference but also emphasis and the mitigation of face threat. In perhaps the most extensive study of the variable in the region, McLemore (1991), examining the speech of sorority sisters in Texas,

similarly identifies a multiplicity of functions the feature can perform, arguing that the relevant meaning emerges in the context of use and is dependent on factors such as the relative status of participants and the location of the feature in discourse. McLemore argues, moreover, that these disparate meanings can be united by a more fundamental indexation by HRT of non-finality and connectedness, such that the use of the form conveys a certain open-endedness of the phrase being uttered. In certain contexts, this open-endedness is used to signal continuity between contiguous turns at talk (as, for example, in narratives; e.g., Bolinger 1982) while in others it asserts a connectedness between the different participants in a conversation. Similar patterns of use have since been identified in Canada (Shokeir 2008) and elsewhere in the US (Ritchart and Arvaniti 2014; Prechtel 2015), demonstrating that, despite popular beliefs to the contrary, HRT is not normally used as a symbol of hesitation or uncertainty in North American English varieties.

To date, there has been comparatively less systematic investigation of the pragmatic function of HRT in the UK.[2] The feature was first noted by Cruttenden (1986), who, drawing on anecdotal evidence, describes it as an incipient feature of London English associated with what he calls "new yuppies" (i.e., young, upwardly-mobile speakers). Likewise, Bradford (1997) reports that HRT is prevalent in the speech of young female speakers of Received Pronunciation, though she also acknowledges that the feature crosses geographical, class and gender boundaries. Building on Britain's (1992) analysis of HRT as a positive politeness device, Bradford argues that HRT serves two functions among young women in London. First, it acts affectively as what she describes as a 'bonding technique to promote a sense of solidarity and empathy between speakers and hearers' (Bradford 1997: 34). In addition, Bradford argues that it also serves a referential function, working to emphasize new or important information in discourse. Since Bradford's research, there have been a number of studies of the different phonetic and/or phonological properties of the contour, as well as

different laboratory-based investigations of the use of HRT in controlled elicitation tasks (e.g., Shobbrook and House 2003; House 2006; Barry 2008). While the findings of these experimental studies have been largely consistent with Bradford's (1997) earlier claims, there are no recent investigations of the social and interactional meanings of HRT in the UK that draw on spontaneous, naturally-occurring speech. This article represents a first attempt to fill this empirical gap.

Taken together, the various studies of HRT summarized above identify four principal pragmatic functions the feature can serve:

- as an epistemic marker of uncertainty;

- as a referential marker of discourse prominence;

- as an instrumental marker of turn non-finality;

- and as an affective marker of in-group solidarity.

In the analyses below, I examine the extent to which HRT fulfils the same range of functions among young speakers in London by looking at the distribution of the feature across different social, interactional and pragmatic contexts. I also return in my conclusion to consider whether these different functions can be united by a more fundamental underlying meaning of the variable (cf. McLemore 1991).

DATA COLLECTION AND CODING

The speech for analysis comes from 16 small-group interviews conducted with 42 speakers of London English (28 women and 14 men), resulting in just under 10 hours of recorded speech. All speakers were between 18-25 years of age at the time of recording (in 2014), are White, and were born and still lived in the Greater London area. Since my goal in this paper is to

examine the different pragmatic functions of HRT, I focus solely on the White speakers in the sample based on previous research (Author 2014) that has demonstrated that they are the only group to make regular use of the variable in the dataset. Similarly, the choice to examine young speakers is driven by the anecdotal claim that HRT is a relatively new feature of London English, and one that only occurs with any frequency in the speech of adolescents and young adults. Thus while I concede that my speaker sample is by no means representative of London English, I argue that it is appropriate for the purposes of the current analysis.

The interviews themselves were initially recorded as part of an undergraduate class project that was in no way related to HRT. For that project, undergraduate students in London were required to conduct a short (20-30 minutes) recording of themselves in a structured conversation with their friends and peers. A simple modular interview schedule was provided covering topics such as how the participants became acquainted with one another and what their current work and leisure activities consist of. As is standard with this type of method (Schilling 2013), students, however, were also instructed to allow the conversation to run its natural course and to follow the other participants' lead in shifts of topic and focus of talk. Interview groups ranged in size from three to five participants (including the student interviewer), and all participants were well-acquainted with one another (normally, friends, housemates and/or romantic partners). Eight of the interviews included both women and men, while a further eight included either only women (5 interviews) or only men (3 interviews). Interviews took place in participants' homes, and were recorded in high definition on a smartphone using freely available specialist software (either Tascam PCM Recorder MKII for iPhone or PCM Recorder for Android; both allow for the recording of 16-bit uncompressed WAV files at a sampling frequency of 44100 Hz).

In keeping with the method established in previous studies (Guy et al. 1986; Britain 1992), recordings were all transcribed and annotated for Intonation Phrase (IP) boundaries (corresponding to level 4 breaks in the ToBI coding schema; Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986). I then extracted all declarative IPs from the corpus (n = 7,351). All 42 speakers in the sample contributed tokens for analysis, though the amount of speech contributed by any one speaker varied. The median number of tokens per speaker was 176, ranging from a low of 64 to a high of 317. As noted above, IPs were all auditorily coded for the presence or absence of HRT. Initial coding was done by two research assistants, who each took primary responsibility for one-half of the dataset and cross-checked a sample (25%) of each other's coded tokens. For this first round of coding, the presence vs. absence of HRT was categorised along a five-point scale ranging from "definitely no HRT" to "probably no HRT", "unsure", "probably HRT" and "definitely HRT". Disagreements between coders were resolved on a case-by-case basis, with individual tokens recategorised as necessary. I then conducted the second round of coding. I first discarded the tokens in the "unsure" category, before re-listening to all of the remaining tokens so as to collapse the coding schema into a binary division between "HRT present" and "HRT absent". Final decisions about whether an IP contained HRT or not were therefore made by me, but these decisions were arrived at after each token had already been preliminarily categorised by at least one other listener and the more ambiguous tokens had been removed.

In addition to the presence/absence of HRT itself, IPs were also coded for the social factors of speaker sex (female, male) and context (mixed-sex, single-sex). In terms of pragmatic factors, IPs were coded for the length of the conversational turn in which they appear (as a continuous whole number count of the total IPs in that turn), based on Guy et al.'s (1986) finding that HRT tends to occur during longer turns at talk. Finally, following Guy et al. (1986) and Britain (1992), IPs were also coded for text type, distinguishing

between facts, descriptions, opinions and narratives.[3] In coding for text type, I adopt Britain's (1992: 88) method whereby IPs are 'classified according to the pragmatic development and schematic structure of [the] speech turn.' What this means is that in cases where a factual question was asked, for example, and the speaker responded with an opinion, the response was coded as an opinion. Otherwise, Guy et al.'s basic definitions for the text type categories were adhered to, where texts coded as "facts" contained factual responses to questions without evaluation or explanation; those coded as "descriptions" involved speakers describing some event and/or giving a reason for that event (see note 3); texts coded as "opinions" included talk that related the speaker's own evaluative point of view; and texts coded as "narratives" involved the recounting of personal or vicarious past experiences (see Guy et al. 1986: 35 for further details). A series of binomial mixed-effects regression models were built (using the lme4 package in R; Bates, Mächler, Bolker and Walker 2015; R Core Team 2016) for an initial examination of the influence of these four factors (sex, context, turn length, text type) on the appearance of HRT (speaker was included as a random intercept in all models so as to account for uneven sample sizes across speakers and for any additional speaker-specific effects).[4] Models were manually stepped-down (using likelihood ratio tests) from maximal models containing all factors and possible interactions to the "best" model that only contained significant predictors or predictors that participate in significant interactions (significance levels were obtained using the Laplace approximation for mixed-effects models, as implemented in the lmerTest package in R; Kuznetsova, Brockhoff and Christensen 2016). Details for all of the models discussed in the Results section below are provided in the Appendix.

Before turning to the findings, it is important to note that, as with other discourse-pragmatic variables, there are potential issues associated with analysing HRT within a variationist paradigm (Dines 1980; Cheshire 1987; Pichler 2010). Britain (1992) summarizes

the problems as composed of two dimensions. The first is that HRT does not straightforwardly conform to the requirement that variants of a variable be semantically (or functionally) equivalent. Since the effect of using HRT is a change in pragmatic function, this requirement clearly cannot be met. The second problem concerns the inability of defining the closed set of potential locations for HRT to occur and an exhaustive list of alternative variants that may fulfil the same purpose. This is because we cannot say with certainty that by not using HRT a speaker is not signalling a given pragmatic meaning since that meaning may be conveyed by some alternative form. Moreover, we would normally aim to identify those (and only those) contexts in which a speaker wishes to convey the relevant pragmatic meaning and then determine whether HRT is used. There is, however, no objective way to do this, meaning that, ultimately, we cannot treat HRT as a sociolinguistic variable in the strictest sense. Nevertheless, I follow Britain (1992) in adopting the methods of variationist analysis to help me identify and describe the different functions HRT can fulfil in London English. In this sense, I make no claim to be analysing HRT as a sociolinguistic variable *per se*, and instead simply take advantage of the heuristic value of variationist tools to uncover the pragmatic meanings of HRT in discourse (cf. Meyerhoff 2015; see also Holmes 1986; Cheshire 2005; Walker 2012).

RESULTS

Social and Interactional Analysis

Of the 7,351 declarative IPs extracted from the interview corpus, 719 (9.8%) contain HRT.[5] To get an indication of the overall prevalence of HRT in the dataset, we can compare this figure of 9.8% to the 1.6% HRT identified by Guy et al. (1986) in Sydney or the 4.2% identified by Britain (1992) in New Zealand (though bear in mind that I am examining casual conversations between friends, whereas the previous studies were based on traditional

sociolinguistic interviews, which may explain the difference in overall rates of use). The headline value of 9.8% HRT in the current dataset hides some variability among individual speakers in the sample, who range from 3.5% HRT to 41.2% HRT. Yet while this variability does exist, there are no categorical HRT users or non-users. Instead, all speakers show rates of HRT use that are either comparable to or greater than many of those previously reported in the literature. Moreover, as noted above, variability among speakers is factored into the regression modelling via the inclusion of speaker as a random effect in all models.

The proportional distribution of HRT in the dataset by sex and context is presented in Figure 2. The most surprising result in Figure 2 is the very high proportion of HRT use among the men in the sample. While previous literature has repeatedly found that HRT is predominantly associated with women's speech (e.g., Britain 1992; Bradford 1997), men in the London sample use slightly more HRT overall (11.3%) than the women (9.7%). This effect is, however, conditioned by context. In mixed-sex talk, men are avid users of HRT and the feature appears 18.9% of the time. In single-sex contexts, in contrast, men only use HRT 6.2% of the time. Among the women, we do not find a comparable context effect, with HRT used on 10.5% of IPs in mixed-sex talk and 8.1% of IPs in single-sex talk.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

Regression analyses confirm the significance of the sex and contexts effects apparent in Figure 2. They indicate, however, that these effects are further conditioned by a complex four-way interaction with both text type and turn length. In order to render this interaction interpretable, separate mixed-effects regression models were built for the women (n = 4807) and the men (n = 2544). These models were built following precisely the same method as outlined above: maximal models containing all predictors (i.e., context, text type and turn

length) and all possible interactions were manually stepped-down until only significant predictors and/or interactions remained. Beginning with the women (see Figure 3), the best quantitative model of the women's data selects text type ($p = 0.002$) and turn length ($p = 0.041$) as significant predictors of HRT. Speech context is not selected ($p = 0.439$), which is in keeping with the relatively small distributional difference in HRT use observed in Figure 2 between single- and mixed-sex talk among the women. Figure 3 illustrates the significant text type effect. There we see that women use HRT the most in narrative IPs (10.8%), the least on facts (6.5%) and intermediate amounts on opinions (8.9%) and descriptions (8.7%). Post-hoc pairwise comparisons among factor levels indicate that, aside from opinions and descriptions, these differences are significant at the $p < 0.000$ level, resulting in a stepwise hierarchy of HRT use across text type of: fact < opinion, description < narrative. Interestingly, this distribution of HRT frequency parallels differences in the average turn lengths employed by the women across text types (for a discussion of potential collinearity between text type and turn length, see note 4). Narrative IPs are embedded in the longest turns (average length of 6.2 IPs per turn), facts in the shortest (average of 3.7 IPs), and opinions and descriptions fall in between (average of 5.1 IPs together). The significant effects of text type and turn length for the women thus seem to go hand in hand and confirm the proposal made by Guy et al. (1986) that HRT appears more frequently as the complexity of the conversational task increases. As noted above, Guy and colleagues argue that it is because HRT allows speakers to maintain control of the conversational floor (i.e., its instrumental function) that we find more HRT use in longer and more complex turns (like narratives). Initial analysis of the women in the current sample is consistent with this interpretation.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

Turning to the men (see Figure 4), a very different pattern emerges. The best model of the men's use of the variable selects text type ($p = 0.000$) and context ($p = 0.014$) but not turn length ($p = 0.936$). In addition, there is a further significant interaction between text type and context ($p = 0.018$) among the men. This interaction is visualized in Figure 4. In single-sex talk, men generally make little use of HRT and frequencies do not appear to vary across text types. This pattern is confirmed by pairwise comparisons among factor levels, which demonstrate no significant differentiation among the text type categories for men in single-sex talk. In mixed-sex talk, in contrast, we find both higher proportions of HRT use overall and significant differentiation across text types. Pairwise comparisons indicate that these differences are all significant, resulting in a stepwise progression from facts (13.3% HRT) < opinions (15.9% HRT) < descriptions (21.8% HRT) < narratives (24.9% HRT). Crucially, however, this observed increase in frequency of HRT for men in mixed-sex talk is not accompanied by a parallel increase in turn length. In other words, unlike the women, men do not use significantly longer turns as the complexity of the text type increases, showing (non-significantly-differentiated) average lengths of 4.2-4.8 IPs per turn for facts, opinions and descriptions and 7.1 IPs per turn for narratives. While it is thus true that narratives are significantly longer than any of the other types of texts, there is no overall correlation in the men's mixed-sex speech between length of turn and frequency of HRT use.

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

This finding among the men poses a problem for Guy et al.'s (1986) interpretation of HRT as a floor control mechanism. According to their analysis, HRT 'often has the effect of securing the listener's cooperation in the construction of an extended turn at talk for one speaker,' with the contour serving as a 'solicitation of the listener's consent to an extended

turn for the speaker' (Guy et al. 1986: 44). In other words, Guy et al. (1986) understand HRT to function as a request for a "continuer" (Schegloff 1982), and thus predict that it will co-occur with extended turns at talk. In the current dataset, this is indeed what it found among the women. The men, in contrast, show no such correlation between turn length and frequency of HRT use. It therefore appears difficult to apply Guy et al.'s analysis (and its attendant predicted correlation between HRT use and turn length) to the use of the contour by the men.

Britain's (1992) proposal that HRT is an affective, as opposed to instrumental, device, however, makes no prediction about a correlation between HRT use and turn length. For Britain, what is at issue in narratives versus facts is not so much the length of a turn as the relative face/solidarity-threatening natures of the different text types. Narratives, for instance, involve a speaker inviting 'listeners to join in an interactional allegiance and endorse the speaker's position' (Schiffrin 1990: 252-253). The act of doing so potentially threatens the solidary conversational floor (since the narrator is the focus of attention) as well as the narrator's face (since it is not always certain that listeners will agree to the speaker's wish to narrate). Britain (1992) argues that it is for these more pragmatic reasons that we find increasing use of HRT in more complex text types, where the variable acts to mitigate the force of interactional threat (see also Warren and Britain 2000). This analysis thus seems better suited for modelling the use of HRT observed among the men in mixed-sex conversation since it does not imply an *a priori* predicted correlation between HRT frequency and turn length (though it could be consistent with it).

Admittedly, the results so far are largely similar between the women and the men, with both groups showing increased rate of HRT use as the complexity of the text type increases. There is, however, one key difference between them: for women, this text type effect parallels the effect of turn length, whereas for men it does not. I suggest that this

difference may indicate the presence of two distinct patterns of HRT use in the dataset, one associated with the women that is consistent with Guy et al.'s (1986) contention that HRT serves to help speakers maintain control of the floor, and the other associated with the men that is instead more consistent with Britain's (1992) analysis of the variable as an affective (politeness) device. I concede, however, that the suggestion that there exist two distinct patterns requires further support. Therefore, in an effort to determine whether the turn length difference is in fact key to how the feature is being used by women versus men, or whether it is merely an incidental empirical artefact, I turn in the next section to an examination of some further interactional and pragmatic features that these two interpretations predict would constrain the appearance of HRT in discourse.

Pragmatic Analysis

I focus on two sets of interactional/pragmatic features, each of which is associated with one of the two interpretations described thus far. These sets of features have also either been explicitly examined in prior research on HRT, or they are implicit in the interpretations proposed. The first set involves the sequential organization of HRT, particularly where in a turn the variable occurs and how other conversational participants react to it. These factors are both related to the floor-holding analysis, which would predict that HRT will occur turn-medially and that listeners will either not react to it at all or react with a minimal response that does not threaten the speaker's turn at talk. The other set of factors I examine is the status of the information conveyed by the IPs where HRT occurs. According to Britain's (1992) model, we would expect HRT to occur more frequently when new information is presented, as it is this information that is most relevant to the construction of complex speech tasks (such as opinions or narratives) and is where the endorsement of a speaker's position would be the most sought after. Previous research has in fact reported that HRT appears most often

on new information (e.g., Bradford 1997), and some theories have even argued that rising

tunes in general are iconically representative of "newness" in discourse (e.g., Pierrehumbert

and Hirschberg 1990). Examining the distribution of occurrences of HRT as a function of

these two sets of features and across women and men could therefore lend further support to

the possibility that there exist two distinct profiles for HRT use in the dataset.

These two sets of features are examined via contingency tables for the 719

occurrences of HRT only. I am therefore not investigating what occurs turn-medially/turn-

finally or when different types of information are conveyed more generally. Rather, I focus

solely on instances where HRT occurs, and examine the contexts of this occurrence. For each

of the 719 tokens, I coded whether HRT occurred turn-finally (i.e., in the final IP before

control of the conversational floor changed) or turn-medially (any IP followed by continued

talk from the same speaker). For turn-medial tokens, I further coded for whether the

occurrence of HRT was followed by no (audible) response whatsoever, some form of

minimal response (e.g., backchannel cue), or an attempted turn change (i.e., an unsuccessful

interruption).[6] For information status, I first coded all occurrences of HRT for whether the IP

in which they occur expressed new or given information. This is an extension of Prince's

(1992) taxonomy, moving beyond the scope of a single noun phrase (as Prince does) to

encompass the propositional content of an entire IP. While coding for the information status

of propositions may be a novel application of Prince's framework, it is one that has precedent

in the literature, particularly with respect to the prosodic encoding of information structure

(e.g., Chafe 1994; Baumann 2006a, 2006b). In practice, rather than coding for whether the

referent of a given noun phrase is given or new, this assessment is made on the basis of the

entire proposition's contribution to ongoing discourse. Finally, for IPs coded as presenting

new propositional information, I further distinguished between discourse-new hearer-old

information (what Prince 1981 terms "unused") and discourse-new hearer-new information ("brand new" in Prince's 1981 terminology).[7]

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

Results for the examination of HRT occurrences across these sets of factors are presented in Table 1. We see that of the four factor groups considered (i.e., position in turn, response to HRT, given vs. new information, hearer-old vs. hearer-new status), three show no significant differences between women and men (position in turn, response to HRT, and given vs. new information). In fact, the frequency distribution of HRT across factors in these groups is nearly identical for both sexes. That men's uses of HRT occur more frequently turn-medially and, in that position, without even a minimal response is somewhat unexpected. If the men are using HRT as an affective, as opposed to instrumental, device, we might have anticipated finding a more even distribution of HRT across both turn-medial and turn-final positions (though, admittedly, there are more turn-medial than turn-final positions available overall). For the women, in contrast, this finding is consistent with the floor-holding interpretation discussed above. With respect to information status, we observe that both women and men use HRT more frequently on new information than on given. This was a predicted pattern for the men (assuming an analysis of HRT as an affective device), and one that is consistent with previous research (e.g., Bradford 1997). What is surprising, however, is the stark difference in the types of new information HRT appears with. Here, we find a significant difference between the women and the men, with the women tending to use HRT when communicating information that is hearer-old whereas the men tend to use it to communicate information that is hearer-new. In other words, the women's uses of HRT most frequently coincide with the introduction of information in conversation that is already

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known to other conversational participants, whereas the men's uses coincide with the provision of information that is totally new.[8]

Neither of the interpretations of HRT discussed so far can fully account for the effect of relative newness (i.e., hearer-old versus hearer-new) in the women's and men's speech. While plausible stories could perhaps be constructed that are consistent with these patterns (e.g., the instrumental function of HRT is more necessary when recounting information that is already known to participants, hence its more frequent use in these contexts by women), further evidence on the actual use of HRT in discourse is required to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the women versus the men are using the variable and why that use patterns distributionally in the way that it does. For this reason, I turn in the next section to a final analysis of HRT that examines its position within narratives in the corpus.

Narrative Analysis

Following Labov and Waletzky (1967), Warren and Britain (2000) argue that the different components of a narrative (i.e., abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, coda) are associated with distinct pragmatic considerations for the speaker. Crucially, orientations (when a narrator embarks on a story and secures the right to tell it) and evaluations (when a narrator must in a sense justify why the story was told) are the parts of a narrative associated with the highest level of potential face-threat. Based on Britain's (1992) earlier analysis of HRT as a threat-mitigating device, Warren and Britain (2000) predict that HRT should occur most frequently in orientation and evaluation clauses (and this is indeed what they find in their New Zealand dataset). I adopt Warren and Britain's (2000) method in my examination here. I extracted all the longer and multi-component "stories" from the dataset (i.e., I excluded narratives that consisted solely of a pair of complicating actions). This resulted in a sub-corpus of 36 "stories", made up of 930 IPs. In addition to coding each

of these IPs for the presence/absence of HRT (as before), I also coded them for where they occurred in the narrative (see Labov and Waletzsky 1967; Warren and Britain 2000 for coding details). There were no abstracts used in any of the stories examined, but all other categories (orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda) were represented.

[INSERT FIGURE 5]

Of the 42 speakers in the total sample, 22 are represented in the sub-corpus of stories (14 women and 8 men). 164 of the 930 IPs in the sub-corpus contained HRT, for a rate of HRT use of 17.6% (or just under double the rate of use in the total sample). The distribution of HRT in the sub-corpus across narrative components is presented in Figure 5. Regression models examined the effect of narrative component and speaker sex (and their interaction) on use of HRT. As before, models were stepped down manually from full models until only significant predictors remained, with speaker included as a random intercept (see Appendix for model details). As we see in Figure 5, HRT is never used in resolutions or codas in the current dataset, clustering instead in the other three clause types. There is, moreover, a very different distributional pattern evident among the women and the men. For women, HRT occurs most frequently in orientation clauses and significantly less so in evaluations and complicating actions. The prevalence of HRT in orientations is consistent with Warren and Britain's (2000) findings, though the relatively low rate of use in evaluations is notably different than what they found. The men, in contrast, show the highest rates of use in complicating actions- a narrative component that Warren and Britain argue is the least threat-inducing. In addition, there is substantial use of HRT by the men in orientation clauses and significantly less in evaluations. Mixed-model regression analyses confirm the statistical

significance of these patterns, with the best model identifying a significant interaction between sex and narrative component (with resolution and coda excluded) in predicting the occurrence of HRT (see Appendix).

In order to interpret these quantitative findings, it is instructive to qualitatively examine the women's and men's use of HRT in discourse. Extract 1 provides a representative example of the use of the variable among the women. In this extract, two friends, Lorna and Rachel, are beginning to tell the story of a night out they spent together in London. It is clear from earlier discussion in the interview that the interviewer was aware that Lorna and Rachel had gone out for a night on the town recently, those she was unaware of the specific details of the story. The portion of the story presented in Extract 1 is actually an embedded narrative that serves as a lengthy introduction and orientation to the main action of their story (which involved them being invited to an exclusive members-only club in the city). Instances of HRT are represented in boldface and underlined, and IPs boundaries are represented by double slashes (//).[9]

Extract 1

Lorna: Thur- Thursday night was like a brainwave becau:se // (.) we basically:: // there's
           a:: singer that we came across // (.) um // (.) who's really cool // he's called
           MNEK // (.) like spelt the letters // (.) not (.)

Rachel: [not emneck as]   ((laughter))

Lorna: [not emneck as] we originally
           thought // um and um he (.) did a free **<u>gig</u>** // in **<u>Soho</u>** // (1) um // (.) and all you
           had to do was just sign up to (.) like email a guest list // an- an- and then get put
           on it- //

Rachel: [again it was free so // (.) that's why we did it // ((laughter))]

Lorna: [you get to go along for free // (1) yea tha- that was the appeal] // (.) and

also cus he's a really [good **singer**] //

Rachel: [yea yea yea]

Lorna: we wanted to see **him** // So basically we went to see the **singer** // (.) and (.) we

didn't really know what it was going to be **like** // cuz he was only singing for

half an **hour** // which (.) like ((chuckle)) (.) isn't that long // but we just thought

[oh well] //

Rachel: [That's our night out // (.) half an hour] //

Lorna: [yeah] // ((laughter)) we can allow ourselves half an hour // and so after um // (2)

after he finished singing // like it all (.) it was in quite a posh **hotel** // in **Soho** //

so=

Rachel: =Really posh=

Lorna: =We felt a bit **awkward** // cuz there were all these girls in heels

like started dancing and stuff //=

Rachel: =yea that's when it turned a bit (.) shit //

((laughter)) and we decided to leave //

We find in Extract 1 evidence of the various distributional properties of the women's

use of HRT observed in the quantitative analysis. HRT generally appears on Lorna's longer

turns, and consistently on information that is already known to Rachel (who was present for

the events described). It is interesting, moreover, to note that Lorna's placement of HRT in

Extract 1 appears to be very strategic. The variable occurs whenever there is an apparent

dispute regarding how *tellership* of the story is managed. Tellership refers to the

'organization of participation in the telling of a narrative' (Ochs and Capps 2001: 46), and

normally focuses on the extent to which stories are singly- or co-constructed. This aspect of

tellership, however, is not at issue among the women (their stories are all overwhelmingly co-constructed). Instead, the dimension of tellership that I identity as occasionally in tension in the women's stories involves control over narrative perspective, such that HRT appears where there is disagreement over the appropriate orientation or framing of the story as it unfolds (what Stivers, Mondada and Steensig 2011 describe as *epistemic primacy* in conversation). For example, Lorna begins by describing why they went to go see the concert by stating that the singer is *really cool*. Rachel soon counters this interpretation, however, by offering an alternative justification (*again it was free (.) so that's why we did it*). In response to this, Lorna immediately retakes control of the floor and reiterates her initial justification, this time with two tokens of HRT in quick succession (*and also cuz he's a really good **singer***; *we wanted to see **him***), to which Rachel replies with a dismissive *yeah yeah yeah*. In fact, when you examine the women's narratives throughout the corpus (including subsequent parts of Lorna and Rachel's story), HRT tends to appear at moments such as these, when the narrator's perspective is challenged. HRT does not appear, for instance, later in this interview when Lorna and Rachel agree in their description of a man they met that night as being *scruffy looking* and *like he didn't have any money*. Instead, tokens of HRT cluster when there is a disagreement about the way the story is framed, and, interestingly, that disagreement is consistently resolved in favour of the position adopted by the speaker who uses HRT (cf. McLemore 1991).

Based on this qualitative pattern and the quantitative results described above, I argue that, for the women, HRT ultimately serves an instrumental function, but in a way that preserves interactional harmony (Spencer-Oatey 2000) between the speakers. In essence, I suggest that HRT acts as a request for *activity alignment* (Stivers 2008; Stivers, Mondada and Steensig 2011), an appeal by the speaker for the other conversational participant(s) to adopt the line of narration that the speaker has chosen. I suggest, moreover, that the pragmatic

motivations underlying this request are twofold. First, requesting alignment is a way for the speaker to assert her sociality rights, particularly what Spencer-Oatey (2008) describes as her right to *equity* (equitable treatment and due consideration in interaction). By asserting this right, an HRT user such as Lorna is effectively claiming her entitlement or authority to be the one who organizes the progression of the narrative. At the same time, the second pragmatic motivation underlying a request for activity alignment is the mitigation of overt threat to others' sociality rights and, perhaps, their face. Asserting an entitlement to control the production of a narrative clearly threatens other speakers' entitlements to do the same. Using HRT when asserting this right thus seems to alleviate the strength of this threat, in effect converting a demand for control into a request.

While my analysis of the women's use of HRT as a way to claim epistemic primacy in a non-threatening fashion is based principally on an examination of their practice in the sub-corpus of stories, I would argue that this interpretation is consistent with the findings from the entire dataset more broadly. It can account for the fact that women use HRT more on longer turns and in more complex tasks (as demonstrated in the social and interactional analysis), because these are the contexts in which struggles for perspectival control are more at issue. It is also consistent with the finding from the pragmatic analysis that tokens of HRT appear most frequently turn-medially (i.e., during the successful establishment of floor control) and on hearer-old information (i.e., information about which other participants have a position). Ultimately then, while I do not wish to claim that all instances of HRT in the women's speech are motivated by disputes over tellership, I maintain that the most frequent (and hence, perhaps, prototypical) uses of the contour among the women help them to resolve interactional disagreement so that they can maintain control of the way tellership is organized. In this respect, my analysis combines Guy et al.'s (1986) instrumental

interpretation with Britain's (1992) affective one to account for how the women are using HRT in conversation (see also Meyerhoff 1991).

The men, in contrast, use the variable differently. Extract 2 presents a representative example of the men's use of HRT in mixed-sex talk (i.e., the context in which they use the form frequently). In this extract, Lucas is recounting a story to Hannah and the Interviewer that neither of them has ever heard before:

<u>Extract 2</u>

Lucas: I cut my head open when I was a kid // (.) and like I got a big **<u>scar</u>** // (.) [goes into

           my **<u>hair</u>**] //

Hannah: [mm oh yeah] how have we never seen this [before?] //

Lucas: [I was like] **<u>skateboarding</u>** // (.) yeah

Intvwr: [cool]

Hannah: [oh my god]

Lucas: I guess I could have **<u>die:d</u>** //

Intvwr: =badass

Hannah: yeah [that's a big scar] //

Lucas: [I was bleeding everywhere] // (.) and like (.) but I used to, after it **<u>happened</u>** // (.)

           um there was like a lump on my **<u>forehead</u>** // (.) after it had healed // (.) and it could

           like move around a little **<u>bit</u>** // It was really weird //=

Hannah: =ah no way

Lucas: and then like (.) this happened for like three years // and then eventually we were

           like maybe we should go see the doctor // saw the doctor // and they kinda like

           surgically removed **it** // but it was like a (.) **<u>stone</u>** //

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Hannah: ah my god=

Lucas: =that was in my **forehead** // that the=

Hannah: =that's so weird=

Lucas: =previous surgeon hadn't **seen** // and then it was just like in my head for like three

           years //

Unlike among the women, interactional disagreement is not at issue in Extract 2. Moreover, HRT appears almost exclusively in Lucas' narrative during complicating actions, though there are occasional tokens in both the orientation and evaluation clauses. What is most striking about Lucas' use of the variable is that it appears to function as an attention-getting mechanism when (brand new) interesting or evocative information is presented (e.g., *I guess I could have **die(:)d**; but it was like a (.) **stone***). Based on this pattern (which is evident both in Lucas' story in Extract 2 and elsewhere in the men's mixed-sex narratives) and on the quantitative distribution of the variable described previously, I argue that the men use HRT when speaking in mixed-sex groups as a way to request interactional *affiliation* (Stivers 2008; Stivers, Mondada and Steensig 2011).

        While requests for alignment are task-based and involve an appeal to participate in the activity at hand, requests for affiliation are inter-personal in nature and seek acknowledgement of the speaker as a valued member of a group. In this case, I argue that Lucas is requesting affiliation from his interlocutors as a way to assert his sociality right to *association* (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2008). Like equity rights, association rights are perceived social entitlements. They refer, however, to an individual's sense of entitlement to (appropriate levels of) interactional and affective involvement. I suggest that Lucas and the other men in the sample draw on the referential function of HRT (i.e., its ability to assign

prominence and emphasis) as a way of promoting their interest and/or value in the interaction and, as a result, to achieve affiliation. The placement of HRT in the men's narratives provides a clue in this regard. By using the contour when presenting brand new information, the men can be understood to be granting *epistemic access* (Stivers, Mondada and Steensig 2011) to other conversational participants, i.e., contributing personal and meaningful information to the interactional common ground. In doing so, the men effectively open up a space for mutually affiliative behaviour and encourage their interlocutors to acknowledge them as worthy of attention.

This analysis of the men's practice is in many respects similar to Britain's (1992) original argument regarding the function of HRT in discourse as an affective device. Though since Britain was drawing on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, he was required to interpret his findings in relation to the alleviation of potential face-threat. I argue, in contrast, that *threat* is not involved with the men's use of HRT. Instead, I propose that the men draw on the referential function of the variable to *assert* their right to association (and perhaps also the enhancement of their perceived self-worth, i.e., their face). For the men, I thus suggest that HRT is a rights- and face-enhancing strategy used to claim interactional involvement. And while, as for the women, this interpretation is based principally on an analysis of the men's behaviour in the story sub-corpus, I note that it is also consistent with the quantitative results described above (i.e., the lack of a significant turn length effect, the use of HRT on hearer-new information, and the tendency for HRT to cluster in complicating actions).

DISCUSSION

In this article, I have examined quantitative distributional patterns at multiple levels of social and interactional structure in an effort to hone in on the pragmatic functions that HRT fulfils

among young, White speakers in London. Through this analysis, I argue that women were shown to use the variable principally as a conversational control mechanism, a finding that resonates with previous claims in the literature (e.g., Guy et al. 1986). Subsequent qualitative examination of the variable in discourse allows me to further refine this result, and identify that the variable is predominantly used in situations of interactional disagreement over so-called unused (Prince 1981) information. Based on this, I argue that HRT functions equally for the women as both an instrumental and an affective device, serving to mitigate a threat to other participants' sociality rights while nevertheless allowing the speaker to maintain epistemic authority in the telling of a narrative. For the men, I argue that control and threat mitigation are less of an issue. Instead, I draw on both the quantitative and the qualitative findings to suggest that the men deploy the referential function of HRT to draw attention to interesting (and brand new) elements of their talk in narratives, and so assert their right to interpersonal involvement. While for both the women and the men I do not claim that all instances of HRT in the dataset necessarily follow these patterns, I maintain that the patterns identified are in a sense prototypical of the women's and men's uses, respectively, and, moreover, that they allow for a coherent interpretation of the quantitative findings across all levels of the analysis (i.e., social, pragmatic/interactional, and narrative).

I believe that my arguments about the roles that HRT plays for the speakers in my sample are important for a number of reasons. The first of these has to do with the underlying meaning of the variable itself. As I note above, numerous proposals have been made in the literature about HRT's pragmatic function in discourse, including its use as an epistemic, referential, instrumental or affective device. My analysis is consistent with all of these, except for the epistemic interpretation. This is noteworthy because it provides further empirical support for previous analyses of the contour's function despite differences in location (i.e., London vs. the US, Australia and New Zealand) and the type of data considered (i.e., casual

conversations between friends examined here vs. more typical sociolinguistic interviews examined in previous research). Moreover, my interpretation of the women's and men's use of HRT further underscores the argument that HRT is a multi-valent feature (Pichler 2010) that allows speakers to manage multiple dimensions of conversational interaction simultaneously. Women, for example, use the feature to achieve an instrumental end, but in a way that promotes affective cohesion. Similarly, men use the variable referentially so as to obtain affective affiliation (and, sometimes as a result, instrumental control). Following McLemore (1991), I would argue that the reason HRT can function in this multi-valent fashion is because what it fundamentally signals is "non-finality." It is the core meaning that women and men draw upon to request alignment and affiliation, respectively. In other words, I suggest that "non-finality" is the meaning that anchors the indexical field (Eckert 2008) of HRT in the current dataset, and that the women and the men in the sample deploy this meaning in strategic ways to achieve instrumental, referential and affective ends.[10]

While the notion that HRT can fulfil multiple pragmatic functions simultaneously is not new (e.g., Ching 1982; Warren 2016: 66-7), what is novel about my approach is that I situate my interpretation of the women's and men's variable uses of the feature within a more dynamic and holistic framework of interpersonal pragmatics (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2008; Locher & Watts 2005, 2008) than has been used to date. As noted above, studies of the meaning of HRT in discourse have tended to be couched (whether implicitly or explicitly) in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) distinction between negative (i.e., deference-based) versus positive (i.e., solidarity-based) politeness. This approach is overly restrictive for two reasons. First, as already argued, it forces us to interpret practice through the lens of the mitigation of face threat. This has the effect of obscuring pragmatic moves made by speakers that are not designed to respond to the needs of interlocutors, but are instead based on speakers' own desires to position themselves as particular kinds of people (e.g., "interesting",

"attractive") in discourse (e.g., Tracy and Baratz 1994; Spencer-Oatey 2009; Arundale 2010). Second, the forced-choice binarity of Brown and Levinson's framework (i.e., positive or negative politeness) makes it difficult to model the very multi-functionality that is a hallmark of HRT use. By distinguishing face needs from sociality rights, Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) model overcomes this methodological obstacle, allowing us to characterise, for example, how the women's use of HRT in narratives threatens their interlocutors' rights while simultaneously attending to their (face) needs. Through my use of Spencer-Oatey's framework, I therefore hope to have illustrated a method for capturing the complexity of interlocking pragmatic functions HRT can be used to perform.

Lastly, the final implication of my analysis that I would like to raise relates to the gendered aspect of HRT use (a topic that has been much discussed in the literature; see, e.g., Warren 2016: 111-15). It is interesting to note that the distinction observed in the women's versus the men's use of HRT in my dataset parallels Cheshire's (2000) findings regarding differences in storytelling practices among adolescent girls and boys in Reading. Drawing on evidence from numerous discourse-pragmatic features, Cheshire argues that the girls in her sample focus predominantly on the structure and content of the tale itself (i.e., activity alignment) whereas the boys focus more heavily on the act of telling (i.e., interactional affiliation). Cheshire claims that these findings should not be taken as indicating that one group of speakers is more "cooperative" or focused on solidarity than the other, since both are heavily invested in creating and maintaining interpersonal rapport. Yet, Cheshire nevertheless demonstrates that the ways that girls versus boys create rapport appear to be different. Similarly, I argue that both the women and the men in my sample use HRT for what are essentially rapport-building functions. It is not, however, incidental that the specific ways in which this rapport-building tends to be enacted appears to draw on broader norms of gendered practice. In short, I argue that the women use HRT to mitigate the threat of

disagreement (while still maintaining control) whereas the men use it to ensure they remain the focus of attention in mixed-sex talk (so as to enhance interactional involvement). Both of these uses demonstrate the women's and the men's commitments to harmonious interpersonal relations, but they also indicate that the trajectory followed to reach this endpoint draws on dominant tropes of appropriate gendered behaviour (cf. Cheshire 2000; Moore and Snell 2011). Ultimately, I argue that HRT is not itself a gendered feature, but that the specific functions for which it is deployed in conversation participate in the construction and use by speakers of gender-relevant styles. In this respect, my analysis attempts to counter reductive associations between "politeness" and categories of gender while nevertheless remaining attuned to the fact that speakers may often engage in "polite" behaviour in gender-specific ways.

NOTES

1 Acknowledgements

2 I distinguish here between HRT and the final rising contours on declaratives that are characteristic of "Urban Northern British" varieties, such as Belfast, Liverpool, Birmingham and Glasgow, since the rising tunes in these varieties are normally seen as the default intonational pattern (Cruttenden 1994). See also Ladd's (2008) distinction between "semantic" versus "systematic" intonational variants.

3 Guy et al.'s (1986) original taxonomy included both descriptions and explanations as separate categories. I collapse the two in my analysis to obtain a better distribution of tokens across factors and because of the difficulty in objectively distinguishing between them when coding.

4 Both text type and turn length were included as predictors in the same model despite the fact that these two factors are often correlated with one another. This was done based on previous research (Guy et al. 1986; Britain 1992) that included both factors in their models, and since Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) tests indicated no significant problems of collinearity in the model (VIF scores all < 3).

5 Though an acoustic description of the HRT contours in the dataset is beyond the scope of the current article, I note that the 719 tokens coded as HRT have a mean excursion size (i.e., the difference between IP-final fundamental frequency, or f0, and f0 at the start of the HRT rise) of 1.34 Equivalent Rectangular Bandwidths (ERB) (range: 0.56 – 1.76). This corresponds to a mean proportional excursion value (the

ratio of excursion size to f0 level at the starting point of the rise) of 27.1% (range:

10.8% – 37.8%). On average then, the HRT contours in the London dataset

considered here are roughly comparable in size to those described for Southern

California (e.g., Ritchart and Arvaniti 2014), though somewhat smaller than what has

been described for Australia and New Zealand.

6   Attempted Turn Changes were coded conservatively in an attempt to only capture

those instances where another speaker was actively seeking to take control of the

conversational floor. Judgments were based on content and form of simultaneous

speech, other linguistic cues (e.g., volume), and subsequent behaviour (e.g., whether

the unsuccessful interrupter took control of the floor when the initial speaker's turn

was complete). Instances of overlap and other forms of "supportive" simultaneous

speech were coded as minimal responses.

7   For present purposes, I treat Prince's (1981) distinction between hearer-new and

hearer-old information as analogous to Chafe's (1994) division between "inactive"

and "semi-active" information, respectively. Hearer-new/hearer-old status was

determined on the basis of the recording as a whole, using clues from both content

and the formal structure of the discussion (e.g., the use of appositive relatives as

indicative of hearer-old status).

8   As I mention previously, since I am only considering instances of HRT occurrence in

this portion of the analysis, I do not make any general claims about how hearer-old

versus hearer-new information is presented in the women's versus the men's speech.

Instead, all I am claiming is that when HRT does occur, it occurs more frequently on

hearer-old information for the women, and more frequently on hearer-new information for the men. In addition, an initial examination of a sub-section of the corpus demonstrates no difference in the overall amount of hearer-new versus hearer-old information communicated by the men versus the women.

9   Transcription conventions:

(.)	short pause	-	cut-off/self-interruption
[ ]	overlapping speech	=	latching between speakers
text	HRT	:(:)	vowel lengthening
//	IP boundary	(( ))	transcriber comments

10   It is possible that the different functions I identify for HRT are associated with distinct phonetic/phonological forms, as has been suggested by prior research in other contexts (e.g., Daly and Warren 2000). Preliminary research reveals no significant differences in a variety of acoustic properties (excursion size, excursion dynamism, rise alignment) across the difference social and interactional factors considered here. Since my goal in this article is to map the broader pragmatic terrain of HRT in London, I do not pursue a more detailed examination of acoustic variability in HRT realisation here and instead leave it for future research.

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APPENDIX

Best Mixed-Effects Binomial Regression Model of Women's Use of HRT (cf. Figure 3)

Fixed Effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p
(Intercept)	-2.430	0.284	-8.549	0.000
Text Type (fact)	-0.429	0.177	-2.423	0.015
Text Type (narrative)	0.321	0.153	2.097	0.036
Text Type (opinion)	-0.191	0.176	-1.086	0.277
Turn Length	0.032	0.011	1.974	0.041

Total N: 4807. Random effects: Speaker (28). Log likelihood: -1384.3

Best Mixed-Effects Binomial Regression Model of Men's Use of HRT (cf. Figure 4)

Fixed Effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p
(Intercept)	-1.619	0.399	-4.055	0.000
Context (single-sex)	-1.627	0.664	-2.450	0.014
Text Type (fact)	-0.869	0.201	-4.301	0.000
Text Type (narrative)	0.863	0.246	3.506	0.000
Text Type (opinion)	-0.692	0.242	-2.862	0.004
Context (single):Type (fact)	0.685	0.431	1.588	0.112
Context (single):Type (narrative)	-0.142	0.420	-0.339	0.734
Context (single):Type (opinion)	1.279	0.602	2.126	0.034

Total N: 2544. Random effects: Speaker (14). Log likelihood: -856.9

Best Mixed-Effects Binomial Regression Model of HRT in Sub-Corpus (cf. Figure 5)

Fixed Effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p
(Intercept)	-3.197	0.308	-10.395	0.000
Sex (male)	1.698	0.391	4.344	0.000
Clause Type (evaluation)	0.574	0.210	2.248	0.025
Clause Type (orientation)	1.206	0.368	3.280	0.001
Clause Type (evaluation):Sex (male)	-1.945	0.879	-2.212	0.027
Clause Type (orientation):Sex (male)	-1.461	0.569	-2.568	0.010

Total N: 930. Random effects: Speaker (22). Log likelihood: -262.7

Table 1. Distribution of HRT occurrences across interactional and pragmatic factors.

		Women (%)	**Men** (%)	
Position in Turn	turn-medial	86.7	86.8	
	turn-final	13.3	13.2	$n = 719$, $\chi^2 < 0.000$, $p > 0.999$
Response to Turn-Medial Tokens	no response	68.2	66.1	
	minimal response	15.9	18.7	
	interruption	15.9	15.2	$n = 624$, $\chi^2 = 0.509$, $p = 0.775$
Information Status	given information	13.8	18.8	
	new information	86.2	81.2	$n = 719$, $\chi^2 = 1.593$, $p = 0.207$
Type of New Information	hearer-old	67.0	17.9	
	hearer-new	33.0	82.1	$n = 603$, $\chi^2 = 82.08$, $p < 0.000$

Chi-square tests were all conducted on raw frequencies. Relative frequencies are presented here for ease of comprehension and comparison across sexes.
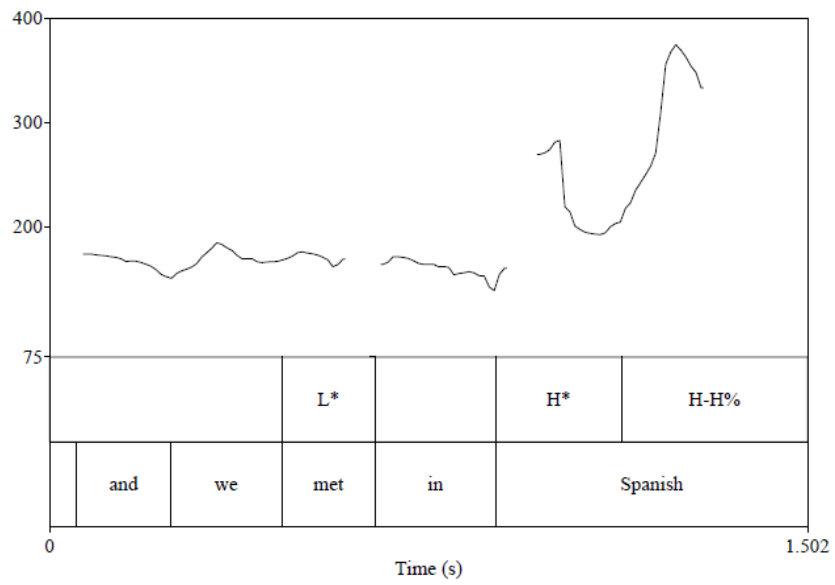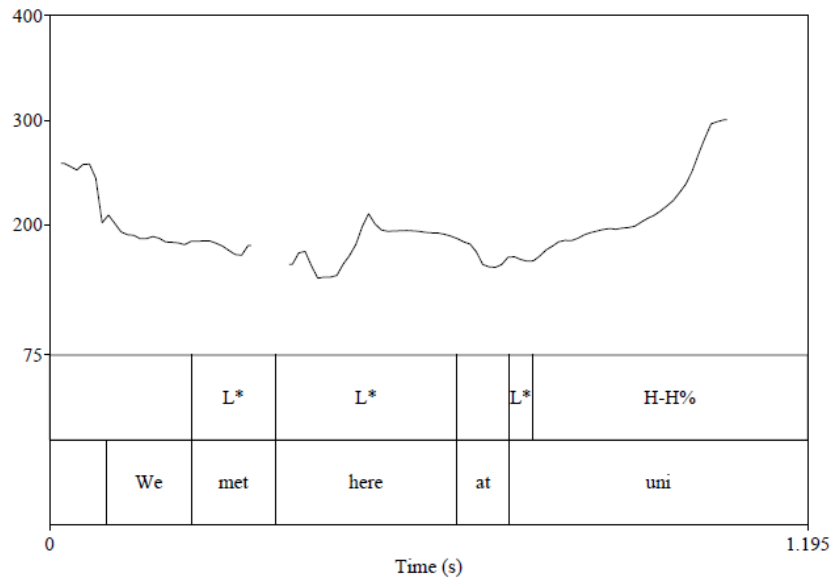
FIGURE 1. Examples of a woman saying the phrase "We met here at uni" with an L* H-H% contour (top panel) and the phrase "and we met in Spanish" with an H* H-H% contour (bottom panel).
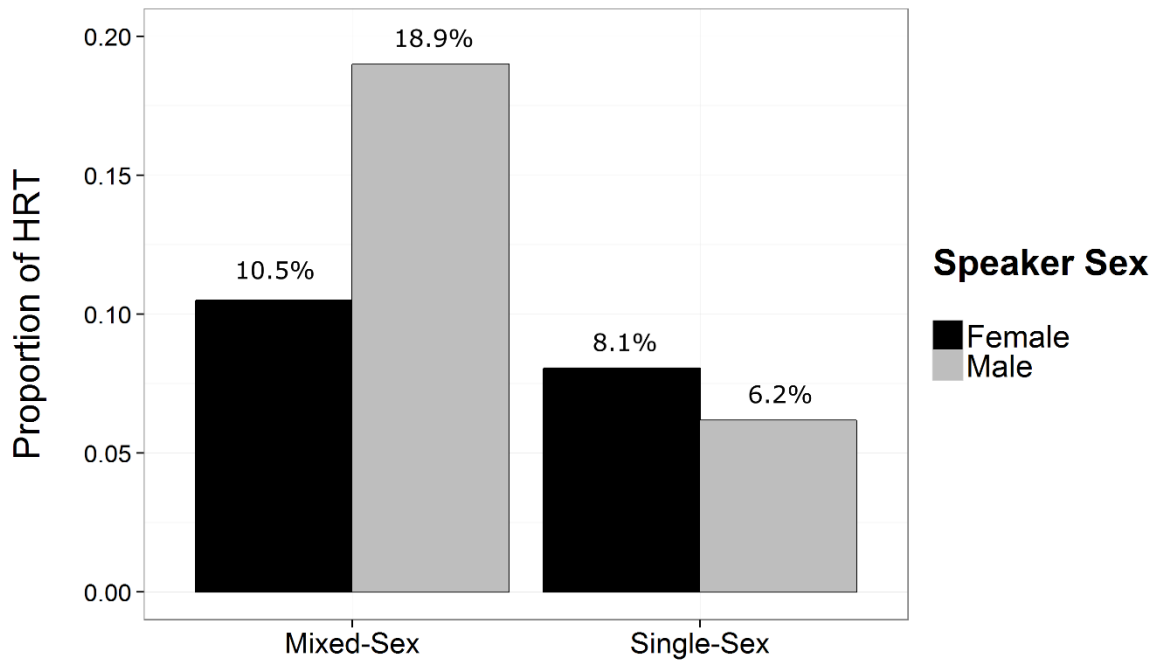
FIGURE 2. Proportional distribution of HRT by sex and context (n = 7,351).
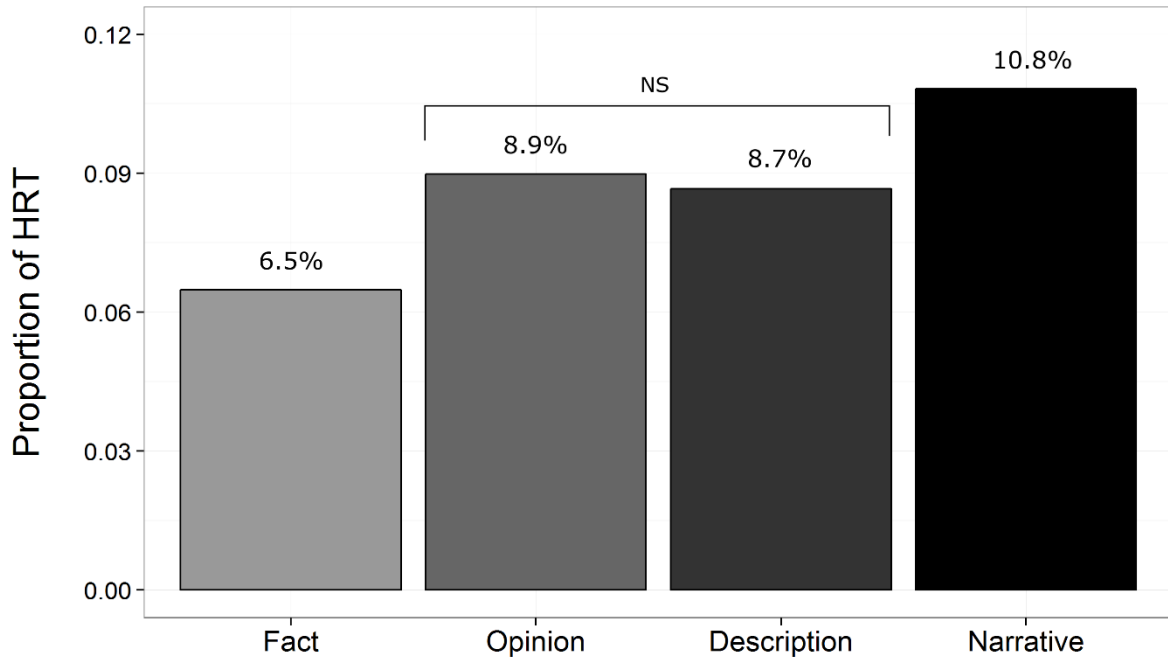
FIGURE 3. Proportional distribution of HRT by text type among the women (n = 4,807). NS = not significantly different.
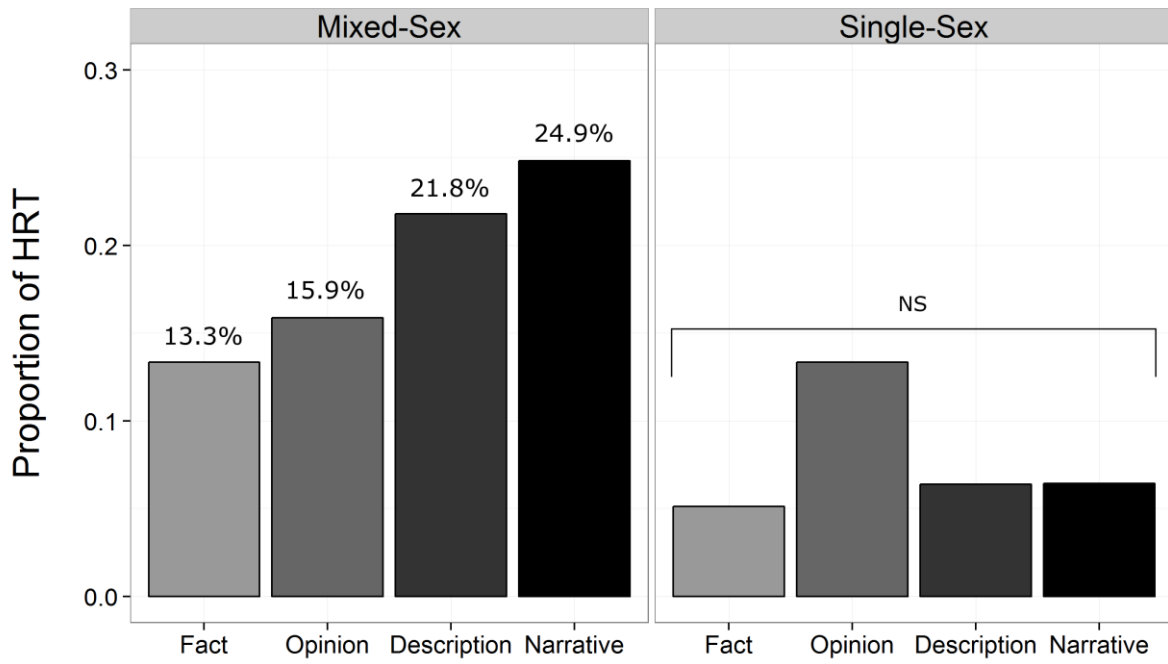
FIGURE 4. Proportional distribution of HRT by text type and context among the men (n = 2,544). NS = not significantly different.
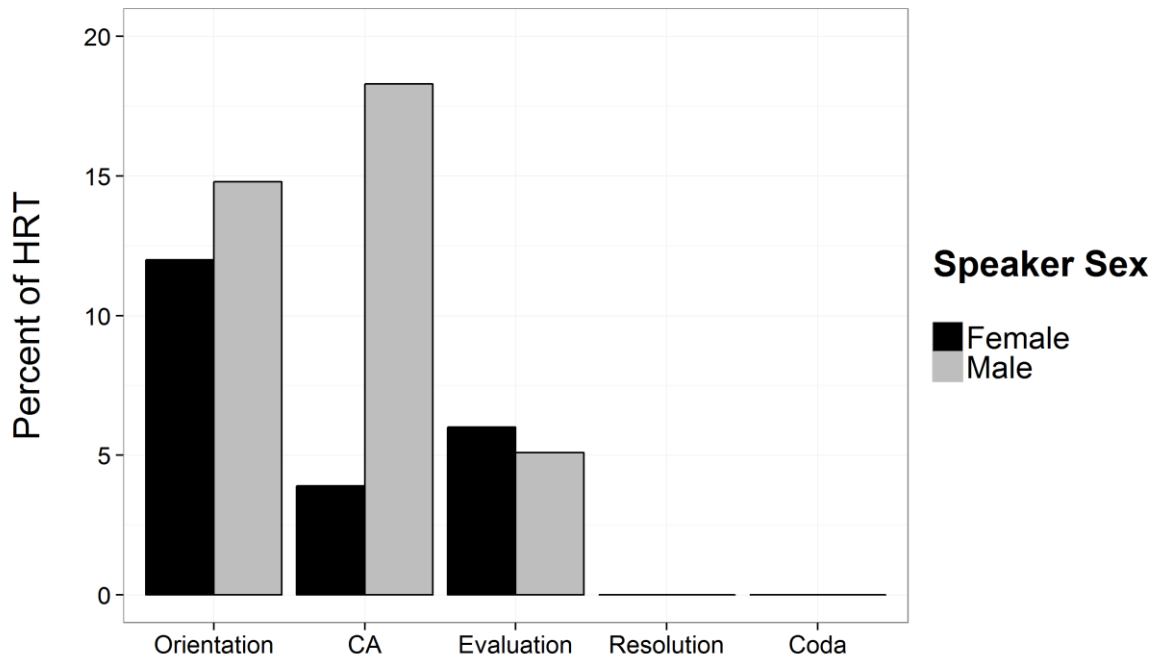
FIGURE 5. Proportional distribution of HRT across narrative clause types (n = 930). CA = complicating action. Resolution and Coda were excluded from regression models.