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BIBLIOTECA VIRTUAL MIGUEL DE CERVANTES

POLITICAL INTERVIEWS, TALK SHOW INTERVIEWS, AND DEBATES ON BRITISH TV: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF THE INTERACTIONAL ORGANISATION OF THREE BROADCAST GENRES

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Abbreviations

Accept.	Acceptance
adj. pair	Adjacency pair
AUD	Audience
BC	Back channel
CA	Conversation Analysis
c. information	Complementary information
com. channel	Communicative channel
Conflict.	Conflictive
CP	Co-operative Principle
DA	Discourse Analysis
DA1	Speech Act or Properly interactional discourse models
DA2	Sentence-based discourse model
DA3	Cognitive-based discourse model
FSA	Face-saving act
FTA	Face-threatening act
IE	Interviewee
Info. by diff. speaker	Information provided by a different speaker
int.	Interruption
IR	Interviewer
Itee.	Interruptee
Iter.	Interrupter
mov.	Movement
Non-accept.	Non-acceptance
Non-conflict.	Non-conflictive
p.e.	Predictable end
PP	Politeness Principle
sbdy	Somebody
sec.	Secondary
sim.	Simultaneous
sp.	special
SQ	*Sport in Question*
TL	Textlinguistics
TL1	Sentence-based text models
TL2	Predication-based text models
TL3	Cognitive text models
TL4	Formal communicative interactional text models
TRP	Transition-relevance place

Transcription conventions

: beginning of simultaneous speech.

: end of simultaneous speech.

=: equal signs indicate no audible gap between adjacent utterances or words produced by different speakers; also used to link adjacent parts of a single speaker's utterance when those parts constitute a continuous flow of speech that has been carried over to another line of the transcript to accommodate an intervening interruption.

CAPITALS: capital letters signal an increase in volume.

<u>underlining</u>: underlining marks contrastive or emphatic stress.

<u>CAPITALS</u>: underlined capital letter signal both increased volume and contrastive or emphatic stress.

– : a hyphen represents a cut-off of an immediately prior word or syllable.

↑ ↑: the syllable(s) or word(s) placed between upturned arrows is/are produced with high pitch.

: the syllable(s) or word(s) placed between downturned arrows is/are produced with low pitch.

+: short intra-turn pause (less than 1 second).

++: long intra-turn pause (1 to 2 seconds).

+++: extra-long intra-turn pause (more than 2 seconds).

[+]: gap between turns of less than 1 second.

[++]: gap between turns of 1 to 2 seconds.

[+++]: gap between turns of 2 to 4 seconds.

(4.2): numbers in parentheses mark elapsed silence in tenths of seconds when the silence exceeds 4 seconds.

.h: short inbreath.

.hh: long inbreath.

: a colon indicates an extension of the preceding sound or syllable.

(…): ellipsis indicating words or utterances left out for brevity.

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(..⌈...⌉..): part of the utterance omitted overlaps with part of another speaker's speech.
⌊

(*smile*): items in italics and in parentheses provide non-verbal information; if the information enclosed appears in the gerund form of the verb, the explanation or characterisation may affect the rest of the turn or just a stretch of talk, in which case the relevant stretch of talk appears enclosed in parentheses.

[*laughing*]: items in italics and in square brackets provide a piece of non-verbal information which is different from a subsequent piece signalled in italics and in parentheses; again, the square brackets following the item of information delimit the stretch of speech influenced by the explanation or characterisation.

< >: words enclosed in these symbols are delivered at a quicker pace than the surrounding talk.

> <: words enclosed in these symbols are delivered at a slower pace than the surrounding talk.

° °: words enclosed in small raised circles are uttered quieter than the surrounding talk.

( ): speech placed within parentheses indicates a possible hearing of it.

(*inaud.*): part of an utterance was inaudible.

" ": inverted commas signal direct speech.

→: an arrow in the left-hand margin of the transcript indicates where a phenomenon of interest occurs.

Punctuation marks merely indicate intonation patterns, NOT grammatical structures. Consequently, a word starting with a capital letter does NOT indicate the beginning of a new sentence.

. A full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone, not necessarily the end of a sentence.

, A comma indicates a continuing intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences.

? A question mark indicates a rising intonation in polarity questions.

! An exclamation indicates an animated tone, typical of exclamations.

IR: interviewer.

IR1, IR2: each interviewer in a multi-interviewer interview.

Sec. IR: secondary interviewer.

AUD: audience (as a whole).

AUD1, 2, 3: each anonymous member of the audience that takes the floor is assigned a number.

?: preceding a turn, a question mark indicates that the speaker cannot be identified because he/she is out of focus.

AUD?: preceding a turn, it indicates that the speaker is a member of the audience but cannot be identified because he/she is out of focus.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preliminaries

Broadly speaking, an interview is a verbal interaction in which one person attempts to elicit information from another. Understood in this simple way, interviews can be dated back to Ancient Greece. Socrates, for example, used the questioning technique as a method of inquiry. As a journalistic procedure, however, the interview did not appear until the nineteenth century. At that time, it was used as a means of gathering information which would later be used for reporting. The advent of broadcasting changed the nature of the interview from a mere news-gathering technique to a presentational device that made it possible to listen to or view the news *in situ*.

As a broadcasting technique, the interview falls within the domain of mass media communication. Mass media are social, highly organised, structured institutions. In this sense, the interview reflects the features of one of those institutions: broadcasting. Broadcasting is a powerful public process of communication. Like other mass media, it produces messages that simultaneously reach different members of large audiences without generally obtaining direct feedback. Its purpose or social objective is to inform (collecting, analysing, and interpreting news), to educate (transmitting the social heritage from generation to generation), and to entertain the general audience. These functions have arisen from the need of man to satisfy curiosity, to seek self-aggrandisement, and to combat loneliness. Applied to the field of the interview, these objectives show up in varying degrees. Thus, political interviews aim, primarily, to inform and, secondly, to entertain, whereas in talk show interviews the function of entertaining is paramount. Nonetheless, both functions combine in all types of interviews. As far as the educational function is concerned, it can be said to pervade all media messages, and hence also interviews.[1]

A first classification of broadcast interviews distinguishes between (a) *in-depth* interviews, which last up to one hour, constitute an item on their own right, and focus on a detailed analytical approach to (a) topic(s) which need not be up-to-the minute news; and (b)

[1] The covert function of education present in all media messages becomes overt and paramount in programmes devoted to cultural issues.

short interviews, which only last a few minutes, are a component of a programme, and focus on an immediate, topical subject arising out of a 'hard news' story. Cutting across this classification is the division into *information, opinion*, and *personality* interviews. The former type deals with information about the who, when, where and how of newsworthy facts. To this group belong the news interview and the current affairs interview, both of which are very short although the news interview is briefer. The opinion interview exposes and examines in great detail an individual's particular position regarding a specific issue. Hence, this type belongs to the in-depth interview. The interviewee is usually an expert in the area of the issue under examination. Political interviews, for example, basically belong herein. Finally, the personality interview, whose length is variable, inquires into the private life of individuals, concentrating on their emotional state. Despite this division, it is difficult to find interviews which stick to only one of these rigid categories since most share, to a varying degree, elements corresponding to at least two of them. This is especially the case with the categories opinion and personality. It is not at all infrequent to hear an interviewee give his/her opinion on an affair of public interest within a personality interview. A further example of blurred limits between categories is represented by the talk show interview, which is usually centred around a personality but which shares features of the information interview as to the when, where and how of this personality's near future plans.

Talk shows have evolved from the conversation with a personality to the discussion about social issues with a group of anonymous persons that constitute a studio audience. Difficulty in discriminating between broadcast events increases when the term 'talk show' is used to refer to 'audience discussion programmes'. And even the latter term is vague since it may be used as a cover term for a broad genre that comprises different generic forms. The need to clearly establish what is understood by the notion of 'genre' and where to draw the limits of the TV genres that are under scrutiny here constitute the aim of section 1.2.

The structure of broadcasting refers to the means used to bring about the objectives of the different TV genres. These means comprise the physical (*e.g.* buildings) as well as the human apparatus (*e.g.* cameramen, presenters, reporters). In other words, the structure has to

do with the context of situation in which broadcasting takes place. The institutional context of the spoken encounters determines their highly formalised organisation, of which the turn-taking system is their pivotal structuring device. These TV events are public performances and this justifies the need for an organisational structure, time restrictions (time is limited in broadcasting) and other specific features that result from this ritualised context.

1.2. Delimiting TV genres

1.2.1. The notion of genre

1.2.1.1. Introduction

The notion of *genre* varies depending on the field in which it is used. In literary studies it has commonly referred to classes of texts.[2] It has been put to a similar use by anthropologists in folklore studies, whence the classification into narratives such as myth, legend or tale results (*vid*. Oring, 1986a). It was indistinguishable from *register* in early linguistic studies focusing on register analysis, which can be considered predecessors in genre analysis (*vid*. Crystal & Davy, 1969; Huddlestone, 1971). Halliday (1978) used the notion of register to analyse context in terms of the variables *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*. For him register embodies the relationship between texts and social processes, whereas genre refers to only one of three characteristics of a text, namely its organisational structure defined in terms of obligatory elements in a specific order (*cf. id*.; Halliday & Hasan, 1985). Although the social functions of texts are always implicit in his work, attention focuses on the formal characteristics of texts.

Systemic linguistics has only fairly recently been able to distinguish genre from register (*vid*. Martin, 1984, 1985; Couture, 1986a). The main difference between genre and register lies in the emphasis of the former on social purpose as a variable determining language use.[3] In other words, emphasis falls on language as discourse, whereas register

[2] But *vid*. Todorov (1976) and Fowler (1982) for whom genres are not only a mere assembly of similar texts but are events within a social communicative process.

[3] Martin (1984:25) defines genre as a "staged, goal oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture".

focuses on language as text, privileging linguistic (syntactic and lexical) over social factors. Linguistic studies, then, recognise genres as goal-directed communicative events with a schematic structure which are distinct from registers or styles (*vid*. Widdowson, 1983; Swales, 1990; Eggins & Slade, 1997).[4] Using Martin's functional model, goal is a key element in that a genre represents an activity that is performed with the purpose of reaching some culmination.[5] Achievement of the goal requires a process that unfolds through different stages or steps identified in functional terms. [6]

1.2.1.2. A definition of genre

Following Swales (1990:58), *genre*

> comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. [...] In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience.

The definition needs some explanation. First, each exemplar of a genre is a communicative event,[7] which is identified not only by the indispensable role of language and by the

[4] Yet a different position is adopted by Biber (1995) who, though distinguishing register from genre, adopts the term *register* as a cover term associated with all aspects of variation in use, that is, encompassing both what is considered register and what is considered genre. The same notion was referred to as *genre* in earlier works (*vid*. Biber, 1988). For text categories defined in strictly linguistic terms he has used the term *text type* (*vid*. Biber, 1989).

[5] Martin's (1984, 1985) model has been applied much to written genres for teaching purposes (*vid*. Kress, 1985, 1987; Martin & Rothery, 1986; Dixon, 1987; Sawyer & Watson, 1987; Swales, 1990). In spoken genres it was applied to service encounters (*vid.* Ventola, 1987), pedagogic discourse (*vid.* Hammond, 1995), and informal conversation (*vid.* Eggins & Slade, 1997).

[6] Apart from the foregoing fields briefly surveyed, the use of the notion of genre could also have been examined in other fields such as rhetoric (*vid*. Swales, 1990 for a brief review) and film studies (*vid*. Neale, 1980). For a review of the use of register and genre in different fields *vid*. Swales (1990), Bhatia (1993), and Leckie-Tarry (1995).

[7] The view of a genre as a communicative event derives from the ethnography of communication (*vid*. Saville-Troike, 1982). For the notion of *speech event vid*. Hymes (1974). For Hymes, however, genre is analytically independent of speech event because it is only one component of it, but he argued that "[g]enres often coincide with speech events" (*id*.:61). Hymes' separation of genre and speech event is considered

participants but also by "the role of that discourse and the environment of its production and reception, including its historical and cultural associations" (*id*.:46). In other words, a genre occurs within a functional setting (*vid*. Swales, 1986). Secondly, communicative events pertaining to the same genre are recognised primarily by a set of shared communicative purposes that the participants aim to fulfil. Genre membership is determined by the achievement of specific communicative goals. Thirdly, these goals shape the internal structure of the genre and constrain the choice of content and style. After Bhatia (1993), then, it is predictable that a major change in communicative purpose is likely to render a different genre, sub-genres being distinguished on the basis of minor goal modifications.[8] Also, participants' behaviour must conform to the restrictions imposed by the genre as to structure, and choice of content and style. This point connects with the "more or less standardised" nature proposed by the same author in earlier definitions (Swales, 1986:10). Genre is most often highly structured and conventionalised. And lastly, communicative events corresponding to the same genre not only share the same communicative purpose but also share features of structure, style, content and intended audience.

Swales' definition fuses linguistic and sociological parameters thereby focusing on the double nature of genre as product and process. As to the sociological aspect, genre is viewed as an ongoing process in which social roles, purposes, and organisational preferences are negotiated. To these parameters it is necessary to add, as Bhatia (*id*.) does, a psychological factor, that is, the tactical choices made by a participant in order to achieve his/her purpose.[9] It is this three-parameter notion of genre based primarily on Swales' definition that I shall adopt for this study.

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unsatisfactory by Swales (*id*.) since, in the latter's view, it is situations –not speech events– and genres that need to be separated.

[8] However, as Bhatia (1993) notes, the distinction between genres and sub-genres is not always possible to draw.

[9] Though Bhatia (1993:32) is thinking of *moves* ("discriminative elements of generic structure") and *strategies* ("non-discriminative options within the *allowable contributions* available to an author for creative

1.2.2. TV genres

This study addresses genre theory inasmuch as it analyses conventions of three television genres or "categories of media products" (McQueen, 1998:27) defined in terms of a specific set of sociocultural needs (*vid*. Fiske & Hartley, 1978), and recognisable by a set of conventions they use. These broadcast forms are the *political interview*, the *talk show interview*, and the *audience debate*, each constituting some type of genre of talk.

1.2.2.1. The political interview

Within the broad generic type of the *broadcast interview* I shall concentrate on the political interview and the talk show interview.[10] Both are purposive encounters, occurring in the same institutional context –the television– between, at least, one interviewer and one interviewee.[11] The main differences lie in the goals of the events, the relationships between the participants including the audience, and the degree of formality of the occasions.

By political interview I shall refer to a, generally in-depth, type of formal interview with major political representatives (generally government ministers or shadow ministers), often constituting a programme on its own, and staged either in an official room or in a television studio without any audience present (*e.g. On the Record*, *Walden*).[12] What the

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or innovative genre construction"; emphasis in original) in terms of written genres, these tactical choices can be applied to spoken genres as well.

[10] Though in relation to the broadcast interview, the political interview and the talk show interview could be judged as sub-genres, their goal differenciations are so big that it would be inaccurate to treat them as sub-genres. Since sub-genres are distinguished on minor –not major– goal variations, these communicative events will be considered genres.

[11] Though the dyadic interaction is by far the most common one, sometimes the interaction may be a multi-interviewer and/or multi-interviewee one.

[12] Apart from the in-depth or long interview, the political interview comprises also two further sub-types of interviews: the news interview and the current affairs interview. These modified genre names open the way into sub-genres (*vid.* Swales, 1987). The difference between a news interview and a current affairs interview "is partly duration and it's partly context, the programme" (Jonathan Dimbleby in a personal interview he gave me at his house in London, on June 5, 1997; henceforth Dimbleby (personal interview)). After Dimbleby, a news interview is a very brief interview that is part of a news story, which in turn is part of a news bulletin. By contrast, a current affairs interview is part of a current affairs programme (*e.g. A Week in*

talk is about, how it shall start and end, and the parts played by the participants is predefined by the broadcasters.[13] The event is organised and organising as well. The roles of interviewer and interviewee are played by, respectively, a journalist and a politician appearing in his/her professional political role. The encounter is staged for the benefit of the general public, who is absent and passive, and is constructed as a mass audience.[14] The ultimate addressee of the communicative event is, therefore, not the interviewer but the audience.[15]

Politicians are accountable to the general public. Demand for accountability is the ultimate goal of the encounter. The public has a right to be fully informed about political affairs in order to, later, decide with their votes whether the governing party should stay in office or whether a different one should take over. Politicians are consequently made to explain their actions to the public. With this general goal in mind and acting on behalf of the public, the interviewer attempts to unmask the truth about policies and political dilemmas in which the politician and the party by him/her represented are involved. Several purposes may be behind the interview. Following Dimbleby (personal interview), the interviewer may be interested in (a) the conflict or potential conflict between individuals in the same party because there are different ideological perspectives; (b) a party's view on an issue because they have not expressed it publicly; (c) testing a weak policy; or (d) simply trying to find out what a party's policy is. In any case, the interviewer tries to expose the thorny, and often hidden, side of affairs, which is not commonly explained by politicians unless it favours their party's image to the detriment of other parties. By contrast, the purpose of the politician in an interview is to sell a favourable image of his/her party that may increase the number of supporters, or to

Politics, *Newsnight*), a programme that looks in more depth at the stories because it can devote more time to them than the news programme. A current affairs programme that lasts, for example, 45 minutes may deal with 4 stories, sometimes less. Though longer than the news interview, the current affairs interview is considerably shorter than an in-depth interview. Both the news interview and the current affairs interview tend to be very sharp political interviews, pressing very hard on particular questions.

[13] This is also true for other TV genres such as, for example, discussion programmes and game shows.

[14] For a distinction of how the general public appears on television *cf*. Carpignano *et al*. (1990).

[15] Heritage (1985) considers that orientation towards the audience is the defining feature of interview talk.

simply clean-up the image in moments of crisis. The political interview is thus part of a culture of persuasion where "the elite try to persuade and the mass consume according to personal taste" (Livingstone & Lunt, 1994:20).

As bad management of affairs does commonly contribute to damaging the image of the manager, politicians try to hide or distort them to their benefit. However, the potential negative aspects of a policy are brought out by the interviewer. The interviewer's unmasking task results very often in moments of conflict due to the clash between the interviewer's suggestions of what the implications of a policy are and the interviewee's version of it, which will always be aimed at saving the interviewee's and his/her party's reputation. For the achievement of the interviewer's purpose, he/she frequently adopts a tough inquisitorial tone. The interviewer is meant to cross-examine the politician inasmuch as he/she and his/her party are responsible for policies.[16]

1.2.2.2. The talk show interview

The talk show is a complex genre whose boundaries are difficult to draw. Carbaugh's (1988) classification of talk shows into *personality-type* and *issue-type* reflects the change that talk shows have undergone from the format of mere chat with a personality[17] to the discussion with audience members about social issues.[18] I shall use the term "talk show" to refer only to the personality-type talk show.[19] This genre comprises a series of short interviews with (and occasionally also performances of) personalities, mainly of the entertainment industry. Its

[16] The basic justification for this style of interviews is that "if it [=the policy] is going to be carried out and it's flawed, it's going to cause real damage" (Dimbleby, personal interview).

[17] Hence the use of the synonymous term *chat show* to refer to personality-type talk shows.

[18] Issue-type talk shows have also been called *audience discussion programmes* (*vid*. Livingstone & Lunt, 1994), the term that I shall use.

[19] For the same use of the term *vid*. Tolson (1991).

characteristics are loosely based upon the rules defining the political interview.[20] However, the talk show interview

> frequently transgresses those protocols and presumes an increasing sophistication on the part of the television audience. The result is a certain ambivalence between forms of talk which are designed both to inform and to entertain. (Tolson, 1991:178)

Unlike the political interview, where the informative function is paramount, the function of the talk show interview is constantly shifting between information and entertainment. The information-seeking purpose of the interviewer is approached from within the format of an informal conversation or chat whose content frequently centres on the personal and private, sometimes adopting the form of gossip, and is often characterised by its humorous and witty tone.[21] With respect to this dyadic conversation, audience members, as Tolson (1991:182) correctly points out, are not exactly constructed as eavesdroppers listening in on a private conversation (*vid*. Greatbatch, 1988). Though they are audible only inasmuch as they provide applause and laughter, the audience is on few occasions overtly addressed as a third party to the conversation by the interviewer and/or guest in the form of very short utterances often trying to convince the audience of the truth of a humorous statement. Dimbleby (personal interview) compares them with the audience in a theatre; both audiences are viewers at a stage event, watching an entertainment.[22]

Following Tolson (*id*.), the possibility of transgressing the generic interview protocols is the most characteristic feature of the talk show, and this results from the informal character of the encounter. Distinction between formal and informal interviews is based on the level of

[20] Within the political interview the political news interview has received much attention. For its properties *vid*. Heritage (1985), Greatbatch (1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1992), Jucker (1986), Clayman (1987, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1993) and Heritage & Greatbatch (1991).

[21] For the main features of chat as a genre *vid*. Tolson (1991).

Though chat occurs in many formats (interviews, discussions, game shows, etc.), it is in the talk show that it is fully produced. Characterising the talk show amounts therefore to the same as characterising chat.

[22] Though there is an element of entertainment too in the political interview, especially for those people who are attracted to the political programme because they find political stars and political debate exciting, its functional importance is incomparable to the one it has in the talk show interview.

formal procedures used for the allocation of turns, turn order, length, and so forth. The closer the interaction to mundane conversation the more informal, but nevertheless retaining certain 'formal' properties in terms of who opens, closes and directs the interaction. Thus, for example, the interview will be considered less formal the more it deviates from a relatively fixed agenda, and the more participants deviate from their pre-established fixed role. The informal character of talk show interviews makes it acceptable for the interviewee to ask questions, to introduce topics, and even to mock the role of the interviewer. Nevertheless, after a gap of transgressions the interaction is generally reoriented by the interviewer to follow generic conventions, so that, to a certain degree, it does always display an orientation towards the principles of formal interviewing. The informal character of the talk show interview lends it its flexible generic structure.

Related to transgression of the generic interview principles is the frequent mixture of truth and insincerity contained in Tolson's (*id.*) notion of the *synthetic personality*, reflecting the genre's mixture of information and entertainment. This mixture is especially characteristic of nighttime talk shows (*e.g. Clive Anderson Talks Back*; *Des O'Connor Show*; *Jonathan Ross*; *Wogan*). As a performance, the interview reveals only partly the real personality of the guest. Part of the experiences recounted may be invented. Moreover, the use of jokes further contributes to hide or distort the truth about the personality. The real personality is consequently open to question. The complexity of the interview, derived from the mixture of features of comedy and of serious talk show interview, presumes a sophisticated audience, capable of discriminating between the true and false pieces of the guest's personal disclosure, a decoding process which is not always successful.

The, at times, fuzzy boundaries between the political interview and the talk show interview become the more so when it is a politician that features on such a show.[23] In those cases a clash between the informal style of these speech events and the attempt to adopt

[23] Blurred boundaries result from the tendency on the increase to make even political interviews as conversational as possible.

Though the personalities invited as guests to talk show interviews belong mainly to the entertainment industry, other celebrities such as politicians may also feature on these shows.

features of formality typical of the political interview genre comes especially to the fore. Though the interaction lacks the seriousness of the political interview, it is with politicians when displays towards formality are most often attempted. It is the possibility of focusing the interview on aspects of the guest as a political personality rather than as a private person which makes the interaction shift from a humorous to a more formal stance, the change being often initiated by the politician who, influenced by his/her professional position and, consequently, by his/her obligation for accountability, decides to make truth the centrepiece of the interaction.

In sum, the talk show interview is understood as a personality-type interview forming a continuum between relatively formal interviews at one end and pure chat trespassing all traditional interviewing conventions at the other end.[24] Though all institutionalised variants of the continuum pursue the double goal of information and entertainment, the more transgressing interviews put more emphasis on entertainment as a result of the exploitation of the structural conventions and especially of the synthetic personality of the guest.

1.2.2.3. The audience debate

The third and last genre considered for this study is the *audience debate*. It constitutes one of the genres on which the broad genre of the *audience discussion programme* draws (*e.g. Esther*; *Kilroy*; *The Time, The Place*; *Vanessa*) (*vid*. Livingstone & Lunt, 1994).[25] As one of its generic forms, the debate can be characterised by the main features that define the audience discussion programme, namely (*id*.:39):

[24] *The Dame Edna Experience*, which has been considered the most developed form of talk show (*vid*. Tolson, 1991), would occupy the latter extreme of the continuum.

[25] Other genres in which the audience discussion programme participates are the romance, the therapy, the talk show, or the current and consumer affairs.

Audience discussion programmes have also been called *issue-type talk shows* (*vid*. Carbaugh, 1988).

(1) Experts and/or guests and lay studio audience sit together. Experts are singled out by their location, usually in front rows, and visual identification labels. Alternatively, experts and guests may be sitting on a stage facing the studio audience.[26]

(2) The host moves among the studio audience with a microphone.

(3) Each programme focuses on a different topic of social or political concern.

(4) The programme consists of controversial conversation and argument on the chosen topic, expressing oppositional and diverse views.

(5) Selection and order of participants not only depends on the host's management but also on the flow of the argument and on the contribution of the studio audience.

(6) The programmes are cheap to produce, and not part of prime-time broadcasting.

(7) The programmes are either 'live' or recorded in 'real time' soon before broadcasting, with little or no editing.

As Livingstone & Lunt explain, the audience discussion programme has become a forum for the critical discussion of contemporary social and political matters. It is *the public sphere* (*vid*. Habermas, 1989) where ordinary people are given access to discuss public issues with representatives of established power, who are publicly accountable due to their official role. As an arena that mediates between society and the state, the programme offers an opportunity to the lay public to try to influence political decisions with their opinions.

The programme breaks with the traditional opposition between programme and audience, and expert and laity. The conception of the audience is no longer as passive and controlled viewers. The audience is a mixture of lay public and experts placed in the studio in order to debate a social or political issue among them under the management of a host. The studio audience is profoundly active. Of the studio audience the lay participants are the true

[26] The latter arrangement of participants is typical of American audience discussion programmes (*e.g. Donahue*; *The Oprah Winfrey Show*), whereas the former is preferred in British ones (*e.g. Kilroy*; *The Time, The Place*; but *Esther* resorts to the typical American arrangement). The distinct seating positions of experts and guests either on a stage or among the audience is considered to be a means of elevating or reducing their statuses, respectively. (*Vid*. Fairclough (1995) on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*.)

protagonists since very often they question expert status with their knowledge gained from personal experience, thereby challenging the traditional expert-lay differentiation.

The goal of the audience discussion programme, and hence of the debate, is threefold: entertainment, information, and public service. It "challenge[s] existing conceptions of genre, particularly the distinctions between entertainment and current affairs, ideas and emotions, argument and narrative" (Livingstone & Lunt, 1994:37).[27] Its fuzzy boundaries derive from the many genre overlaps it originates, a feature which has won it the label of "'intergenre'" (*id.*:179).

As mentioned above, of the genres on which the audience discussion programme draws I shall concentrate only on those programmes where the debate genre dominates. I shall consider debates those discussion programmes that adopt the classic debate format in the sense that a social or political problem is discussed in terms of two groups pitted against each other, each supporting one side of the matter and trying to convince of the correctness of the side they support with their arguments. Minor story-telling may be present but only inasmuch as it serves as a warrant for the claims made against the supporters of the other side. The host acts as the chair, keeping order and selecting contributors in such a way that disagreement is sought (*e.g.* demanding answers to refutations); in other words, provoking confrontation, but preventing the debate from developing into a quarrel as the degree of emotional intensity increases.[28] The debate is generally established between lay participants and experts, each of the two groups formed by supporters of the two sides of the topic discussed.

Although in the debate the dyad format typical of the political interview and talk show interview is lost, there are remnants of it in that the host usually initiates a dyadic interaction

[27] The term *infotainment* used by Robinson (1982) is an indication of the fuzzy boundaries of the audience discussion programme, which does not fit into the limits of either traditional information or entertainment genres but rather borrows conventions from both.

[28] *Vid*. Livingstone & Lunt (1994:135ff) after Walton (1989) on the different types of dialogue –the quarrel, debate, critical discussion, inquiry and negotiation– that occur, to varying degrees, in audience discussion programmes.

with a member of the audience by asking his/her opinion about the topic.[29] Nevertheless, the debate format is immediately established either by the host selecting a representative of the opposite view as the next speaker or by a supporter of the other side opting to take the floor. Within the debate structure, the dyad format is also maintained during the give-and-take of the two confronting parties.

Alternatively, the debate may be understood in a more traditional way as a panel of experts debating firstly among themselves in front of an audience, and secondly with the audience. In this case the role of the audience is to put questions to the panel related to the topic of the programme,[30] questions which will trigger a debate not only between the panel members but also between the panel, more specifically the member of the panel selected by the question, and the member of the audience who addressed the question. After the topic has been sufficiently debated, the audience express their opinion on the topic of debate through a vote at the end.

Excluded from the debate genre are audience discussion programmes that draw mainly on the therapy genre.[31] Though they share the setting, type of participants and style with debates, they differ on the choice of content, the schematic structure, the roles of the participants, and the goal of the programme. As in debates, programmes typified as belonging to the therapy genre are also staged in a television studio between a host and an active audience made up of ordinary people and experts who engage in an informal dialogue. The programme is also issue-oriented, but while the debate genre concentrates on issues of social policy or public sphere, the therapy genre focuses on domestic or personal matters. The guests, typically women, act as personifications of the problem that constitutes the topic of the

[29] The host-audience member interaction is commonly of the inquiry type of dialogue. On types of dialogue *vid*. *supra* footnote 28.

[30] It is possible for panel discussions to debate more than one topic in a programme.

[31] For a detailed explanation of the therapy genre *vid*. Livingstone & Lunt (1994) and specially Shattuc (1997). Shattuc calls therapy-type programmes *daytime talk shows*.

programme, recounting their personal experiences.[32] They are portrayed as unable to solve the problem and seeking help. The format of the programme is typically therapeutic: primarily inquiry on the part of the host and story-telling on the part of the guests, followed by the expert's analysis and subsequent teachings of self-help formulas to overcome the problem. The expert acts as the representative of educated knowledge, whereas the host frequently becomes a moral authority inasmuch as he/she makes moral judgements. Both mediate between guests and the rest of the audience. The aim of the programme is to allow ordinary people to discuss their problems and to provide them with solutions to solve them.[33]

Summarising, the three genres I shall analyse are (a) the political interview, a formal face-to-face encounter between a journalist and a politician who deal in great detail with political affairs; (b) the talk show interview, understood as a personality-type interview between a famous person and a host, which adopts the format of an informal conversation where transgression of the formal interviewing conventions is allowed; and, finally, (c) the debate considered in a restricted sense as one of the genres on which audience discussion programmes or issue-type talk shows draw, and which is characterised by a controversial discussion about a social or political issue between audience members made up of ordinary people and experts, and managed by a host.

1.3. Approaches to language in its social context

1.3.1. Introduction

Disciplines concerned with Bühler's (1934) expressive and appellative functions investigate language in social contexts and settings. Broadly speaking, the expressive and appellative functions no longer correspond to a systematically and structurally defined meaning of

[32] These programmes have been criticised for their sensationalism since personal dramas become the object of public discussion, thus making the private inseparable from the public. The focus on the impact of current issues on the lives of ordinary people links these programmes with soap opera.

It is the exaltation of the authenticity of personal experience and of emotion in contrast to the emphasis on truth and rationality typical of debates that allows a romantic reading of the therapy genre.

[33] Shattuc (1997) argues that it is the very self-disclosure through talking rather than the self-help formulas given by the expert that constitute the cure to the problem.

language. These functions belong to the *norm*[34] and provide values that a certain word acquires in particular contexts and/or situations.

Despite their similar field of study, the different perspectives from which language in use is approached allows the following sub-classification of disciplines:

(A) Disciplines whose primary object is the study of linguistic resources influenced by contextual factors. Their interest falls on the linguistic resource rather than on the contextual parameters.

(B) Disciplines which concentrate on the behaviour and attitude of interlocutors engaged in communication. This behaviour happens to be revealed primarily through the use of language.[35] The focus falls on the interactive behaviour, context and setting rather than on language.[36]

Bühler's (1934) classification of linguistic functions appears to be imprecise when it comes to dealing with disciplines within group (A). Rather than including them within the broad area of the expressive-appellative function, disciplines within (A) above should more precisely be included within what functional linguists refer to as the *textual* function of language (*cf*. Halliday, 1974; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1985). Language is more than a set of unrelated words and structures. Due to the functional assumption of language, these words and structures are interpreted within the wider framework of communication. When communicating, individuals refer to their experience of the world by adopting a

[34] The *norm* encompasses everything that, without being necessarily functional in discourse, has been socially fixed and corresponds to language as a "social institution" (Coseriu, 1964b:126; for a more detailed explanation *cf. id*.:127-130).

[35] Note, however, that language does not constitute the only way of transmitting messages in a face-to-face interaction. Another important means is the use of kinesics.

[36] Bühler's (1934) linguistic functions serve as a methodological device to render a two-part classification of disciplines. Whereas disciplines concerned with Bühler's expressive and appellative functions study non-systematic aspects pertaining to *la parole* (*vid*. Saussure, 1916), *i.e.*, those facts that are only subject to description and explanation, those dealing with the representative function investigate linguistic facts that are subject to systematisation; these aspects belong to the internal structure of language or *la langue* (*id*.). To this latter group belong Phonetics, Phonology, Grammar, Lexical Semantics and Grammatical Semantics. (*Vid*. figure [1] on p. 33.)

particular role in the interaction. All this is embodied in the form of a text. Speaker and hearer understand language only as forming texts as opposed to non-texts.

> The word TEXT is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole. (Halliday & Hasan, 1976:1; emphasis in original)

The textual component, as part of a general theory of language function, is a broad category that extends beyond intra-sentential relations, including inter-sentential relations and even non-structural relations such as presuppositions. These relations are the basis of two categories of text models used in Textlinguistics, namely, the *sentence-based text model* and the *predication-based text model*. The textual component comprises two structural relations and four non-structural cohesive relations. To the former group belong the *thematic structure* and the *information structure* and *focus*.[37] To the latter, which is known with the general term of *cohesion*, belong reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunction and lexical cohesion.[38]

[37] The area of the thematic and information structures was first investigated by the Prague School under the name of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). FSP is concerned with the systematic choices that the speaker has made to create a text; these choices constitute different patterns of information (*vid*. Halliday, 1974). In English, the structure of the clause as message is organised into *theme* and *rheme*, and is easily confused with the information structure (the *given* and the *new*) due to the fact that in unmarked conditions both structures tend to overlap. Although both structures are selected by the speaker, only the theme-rheme organisation is speaker-oriented, while the given-new organisation is listener-oriented (*vid*. Halliday, 1985).

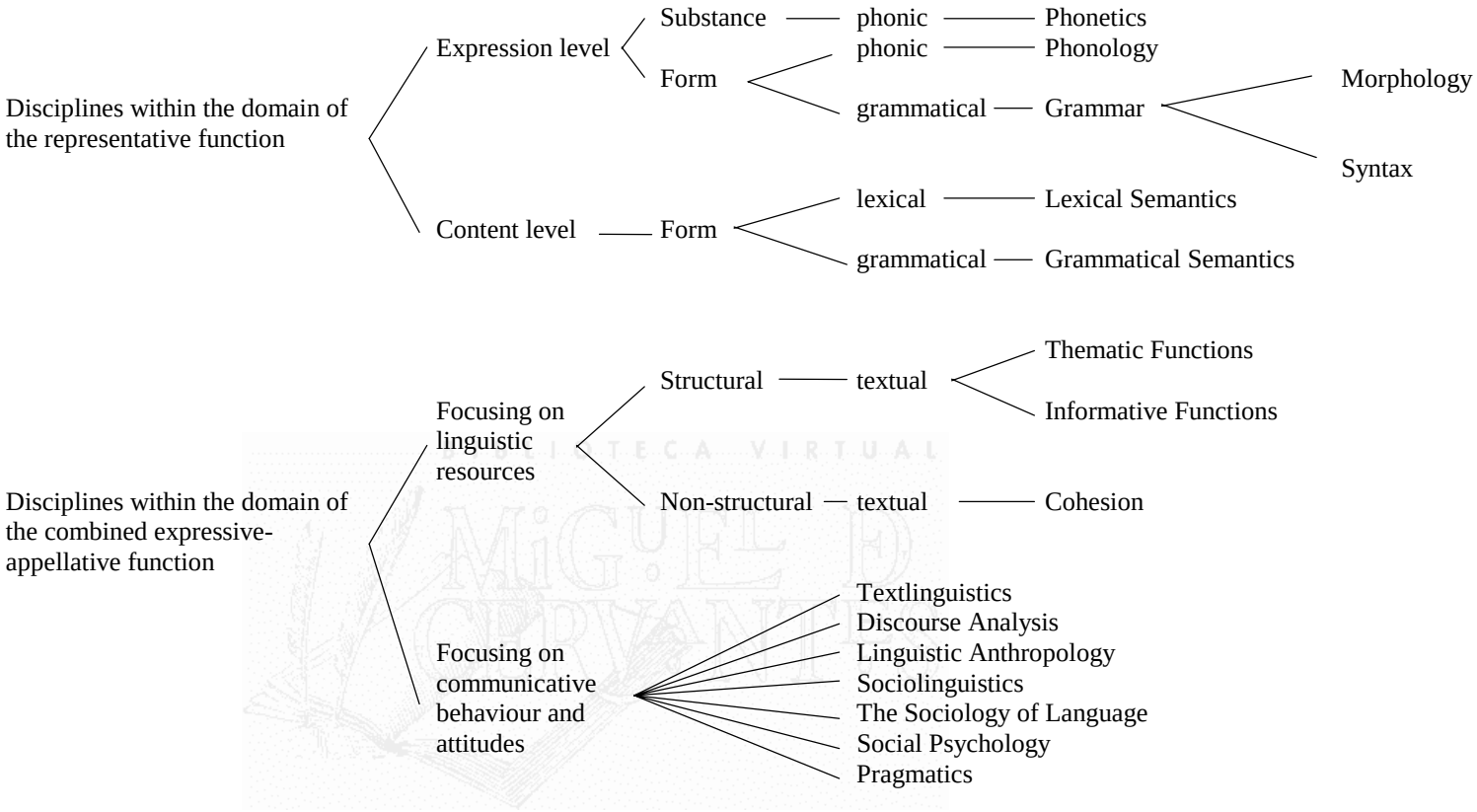
Although one might have thought of the "modus clausal" (Jiménez-Juliá, 1989:201) as yet another linguistic resource to be studied by this group of disciplines, there is however an important reason against its inclusion within this group: the study of the "modus clausal" pertains to Grammar (*ibid*.).

[38] A text is not limited to a succession of clauses and sentences (or *clause complexes* in Halliday's (1985) terminology) displaying structural relationships. A text hangs together by virtue of a set of linking resources known by the term 'cohesion' (*vid*. Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Disciplines investigating cohesion view discourse as an ongoing process. Consequently, they focus on resources that contribute to continuity in a text. Reference, for example, is a relation between things or facts having a role in the grammatical structure that may occur at varying distances. Ellipsis is a relation between an element of the clause and its omission at a later stage in the text. An alternative to omission is its substitution by a placeholding element. Conjunction defines the logical relations between longer stretches of text. Finally, continuity may also be established by the choice of lexical elements. Repetition of words or phrases and selection of synonymous and collocationally similar words are techniques that signal a particular meaning of the entire text. The interaction of these cohesive resources is what renders a text coherent.

The other group of disciplines pertaining to the domain of the expressive-appellative function of language and introduced as (B) above comprises Textlinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, the Sociology of Language, Social Psychology and Pragmatics. They all share a common interest in the behaviour and attitudes of individuals engaged in a communicative situation. Nevertheless, this common object of study allows multiple perspectives of approach each corresponding to one perfectly delimited discipline. Language in use constitutes the broad object of study of all of them, but the investigation of each co-ordinate integrated in the complex environment in which language is produced constitutes the particular domain of research of each of these fields of study.

The sections below deal with the disciplines concerned with the study of language in use, whose boundaries are established on the basis of their particular objects of study. The distribution of the sections is as follows: section 1.3.2 deals together with Textlinguistics and Discourse Analysis due to their, at times, indistinctness; and section 1.3.3 deals jointly with all disciplines integrating the field of Discourse Analysis understood as a multidiscipline: Linguistic Anthropology (section 1.3.3.1), Sociolinguistics (section 1.3.3.2), the Sociology of Language (section 1.3.3.3), Social Psychology (section 1.3.3.4) and Pragmatics (section 1.3.3.5). Finally, Communication Studies is dealt with in section 1.3.4.

Figure [1]: Classification of disciplines



1.3.2. Textlinguistics and Discourse Analysis

1.3.2.1. The notions of text and discourse

The text/discourse dichotomy originated in the early 70s with the explosion of Textlinguistics on the European Continent (especially in Germany) and Discourse Analysis in Britain. A trivial definition that might be proposed for each of these two disciplines is that Textlinguistics is concerned with the analysis of texts and Discourse Analysis with that of discourses. However, what appear to be straightforward definitions hide an instrinsic problem, namely, the confusion between the notion of *text* and the notion of *discourse*.

The notion of discourse has usually been defined in relation to that of text, whose first definitions already date back to the mid 60s.[39] The confusion between the two notions has been due to the different meanings and the relationship that linguists have attached to the two terms. Thus, some linguists have mostly used and defined only one of the terms. For example, the term 'text' only is preferably used by Hartmann (1964), Schmidt (1973), Halliday & Hasan (1976), or by scholars working within Functional Sentence Perspective like Dahl (1974), Danes (1974), or Palková & Palek (1977), whereas the term 'discourse' only is preferred by Longacre (1983). At times they may have mentioned the other term but leaving it undefined. Some other linguists have used both terms in either of the following three ways: (1) interchangeably (*cf*. Harris, 1952; Longacre, 1979;[40] Wirrer, 1979; or linguists working within cognitive models like Frederiksen, 1972); (2) considering discourse a type of text (*cf*. Koch, 1965; Petöfi, 1977); or (3) in opposition (*cf*. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Coulthard, 1977; van Dijk, 1977; Edmondson, 1981; Brown & Yule, 1983). In the latter case, the discourse/text

[39] Earlier mentions of the notions of text and discourse are found in Hjelmslev (1943), Harris (1952), and Coseriu (1955), even though they were not founders of either Textlinguistics or Discourse Analysis. As far as the conceptions of the terms is concerned, both Hjelmslev and Coseriu have conceived text or discourse in a completely different way than Harris, namely as a tool to explain the functioning of languages and the difference between language and speech. By contrast, Harris, anticipating one of the conceptions later attached to text or discourse by certain textlinguists, has resorted to the terms to refer to a concatenation of sentences. In this sense Harris can be considered a precedent of Textlinguistics. Whereas his notion of text or discourse may serve to connect him with Textlinguistics, the type of analysis which he undertakes, although called Discourse Analysis by him, was the origin of the analysis adopted by Transformational Grammar and, therefore, is closer to this theoretical framework.

[40] Although Longacre usually uses only the term 'discourse' (*cf*. Longacre, 1983), in Longacre (1979) he uses 'text' and 'discourse' interchangeably.

dichotomy has mostly been identified with a spoken/written, process/product and/or language use/abstraction of such use opposition. As a consequence, firstly, discourse has been identified with spoken language and text with written language. Secondly, text has been considered the product of the process of writing, whereas the more dynamic notion of discourse has been identified with the process of text production and comprehension. And thirdly, text has been viewed as the theoretical notion underlying the structure of the verbal communication.

The notions of text and discourse do not have a stable, uniform identity, their nature varying not only according to the scholar but especially according to the theoretical framework from within which the scholar approaches the definition of the terms. Thus, as the following discussion will show, it is possible to systematise the definitions of text according basically to four frameworks: linguistic, communicative-pragmatic, cognitive and semiotic. The notion of discourse, for its part, has been mostly defined from a communicative-pragmatic, tagmemic, cognitive and generative framework.

The different definitions proposed for the notions of text and discourse vary according to the framework of study and, consequently, to the aspect of the units that is being stressed. Starting with the notion of text, there are four major frameworks within which a definition of the notion has been attempted.

First, within a linguistic framework text has been viewed as a mere succession of sentences, *i.e.*, of signs between certain punctuation markers. This was the case with Harris (1952). To a certain extent this conception is also contained in Hjelmslev (1943). The idea of a text as a chain of sentences also underlies research of linguists working within the theories of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). Although the concept of text has not usually been defined within FSP, it is not difficult to infer the notion from general statements about the aim of FSP theories such as the following: the aim of FSP is to investigate "certain aspects of the communicative function of the sentence, together with questions of the organization of the text" (Danes, 1974a:109).

Still within the same framework, text has also been defined as a semantic composition. For this definition the sentence continues to be the key component to such an extent that many linguists have defined text or discourse in opposition to sentence (*cf*. Beaugrande, 1979; Wirrer, 1979; Albadalejo Mayordomo, 1981).[41]

The idea of wholeness underlying the conception of text as a semantic composition has been understood mainly in two different ways. On the one hand, Wirrer (1979) and Albadalejo Mayordomo (1981) count as representatives of those linguists who conceive the property of wholeness as the result of applying the coherence component to a set of sentences. On the other hand, without abandoning the principle of coherence, wholeness is for others mainly the outcome of certain intersentential or cohesive relationships. To this latter group belongs Koch (1965), who after Hartman's (1964) famous article "Text, Texte, Klassen von Texten" was one of the first textlinguists to distinguish between text and discourse.

In line with Koch's condition of wholeness, Grimes (1966) stresses that a text consists of a series of intersentential relationships of which the lexical choice is just one of them. It appears to be an anticipation of Harweg's (1968) conception of text and of the notions of textual cohesion and coherence as used by Halliday & Hasan (1976).[42]

A special notion of text, which functions as a bridge between the conception of text as a semantic composition maintained within a linguistic framework and that of a purely communicative unit held within a communicative framework, is the one represented by Halliday (1973) and Halliday & Hasan (1976), who view text as a functional-semantic concept belonging to the textual function of language. Their systemic-functional (SF) approach to the study of language "means, first of all, investigating how language is used:

[41] Langleben (1979), by contrast, considers that the definition of text entails more complexity than a simple binary opposition to sentence. In her view, it is necessary to conceive language as stratified into different sub-levels between the four major layers: morpheme, word, sentence and text. As a consequence, between text and the simple sentence there are two further layers: the sentence cluster and the non-simple sentence.

[42] Harweg (1968) views the text as a chain of expressions opposed to the system, which for its part entails a paradigmatic relation between expressions. Consequently, he comes to define the text as "ein durch ununterbrochene pronominale Verkettung konstituiertes Nacheinander sprachlicher Einheiten" (*id*.:148).

trying to find out what are the purposes that language serves for us" (Halliday, 1973:7). Apart from the *ideational* and *interpersonal* functions of language, Halliday also recognises a *textual* function which is "concerned with the creation of text" (Halliday, 1973:107).

Even though in a relatively vague manner, Halliday (*ibid*.) only defines text, which appears to be a structural unit related to the situation. Its structural property, which is a common principle to definitions produced within a linguistic framework, refers to cohesive ties between sentences and to "its meaning as a message", which is synonymous to an FSP analysis of the sentence into a theme-rheme organisation. The introduction into the notion of text of an element of contextual or situational relation constitutes the bridge between a linguistic and a communicative conception of the term. As far as the notion of discourse is concerned, it appears to be an instance of language use in a particular situation, of which the text is its structural unit.

Within the systemic-functional model it is not until Hasan (1977) that the notion of text becomes a communicative unit defined as "a verbal social event" (Hasan, 1977:233) and characterised, firstly, by its property of texture (*i.e.*, "linguistic cohesion within the passage" (Hasan, 1977:228)), which constitutes a means of differentiating it from a random chain of sentences; secondly, by its structure, which serves to "distinguish between complete and incomplete texts on the one hand, and between different generic forms on the other" (*id*.:229); and last but not least, by its contextual relation. Following Halliday's social perspective on language, Hasan emphasises the role that context plays in the structural organisation (*structural formula*) of each "genre of text –*i.e*. type of discourse" (*ibid*.).[43]

The notion of context of situation in Hasan (1977) is explained through that of text genre or register. Register is related to systematic variation in language, this variation depending on the selection of different linguistic as well as contextual variables. *Field*, *tenor* and *mode* of discourse are the variables that constitute the *contextual construct* (CC). The definition of text as a verbal social event is directly related to the three types of roles which the

[43] Hasan (1977) uses 'text' and 'discourse' interchangeably.

interactants adopt in a communicative situation and which are integrated in the variable tenor. These roles are:

(1) textual, which classifies the interactants into speaker and hearer;

(2) social, which establishes a hierarchical or non-hierarchical relationship between the interactants according to their social status; and

(3) participatory, which identifies the initiator and the respondent of the communication.

Hasan's (1977) conception of text as a social event would also be adopted in Halliday & Hasan (1985). Halliday's (1973) and Halliday and Hasan's (1976) early conception of text would undergo an evolution from a primarily linguistic-centred approach which defined text as a semantic unit occurring in a situational context and whose sentences are tied by a relationship of cohesion, towards a more communicative-centred position located within a social-semiotic approach to language study. Though text continues to be essentially a semantic unit, it is no longer viewed as a mere product but also as a process.

Hasan's (1977) and Halliday & Hasan's (1985) conception of text has directly led into the second framework of approach to the notion, namely, the communicative-pragmatic framework. For linguists within a communicative-pragmatic framework text is no longer a succession of sentences but of "propositions" (*vid*. Glinz, 1979:45) or semantic units referring to events, actions or states which contribute to a communicative situation or interaction. A proposition may consist of a single word (*e.g*. greeting, farewell, addressing form), of an elliptical[44] sentence (*e.g*. verbless sentence), or it may coincide with a sentence boundary. Indeed, as happens within the linguistic framework, the sentence continues to be the most complex unit that structures information contained in a communicative activity. But, in contrast to the previous framework, a sentence is not only a component of a text but it may also be a complete text on its own.

[44] The term 'elliptical' is used as in Halliday (1985).

One representative of this communicative-pragmatic approach to the notion of text is Schmidt (1973), who views a text as both a linguistic and a sociological category which depends on the fulfilment of the criterion of *textuality*.[45] Text has to be distinguished from textuality: the latter is a function of communicative activity, whereas the former is the verbal means of expressing this function.

Glinz (1979) offers a yet broader definition of text. Unlike most definitions, like Schmidt's (1973), which locate the text within a communicative situation between interactants, Glinz pays little attention to the role of the hearer or reader. Thus, any written or spoken contribution to a performance act is a text independently of the interlocutor's capacity to understand it.

One of the most outstanding textlinguists to urge for a pragmatic approach to the notion of text is van Dijk (1977), who equates the text/discourse opposition with a theoretical *vs*. observational dichotomy, similar to Saussure's (1916) *langue*/*parole* opposition. A grammar, in his view, should not only describe an expression in terms of its internal structure and the meaning assigned to it, but also in terms of the conditions that render the expression acceptable in a particular communicative context. This principle should apply not only to sentences but also to discourse. Similarly, Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) also consider the pragmatic condition of acceptability to be, along with some others, a key feature of any text. Beaugrande & Dressler's (1981) communicative approach to text analysis provides an innovation to Textlinguistics, namely, a comprehensive description of the pragmatic components that transform a text into a verbal interaction located in a specific situational context, with interlocutors observing certain conversational principles necessary to the fulfilment of the intended goal of the encounter. In this framework, text is equated with an interactional process.

A third framework of study which also uses the unit of text as object of study is the cognitive. In fact, only some scholars working within cognitive psychology refer to their

[45] Hasan's (1977) idea of text structure is similar to Schmidt's (1973) notion of textuality.

object of study with the term text (*vid*. Bower & Cirilo, 1985). Others refer to the same entity with the term discourse (*vid*. van Dijk & Kintsch, 1977). Yet a third group uses the terms interchangeably (*cf*. Frederiksen, 1972). Like linguists working within FSP, linguists within cognitive models do not, as a general rule, define the notion of text or discourse. Nevertheless, it can be inferred from their expositions that text or discourse refers to the use of language for speaking, listening, reading and writing. Cognitive text models work with the concept of text or discourse as a natural unit of language which consists of a string of successive sentences –or utterances in spoken form– with topical or logical structure. In other words, text or discourse is conceived as a semantic unit forming a coherent and cohesive structural whole independent of the context in which it is produced, assuming that the semantic structure, that is, "the formal reconstruction of what is non-technically called the 'information' or 'content' of a discourse" (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1977:67), is the basis for all particular meanings. This conception is similar to the one maintained by Koch (1965), Grimes (1966), Harweg (1968) or Wirrer (1979) within the linguistic framework explained earlier. What differentiates then the notion of text or discourse as used by one and the other framework is that for linguistic models text is a final product, whereas for cognitive models text or discourse is conceived as a process of production, understanding, organisation and retrieval.

The fourth and last framework within which text is studied is the semiotic one as represented by Petöfi (1977, 1980). Within this framework, text is a broad notion referring to the unit of analysis of any sign system. Text as a semiotic object comprises both the *natural language text* (*vid*. Petöfi, 1977), also called discourse, and texts of another semiotic character (*e.g*. animal communication, theology, film analysis, advertisements, etc.).

To sum up, the overview of the conceptions of text offered by different theoretical frameworks has revealed a development of the notion of text from the most restrictionist viewpoint –text equalling a descriptive structural supra-sentential unit– progressively towards a logical and semantic unit, a processual unit and, in its most expansionist view, an interactional unit located within the broad context of human communication. Beyond human communication, yet a more expansionist view corresponds to the one that conceives text as a

semiotic object placed on a par with other sign systems. This classification of the definitions of text can roughly be equated with the following chronological evolution. Broadly speaking, the earliest definitions which focused on the linguistic composition of the text correspond to the 50s and 60s. During the 50s text was viewed as a mere succession of sentences to which the basic principles and methods used for sentences were considered to be applicable. The 60s incorporated to the notion a semantic component and certain intersentential relationships. Coinciding with the influence exercised by Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory, the early 70s experienced a move away from the linguistic framework towards a communicative approach –which would extend up to the present days– incorporating pragmatic components to the notion of text. Finally, and from the same period onwards, emphasis on communication as a process has also originated a proliferation of the conception of texts as cognitive processes on the part of disciplines such as Psychology, Psycholinguistics and Artificial Intelligence.

As far as the notion of discourse is concerned, the following discussion will focus on those frameworks and scholars that use mainly the concept of discourse either exclusively or in opposition to text. From the perspective of the theoretical frameworks, it is possible to organise a classification of the concept into four main groups: communicative-pragmatic, tagmemic, cognitive and generative. As far as the cognitive framework is concerned, suffice it to say that the discussion on the notion of text provided above is equally applicable to that of discourse since the terms text and discourse are used interchangeably within this framework.

It has quite certainly been due to scholars working within a communicative-pragmatic framework of language that the term discourse owes most of its extended use. They all agree that discourse is language in use, that is, a unit of communication located within the wider context of purposeful speech behaviour where the pragmatic component plays a central role (*vid*. Coulthard, 1977; van Dijk 1977, 1979;[46] Edmondson, 1981; Brown & Yule, 1983; Leech, 1983; Levinson, 1983; Stubbs, 1983). The text/discourse opposition within this

[46] Van Dijk is mentioned here with the purpose of exemplifying the notion of discourse, but it has to be borne in mind that his work concentrates on the notion of text.

approach seems to correspond to the competence/performance (*vid*. Chomsky, 1965) or use/usage (*vid*. Widdowson, 1978) dichotomies. For example, Brown & Yule (1983) consider discourse as "language in use" which includes "the purposes or functions which those [linguistic] forms are designed to serve in human affairs" (Brown & Yule, 1983:1). Discourse is viewed as a process connected to human behaviour in which producers and receivers interact. Text for its part, which comprises both a spoken and a written form, is its representation, "a technical term, to refer to the verbal record of a communicative act" (Brown & Yule, 1983:6).[47]

A change in the geographical environment and in the theoretical approach serves to locate discourse as an object of investigation in America, within the tagmemic framework represented by Longacre (1979, 1983). Tagmemics, which results from an integration of Linguistics and Anthropology, goes beyond the sentence and text boundary and locates language within human activity. Verbal behaviour is considered to be just one strand of man's activity. As a consequence of this anthropological approach to language, Longacre, like many European linguists at the time, views discourse as a sociological entity which may appear in the form of either "a conversation between two people, a planned interview on the radio, a news report, a sermon, a political speech, a short story, an essay, a fairy tale, or a novel" (Longacre, 1979:258). It refers both to monologue and to dialogue. Discourse, he continues, has texture (as defined by Halliday & Hasan, 1976), is constituted by elements of a lower rank level and occurs in a sociolinguistic setting: "it has a speaker or a writer, and it is directed at a hearer or an audience of some sort" (*ibid*.).

Also in America, the fourth and last framework to adopt the notion of discourse as its object of study is the generative as represented by Kuno (1987). Within the domain of Generative Discourse Analysis, discourse is understood in a similar fashion to the early conceptions of text, that is, as a linguistic unit consisting of a chain of sentences. In this view, the contextual factors of a discourse are limited to the linguistic 'co-text', *i.e*., the preceding

[47] The lack of free variation between text and discourse is certainly exemplified in Coulthard (1977), who transforms this dichotomy into the underlying basis of the separation between two different disciplines,

and following sentences. An analysis of discourse consists then in the study of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic principles controlling the usage of linguistic phenomena that exclusively belong to the realm of the sentence. Thus, the study of discourse comprises those aspects of linguistic research which generative grammarians have considered to be outside the domain of generative syntactic theory, that is, the study of pragmatics and the correlation between syntactic and semantic phenomena, such as gapping, pronominalisation, reflexivisation, thematic adverbs, topic-comment and *empathy* (*vid*. Kuno, 1987).

The overview of the notions of text and discourse shows that the use of the two labels does not always correspond to two different conceptual units. This is especially the case when the terms are used by scholars within one and the same theoretical framework, as within cognitive models. Another notional equivalence can be established within the communicative-pragmatic framework where some linguists, such as Schmidt (1973), van Dijk (1977), or Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) concentrate on the term text, whereas others, such as Coulthard (1977), Edmondson (1981) or Brown & Yule (1983) concentrate on the term discourse without this preference for one term to the exclusion of the other being correlated with a difference in conception. Both notions refer to pragmatic units that relate a verbal act to the contextual situation in which it is produced. In brief, they concentrate on the principles that regulate verbal interaction. The only difference that can be appreciated in the notional characteristics of the terms is that text is conceived as constituted by propositions or semantic units that contribute to the development of a communicative interaction, whereas discourse is analysed into real interactive units like acts, moves or utterances. This difference corresponds to a distinction between the two natures of text: text as a product and text as a process. Finally, notional equivalence can also be established between different frameworks, as occurs for instance between the notion of text in FSP and Kuno's (1987) generative concept of discourse.

Beside a relationship of equation, it is also possible to identify a part-whole relation between the notion of text as conceived within a linguistic framework (here called *text1*) and

Grammar and Discourse Analysis, respectively.

the notion of text or discourse as understood within a communicative-pragmatic, an SF and a tagmemic approach (here identified as *text2*). In this sense, the conception of text as a semantic composition defined primarily in terms of coherence and cohesion (*vid*. Koch, 1965; Grimes, 1966; Harweg, 1968; Wirrer, 1979; Albadalejo Mayordomo, 1981) is also included as an integrating property of text2. By contrast, however, within text2 coherence and cohesion are by no means considered to be either an exclusive or the most important property, but rather a characteristic holding a part or contained relation with regard to text2, which concentrates mainly on pragmatic and contextual features. This view allows to attach the status of whole or container to text2.

Beside forming part of the text-discourse dichotomy, discourse also comes into interaction with other terms like 'conversation', 'speech' and 'spoken discourse' which are used as synonyms or near-synonyms of it. More specifically, these terms refer to types of discourse, and hence also to language in use. They are mainly used by scholars coming from such fields of investigation as Anthropology, Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language, who, though not being linguists in a strict sense, concentrate nevertheless on the behavioural aspect of language as used in different situational contexts. Within this behavioural framework, the terms 'speech', 'spoken discourse' and 'conversation' are used in a similar way as is the term 'discourse' from a communicative-pragmatic perspective. Additionally, they specify the type of discourse they refer to, which in the case of speech and spoken discourse is the spoken variant of language, and in that of conversation not only the spoken form but also the specific type of spoken speech, namely, mundane, everyday interaction. It can be easily deduced then that the contribution of the above disciplines to discourse studies becomes at least an obligatory reference point for a comprehensive discourse investigation. Consequently, the study of discourse pertains to a multidisciplinary field.

At this point of the discussion it is necessary to give an explanation of what will count as text and as discourse within the present research study. First of all, however, following Sandulescu's (1976) suggestion, it is necessary to abandon the competence/performance distinction that seemed to underlie many text/discourse oppositions mentioned above. When

applied to units higher than the sentence that incorporate a pragmatic component, the, at first sight, clear-cut competence/performance dichotomy is, rather, a scale with intermediate stages.

Two phenomena seem to be the origin of the intermediate stages between competence and performance. On the one hand, the fact that performance or language use also has systematic rules within its variation which constitute its competence (*cf.* Labov, 1969; Cedergren & Sankoff, 1974). This fact means the abandonment of the idea that spoken language lacks logical organisation. And, on the other hand, as the review above has shown, the gradual broadening of the concept of text.

The terms discourse and text will neither be used interchangeably nor in opposition. Rather, between them a part/whole relationship will be established. The term discourse will refer to language in use, that is, to a *process* of human communication occurring in a specific situational context in which language –spoken or written– plays a central role. As a process, the *raison d'être* of discourse is the achievement of an intended goal for which language serves as the means of development towards it. Thus, discourse is characterised by its overall communicative function. As a consequence of its processual character, discourse is a structured event which displays a specific organisation in accordance with the intended goal of the communication. Also, as a process of verbal[48] communication, discourse corresponds to the realm of human social behaviour in which two or more individuals interact, one adopting the role of speaker or writer and the other(s) the role of addressee(s) –either listener(s) or reader(s). As a consequence of its interactional[49] and functional mode, discourse may be: a conversation, an interview, a church service, a political speech, etc. Discourse, as can be deduced then, can appear in the form of a dialogue as well as in that of a monologue. When discourse displays a dialogue form the interactants are present;[50] conversely, when it appears

[48] Verbal is here used as relating to the use of words in general, not to the spoken mode of language in opposition to the written one.

[49] 'Interactional' is not used in the restricted sense adopted by Cheepen & Monaghan (1990). It is here used in the broad sense of encounter, independently of the type of goal -internal or external- pursued.

[50] As in telephone conversations, presence, however, does not entail visual contact between the parties.

in monologue form only one of the parties –the speaker or writer– participates actively while the other party is only implicit in the encounter.

Following Leech (1983), text is the syntactic and phonological encoding of the message transmitted in a discourse. It is thus, in contrast to the processual aspect of discourse, a *product*. In the written mode of language the text corresponds to a structured chain of sentences, and in the spoken mode it coincides with the actual physical execution of utterances. Hence, the sentence or the utterance constitutes the minimal unit of the text. Though, as a general rule, a text does not consist of a single sentence or utterance, there are, as an exception, certain texts which are formed of a single minimal unit. This is often the case, for example, in a message stuck on a door or in an advertisement in the media. In these contexts it is possible to equate the utterance or the sentence with an entire text, and consequently with an entire discourse.

In both modes –written and spoken– the text constitutes a whole characterised by its coherence; in other words, the elements of the message are seen to be connected or 'to make sense', with or without overt linguistic ties. When the text makes use of linguistic resources to achieve coherence it is said to be cohesive. Cohesion, however, is not a requisite for a text to be coherent.[51] Especially in spoken discourse, utterances may cohere on the basis of interpreting elements by means of the information supplied by the context of situation.

In view of these conceptions of text and discourse it is not difficult to establish the aforementioned part/whole relationship. Discourse is then the element functioning as container or whole; it constitutes the global communicative event of which the text is one of its content elements. The other component is the context of situation understood in a broad sense; that is, including references to place, time or purpose as well as to all background information concerning cultural and social factors. One of the reasons for the frequent confusion of text and discourse, I would argue, might be due to the identification of discourse with the actual

[51] It is even possible for a text to display cohesive ties but still to be incoherent.

spoken or written words which doubtless constitute the most important, though not the unique, component in the production and comprehension of a message. This confusion may be caused especially in the case of narratives where the written words appear to be the only focus of the information.

Identifying text with the written mode of language and discourse with the spoken mode is consequently erroneous. Discourse, and hence text, may appear in either of the two modes of communication. The fact that even in the case of spoken utterances the text usually appears in the form of a transcription might erroneously lead to believing that the text is exclusively a written form.

As the present study will adopt a communicative-pragmatic approach to language, any reference to a text out of context should be irrelevant. Hence, despite the discourse/text distinction, the only term that will be mentioned is that of discourse since the interest will always fall on language produced in a communicative situation. In those cases in which only the text might be relevant it will be stated.

The following section will focus on the disciplines of Textlinguistics and Discourse Analysis. Due to the notional variety of the terms 'discourse' and 'text', a one-to-one-correspondence between object of study and discipline is difficult. Consequently, the exposition below will offer a classification of approaches within each of the two disciplines according to their particular conceptions of the objects of study.

1.3.2.2. The disciplines of Textlinguistics and Discourse Analysis

Allowing for some overlap, the gradual expansion of the notion of text documented above can be classified into the following four major categories of text models used in Textlinguistics.[52] Each model corresponds to a specific aspect of interest to researchers of the text. This is not to

[52] For a similar classification of text models *cf.* Enkvist (1984:46-7).

say that other perspectives on the object of study are irrelevant, but that scholars concentrate on those dimensions of text which seem to them particularly significant.

(1) *Sentence-based text models* (TL1).[53] These models consider texts as strings of sentences that serve as input for analysis and description. They add textual features to traditional sentence grammars. To these models belong part of FSP research and Halliday & Hasan's (1976) treatment of cohesion. With regard to the former investigation, FSP analyses mainly structural intrasentential phenomena such as theme-rheme, given-new information (*vid*. Halliday, 1967; Danes, 1974a; Palková & Palek, 1977) and topic-comment structures (*vid*. Dahl, 1974). The analysis of non-structural, intersentential relationships like reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion and conjunction is best exemplified in Halliday & Hasan's (1976) study of cohesion. Although Halliday and Hasan in Halliday (1973), Hasan (1977) and in Halliday & Hasan (1985) support the study of language from a sociological perspective, they do not do so themselves, choosing rather to concentrate on grammatical aspects of text analysis. Despite the importance attached to the role of social context in the production of texts, Halliday & Hasan (1976) reduce the notion of text to a semantic unit displaying cohesive ties, where the only context taken into account is the linguistic context, which is limited to the domain of the sentence, far from the broad social context which Hasan (1977) equates with culture. Thus, despite their theoretical adherence to a communicative-semiotic approach to text, in practice their main work on text analysis is produced within a linguistic framework typical of the 60s in which the main focus falls on texture, not on structure and situational context. This basic adherence to the framework of the 60s does not, however, serve to underestimate their important contribution to Textlinguistics. Halliday & Hasan (1976) is a landmark in textual analysis for it constitutes the first complete functional and systematic study of intersentential cohesion in the English language.

[53] The labels 'sentence-', 'predication-', 'cognitive-' and 'interaction-based text models' are borrowed from Sandulescu (1976).

(2) *Predication-based text models* (TL2). These models regard texts as a set of predications and interpredicational semantic relations which are grouped by means of conjunction and embedding. The same predications can combine in different ways rendering different textualisations. Therefore, the main explanation that these text models provide is the relation between different textualisations whose input predications are the same (*cf.* Kallgren, 1979; Wirrer, 1979). These models are profitable in contrastive studies of translations where the translator no longer compares a sentence or clause of the source text with one of the target text for, at times, the sentence or clause division in the source language simply does not serve to convey the same meaning in the target language. The translation is a re-textualisation rather than an equivalent formal transposition (*cf.* Newmark, 1981).

(3) *Cognitive text models* (TL3). These models share with the predication-based text models the nature of their object of study. Like predication-based text models, cognitive models also view the text –or discourse– as a semantic unit. However, the approach developed by one and the other type of models varies. Cognitive models focus on comprehension and memory (especially long-term memory) aspects of texts or discourses, because these, as psychologists argue, are basically semantic. Thus, it becomes of urgent interest to investigate semantic information in text or discourse.

Cognitive text models are the result of the ever growing interest in texts shown by disciplines such as Psychology, Psycholinguistics and Artificial Intelligence in the early 70s. The early, and later very influential, work by Bartlett (1932) meant the rediscovery of texts as an object of study not exclusive to linguists. Chomsky's (1965) Transformational Grammar conditioned the breakthrough of cognitive processing methods which view text as a predication-producing process consisting of a set of associative networks in whose nodes the concepts are placed. Their aim is to explain the origin of predications; in other words, how predications arise, how they are connected and understood (*cf.* Findler, 1979). These models have found a vast field of application in semantic memory research (*cf.* Charniak, 1972; Kintsch, 1974; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1977). Van Dijk & Kintsch (1977), for example, expand transformations to describe cognitive processes in recalling and summarising stories. Working

within the field of Artificial Intelligence, Charniak (1972) concentrates on world-knowledge and knowledge-activation strategies needed to understand children's stories.

Despite their concentration on semantic aspects, these models are unable to explain the reasons for the selection of a specific set of predications by a speaker or writer in a specific situational context. This further goal pertains to the following text models.

(4) *Interactional text models*. These models take as their object of study the notion of text understood within the wider context of human interaction. In other words, they focus on the interactional behaviour of people engaged in a communicative situation. Hence, they deal with the communicative function and the pragmatic conditions which define a particular speech encounter and which render it effective. Since, as discussed earlier, text and discourse are equivalent as pragmatic units, these text models should comprise the analysis of any of the two notions without distinction. Thus, in theory the interactional text models should constitute the point of fusion of Textlinguistics in its most expansionist state and Discourse Analysis. However, as has also been anticipated, only discourse is properly conceived as a process since it is only discourse and not text that is analysed into real interactive units. Consequently, still within the interactional models it is expedient to discriminate between two approaches: a formal communicative and a speech act or properly interactional one which will henceforth be called *Textlinguistics4* (TL4) and *Discourse Analysis1* (DA1), respectively. To the formal communicative approach belong linguists like van Dijk (1972, 1977), Petöfi (1973, 1977), Beaugrande & Dressler (1981), and Longacre (1983) who speak of a communicative text theory without basing their research on empirical investigation of communicative processes, but usually choose to concentrate on formal text grammars. They account for all communicative aspects that are needed for a formal or theoretical reconstruction of communicative situations.[54]

[54] The group of formal communicative text grammarians includes linguists like Petöfi (1977) and Longacre (1983) who have above been classified into frameworks which, though communicative, are different from the pragmatic one. This corroborates the fact that scholars holding a dissimilar conception of the same object of study may, nevertheless, offer a common type of analytical research. Moreover, in the case of Petöfi (1977) and Longacre (1983) the conceptual dissimilarity is markedly stressed by the use of different terms.

It is the speech act or properly interactional approach to discourse represented by linguists such as Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), Coulthard (1977, 1992b), Hasan (1977), Widdowson (1978), Coulthard & Montgomery (1981), Edmondson (1981), Brown & Yule (1983), Stubbs (1983), or Cheepen & Monaghan (1990)[55] that concentrates on the discovery, first, of the rules that govern the production of coherent discourse and, second, of "the units whose structure and occurrence the sequencing rules will describe" (Coulthard, 1977:7). Contrary to formal text grammarians, DA1 analysts concentrate on the "rules of *use* which describe how *utterances* perform social acts" (*id*.:9). These rules refer to those elements that render verbal behaviour in an interactive situation successful, namely, conversational maxims and the complex of relevant factors which constitutes the situational context: the temporal and spatial coordinates, the participants' intentions and their status, *i.e*., their socio-economic and cultural situation, which includes their background knowledge and linguistic competence, their social relation towards the interlocutor, and the social and moral norms accepted by the interactants. All these factors are taken into account by DA1 when analysing discourse in different contexts, for example, classroom interaction (*cf*. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Willis, 1992), everyday conversation (*cf*. Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990; Francis & Hunston, 1992), forensic discourse (*cf*. Coulthard, 1992a), doctor-patient interaction (*cf*. Coulthard & Ashby, 1976), etc. Formal text grammarians, by contrast, theorise about them trying to establish the rules of usage that govern discourse production. This, in turn, allows the creation of a typology of discourses.

It is worth emphasizing the fact that Hasan's (1977) work has been identified with that of DA1 linguists. Though conceiving text within a systemic-functional framework, Hasan (1977) is a study of discourse structure in line with, for example, Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) teacher-student interaction.

[55] Cheepen & Monaghan's (1990) framework is not exclusively Discourse Analysis (DA) but rather a mixture of DA and Conversation Analysis (CA), which is a specific approach within Microsociology.

The differences between TL4 and DA1 have been summarised by Sandulescu (1976) into the following four aspects. First, the former is a theoretical model-oriented approach and, therefore, based on a generalisation. The latter is data-oriented, that is, its research is based on the study of a collection of data. Second, the goal of the former is to set up a text grammar in a similar fashion in which sentences evince grammar. For this purpose, TL4 explores an extension of transformational sentence grammar. The latter, by contrast, focuses on the detection and description of discourse structure. Third, TL4 is based on *type* or competence data, whereas DA1 is based on *token* or performance data. And fourth, TL4 focuses on the written mode of language, whereas DA1 focuses on the spoken mode of language.

Only the third aspect of Sandulescu's differences deserves a brief comment. Although the type/token opposition will be maintained, it is worth emphasizing my adherence to the need for the abandonment of the competence/performance distinction when applied to units higher than the sentence that incorporate a pragmatic component. A closely-related consequence of the unfortunate competence/performance dichotomy then is the inadequate classification of type *vs.* token data.[56] The need for the abandonment of the competence/performance opposition is corroborated by the fact that the, at first sight, clear separation of approaches within the interactional text models is very often blurred. If considered that the formulation of rules for discourses typical of formal text grammarians is not the result of the intuitive linguistic competence of the linguist, but the result of a generalisation based on the analysis of a reduced corpus of discourses, then the difference between TL4 and DA1 disappears. Since all theory of this type has to be based on some previous empirical observation of some sort, and since DA1 does also theorise after obtaining

[56] Sandulescu (1976) maintains that "no token data is a hundred per cent token data on the ideal scale" (Sandulescu, 1976:357), for, although in its raw state token data is authentic, spontaneous and objective, it undergoes a process of abstraction when transcribed that pushes "it to some extent down the cline towards type data" (*ibid*.).

Though I agree in broad terms with Sandulescu's suggested difficulty of delimiting the nature of type and token data, I would argue, in contrast to the above quotation, that spontaneous data is not more abstract after undergoing a process of transcription. Transcription should not be seen as an abstraction but as the transposition of recorded data into a coded system that facilitates its analysis. The higher or lesser amount of information included within the transcription is not a consequence of abstraction, but rather the result of the researcher's focus on specific information.

the necessary information from its analytical work, the separation of the two approaches becomes nearly impossible. However, although there is no objection to treating TL4 and DA1 as one and the same approach,[57] there are, in my view, sufficient arguments that advise their separation. Hence, it is the latter stance that will be adopted in the present study.

As far as Discourse Analysis is concerned, the approaches to be identified can basically be reduced to three.[58] One has just been dealt with under the label DA1. Another is a sentence-based model represented by Generative DA. This approach overlaps in many aspects with the sentence-based text models, especially with FSP research. Finally, the possibility of recognising yet a third discourse model, the cognitive one, is obliterated by the fact that within a cognitive framework there is no distinction between text and discourse as objects of study. Therefore, having already mentioned the cognitive model as one of the approaches within Textlinguistics, it would appear redundant to include it again within Discourse Analysis.

The state of affairs can be sketched as figure [2] shows on the following page. For the purpose of the present research, however, the classification of disciplinary approaches is reconsidered in figure [3] on p. 55. Compared with the former, figure [3] displays the following innovations:

[57] In fact, often the term Discourse Analysis is used to refer to both approaches.

[58] For a different classification of approaches *vid*. Stubbs (1983).

Figure [2]: Textlinguistics or Discourse Analysis

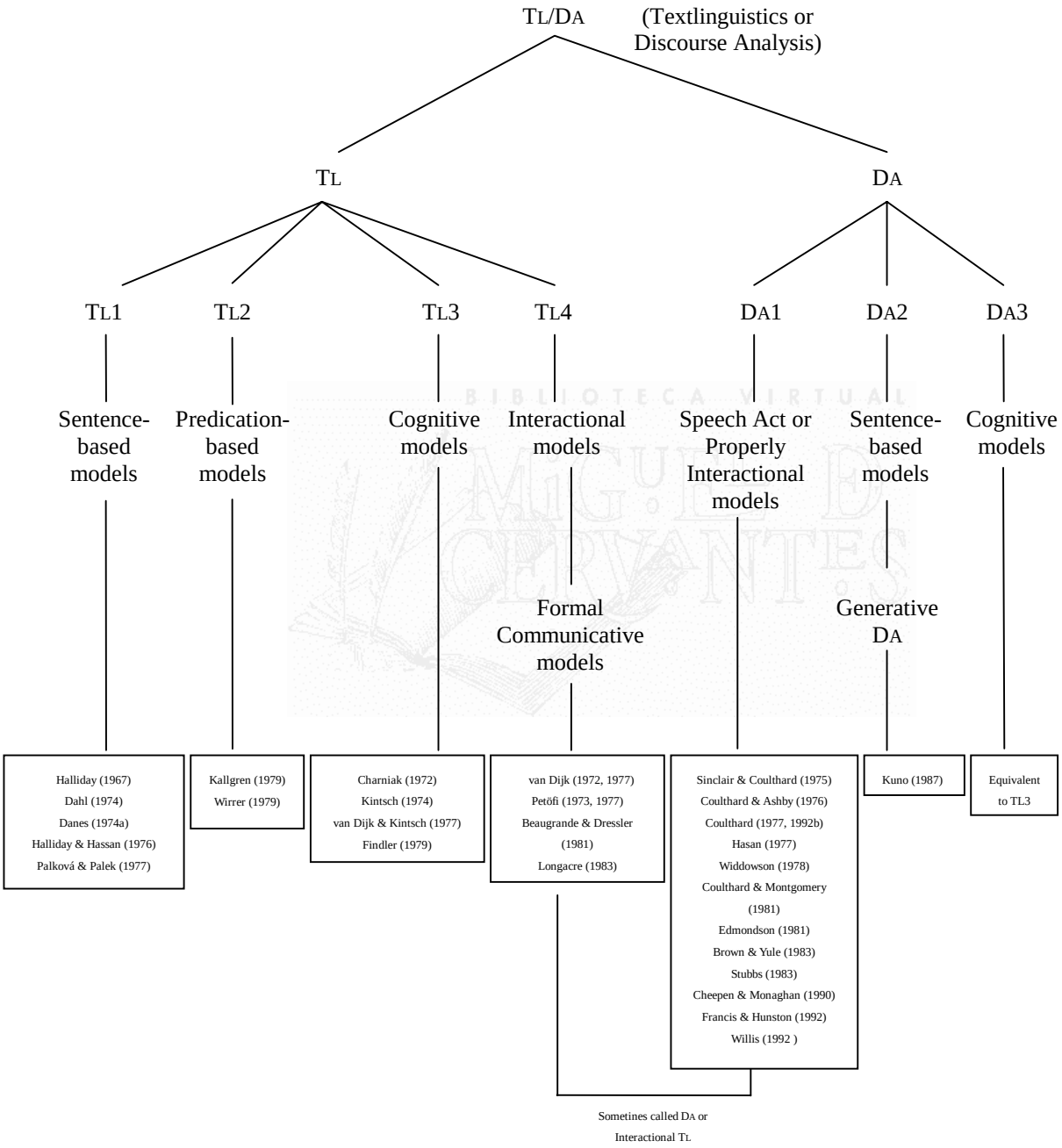
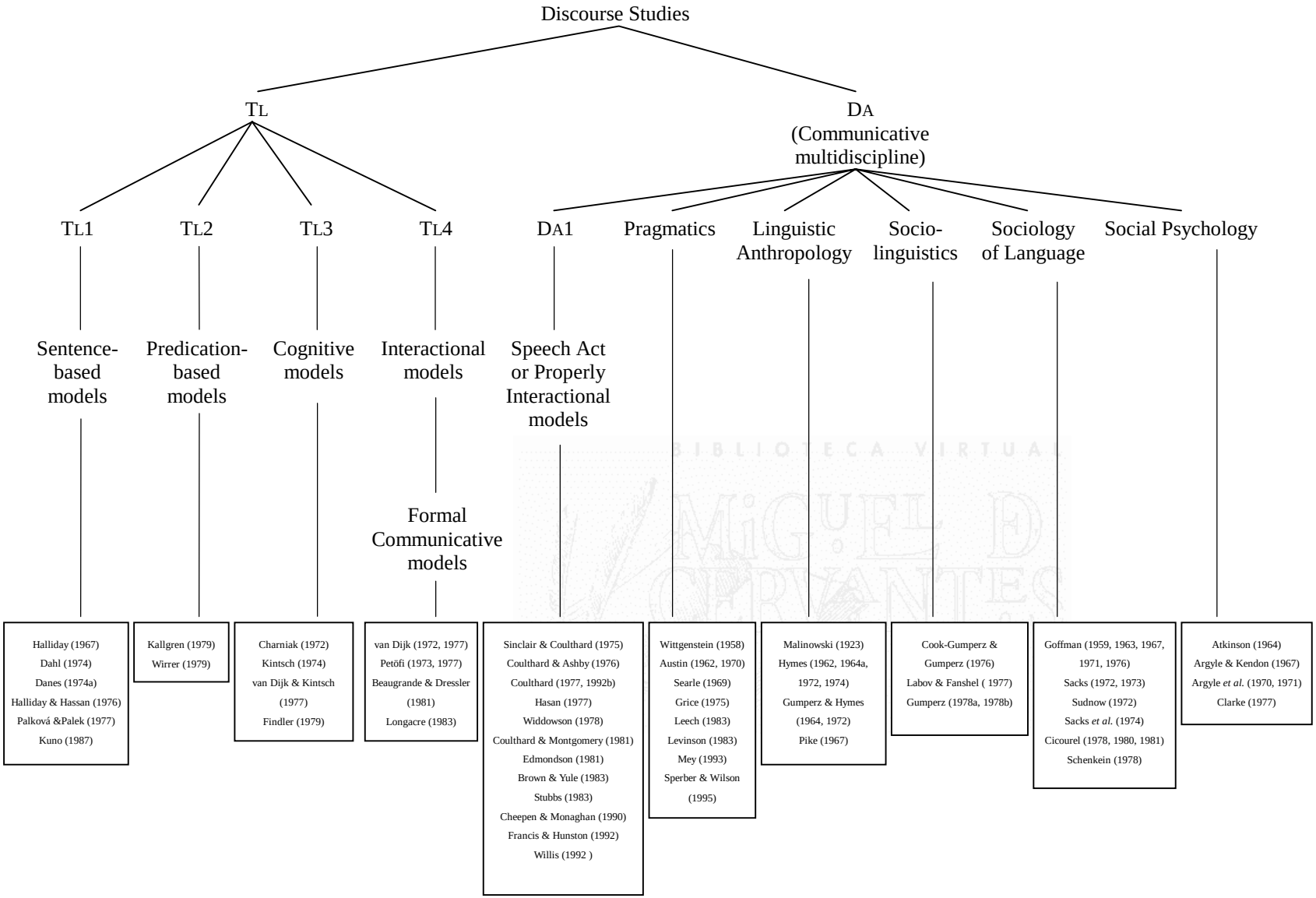


Figure [3]: Discourse Studies



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(1) In the highest node, the general label *Discourse Studies* substitutes 'Discourse Analysis' or 'Textlinguistics'. The labels in figure [2] might be erroneously interpreted as referring indistinctly to the broad field concerned with the study of discourse viewed from any perspective, and to one of its disciplines, either DA or TL. The term Discourse Studies serves then to avoid confusion between areas of study.

(2) It is more simplified: it eliminates within DA those approaches that overlap with others already considered within TL.

(3) *DA* (Discourse Analysis) is defined as a communicative multidisciplinary field of investigation. It is termed communicative because it concentrates on language in use, that is, on language as a real phenomenon, produced in a specific context and with a specific goal in mind, namely, to communicate a message. This communicative aspect of verbal signs in human cooperative processes constitutes the orientation of many research projects not only within DA1 –the Speech Act or Properly Interactional discourse model–, but also within Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, the Sociology of Language, Social Psychology and Pragmatics. Thus, DA integrates several disciplines concerned with the analysis of language in use. The discipline of British origin known as DA1 is just one of them which, as a consequence –and as well as any of the other disciplines mentioned– holds with DA a part-whole relationship.[59]

The fact that *DA* incorporates several disciplines gains it the appellative *multidisciplinary*.[60] Being a multidiscipline is not to say that there is no clear delimitation of boundaries. The idea of a multidiscipline arises from the very object of study: discourse as a real phenomenon analysable from the viewpoint of any of the coordinates in which it is produced. Hence, *DA* comprises the study of the structure and use or function of discourse viewed from a pragmatic, social, ethnic-cultural as well as socio-psychological perspective. This, however, does not deny the unique character of discipline to each of the areas concerned

[59] *Vid*. van Dijk (1985b) for a similar use of the term Discourse Analysis.

[60] The term 'interdisciplinary' is often used with the same meaning.

with the study of one of these coordinates. The disciplines integrated in *DA* are perfectly delimited and there is no doubt as to their boundaries. The fact that, at times, one disciplinary perspective might rely on findings and concepts of other perspectives which focus on other aspects of discourse does not imply the existence of interferences between them.[61]

Although the uniting factor of all these fields is language as manifested in the form of discourse, the attempts to integrate knowledge from different language-related disciplines cannot be considered interdisciplinary. An interdisciplinary approach to language in use requires a serious attempt to integrate knowledge across disciplines with the ultimate aim of arriving at a metatheory capable of providing explanatory solutions. Such an approach, which fully integrates concepts stemming from such diverse disciplines as Textlinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, the Sociology of Language, Social Psychology or Pragmatics on a metatheoretical level, is still a goal to be achieved. Meanwhile, it is more accurate to talk about *Discourse Analysis* as a multidisciplinary field to which language-related disciplines contribute with different ideas, perspectives and findings, but always from the point of view of their own particular theoretical basis. As a multidiscipline, *Discourse Analysis* is a sequence of approaches, not an integrated approach as should be expected from an interdiscipline. This particular nature of *DA* justifies the use of the label *multidiscipline* as against 'interdiscipline' or 'cross-discipline'[62] since the prefix 'multi'- appears to preclude the idea of fuzzy boundaries of an area that serves as a bridge between many others conveyed by the prefixes 'inter'- and 'cross'-.

In view of the multidisciplinary nature of *DA*, the following sections will concentrate on the contributions that each of the disciplines integrated in *DA* have made for a better understanding of language in use.

[61] In complete agreement with Fernández-Pérez (1993), a discipline has always a clear delimitation and cannot, consequently, be an 'intersection' between different areas.

[62] *Vid.* van Dijk (1985b) for the view of DA as a cross-discipline; and Fernández-Pérez (1993) for a discussion of the erroneously applied term 'interdiscipline' to Sociolinguistics.

1.3.3. Disciplines integrating Discourse Analysis as a multidiscipline

The classification of scientific fields of study is based on three major factors: subject matter, methodology and purpose. Variation in the subject matter is an unquestionable proof that a change of discipline is operating. It usually entails a change in methodology and in purpose. By contrast, the opposite does not always hold: a methodological change may only be indicative of different approaches towards the same object of study. Consequently, a change of discipline does not necessarily occur.

Thus, delimiting the boundaries of each of the disciplines concerned with the study of discourse –or language in use– entails narrowing down this broad subject matter in order then to separate a variety of aspects which interact in the constituence of the entire complex of language understood as a real phenomenon, and which will each constitute the object of study of one discipline.

1.3.3.1. Linguistic Anthropology or Ethnolinguistics

Linguistic Anthropology or Ethnolinguistics will be characterised as the discipline studying the ethnic-cultural dimension of linguistic phenomena. It is not limited to the investigation of one particular culture. Rather, it is an extensive field of study comparing and contrasting the norms of speech behaviour across many different cultures.

Much of the interest in context-dependent use of language originated with anthropological studies. For the sake of collecting data for research, anthropologists have been forced to live in primitive communities whose language they usually neither spoke nor understood. At times, for the lack of a translator on hand, anthropologists have had to interpret the meaning of what was going on in a particular communicative situation on the basis of contextual cues. The notion of *context of situation* was first used by Malinowski (1923) to refer to the sociocultural conditions in which speech is produced.

The relevance of the sociocultural context is one of the two key principles that defines discourse from an anthropological perspective. Discourse is constantly related to an

ethnographic context, that is, to a culture. The other defining principle, also original of Malinowski (1923) and in the early stages of investigation considered to be characteristic only of primitive languages, concerns the fact of viewing speech not only as a means of describing the world but also as an instrument of action. This means the introduction of a pragmatic view into the study of speech.[63]

As disciples of Malinowski, Hymes (1962) and Gumperz & Hymes (1964, 1972) advocate an orientation to the Ethnography of Speaking approach, which focuses on the social and cultural organisation in which discourse is immersed. It aims at

> integrating and comparing, across societies, the different levels of linguistic and broader sociocultural knowledge employed by speakers in the construction, use, and interpretation of discourse units in daily social interaction. (Duranti, 1985:198)

Through systematic observation and recording the researcher has to deduce the rules that, Hymes assumes, govern interactional behaviour. These rules refer, among other components, to linguistic expressions, social beliefs, purposes of speech events, norms of interpretation, social identities of participants and the spatiotemporal variable.

Within this approach, the unit of analysis of language use is not linguistic but social, namely, the *communicative event* (*vid*. Hymes, 1964a), which Hymes (1972) later divides into *speech situation* and *speech event*. The unit of real interest to ethnographic research is the speech event, which is that sub-type of human activity in which speech constitutes the interaction itself (*e.g*. a lecture, an interview). By contrast, a speech situation refers to any type of human interaction in which language plays a minor role (*e.g*. buying at the butcher's entails a conversation with him, but the primary goal of this situation is to obtain a certain product). Hymes (1962, 1964a, 1974) proposes the following 16 components in order to define each particular speech event: 1. setting; 2. scene; 3. speaker, or sender; 4. addressor; 5. hearer, or receiver, or audience; 6. addressee; 7. purposes-outcomes; 8. purposes-goals; 9. message form;

[63] "Language functions as a link in concerted human activity, as a piece of human behaviour. It is a mode of action and not an instrument of reflection." (Malinowski, 1923:312)

10. message content; 11. key; 12. channel; 13. forms of speech; 14. norms of interaction; 15. norms of interpretation; and 16. genres.

Without moving out of the American tradition, Tagmemics, as represented by Pike (1967) and later by Longacre (1977, 1983), constitutes a further anthropological approach to discourse study. Tagmemics, in like manner to Ethnography, locates language within human activity. As verbal behaviour is considered to be just one strand of man's activity, Pike (1967) proposes a unified theory that accounts both for verbal as well as non-verbal behaviour. This is possible, he argues, because both aspects of human activity are "fused in single events" and their constituent elements "may at times substitute structurally for one another in function" (*id*.:26). Pike conceives activities as composed of significant major parts. Each of these parts occupies a *functional slot* which can be filled by numerous options all belonging to the same class. The substitutability of verbal options by non-verbal ones in the same slot evinces the fact that verbal as well as non-verbal behaviour display similar structures, which implicates the integration of both types of behaviour into a unified theory of structure.

1.3.3.2. Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics will be characterised neither as a broad domain nor as an interdiscipline[64] but, in a narrow sense, as a discipline pertaining to the broad field of Linguistics and focusing on the study of linguistic phenomena immersed in social coordinates. In other words, Sociolinguistics investigates the social nature of language manifested in its real existence and in its use in different social contexts. The focus falls on the investigation of social variability,

[64] The closely intertwined relationship between linguistic, social and cultural factors is the origin of the blurred demarcation between the fields of Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language. Out of the three, it is Sociolinguistics that has been conceived in the broadest sense to the extent that it has at some times been viewed as including Linguistic Anthropology and the Sociology of Language and at some others as an interdisciplinary field. The non-differentiation between Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology or Ethnolinguistics has been motivated, first, by the tight relationship between society and culture and, secondly, by the fact that certain topics and aspects have been dealt with within both areas as exclusive to each of them. Hymes played a major role in the confusion of these scientific disciplines, considering Sociolinguistics an interdiscipline that includes Hymes' Ethnography of Speaking (*cf*. Hymes, 1974). The change of focus from forms of address and rituals in the early stages of Ethnography toward forms of everyday talk across cultures contributed to underline even more the fuzzy boundaries between Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics.

A further interdisciplinary conception of Sociolinguistics is represented by Svejcer & Nikol'skij (1986), who consider it an area where Sociology and Linguistics join.

which is considered to be an inherent property of linguistic systems and, therefore, to belong to the domain of the grammatical rules. As variability is socially conditioned, its investigation is based on the analysis of the basic sociolinguistic unit, the speech community. Sociolinguists study variables in relation to the linguistic environment in which they occur and in relation to the social factors that constrain their use. For this purpose, investigation proceeds in the following way: first, recording everyday speech of speakers who, selected on the basis of sociological criteria, serve as representatives of a particular group; second, isolating variables at the level of Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics; and third, establishing rules for their distribution, which includes the establishment of patterns of sociolinguistic covariation. The linguistic analysis is supplemented with measurements of social evaluation which rate the characteristics of the speakers in view of the variables established in the analysis.

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Apart from the notions of speech community and variables, the sociolinguistic discipline entails the use of notions such as sociolect, diglossia, bilingualism, and of methodological tools such as scales of implication.

Although the study of variables has primarily been applied to the sentence level, increasing attention is focusing on discourse strategies, that is, on the techniques individuals use to sustain social face-to-face interaction. Due to its success in revealing systematic relations between linguistic and social variability, Sociolinguistics has isolated features of language use in order to determine a relationship between these features and extralinguistic categories such as age, sex, social status and setting. The ultimate aim is to establish potential discourse rules for different social contexts. For this task, Sociolinguistics draws on certain notions and methodological tools used by the Sociology of Language and the Ethnography of speaking, which may lead to an apparent lack of clear delimitation of disciplines. This recourse to common elements is the result of the intertwined relationship between language, society and culture, and of the need in any of the three fields for reconstructing shared social knowledge in order to accomplish their goals.

In order to gain a deeper insight into the type of research on discourse developed within Sociolinguistics, the following lines outline the models developed by two well-known sociolinguists, William Labov and John Gumperz.

Apart from his well-known work on linguistic change based on variable rules reflecting different levels of social stratification (*cf.* Labov, 1963, 1966, 1969; Labov *et al*., 1968), Labov also concentrates on the study of discourse from a sociolinguistic perspective. Labov & Fanshel's (1977) work on therapeutic conversation –or comprehensive discourse analysis– is a clear example. Their analysis consists in collecting all sorts of information that may contribute to an understanding of the production, interpretation and sequencing of particular utterances in therapeutic speech. Their analytical device, *expansion*, serves to go beyond words in order to attain the real underlying meaning. For this purpose, they resort to different levels of information, which range from a surface level –syntactic, propositional and paralinguistic information– to a background level. This broader source offers information concerning the speech act into which the relevant utterance is embedded, as well as sociocultural knowledge of the sort participants' status, social role, family relationship, etc. Thus, the study of discourse rules goes beyond the linguistic and turn-taking structure in order to find in the context the interpretation of discourse features and eventually the answer to how interaction is accomplished.

Labov & Fanshel's model show two main weaknesses. On the one hand, the analytical approach focuses on multiple levels of abstraction which results in a simplification of the complexity of the linkage of different information levels. On the other hand, and in contradiction to one of their main analytical principles, their background data appear to be of a low quality and depth due to a lack of sufficient ethnographic observation.

Gumperz (1978a, 1978b) represents a further model of the study of discourse from a sociolinguistic point of view.[65] In similar fashion to Labov & Fanshel (1977), Gumperz

[65] Despite his collaboration with Hymes in joint social and ethnographic research projects (*cf.* Gumperz & Hymes, 1964,1972), Gumperz is considered to be a sociolinguist and consequently included within Sociolinguistics.

(1978a, 1978b) also attempts to articulate rules for discourse based on the interpretation of contextual cues. *Conversational inference*

> is the 'situated' or context-bound process of interpretation, by means of which participants in a conversation assess others' intentions, and on which they base their responses. (Gumperz, 1978b:1)

Again like Labov & Fanshel (1977), Gumperz' notion of conversational inference is also based on the assumption that individuals must handle several levels of information when they are engaged in a speech event. These levels, Gumperz argues (*cf.* Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1976), are linked by means of a contextualisation process built on the participants' ability to match a linguistic contextualisation cue with propositional content and with extralinguistic cues. The contextualisation cue refers to any feature of the surface structure of utterances –mostly prosodic and paralinguistic– which, when associated with a propositional content, may signal a specific discourse frame. Gumperz goes a step further and proposes the concept of *speech activity* (*e.g.* phoning a friend, cancelling an appointment, discussing the latest news), which is a semantic notion that serves as a guideline in terms of co-occurrence expectations for interpreting a speech situation. Each speech situation is characterised by a series of specific contextualisation cues which, when identified by the participant, trigger off a process of inference of the type of interaction taking place. Making a hypothesis about the type of speech situation allows the participant to expect a set of specific cues which he/she knows are characteristic of that situation. Identifying these cues, therefore, means paying attention to different levels of information simultaneously.

Communicative interaction occurs when contextualisation cues are correctly interpreted by both speaker and listener. Consequently, Gumperz (*id.*) argues that signalling speech activities is culturally specific since it depends on the interactive experience and, ultimately, on the common cultural background knowledge. Consequently, breakdowns in communication produced by misinterpretation of contextualisation cues are likelier to occur between interlocutors of different ethnic groups.

1.3.3.3. The Sociology of Language

As far as the Sociology of Language is concerned, whether it be considered to hold the status of a discipline[66] or to be an area which serves as a means of obtaining knowledge of a sociolinguistic nature,[67] it is concerned with the general principles that account for linguistic behaviour. The reasons for linguistic attitudes and interaction have to be traced to the values functioning within the social networks.

Within the Sociology of Language, the main mode of inquiry into discourse is represented by Ethnomethodology or Conversation Analysis (CA). Two strands of research can be distinguished within CA. One, mainly represented by Harvey Sacks (*cf*. Sacks, 1972, 1973), investigates the way in which interactants produce and recognise sociological descriptions (*e.g*. stories, jokes) within the course of interactive events. The second strand is represented by research on the mechanism of turn taking in conversations (*cf*. Sudnow, 1972; Sacks *et al*., 1974; Schenkein, 1978). For a detailed discussion of CA methodology, *vid.* section 2.1.

In direct opposition to the empiricist research of ethnomethodologists, Goffman (1959, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1976) represents a logical, mentalistic, unsystematic study of the cognitive processing and communicative abilities of interactants.[68] Goffman pays attention both to units of discourse –moves (*vid*. Goffman, 1976) and face engagements (*vid*. Goffman, 1963)– and to the strategies and rituals used by individuals in a communicative situation to frame and transform ongoing discourse. One of the innovative concepts defining the course of discourse

[66] Fishman (1971) views the SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE as an autonomous sociological discipline integrating two approaches, Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language, which are synonymous to a micro- and a macro-analysis, respectively.

[67] *Vid*. Fernández-Pérez (1993).

[68] Goffman's assumptions and formulation of notions are not supported by systematic observation of examples of real data. As a consequence of this lack of empiricism, and as his model refers to American culture, it is difficult to determine whether his theories are part of human competence, and therefore of a universal applicability, or whether they vary cross-culturally.

is the notion of *territories of self* [69] (*vid*. Goffman, 1971). These territories vary in accordance with the changing character of the contextual situation and with the social power exerted by the individual who claims territory. Relinquishing territories of self may generate sequences of discourse known as *face engagements* (*vid*. Goffman, 1963).[70] Goffman focuses on the features of social relations that govern behaviour in public places; in other words, his interest falls on the ritual constraints that determine how an individual should handle a situation without discrediting his and others' claim to reputation. With the principle of reputation in mind, Goffman (1967) formulates the notion of *face*.[71]

A third sociological type of discourse analysis worth mentioning is Cicourel's (1978) cognitive-sociological model. In his view, a comprehensive investigation of discourse requires a broad organisational setting comprising linguistic as well as cognitive and socio-cultural elements. Cicourel (1978, 1980, 1981) advocates an interactive approach to the study of language in society which pays attention to the types of logical reasoning and the cognitive processes that interactants use when processing information during a speech event. Discourse processing entails coping with various levels of information simultaneously, so that a bottom-up or a top-down approach would result inadequate. For example, features belonging to the grammatical level acquire semantic meaning only when processed along with specific contextual elements constituting the relevant speech event. Due to the importance assigned to social structure in the analysis of discourse, Cicourel proposes an ethnographic methodology of data collection because socio-cultural characteristics "can provide organizational information of a conceptual nature that specify constraints for [the] analysis of discourse and textual materials" (Cicourel, 1980:122).

[69] The notion of *territories of self* refers to reserved spaces for which the self claims respect, and which are defended by the claimant by means of specific strategies (*vid*. Goffman, 1971).

[70] *Face engagements* are "all those instances of two or more participants in a simple focus of cognitive and visual attention –what is sensed as *mutual activity* entailing preferential communication rights." (Goffman, 1963:89)

[71] For a discussion of the notion of face *vid*. section 2.5.2.

1.3.3.4. Social Psychology

Yet a further discipline concerned with the binomial language-society is Social Psychology. It is specifically oriented at the investigation of the contact between cognition and the social context.

Throughout the history of Social Psychology the phenomena of perception, thinking, remembering and performing have always been under scrutiny. But it was not until the 70s that these phenomena were looked at from the perspective of man in relation to social interaction. Although Gerth & Mills (1954) had already suggested the importance of the relation of the individual with society, before the 70s Social Psychology was basically reduced to the study of man as an individual, neglecting all contact with people. Moreover, social psychologists adopted a determinist stance and viewed man and his outcomes as the result of outer forces –biological and social– which he could not control. This standpoint changed, at least for some, with Harré & Secord's (1972) argument that "human beings must be treated as agents acting according to rule", and that "social behaviour must be conceived of as actions mediated by meanings" (Harré & Secord, 1972:29). Consequently, the task of Social Psychology changed from early interest in the frequency of categories of utterances and their potential association with role differentiation, and from focus on the count of discourse features with the aim of assessing possible motivational states of individuals and of establishing attitudinal variables (*cf.* Atkinson, 1964), towards finding reasons to explain the nature of the rules governing the sequences that constitute human activity. Like discourse analysts (DA1), social psychologists are also concerned with the establishment of rules. But these rules have a broader field of application since social psychologists look at human activity in general, including verbal as well as non-verbal behaviour.

A special area of attention has been non-verbal communication, more specifically, the identification of structural units and their functions, and the significance of variables such as physical distance and eye contact for the determination of power relationship (*vid.* Argyle *et al.*, 1970) and friendliness between communicants (*cf.* Argyle *et. al.*, 1971). Eye contact has also been analysed as a determining factor for the management of turn taking (*cf.* Argyle &

Kendon, 1967). In order to establish the structural organisation of actions, social psychologists have paid great attention to the goals and the motivation of communicants; in other words, the most important answer social psychologists try to give is why people act as they do. This answer would make it possible to provide a psychological classification of motivations, which constitutes the ultimate aim of this scientific field.

As far as verbal communication is concerned, the main focus falls on the function of language in social behaviour, which entails a hierarchical structural analysis of discourse. Social psychologists concentrate exclusively on face-to-face interaction, mostly on ordinary conversation. This investigation of verbal interaction has partly been encouraged by the proliferation of research on small-group behaviour on the part of sociologists. Like discourse analysts (DA1), social psychologists have tried to explain its structure, dividing it into units which they then attempted to classify, and to formulate the rules for an orderly sequencing of behavioural units (*vid*. Clarke, 1977).

The advances made in Social Psychology in the area of conversation owes much to work done on turn taking by sociologists like Sudnow (1972), Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974), and Schenkein (1978), and also to Grice's (1975) philosophical treatment of general conversational principles. Although research by social psychologists is also descriptive in some part, unlike sociologists and Grice, their aim is to go beyond the *what* and *how* in order to find the reason *why*, for example, people manage turn taking the way sociologists describe it, or why people at times deviate from Grice's conversational principle.

To conclude, a word on methodology. The main method used for acquiring knowledge about social behaviour is critical observation of that behaviour and interviewing participants about their behavioural –verbal or non-verbal– structure in order to elucidate possible categories and sequencing rules. In Robinson's (1985) words,

> social psychologists have to analyze the evaluative judgments made by people and discover the bases and rationale for these. For any text in any genre social psychologists are obliged to examine human evaluations of its perceived functional efficacy, including individual and socially based differences in those judgments. (Robinson, 1985:122-3)

This type of sampling is then complemented with systematic experimental testing of hypotheses.

1.3.3.5. Pragmatics

Most of the traditional definitions of Pragmatics have somehow been inspired in Morris' minimalist (*vid*. Morris, 1938) and maximalist (*vid*. Morris, 1946) conceptions of the field.[72] As a consequence, the term has basically been identified with two uses: on the one hand, in a broad scope the term refers to a discipline investigating aspects of sign systems as diverse as psychological, biological or sociological; on the other, in a progressively narrower scope, the term may refer to a discipline which investigates either (a) aspects of language that require reference to the user of the language (*cf*. Carnap, 1942), (b) the disambiguation of sentences by the contexts in which they occur (*cf*. Katz & Fodor, 1963), or (c) indexicals (*cf*. Montague, 1968).

In order to overcome the traditional problem of demarcation for Pragmatics against Semantics[73] it is imperative to conceive Semantics in a narrow sense, *i.e*., as a functional and

[72] Together with Syntax and Semantics, the early minimalist view on Pragmatics proposed by Morris (1938) conceived the field as one of the three dimensions integrating Semiotics. Morris conceived language as a social system of signs whose use is determined by syntactical, semantical as well as pragmatical rules. The pragmatical rules represent the conditions by means of which a sign implicates an object or a state of affairs. At a later stage, Morris (1946) expands the scope of Pragmatics as far as to consider it the integral basis of an overall theory of signs. According to this maximalist conception, Pragmatics no longer corresponds to an objective dimension of semiosis, for semiosis is now viewed as a homogeneous phenomenon.

[73] According to a traditional strict division, Semantics is viewed as the science concerned only with truth conditions (*vid*. Lewis, 1972) and Pragmatics as the study of meaning minus truth conditions (*vid*. Gazdar, 1979). As a way of overcoming this strict dichotomy imposed on the study of meaning, Leech (1983) basically distinguished three positions known as *semanticism*, *pragmaticism* and *complementarism*. Semanticism and pragmaticism result from an attempt on the part of semanticists and pragmaticians to incorporate into their fields aspects of study which in a strict sense fell under the domain of Pragmatics and Semantics, respectively. For example, the argument for the *performative hypothesis* (*vid*. Ross, 1970) was accounted for by generative semanticists by incorporating a pragmatic perspective to their field. Thus, Pragmatics came to be subsumed under Semantics. The opposite stance –Semantics subsumed under Pragmatics– was held by philosophers, such as Wittgenstein (1958), Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), who conceived the study of meaning primarily under the paradigm of a speech act theory, for pragmaticians are more interested in why language users say something than whether what they say is true or false. Finally, the complementarist solution pioneered by Leech (1983) considers Pragmatics and Semantics two complementary and interrelated fields of study. This "pragmatic eclecticism" (Mey, 1993:45) prevents unfortunate indulging into the strict borderlines of either field, all the more as

structural investigation of the content of linguistic signs, that is, as the systematic description of only indispensable content features common to all languages for representing reality. Understood in this way, Semantics pertains to the domain of the representative function of language and has linguistic meaning or signification as its only object of study. For its part, Pragmatics belongs to the domain of language in use, investigating both how contextual features are encoded in language and how extra meaning –in a broad sense– is conveyed through those principles of language use and understanding (*e.g*. conversational implicatures, illocutionary force, presuppositions) which are not encoded in utterances. This definition entails a theory of the user and of the importance of the nature of context, two key components of any communicative theory.[74]

Within the domain of Pragmatics, human language uses are determined by the context created in communicative interaction (*social context* in Mey's (1993) terminology), that is, in

> the sustained production of chains of mutually-dependent acts, constructed by two or more agents each monitoring and building on the actions of the other. (Levinson, 1983:44)

As far as the "component or perspective" dichotomy is concerned (Mey, 1993:45), it goes without saying that Pragmatics is here conceived as a component of the language system on a par with Phonology, Syntax, Semantics, Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics, etc. Its specific object of study and fixed boundaries wins it the status of a discipline in its own right. The often used label of 'wastebasket'[75] to refer to Pragmatics does consequently not hold.

"pragmatics [is] apparently [...] in a steady evolutionary flux and boundary markers, once placed, will have to be moved constantly anyway" (Mey, 1993:43; brackets are mine).

[74] For a detailed discussion of the delimitation of Pragmatics *vs*. Semantics *vid*. Rama-Martínez (1996). *Vid*. also Levinson (1983) for a detailed discussion of the limitations of different definitions of Pragmatics.

[75] The notion of wastebasket was first applied by Bar-Hillel (1971) to define the position of Semantics in relation to Syntax. Syntacticians considered Semantics their wastebasket for they were only interested in form, not in content. Ironically the same notion was later taken up by semanticists, more specifically by generative semanticists, to refer to Pragmatics as the wastebasket into which certain problems (*e.g*. presuppositions, assumptions guiding language understanding, extra-linguistic factors governing linguistic rules) were thrown whenever they could not be explained on purely linguistic grounds.

In order to further delineate the nature of Pragmatics, it is worth distinguishing between two perspectives: *Universal Pragmatics* and *Empirical Pragmatics*. The former is a general study comprising two levels: (a) the general conditions which frame communication and linguistic performance;[76] and (b) *empirical universals* (*vid*. Coseriu, 1974) or language universals which can empirically be observed to occur as a general rule. To level (a) pertains Mey's (1993) *Metapragmatics* and Leech's (1983) *General Pragmatics*.

And as far as *Empirical Pragmatics*[77] is concerned, this area focuses on the systematic description and interpretation of linguistic interaction ranging from isolated speech acts (*e.g*. illocutionary acts, perlocutionary acts, indirect speech acts) to complex communicative situations, but these always in relation to individual languages, societies or cultures.[78]

The important influence exercised by philosophers of language like John Austin, Herbert Grice, John Searle or Ludwig Wittgenstein on the notional constitution of what came to be the basis of Pragmatics makes it imperative to devote a word of explanation to these theories.

Wittgenstein's (1958) insistence that the meaning of a word is its use in the language, and that language is not only used to describe the world but is a means of acting (*language-games*), stimulated the rise of Speech Act Theory developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Austin (1962) was the first to elaborate a theory of linguistic actions, that is, of how

[76] This level includes *essential universals* (*vid*. Coseriu, 1974), which necessarily belong to the notion of language, such as the idea of speech as action, the dialogic structure of production and understanding, the elements integrating a communicative event (*e.g.* interlocutors, time, space, intention of speaker, background knowledge, etc.), or deixis understood in a general sense.

[77] Mey's (1993) *Micro-Macropragmatics* division cuts, to some extent, across our *Empirical Pragmatics*. It is not so much the nature of the study −general *vs*. specific− as the units of analysis that justify his division, namely isolated utterances or sentences and speech acts for *Micropragmatics*, and larger units of language use like conversations for *Macropragmatics*.

[78] To differentiate a detailed language-specific study from a culture-specific one, Leech (1983) proposes the terms *Pragmalinguistics* and *Socio-Pragmatics*, respectively. The former is more related to Grammar, whereas the latter is closer to Sociology (*e.g.* most of CA work).

we do things with words. For this purpose, he opposed descriptive sentences (or *constatatives*), which contain a proposition of truth or falsity, to *performatives*, of which it is not possible to say whether or not they are true because their function is to carry out an action by linguistic means, that is, by uttering words. Rather than true or false, these expressions can be said to be *felicitous* or *infelicitous* according to their successful or unsuccessful completion of certain conditions known as *felicity conditions*.

Austin (1970) abandons the dichotomy constative *vs*. performative conceding that there is no such thing as a descriptive sentence because in the end all speech is action. Following this line of argumentation he proposes that every speech act consists of three planes: the *locutionary act* or the fact that something is said, the *illocutionary act*, *i.e*., the act that is performed when something is said, and the *perlocutionary act* or effect that a locutionary act has upon the listener(s).

Searle (1969) constitutes the most detailed and systematic account of a speech act theory. The main aspects in which his theory differs from Austin's (1970) can be summarised in the following three points:

(1) Unlike Austin's (1970) classification, Searle distinguishes the following three planes in a speech act: (1) *act of emission*, *i.e*., the production of words; (2) *propositional act*, that is, reference and predication; and (3) *illocutionary act* (*e.g*. to affirm, ask, order, promise, etc.). To these he also adds Austin's *perlocutionary act*.

(2) Searle criticises Austin for not distinguishing speech acts from speech act verbs. The former may occur without the latter, but Austin makes the existence of speech acts dependent on the existence of speech act verbs. As a consequence, the classification of speech acts proposed by one and the other philosopher also varies. Whereas Austin distinguishes *verdictives*, *exercitives*, *commissives*, *behabitives* and *expositives*, Searle recognises *representatives*, *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives* and *declaratives*.

And (3), Searle proposes a set of five rules to render a speech act successful. These are the *propositional content rule*, two *preparatory rules*, the *sincerity rule* and the *essential rule*, which contains the undertaking of the speech act in question.

The importance of Grice's (1975) contribution to an understanding of language use lies in his theory of *implicature* derivable from the *Cooperative Principle*, a principle that establishes the guidelines on which an efficient and effective use of language is based. For a detailed discussion *vid*. section 2.5.1.

Finally, even this intentionally brief overview of landmarks in pragmatic studies would be incomplete without a reference to Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson's (1995) work on relevance theory. They elaborate a profound study of the notion of relevance, a maxim first introduced by Grice (*id*.), making it the key element to successful communication. The work systematises in a novel and thorough way the conditions of communication and the cognitive strategies associated to it. Its importance is comparable to Austin's and Grice's works in their days in that it has inspired further pragmatic-communicative studies that expound and evaluate the main ideas of the theory.

1.3.4. Communication Studies

To conclude the exposition on disciplines integrated into *Discourse Analysis* it is necessary to make a caveat. In the enumeration of disciplines mentioned one may notice the absence of the semiological field known as *Communication Studies*, within which *Mass Communication Research* occupies a central area. Its absence is not due to oblivion but rather to its dubious status as a discipline. The area of Mass Communication Research primarily emerged within the social sciences, such as Politics, Semiotics and Sociology. It then extended to disciplines of Humanities as diverse as Rhetorics, Socio-Psychology, Stylistics, Textlinguistics or Discourse Analysis. Each of these disciplines approaches aspects of mass media communication depending, essentially, on the parameters of communication which are their own specific object of study. Thus, for example, Politics and Sociology focus essentially on macro-phenomena such as audience, institutions or functions of media in society. Socio-

Psychology for its part concentrates on the psychological effects of media on society. Textlinguistics and Discourse Analysis scrutinise the textual and discourse organisation of messages. In brief, it has been theorised about media analysis in a number of different fields which have in common that they approach language as a means of establishing, maintaining and arbitrating social relationships. But, this is not tantamount to arguing that there is a distinct, self-contained and unified theory underlying Mass Communication Research that confers it the status of a discipline. Mass media communication is, in my opinion, comparable to discourse not only in that it is an instance of language in use, but also inasmuch as it constitutes an object of study of a multidisciplinary area of research.

1.3.5. The notion of context

So far, the term 'context' has been appearing all through the discussion of each discourse-related discipline without much specification as to its exact nature. Because the notion is not homogeneous and varies across scholars as well as across approaches, it is necessary to determine how it will be understood for the purpose of this investigation.

Despite the variety of classifications of contexts proposed, it is possible to summarise them into three: the *co-text*, or purely linguistic units ranging from the sentence to the entire text surrounding the utterance in question. This type of context is related primarily to a textual approach to language.[79] The *actional context*, that is, the cooperative production of chains of mutually-dependent acts by the participants of the speech event, which is the focus of Speech Act Theory. In contrast to the co-text, the actional context is dynamic, that is to say, it is an environment in constant development prompted by the interaction of the language users.[80] And, finally, the *context of situation* understood in an broad sense as the notion referring to

[79] One of the earliest uses of the notion of *linguistic context* or co-text corresponds to Urban (1939).

[80] The notion *actional context* was proposed by Parret *et al.* (1980) in order to refer to simple or complex actions oriented towards a change. This notion was proposed together with the *presupposed context* (*id.*), which comprises reality, the world, states of affairs, individuals and qualities. In a later work, Parret (1983) abandons the early division in favour of five types of contexts which he views as the basis of as many other types of Pragmatics: *co-text*, *existential context*, *situational context*, *actional context* and *psychological context*.

Cf. Mey (1993) for a similar view of context as a dynamic element.

background information of whatever nature –primarily social and cultural– that is necessary to make a speech event meaningful within a specific speech community.[81]

However, for the purpose of the present study, only two types of context will be dealt with, namely, the *co-text*, used in the sense just explained, and the *context*. The latter will encompass the actional context and the context of situation. As the study of discourse is approached from a multidisciplinary perspective, the elements determining comprehension of language in use should also range from the immediate factors defining the individual speech act to the larger event within which the single acts are embedded. Thus, context comprises information concerning (a) the interactants –their social status and role in the interaction–, (b) the physical setting, including time and space, (c) channel, (d) message-form, (e) register, (f) purpose of the encounter, (g) event in which the interactants are engaged, (h) communicative conventions, and (i) beliefs, myths, and needs typical of their cultural community. In brief, any type of background information that contributes to an understanding of a linguistic interaction.

1.4. Aim of the study

The present investigation will be centred on the study of genre as a social process, that is, on the sociocultural factors that generate action. In this sense, genre is not only a schema or frame for action identified by purely formal characteristics but, more importantly, it also includes interpersonal relationships as manifested in turn taking. Using primarily an ethnomethodological perspective, I shall be underlining the sociolinguistic nature of genre analysis, that is, genre as interaction between individuals who contract social relations in a particular setting with the aim of achieving a specific purpose, and who conform to the more or less conventionalised structure of the occasion which, in turn, is determined by the function and goal(s) of the encounter.

[81] The *context of situation* was first introduced by Malinowski (1923) to refer to the environment and culture in which a linguistic expression is produced, for an ethnographic approach to language requires the interpretation of the meaning of messages through the conditions of the moment and situation and, on a larger scale, through the characteristics of the culture in question. *Cf.* Urban (1939) for the same conception of context of situation but referred to as *vital context*.

The attempt is to provide an explanation of sociocultural, institutional and organisational constraints that determine the nature of the genres studied. Focus is on the conventionalised regularities in the organisation of the communicative events with the aim of establishing correlations between the form of interaction and its function. The discussion of sociocultural factors is selective because I am not writing as a sociologist or cultural analyst, but as a discourse analyst with an interest in these factors inasmuch as they contribute to shaping the television genres of the political interview, the talk show interview and the audience debate.

Interest in televised interaction has so far centred on news interviews, a genre on which an important number of studies have proliferated (*vid*. Heritage, 1985, forthcoming; Greatbatch, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1992; Jucker, 1986; Clayman, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1993; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Heritage & Roth, 1995). By contrast, little attention has been paid to the examination of political interviews (but *vid*. Blum-Kulka, 1983; Harris, 1986, 1991; Beattie, 1989; Bull & Mayer, 1989) and of talk show interviews (but *vid*. Tolson, 1991; Gregori-Signes, 1998). As for the genre of the audience debate, it has been approached from the area of Mass Communication Research, focusing particularly on the analysis of participants' experience and viewers' reactions to the genre, as well as on its educational and informative function (*vid.* Robinson, 1982; Livingstone & Lunt, 1994; Shattuc, 1997). Any interactional approach to the genre has so far been neglected (but *vid*. Thornborrow, 1997).

Therefore, the aim of this study is to account for the interactional processes that embody these three televised speech events with the purpose of establishing generic similarities and differences. Because the speech event that constitutes each genre is primarily constituted through the management of turn taking, it is on this structuring device that the investigation will focus. The objective is to show the ways in which the properties of turn taking in three different broadcast genres are involved in the constitution of the speech interaction they organise. In doing so, I purport to contrast the ways by which the characteristic features of the organisation of talk in each event are implicated in the

recognition of the institutional behaviour of each genre. Hereby I seek to demonstrate that the turn-taking system constitutes a mechanism for dealing with the main tasks, goals and constraints of each of the three genres.

In the following discussion I attempt to show (1) that the three types of televised genres under scrutiny are organised mainly through a distinctive management of turns at talk; (2) that participants orient to that turn-taking system; (3) that the distinctive turn-taking procedures represent institutional resources for dealing with specific tasks, goals and constraints inherent in the nature of the genres; and, most importantly, (4) that the generic constraints of each speech event determine differences in the turn-taking procedures and, consequently, in the entire interactional behaviour of the participants to the event. Because the turn-taking system will be treated as the main organising mechanism of the speech events, it is through this system that the footing towards the audience will be traced.

The analysis of the turn-taking system will mainly be approached from the perspective of the breaches of the system. In other words, the interruptive process will be analysed in detail in order to delve into the reasons and solutions for the turn-taking problems that arise in each of the broadcast genres. In this sense, the analysis tries to test out what I shall refer to as the *confrontation or conflict hypothesis*. It is predicted that the frequency of obstructive turn switches increases in situations of challenge or confrontation. As a consequence, genres of an inherently conflictive nature, such as political interviews and debates, should differ in the turn-taking behaviour of their participants from genres of an inherently non-conflictive nature, such as talk show interviews. Thus, the IR's active challenging task in political interviews is likely to determine a particular interruptive behaviour distinct from the obstructive behaviour displayed by IRs in talk show interviews. This difference in the turn-taking behaviour is expected to be primarily manifested in the frequency and general characteristics of intrusive speaker changes. IRs in political interviews are hypothesised to display a stronger interruptive behaviour than IEs due to the challenging task accorded to their discourse role. By contrast, the noticeably interpersonal goal of talk show interviews determines its inherently non-conflictive nature, which

influences the IR's approach towards the interviewing task and, as a consequence, should be manifested *via* a fairly different turn-obstructing behaviour. As to debates, the controversial nature of the genre should in principle render a turn-taking behaviour more akin to political interviews than to talk show interviews. In sum, it is predictable that conflict, which is related to the goal of the event, determines the nature of the interruptive process.

Apart from the interruptive process, the organisation of talk-in-interaction will be viewed from the perspective of the activities enacted by participants in turns and the formats through which these actions are done. More specifically, analysis will be centred on the activities of opening the encounters and accomplishing their closings.

For the purpose of the generic analysis proposed in this study I will draw on the achievements obtained mainly in the fields of Sociology –more specifically in Conversation Analysis–, DA1 and Pragmatics. Contributions from other disciplines such as Textlinguistics, Ethnography, Sociolinguistics, Social Psychology and Communication Studies will also be taken into account in order to describe and explain the rationale of the broadcast genres selected.

1.5. Outline of the discussion

This study is organised into six major sections including the introduction (chapter 1) and the conclusion (chapter 6). Chapter 2 offers a fairly extensive description of the methodology applied for the study. The chapter starts with a review of the origins of and methods applied in Conversation Analysis, for it is this approach that has mainly been adopted as the framework for the present study. However, due to the limitations of the CA approach for rendering an altogether complete description of the conversational organisation, I have also resorted to the methodology applied by scholars of the Birmingham School. Thus, section 2.2 deals with the units that constitute the hierarchical structure into which spoken interaction is organised. Linking the discussion again with the CA framework, more specifically with turn taking, section 2.3 describes the turn-taking system as it occurs within the genre of the news

interview, the most fully described broadcast genre from an interactional perspective. A relatively complete presentation of the turn-taking system of news interviews is, in my view, necessary in order to serve later in the discussion as a reference point with which to contrast the turn-taking system of the three broadcast genres analysed here, especially that of political interviews. Because the turn-taking system will be analysed from the perspective of the breaches of the system, section 2.4 discusses the notion of interruption extensively and provides a classification of interruptive categories. The need to account for the interactional behaviour in pragmatic terms justifies the survey of the Cooperative Principle, the notion of face and politeness strategies provided in section 2.5. Section 2.6 explains how CA methodology will be applied to the data investigated and, finally, section 2.6 deals with the data collection, transcription and design of an interruption database.

Chapter 3 investigates the opening structure of the genres. Starting with a general overview of how openings are accomplished in ordinary conversations and in news interviews (section 3.1), the discussion proceeds to look first into the opening structure of political interviews (section 3.2), then of talk show interviews (section 3.3) and finally of debates (section 3.4). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the genre-specific imprints left on the opening sections (section 3.5). Chapter 4 presents a relatively thorough contrastive analysis of the interruptive process as manifested in the three televised genres. The material is analysed with respect to all the parameters that are necessary to render a detailed account of the process, namely categories, participants, degree of complexity of interruptions, position, floor-security, reaction of participants, IR intervention, turn-resumption techniques, insertion of interrupter's message into interruptee's turn, thematic perspective of interruptions, their degree of relevance and the type of relevant information provided. Each parameter is dealt with in an individual section. Chapter 5 deals with the closing section of the genres. After a review of the closing activity in news interviews and in ordinary conversations (section 5.1), the description of the organisation of the closing phase proceeds in the same order as in chapter 3, that is, first investigating political interviews (section 5.2), then talk show interviews (section 5.3), and finally debates (section 5.4). Again, the final section is devoted to the genre-specific imprints

manifested in the closing sections of the televised events. To finish, chapter 6 provides the summary and conclusions of the present study.

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CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1. Conversation Analysis

2.1.1. Introduction

Conversation Analysis (CA) is an approach to discourse derived from Ethnomethodology, an area within Sociology initiated by Harold Garfinkel. CA was initially applied only to conversation, most notably by its founders Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (*vid*., among others, Sacks, 1967-1972; Schegloff, 1972a, 1972b, 1979; Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks *et al*., 1974; Schegloff *et al*., 1977; Schenkein, 1978; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Later it would be applied to speech produced in a large variety of different institutional settings, such as classrooms (*vid*. McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979), courts (*vid.* Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Maynard, 1984; Drew, 1985; Atkinson, 1992), broadcasting (*vid*. Heritage, 1985, forthcoming; Greatbatch, 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1992; Harris, 1986, 1991; Clayman, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1993; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Heritage & Roth, 1995), surgeries (*vid*. Heath, 1981, 1984; West, 1984), police stations (*vid*. Watson, 1985), and so on.

CA seeks to discover the methods by which individuals make sense of social order, thus standing out from other branches of Sociology that study social order *per se*. More specifically, CA looks at the way(s) participants in an intelligible conversation construct systematic solutions to organisational problems of talk. This interest in the methodology used by individuals in conversation is part of its ethnomethodological heritage.

The term *Ethnomethodology* was used by Garfinkel (1967)

> to refer to the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life. (Garfinkel, 1967:11)

As the quote indicates, a central concern of Ethnomethodology is the explication of the knowledge that members of a society have of their everyday, organised affairs. This meaning is conveyed by the first part of the name of the area, 'ethno'. The second part of the name, 'methodology', hints at the importance of the approach used to arrive at that knowledge.

Ethnomethodology insists on the need for more systematic empirical research into basic cognitive processes in order to determine how the participants perceive the actions that take place. In so doing, Ethnomethodology concentrates on the interpretive processes –verbal or nonverbal– that underlie those actions. The term 'methodology' refers not only to how the study is done, but also to a primary part of the study itself, namely the tools used by the participants in a particular context to arrive, through interpretation of what they hear, at the knowledge of the actions.

Related to the role of methodology, Garfinkel (*ibid*.) holds that the accountability of everyday life is an "ongoing accomplishment", thus concentrating the focus of social research on the investigation of the modes of reasoning that lead to social order. The primary goal is to share norms of interpretation that help account for actions; in other words, to recognise and make recognisable to co-participants that behavioural elements directed towards them are coherent with the current action.

The quotation also refers to the crucial role that context –here indicated by the terms 'indexical' and 'ongoing'– plays in the interpretation of expressions in practical actions of everyday life. Knowledge is not decontextualised. Rather, social order is sought in the course of everyday affairs and displayed through ongoing activity. As a consequence, knowledge is linked to action, and hence to context. Knowledge is both part of the context and framework for the production of further social actions.[82]

From this ethnomethodological characteristic derives CA's emphasis on context. Utterances are contextually located both in social relations and with reference to other utterances. A speaker's utterance is *context-shaped* (*vid*. Heritage, 1984a), for it is by reference to prior utterances that it can be understood, and *context-renewing* (*id*.), that is, it

[82] The spirit of Ethnomethodology coincides with that of the Ethnography of Communication in three basic points: their concern for the discovery of the problems that speaking entails; that the analysis starts within the speech event itself; and that the participants to the speech event use specific strategies for dealing with the situation. The main difference lies in their approach towards knowledge. Whereas Ethnomethodology concentrates on the interpretive processes of knowledge, the Ethnography of Communication deals with members' knowledge through folk categories.

provides the context for a next utterance. Thus, the context of a next utterance is constantly renewed with every current utterance. CA concentrates most intensively on the contextual relevance that utterances have for one another. In an attempt to avoid premature theory construction based on parameters of social context (for example, setting, social identities of individuals, their occupations), the context formed by social relations is paid little attention in favour of the particular sequence of communicative actions. In other words, context is primarily the saying and doing.

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A further CA characteristic whose origin can be traced to Ethnomethodology is its distrust of *a priori* generalisations. Unlike many social sciences which tend to produce general categories without sufficient empirical support, CA concentrates on the analysis of conversation as a means of getting a grip on the raw material of everyday spoken interaction, thus avoiding idealisations. This neglect of idealisations, typical of Ethnomethodology, led conversation analysts to focus on the analysis of tape-recorded conversations that provide detailed information of naturally occurring speech interactions. Information thus gathered is the result exclusively of recording, transcribing, and analysing conversations. Conversation analysts avoid making generalisations about individuals' knowledge of a specific speech event. Rather, information about this knowledge is obtained from the participants' behaviour in a specific situation. And for this purpose no detail is dismissed, no matter how irrelevant or insignificant it might appear to be, because it is the strong organisation of concrete structural details of interaction that allows a formal description of the event.

The preference for data recorded from naturally occurring everyday interaction over other research methodologies is attributable to one basic advantage. CA methodology avoids data contamination as occurs, to varying degrees, in researchers' interviews, in field notes obtained through observation, in intuitions for inventing examples of interactional conduct which lead to typification of social behaviour, or in the none-too-persuasive technique of recollection, all of which unavoidably lose specific details of the actual situated event (*vid*. Heritage, 1984a). Further advantages of using tape-recorded data are the possibilities of

studying the data again and again, of making it available to other researchers, and of reusing it for other researches.

Apart from these ethnomethodological imprints, CA has specific characteristics. Heritage (1984) summarises the basic perspective of CA in three fundamental assumptions:

> (1) interaction is structurally organized; (2) contributions to interaction are contextually oriented; and (3) these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant. (Heritage, 1984:241)

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Since the latter two assumptions have already been discussed above as the result of ethnomethodological traces, attention will now be paid to the first assumption.

CA views participants' sayings and doings as the main source from which analysis must develop. Participants bring to a social situation a knowledge of the organisation of that particular event which influences their behaviour. As a consequence, their behaviour should display patterns of conduct that could lead to formulation of principles of behaviour. Since the sense of order is manifested through ongoing activity, it is in the analysis of that activity that a knowledge of the underlying order and structure can be obtained. Besides, knowledge thus obtained constitutes powerful empirical evidence for hypotheses.

2.1.2. Turn-taking in everyday conversation

Conversation analysts base the accomplishment of a speech exchange on a series of principles known as the *turn-taking system*. First used by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974), this label refers to a model which comprises the most relevant aspects of the organisation of talk between parties. The model is based on what is considered to be the most basic system of spoken interaction, namely conversation.[83] The characteristics of the locally managed system of conversational interaction serve as a reference point in relation to which later evaluate the

[83] The term 'conversation' is here used as referring, restrictively, to informal, everyday spoken interaction between, at least, two participants, outside specific institutional settings.

variations of the turn-taking principles of broadcast speech events.[84] Sacks *et al*. (1974:730-1) propose that specific speech exchange systems should be viewed as transformations of everyday ordinary conversations. And also that their model, based on speech produced by white, middle-class Americans, is valid cross-culturally.[85] It is precisely variability of the proposed principles across speech exchange systems and across cultures that constitutes the main problems which Sacks *et al*.'s model has to face. A means of overcoming the limitation of considering the turn-taking system of, for example, a tutorial, an interview or a ceremony a transformation of conversation's turn-taking system is not to read it as conceding a superior status to conversation only because it is context-free. Talk is a contextual phenomenon whose features vary according to the circumstances of the participants, and as such it has also a turn-taking system in its own right which varies for each speech encounter.

The turn-taking model proposed by Sacks *et al*. (*id*.) accounts for the following features examined in conversations (*id*.:10-1):

1. Speaker change recurs, or at least, occurs.
2. Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
3. Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief.
4. Transitions from one turn to a next with no gap and no overlap between them are common.
5. Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
6. Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
7. Length of conversation is not fixed.
8. What parties say is not fixed.
9. Relative distribution of turns is not fixed.
10. Number of parties can change.
11. Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.

[84] It is not infrequent to find the term 'rules' in relation to the turn-taking system (*cf*. Sacks *et al*., 1974). However, for the sake of accuracy, it is advisable to use the term 'principles' when dealing with aspects of pragmatic interest. Leech (1983) clearly delimits rules and principles in the following terms (*vid*. Leech, 1983:21-30 for a more detailed explanation):

- Rules pertain to the domain of Grammar; principles pertain to Pragmatics.
- Rules are conventional, formal and categorial. They are similar to 'laws' in the physical sciences. Principles are motivated in terms of conversational goals; they apply variably to different contexts of language use and in variable degree. They can also conflict with one another. They are, therefore, non-conventional, functional and non-categorial.
- Breaking a grammatical rule means a failure in some aspect to speak English, whereas violation of a principle does not have this implication.

[85] *Vid*. Phillips (1976) for evidence to the contrary.

12. Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used.
13. Various "turn-constructional units" are employed.
14. Repair mechanisms for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations are obviously available for use.

The turn-taking system for conversation is described in terms of a turn-constructional component, a turn-allocational component and a set of rules.[86] The basis of any conversation is alternating turns at talk between parties. What a speaker says every time he/she takes control of the 'floor' until another speaker talks constitutes a *turn*. A turn may be composed of one *utterance*[87] or more, and can be identified linguistically by its, primarily, syntactical features. It may correspond to a sentential, clausal, phrasal, or lexical construction. At times a turn may consist of one single particle only; at some other times it may comprise several syntactic units. It can therefore be described as a functional unit rather than as a syntactic one. The completion of one turn component constitutes a point at which speakers may, but need not, change turn; this point is known as a *transition-relevance place* (TRP).

As regards the system by which turns are distributed, the turn-allocational component consists of two groups of techniques: (a) current speaker allocates next turn by selecting next speaker; and, (b) next turn is allocated by self-selection. These turn-allocational techniques play an important part in the rules that govern transfer of speakership at a TRP. Using Sacks *et al.*'s (1974:13) words, at an initial turn unit's TRP the following rules apply:

> (a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the party so selected has rights, and is obliged, to take next turn to speak, and no others have such rights or obligations, transfer occurring at that place.
> (b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted, with first starter acquiring rights to a turn, transfer occurring at that place.

[86] Despite the advocacy made above of the use of the term 'principles' instead of the term 'rules', nevertheless, for the sake of fidelity to the original text, the term 'rules' will be kept when describing the turn-taking system as proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974).

[87] In the present research, *utterance* is used to refer to "the issuance of a sentence, a sentence-analogue, or sentence fragment, in an actual context" (Levinson, 1983:18).

A different meaning attached to utterance is the one used in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) where utterance is a synonym of turn.

> (c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then current speaker may, but need not, continue, unless another self-selects.
>
> If, at initial turn-constructional unit's initial transition-relevance place, neither (a) nor (b) has operated, and, following the provision of (c), current speaker has continued, then the Rule-set (a)-(c) reapplies at next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected.

This "local management system" (Levinson, 1983:297), which works on a turn-by-turn basis, constitutes a means to an orderly transition from one speaker to another. It is a set of essential principles in verbal communication which are founded on a joint effort between participants. On the one hand, it entails an orientation on the part of the current speaker towards his/her listener(s) with whom he/she is verbally communicating. On the other hand, it requires careful listening on the part of the interlocutor(s) in order to process the speaker's utterances and, consequently, to co-operate in speaker change. Attentive listening permits a would-be speaker both to predict accurately the end of the current speaker's turn unit at which he/she may take the floor, and, in case of turn allocation by current speaker, to know whether he/she or some other co-participant is being selected.

Though the turn-taking system appears to provide a means to precise timing of speaker transfer, sometimes the end of turn units are misprojected, and consequently two or more participants speak at the same time. Their turns are said to *overlap*. Also a possible source of overlap is competition by self-selectors for a next turn. In any case, overlaps tend to be brief for the sake of both politeness and understanding. In case of misprojection, the potential speaker tends to let the current speaker finish his/her turn. In case of competition for a next turn the easiest way to resolve the overlap is for one willing speaker to drop out. Yet a further repair mechanism available to resolve turn-taking errors or violations is the use of interruptions or stutter starts.

In relation to the distinction between *continuous* and *discontinuous* talk, overlaps, though the result of miscalculation of speaker transfer, pertain to the former type, because they continue talk across a TRP. Discontinuous talk results when a silence is produced at a TRP after the current speaker has stopped talking. This silence may be a *gap* or a *lapse* depending

on whether it occurs before applying rules (b) or (c), or on the non-application of all three rules. Consequently, a lapse can be viewed as a prolonged gap.[88]

Turn order, turn size, turn-constructional units and distribution of turns are variable features also accounted for by the turn-taking system. The fact that the system allocates a single turn at a time and that it provides for different potential next speakers justifies the variety of turn order. For its part, turn size depends on the choice made by the speaker among the range of possible units that may constitute a turn. As far as distribution of turns is concerned, rules (a) to (c) set out above provide for any potential next speaker.

As mentioned earlier, there are two techniques to select next speaker: current speaker selecting next and self-selection. The most straightforward mechanism for a current speaker to select next speaker is by addressing a question to him/her. This type of utterance constrains the listener to answer, whereas simply addressing a party does not necessarily select the addressee as next speaker. Self-selection, for its part, is achieved by starting to talk first.

Finally a word on number of parties to a conversation, length of conversation, and content –or what parties say. The turn-taking system *per se* does not explicitly account for those variable features of conversation. Nevertheless, the system provides for a mechanism of entry to a conversation which does not restrict the number of participants. Length and content are parameters which depend exclusively on the participants' own free will.

Although the turn-taking system proposed by Sacks *et al*. (*id*.) is generally considered the most rigorous (*vid*. Goodwin, 1979, 1981; Levinson, 1983), it has been criticised by psychologists (*vid*. Kendon, 1967; Duncan, 1974) because, in their opinion, turn taking does not work on a system of rules that assigns opportunities of talk to participants to a conversation, but on a system of paralinguistic and kinesic signals. To the former system belong pitch, loudness, or lengthening of vowels; to the latter gaze and body motion. These

[88] Levinson (1983) distinguishes yet a third type of silence, namely, *significant* (*or attributable*) *silence*, which is produced by a selected next speaker after rule (a) has been applied.

indicators, they argue, constitute the basic organisational cues with which participants signal either allocation of turn or claim to a turn. Nevertheless, though it has been proved that they contribute considerably to turn taking, they do not appear to constitute its basic organisational parameters, as Levinson (1983) correctly points out. If this were not so, then facing each other would become an undeniable requirement for a speech exchange to be accomplished successfully. But, analyses of telephone conversations (*cf.* Butterworth, Hine & Brady, 1977), for example, show that conversation does not necessarily work on observable signals. It is therefore more accurate to argue that paralinguistic and kinesic signals combine with the local management system in the alternation of talk.

2.1.3. Conversational structure

So far it has been explained that conversations consist of alternating turns, but no word has been said about the minimal unit of a conversation. A conversation consists of, at least, two turns of one utterance each, and each produced by a different speaker. These utterances accomplish a sequence of actions. In line with the context-renewing character of utterances explained above, any one utterance constitutes the immediate context that projects a relevant next action by another speaker in the next turn. This phenomenon of *sequential implicativeness* (*vid*. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) of turns is most visibly organised into the structure of the *adjacency pair* (*id*.). An adjacency pair is a sequence[89] of two adjacent utterances produced by different speakers and ordered as a first part that requires a particular second part (for example, question-answer, offer-acceptance/refusal, greeting-greeting).[90] Adjacency pairs have been defined as the basic structural unit (*cf.* Schegloff & Sacks, 1973;

[89] A *sequence* is a unit made up of more than one turn that come one after another in a fixed order. *Cf.* Jefferson (1972) for side sequences; Schegloff (1972b) for insertion sequences; Schegloff & Sacks (1973) for closing sequences; Schegloff *et al*. (1977) for repair sequences; and Schegloff (1980) for pre-sequences.

[90] An exception to this one-to-one turn correspondence is the instance in which in certain circumstances a greeting is not followed by another greeting. Rather than an exception to the basic conversational structure, it is considered a violation of the patterns of good social behaviour. A further exception to the one-to-one turn correspondence is, for example, the case in which an order is followed directly by the action commanded, with no intervening verbal response. The response is the fulfilment of the action itself. At times however, even orders may be followed by a response expressing willingness to do the task. Notice an example such as:

A: Will you please close the window?
B: Of course.

Coulthard, 1977) as they organise the opening and closing of conversations, and are very important during the conversation to structure the selection of next speaker and next action, and to avoid turn-taking errors such as overlaps. Nevertheless, conversations are usually more complex than that and, therefore, the adjacency pair appears to be very often too limited to account for the complexity of the utterances forming a conversation. At times, one pair of utterances (*e.g.* question-answer) is inserted within another adjacency pair in order to elicit certain type of information before responding to the original first pair part. This embedded pair is called *insertion sequence* (*vid*. Schegloff, 1972b). In these cases the first pair part or question is not immediately followed by a second part or answer but by another question which in turn requires another answer. The resulting structure of the conversation is thus the following: Q1-Q2-A2-A1 (Q=question and A=answer).

[1] [Extract from Schegloff, 1972b:107.]

A: I don't know where the- wh- this address is.
B: Well where do - which part of town do you live?
A: I live four ten East Lowden.
B: Well you don't live very far from me.

Jefferson (1972) proposed another category, the *side sequence*, to account for an embedded sequence of utterances whose function is to request clarification at an unpredictable point during the conversation. She concentrates on *misapprehension sequences*,[91] which consist of a sequence of three utterances: a misapprehension, which is a questioning repeat; a clarification; and a termination, after which the original drift of the conversation is resumed.

[2]: [Extract from Jefferson, 1972:295.]

On-going sequence	STEVEN: One, two, three, ((pause)) four, five, six, ((pause)) eleven, eight nine ten.
Side sequence	|SUSAN: Eleven? -eight, nine, ten? (*misapprehension*) |STEVEN: Eleven, eight, nine, ten. |NANCY: Eleven? |STEVEN: Seven, eight, nine, ten. (*clarification*) |SUSAN: That's better. (*termination*)

[91] A misapprehension sequence appears to be a sub-class of side sequences but Jefferson (1972) does not mention any other type.

Compared with Schegloff's insertion sequences, side sequences consist of three compulsory utterances as opposed to two. Also, they are produced after a statement which is not necessarily a first pair part, and therefore side sequences are not considered to be inserted. And finally, there is no expectation as to whom should resume the drift of the conversation after the sequence is completed. Despite the alleged differences, it is not very clear to what extent insertion sequences really differ from side sequences. On the one hand, if we take the real difference to be the fact that the latter contain a termination, then it can be argued, as Coulthard (1977) does, that "there seems to be no reason why Schegloff's insertion sequence couldn't also have a termination" (*id*.:76-7). If, on the other hand, we take the real difference to lie in the fact that insertion sequences are embedded and immediately followed by a second pair part, how then should a misapprehension sequence embedded within a question-answer pair be analysed other than as an insertion sequence?

Despite the problems that insertion and side sequences create to the analyst –are they structures with the same distribution but with certain variations, or are they altogether different structures? –, they constitute an indication of the complex structures operating in conversation and, one might consequently think, of the 'limitations' that the adjacency pair poses as a structural unit. These 'limitations' refer, first, to cases where first parts are not immediately followed by second parts, which may appear many turns apart (*e.g.* extract [1] above); and secondly, to the range of potential second parts to a first pair part. An acceptable response to a question is not restricted to an answer; it may also be a refusal to answer, a protestation of ignorance, or a challenge of the content of the question. 'Limitations' of this sort, however, are only apparent, since "the adjacency pair notion does not, [...], command our attention as a statement of empirical invariance" (Heritage, 1984a:246), and because "the adjacency pair structure is a *normative* framework for actions which is *accountably* implemented" (*id*.:247). Thus, a means to overcome what appeared to be the first limitation is by resorting to the notion of *conditional relevance* put forward by Schegloff (1972a:364) in the following terms:

> By conditional relevance of one item on another we mean: given the first, the second is expectable; upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first; upon its nonoccurrence it can be seen to be officially absent – all this provided by the occurrence of the first item.

The notion of conditional relevance determines that

> what binds the parts of adjacency pairs together is not a formation rule of the sort that would specify that a question must receive an answer if it is to count as well-formed discourse, but the setting up of specific expectations which have to be attended to. (Levinson, 1983:306)

Although Schegloff (*id*.) presents the property of *immediate yuxtaposition* as a subsidiary property of the conditional relevance of an answer on a summons, this constraint, however, need not be satisfied in the case of a question-answer pair. Thus, in excerpt [1] above the inserted sequence Q2-A2, in which B inquires about A's address, has to be understood as a preliminary action relevant to the production of the second action, which consists in informing A where B's address is. This relatedness of activities provides justification for deferring the provision of the second action to a later turn. The inserted sequence is accountable to Q1 insofar as it constitutes a point of reference in relation to which to find B's address. Although strict adjacency is absent between Q1 and A1, the entire sequence displays attendance of the expectation that Q1 should receive an answer.

The second 'limitation' is surmountable with the notion of *preference organisation* (*vid.* Pomerantz, 1978; Levinson, 1983). As discussed by Levinson (1983), this concept refers to a rank of alternative seconds to a first part of an adjacency pair which comprises at least one *preferred* and one *dispreferred* option. For example, an answer and an acceptance are respectively the preferred seconds to a question and an invitation. Their dispreferred counterparts are in both cases a refusal, refusal to give an answer and refusal to accept the invitation. Levinson emphasises that the notion is not psychological (*i.e*., that it does not correspond to the speaker's or listener's desires) but structural, roughly equivalent to the linguistic concept of markedness. Preferred –or unmarked– seconds occur as simple utterances, whereas dispreferred –or marked– seconds do it as complex ones incorporating silences, delays, prefaces, such as the particle 'well', and explanations as to why the dispreferred is being done before the final declination element (*vid*. Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984).

This preference organisation extends beyond the adjacency pair. The principle of conversation "try to avoid the dispreferred action –the action that generally occurs in dispreferred or marked format" (*id*.:333) justifies the fact that conversationalists often displace a dispreferred second part to a later turn and precede it by sequences aimed at mitigating to some extent the imminent dispreferred. Sometimes, they avoid the dispreferred altogether by means of pre-sequences which prompt some sort of alternative action on the part of the other participant (*vid*. Drew, 1984). It is a means of checking the ground for success. For example, a pre-request may prompt an offer and thus prevent the speaker from having to produce a direct request which is considered to be a dispreferred option. Or, as in extract [2] above, a side sequence may prompt a repair of a 'problem' (in this case a mistake in counting) by the same person who has made the mistake.[92] In short, dispreferred second parts are also structurally designed as specially accountable and inferentially rich utterances.

Summarising, the notion of conditional relevance and of preference organisation, which is, to some degree, based on the former,[93] solve the problems of analysis posed by a restrictive reading of the notion of the adjacency pair, especially in its two strongest requirements: the condition of adjacent and that of limited second pair parts. The two notions work across a pair of turns thus constituting a useful tool to account for complexity in conversation.

2.2. Move structure

Apart from the descriptive units –turn, adjacency pair and sequence– used by conversation analysts, conversational organisation can be analysed into a hierarchical structure formed by different levels, each one consisting of one or more of the following units: *act*, *move*, *exchange*, and *transaction*. First proposed by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) as a framework to analyse classroom interaction, these units are conceived as forming a rank scale such that the units of one level of the scale combine to form units of the next-higher level in a similar

[92] *Cf.* Levinson (1983:339ff) for a detailed discussion of the repair apparatus and of types of pre-sequences.

[93] *Cf.* Heritage (1984a) for whom dispreferred second actions are further examples of structures of conditional relevance.

way to the relation existing between the units of Grammar. Thus, acts combine to form moves, moves combine to form exchanges, and these in turn constitute transactions. One or more transactions make up a conversation.[94]

Unlike in Speech Act Theory (*vid*. Austin, 1962), in Sinclair & Coulthard's (*id*.) framework an act is the minimal unit of discourse whose function is determined by its relation to preceding and following acts. An act is, therefore, not viewed as the action performed by an utterance said in isolation, but is considered within the discourse context in which it occurs.

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Only when an interactional act furthers the conversation towards its intended goal can it be considered a move. For example, a polar question constitutes one move because it asks for information, the conversational goal of the action being obtaining 'yes' or 'no' as an answer.[95] The question-answer pair thus conforms a minimal exchange, for it is formed by two single moves, each one in turn formed by a single act. But the structure of an exchange is not always that simple. As mentioned above, a move may consist of more than one act, in which case one is the obligatory or *primary act* (*vid*. Stenström, 1994), that is, the one that can realise a move on its own, and the others are auxiliary acts, either *secondary acts* and/or *complementary acts* (*id*.). The former "accompany and sometimes replace primary acts" (*id*.:38), whereas the latter "accompany but rarely replace primary acts" (*id*.:39). Consider the following response to A's utterance:

[3]
A: Did you know that Mary has had an accident?
B: Yes, of course.

The emphasiser 'of course' after 'yes' would pertain to the category of secondary acts; whereas, for example, the particle 'well' preceding the same answer to the same question

[94] In classroom interaction, however, the combination of transactions renders a different unit, namely the *lesson* (*vid*. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

[95] A nonverbal substitute such as a nod or a shake would also constitute an interactional move.

would correspond to the category of complementary acts.[96] Likewise, an exchange may consist of more than two moves. A typical three-part exchange structure takes place in the classroom where the teacher's *initiation* is followed by a *response* from the pupil, and this in turn by some *feedback* from the teacher (*cf*. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).[97]

Finally, a combination of exchanges yields a transaction. A transaction is the highest unit dealing with one topic. It commonly consists of more than one exchange. Nevertheless, if the topic is exhausted in one exchange, that exchange constitutes the transaction.

2.3. Turn taking in news interviews

2.3.1. The roles of interviewer and interviewee

The turn-taking system for news interviews operates through pre-allocation of turn types (*vid*. Greatbatch, 1988; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991). It is the 'duty' of the interviewer (IR) to ask questions first and that of the interviewee (IE) to confine himself/herself to answering them.[98] This procedure shows two implications which refer to order and type of turn. Turn order, regardless of the number of participants to the encounter, is strict: the IR speaks first and then the IE, and so on successively. The type of turn is also strict: the alternation of turns should form a question-answer pair. IRs and IEs should refrain from initiating actions other than questioning and answering, respectively. It is not proper for any of the two parties to engage in actions other than those provided for them in advance. In short, turn types are pre-allocated to the participants in accordance with their institutional identities of IR and IE.

[96] *Vid*. Stenström (1994) for an exhaustive list of the three different categories of acts.

[97] There is no consensus between discourse analysts with regard to whether social discourse in general typically consists of two or of three parts. Burton (1980), Coulthard & Brazil (1981) and Stubbs (1981), for example, consider the three-part structure specific of classroom interaction, because they view the last move of the structure, or follow-up move, as merely evaluative. But analyses of non-classroom interaction (*vid*. Goffman, 1967; Mishler, 1975; Heritage, 1984b; Tsui, 1994) have shown that certain ritual and non-ritual interactions require a follow-up move if the interaction is to be felicitous, and that in these cases the third part of the exchange structure may have different functions. Tsui (1994) lists the following: "to accept the outcome of the preceding interaction [...]; to show an appreciation of the response [...]; to minimize the face damage that has been done [...]; and to show a change of state of knowledge" (*id*.:41).

[98] For the idea of communication as a 'contract' *vid*. Fraser & Nolan, 1981.

Management of the interview is achieved by means of collaboration of the participants. This joint effort is manifested in their orientation to the roles of IR and IE which they adopt in order to understand the speech encounter as an interview. Interpersonal orientation towards one another is designed in terms of their *internal status* (*vid*. Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990), that is, the temporal status adopted by the participants for the particular speech encounter. The IR adopts a superior internal status as he/she is the controller of the encounter: only the IR can open and close the encounter, make questions and thus allocate next turns, and manage topic shift. The IE, for his/her part, has an inferior internal status due to the role of 'being an interviewee' assigned to him/her. This status shows in that he/she cannot perform the aforementioned tasks and is, strictly speaking, 'under the orders' of the IR who restricts the IE's actions to answering and decides the timing of those actions –the end of a question marks the entrance to the IE's turn. Of course, the internal status is independent of the long-term *external status* (*id*.), which is the "social or socio-economic status in the world which an individual is assumed to have relative to another" (*id*.:15). Thus, for example, a politician that is interviewed in a news programme has an inferior internal status in relation to the IR but is likely to have a superior external status. It is precisely the superior external status of the politician that makes him/her an object of interest to the audience and therefore to the interview encounter. While having a superior internal status, the IR, by contrast, is likely to have an inferior external status.

Due to the institutional role of controller of the interaction, the IR opens and closes the interview. Although the news interview turn-taking system does not provide for which party should open the encounter, given that the interaction is not properly underway until a question has been issued, its structure necessarily pre-allocates first turns to IRs.[99] In like manner, although the news interview turn-taking system does not provide for which party should close the event, given the pre-allocation of turn types, the closing can only be brought about by an IR not issuing a further question, thereby preventing a further sequence from starting. As

[99] The news interview turn-taking system stands, in this respect, in contrast to the system for ordinary conversation, which provides for *any* participant opening the encounter.

manager of the encounter, it is only the IR's task to accomplish the closing.[100] At times, IEs respond to closing turns with acknowledgements. These, however, are not considered a structural part of the closing section, as IRs' behaviour indicate. IRs usually turn to the camera to address the viewing audience immediately after producing the closing turn, thus preventing IEs from producing responses. Further proof for this "unilateral" termination[101] (Greatbatch, 1988:416) is the technical device of cutting recorded interviews after IRs' closing turn.

It is again due to his/her institutional role that the IR ordinarily manages allocation of interview turns. By virtue of the role of questioner, the IR has access to both the techniques of self-selection –at the beginning of the event and after each question-answer sequence– and of 'current speaker selects next' (*vid*. Sacks *et al*., 1974). In *multi-interviewer interviews* – interviews involving more than one IR and a single IE– the problem of deciding who is next speaker after a question is solved since there is only one answerer/IE. However, the order of IRs' turns is more complex in this situation. IRs may either pre-arrange the order in which they are to make questions, or one IR may play the role of manager of turn shift and thereby allocate next speaker after each single answer. Yet a further option is for IRs to manage turn allocation on a local basis by self-selection.

In *multi-interviewee interviews* –interviews involving more than one IE and a single IR– two situations may occur. Either the IR addresses a question to a specific IE thereby selecting him/her as next speaker, or the IR issues an undirected question which any IE may answer by self-selection. In the former case, the turn-taking system pre-allocates the turn to the IR after each question-answer sequence is finished. Turn order in this event is equated to the one that generates in a characteristic two-party interview, namely A-B-A-B. The turn-taking system in the latter context –*i.e.* in the event of an undirected question produced by the IR–

[100] Only very rarely do IEs attempt to close interviews (but *cf*. Greatbatch (1988) for an example), and they do so either after an answer or by refusing to answer a question. In any case, this attitude will produce an unfavourable image of him/her.

[101] Like the opening section, the news interview closing section also stands in marked opposition to the corresponding section in ordinary conversations, which can be initiated by *any* party and is managed collaboratively through terminal exchanges following pre-closings (*vid*. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), excepting very rare occasions usually attributable to impoliteness.

displays variations owing to the number of potential answerers. In this context, a sequence may well be constituted by a single question followed by several answers, each corresponding to a single IE. The process of turn taking among IEs in this situation is produced alternatively, each IE self-selecting after completion of an answer by another IE, and so on until all IEs have issued an answer. Once the last IE has finished his/her turn, the turn-taking system pre-allocates next turn to the IR. Greatbatch (1988) notes, however, that only rarely do IRs produce undirected questions and that IEs characteristically speak only after having been selected to do so.

As far as the 'current speaker selects next' procedure is concerned, IEs do not have access to this technique because, even though answers are addressed at the authors of preceding questions, they do not select next speakers since answers do not require subsequent actions.

2.3.2. Turn types

IRs and IEs systematically restrict themselves to producing turns that are at least minimally recognisable as questions and answers, respectively. Although very often politicians and other public figures challenge and cast doubt on statements produced by IRs, who, in turn, respond by countering and resisting such actions, all these interactional activities are, however, managed through utterances which are at least minimally recognised as the turn types allocated in advance to them (*vid*. Heritage, 1985; Greatbatch, 1986b, 1988; Clayman, 1987; Heritage & Roth, 1995).

A high number of IR turns do not only consist of a questioning component. Unlike ordinary conversations where a speaker is initially entitled to only one turn-constructional unit,[102] IRs can produce multi-unit turns (*cf*. Clayman, 1987; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Heritage & Roth, 1995). These generally consist of a "prefatory" (Heritage & Greatbatch,

[102] Although conversationalists are initially entitled to a single turn-constructional unit, it is very frequent for listeners to use "continuers" (Schegloff 1982:79; Jefferson, 1984:197) to pass TRPs and let current speakers produce multi-unit turns so that they may complete the type of discourse they are engaged in (*e.g.* explanation, discussion, narration, etc.).

1991:99) statement which serves to set the background context that helps to establish the relevance of the subsequent question and provides the necessary references. This introductory statement is recognised by IEs as an incomplete IR turn, and as a consequence IEs behave accordingly. For example, they withhold the production of "continuers" (Schegloff, 1982:79; Jefferson, 1984:197) at the end of IRs' statement components.[103] In this way, Greatbatch (1988) explains, IEs avoid producing something other than an answer to a question, and avoid treating TRPs prior to the questioning component as points at which they have a right to take the floor. This behavioural feature indicates acknowledgment of IE role in the interview context and orientation to the institutional constraint that change of speakership is restricted to the end of a question. In so doing, IEs' behaviour differs from the conduct of ordinary conversationalists in that the latter take the floor at TRPs which do not necessarily constitute the point at which the current speaker intends to relinquish the floor.

Orientation to the institutional character of pre-allocated turn types in interview interaction is also shown in that IRs systematically withhold a series of responses, such as 'oh' receipts, newsmarks, or assessments, which are routinely used by questioners in mundane conversation but do not constitute a proper characteristic of the interviewing task.

IE answers also exhibit multi-unit turns, thus departing from the conversational tendency of minimising a turn to a single unit. This is a genre-specific expectation of interviews, since the purpose of the speech event is to elicit as much information as possible from the IE on a topic of public interest. This is best achieved by letting the IE talk extendedly. The IR collaborates towards this achievement by avoiding interference, thus orienting to the institutional character of the talk. The IR does not even produce continuers, which is very common in everyday conversation to indicate to the speaker that he/she can hold the floor after the next TRP, because the turn-taking system for interviews provides the IE with the right to an indefinite number of turn units. This expectation of long IE turns comes to the fore when

[103] The issue of a continuation token would indicate that the speaker is passing by the opportunity to take a full turn at talk to which he/she is entitled, leaving the current speaker free to continue talking.

gaps are produced due to IEs' production of unexpectably short turns, and when IRs urge IEs to be brief due to lack of time.

In sum, IE turns are also the result of collaboration between the two parties to the news interview event, who thus demonstrate orientation to the turn-taking system of this particular institutional encounter.

In view of the characteristics of turn order and turn type just described, there is evidence enough to assert that turn order and turn type in broadcast news interviews are pre-allocated, that turn order works on an iterative turn-by-turn basis, and that the parties to the encounter orient to those institutional constraints by the adoption of their respective roles.

2.3.3. Institutional imprints on the turn-taking system

It is important to show that the turn-taking procedures relate to specific tasks, goals, and constraints typical of the institutional context in which the genre of the broadcast news interview takes place. Among those parameters, it is worth noting the role of the "overhearing" audience (Heritage, 1985:95; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991:108), who is the ultimate addressee of the talk, and the restriction of objectivity imposed on British broadcast journalism.

2.3.3.1. The role of the audience

Any type of media communication is ultimately addressed to the audience, either the general audience or part of it.[104] Consequently, broadcast news interviews have also to be designed bearing in mind that the final goal is to satisfy the audience by providing information about an

[104] The audience is unknown to the communicators. The only information about the *general public audience* is that it is large, unseen, and heterogeneous. Members of this public expose themselves to mass media as individuals, they do not think of themselves as members of a larger group.

The *specialised audience* is also scattered, anonymous and, to a certain extent, heterogeneous. However, it is homogeneous in the sense that it is made up of individuals who share a common interest. An individual can, at the same time, belong to the general public and be a member of the specialised audience.

affair of public interest. The goal, therefore, is somehow reflected in the organisation of the talk, and hence in its structuring device: the turn-taking system.

Within the institutional context of the broadcast interview, the IR occupies one of the three angles that constitutes the triangle of communication: IR-IE-audience. Though the interviewer appears to be the immediate addressee of the IE talk, actually his/her role is that of 'intermediary' between the IE and the audience, who is the ultimate addressee. The role of IR constitutes a means of providing a forum in which the IE can express his/her position and ideas, or simply narrate his/her experiences to the public. Also, the IR functions as a 'spokesperson' for the audience in the sense that the task of interviewing is done on behalf of the audience and somehow represents the questions the public themselves would like to put to the IE. This position as spokesperson is indicated by the IR use, at times, of the pronoun 'we', which indicates group membership akin to the audience. That the IR is not the real addressee of the IE talk is indicated by the omission of continuers or acknowledgement tokens. These response tokens, which are typical of everyday conversation behaviour, treat talk as 'informative'. But because interviews are frequently rehearsed, omission of those tokens when the programme is on the air shows that the IR already knows the answers to his/her questions. Systematic withholding of these elements thus indicates that the IR treats IE talk as 'known' and that, as a consequence, he/she is not the primary addressee of the talk.

Systematic withholding of response tokens on the part of the IR is not only a feature that shows that IE talk is geared at the audience, but also an example of IR orientation to the constraint of turn type pre-allocated to him/her by virtue of the role adopted in the interview encounter. As has been explained in section 2.3.2, with the absence of those tokens the IR is acknowledging that his/her task is that of questioning and not engaging in any other action such as responding to statements by the IE. The use of response tokens on the part of the IR would lend a conversational character to the interview talk, thus making the spoken interaction depart from the provisions of the institutional context.

Audience address is not only made indirectly by the IE through the IR, but also covertly by the IR. Marked evidence for this is indicated in the opening section of the interview, in which the IR introduces the guest to satisfy the knowledge of the public. Also, in the closing section, the IR regularly addresses the audience without awaiting an IE response to his/her closing component. Further proof of IR orientation to the overt or covert presence of the audience is the production of summaries of the IE talk prior to the utterance of another question within an IR turn. These summaries are explicitly aimed at assuring audience understanding of the IE talk.

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2.3.3.2. Objective reporting

The second constraint mentioned above with regard to the institutional context in which news interviews develop is the objective perspective with which the IR is expected to approach the interviewing task.[105]

Since its inception in the 1920s, the BBC has made formal neutrality a constant theme for journalists. Since the rise of current affairs broadcasting, and more specifically of news interviews, adoption of an impartial stance has also been required from IRs. In this sense, the news interview turn-taking system provides for satisfaction of this condition. Since IRs have to accomplish their task through turns that are at least minimally recognisable as questions, any other activity, such as challenges, newsmarks, assessments, continuers, or news receipts, is virtually precluded. This normative condition prevents the audience from hostile or

[105] Although the term 'objectivity' is very difficult to define, journalists have agreed that objective reporting is (virtually) free of bias, factual, and verifiable. There are two ways of looking at journalistic objectivity: (a) as something impossible to achieve, as a myth. Advocates of this position see no difference between objectivity and non-objectivity since, in their opinion, the reporter views reality through the filter of his/her personal conditioning (experience, education, environment, circumstances, intelligence, etc.), which distorts messages. And (b), as a goal that can be reached if the journalist tries to be "fair, accurate, balanced, dispassionate, uninvolved, unbiased, and unprejudiced"(Löwenstein & Merril, 1990:269-70). Supporters of this second stance view objectivity in terms of reporters' attitude. Objectivity is not an absolute but a continuum, and reporters with a positive attitude towards it will strive to come as close as possible to it although they might never reach the perfect state that subjectivists talk about.

Close adherence to any of the two positions may be dangerous. A supporter of the first position may justify his/her biased messages on the fact that objectivity does not exist. Whereas a supporter of the second position may raise illusory hopes about being objective. (For further details about objectivists-subjectivists positions *vid*. Löwenstein & Merril (1990:272-3)).

supportive reading of IE positions on the part of IRs which could falsely be interpreted as representing the position of the institutional organisation to which IRs belong.[106] IRs show reluctance to express their opinions in those –rare– cases in which the IE violates the turn-taking system for interviews by questioning the IR on the matter under discussion. The requirement of objectivity, Greatbatch (1988) suggests, can lie in the root of why IRs depart far less frequently from the question-answer format than IEs do. This convention of avoiding responses to IEs' talk further stresses the fact that news interviews are a product for the consumption of the viewing audience. By avoiding responses the IR is only preserving the "footing" (Goffman, 1981:128) of an impartial elicitor, thus recognising the audience as the genuine recipient of IEs' talk.

Nevertheless, there is also important evidence to the contrary, that is, sometimes IRs adopt what appears to be a hostile position. Although they characteristically orient to the constraint of objectivity, IRs often accomplish responses to IEs' talk through the production of third turns containing supplementary questions (*vid*. Greatbatch, 1986b). These questions display three basic properties: (1) they are located after an answer to a prior question; (2) they are addressed to the author of the prior answer; and (3) they are built on to the preceding answer either by continuing the topical line or by taking up a specific aspect of the answer in question.[107] Greatbatch (*id*.) has found that IRs commonly use supplementary questions with the functions of: (a) probing IEs' statements or arguments, either through requiring further details or an account of some aspect of his/her response, or through putting a hypothetical question to IEs; (b) countering IEs' statements, either through questions which cast doubt on

[106] The strong restriction of formal neutrality on professional news IRs' behaviour is loosened in interviews conducted by guest IRs. Guest IRs are allowed to express their opinions since their positions are not required to be impartial. Unlike news IRs, guest IRs are not considered representatives of the broadcasting institution. Besides, guest IRs do not generally focus on controversial public affairs.

[107] In marked contrast to questions typical of a question-answer sequence and to supplementaries, Greatbatch (1986b) recognises three other question types. One class comprises questions that only appear in first turns where first topics are introduced and, consequently, do not occur after a question-answer sequence. To this class belong questions that are issued to reinstate the interview format after violative talk. A second class differs from supplementaries in that they are not based on the answer that they follow but initiate a new topical line. And the third class differs from supplementaries in that, while they are produced following a previous answer, they are not addressed at its author.

their assertions, through challenges which adopt the form of (statement) + (question/tag question), or through questions attributed to someone else thereby maintaining a stance of formal neutrality; and (c) pursuing a question which IEs have either –covertly or overtly– rejected to answer or not answered on account of insufficient information about it, of its irrelevance or of the presupposition it contains.[108] Declining to answer, especially in the event of covert refusals, frequently generates sanctioning on the part of IRs. This sanctioning behaviour, Greatbatch (*id.*) suggests, constitutes a means of reaffirming IR status "as a competent report elicitor" (*id.*:118), a status which has been threatened by the IE, who, in producing covert refusals to answer, treats questions just as headings. Also, this conduct can be seen as calling for the reissuing of the question that the IE has declined to answer.

However, as Heritage & Greatbatch (1991) note, often those –at first sight hostile– remarks are understood as a genre-specific device to elicit the IE's point of view on a –usually thorny– matter. The IE acknowledges them as actions specific to the speech encounter at issue, and not as an expression of the IR's personal stance. In order to maintain objectivity whenever those hostile remarks are made, the IR tends to resort to the technique of point-of-view distancing by using third-person references in cases of challenge.

A similar view is held by Harris (1986), who –from a sociological perspective– argues that IR questions do encode opinions and attitudes but only with the aim of obtaining an interesting and challenging interview. In this sense, the IR is aware that the choice of the form of the question (*e.g.* a polar yes/no question, a disjunctive question, or a wh- question) contributes to the achievement of a strategic goal and is, therefore, not arbitrary. For example, wh- questions presuppose the truth of the proposition(s) embedded within. Although this presupposition can be challenged by IEs, this is not what they are required to do. Besides, the message has already reached the viewing audience. Polar and disjunctive questions restrict the choice of answers, positive polars being the ones that encode the least expectations as to the probable truth of the proposition, and tag questions

[108] An alternative course of action is for IRs to accept the non-production of the answer and shift the topic.

being the ones that encode the most. Further, subordinate clauses within polar questions present propositions as given, shared knowledge. Hence, placing controversial presuppositions in this position may be very effective in an adversary interview as it makes it difficult for IEs to deny them at once. In sum, IRs use questions in such a way that they manipulate disputable presuppositions contained therein. By choosing to challenge presuppositions instead of directly answering questions, IEs appear to be evasive, thus losing credibility. On the contrary, by opting to answer questions IEs are tacitly accepting presuppositions usually to the detriment of their public image. Heritage & Greatbatch (1991) have provided evidence of these cases in which the IE sanctions IR behaviour because his/her turn seems explicitly hostile to the interests of the IE or to the group he/she represents.

2.4. The notion of interruption

2.4.1. Introduction

Sacks *et al*. (1974) observed that one of the rules governing everyday conversation is that one party talks at a time. Although participants orient themselves to this rule, very often two or more participants speak at the same time. If participants try to see to it that speaker change occurs in a smooth, non-disruptive manner, then simultaneous talk should be the result of misprojection of the end of the current speaker's turn. However, it is well-known that simultaneous talk does not only occur as the result of an unintentional overlapping transition, but very often is the result of intentional, abrupt cutting-in while the current speaker has not yet reached what might be considered the proximity of the end of his/her turn.

Simultaneous speech and interruption constitute an integral part of the study of turn taking. Although turn taking has primarily been studied by ethnomethodologists (*vid*. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2000) and psychologists (*vid*. Kendon, 1967; Duncan, 1972, 1974; Duncan & Niederehe, 1974; Duncan & Fiske, 1977; Beattie, 1981, 1983, 1989; Stephens & Beattie, 1986),[109] much of the research on interruptions has come from sociologists and psychologists interested in sex differences in conversation (*vid*. Zimmerman

[109] For a detailed explanation of the models of turn taking *cf.* Wilson *et al*. (1984).

& West, 1975; Edelsky, 1981; West & Zimmerman, 1983; Nohara, 1992; Pillon *et al*., 1992).

Researchers have not used the term 'interruption' in a unanimous way. Some use it as a synonym of simultaneous speech (*vid*. Meltzer *et al*., 1971),[110] others distinguish types of interruptions. Kendon (1967), for example, analysing dyadic conversations, differentiates between unintentional and intentional interruptions, depending on whether the interruption originates due to misinterpretation of the end of a speaker's talking time or due to intentional cutting-in. A similar classification to Kendon's is Zimmerman & West's (1975). They resort to the term *overlap* as opposed to interruption, the latter being a violation of the turn-taking system, whereas the former is considered a misfire in it. If the second speaker, having evidence that the current speaker had no intention of relinquishing the floor, starts speaking at what could not be a completion point (*transition relevance place* (TRP) in Sacks *et al*.'s (1974) terminology), it is counted as an interruption. If, by contrast, the second speaker starts speaking at what could be a TRP, it counts as an overlap. More technically, an interruption is the obstruction initiated more than two syllables away from the initial or terminal boundary of a unit type (which can be a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence), whereas an overlap corresponds to simultaneous speech initiated within one syllable of a possible TRP. For West & Zimmerman (1983) interruptive simultaneous speech intrudes deeply within the syntactic boundaries of the current speaker's utterance.

Overlap is also distinguished from interruption in Bennet (1981). Based on an etic *vs*. emic opposition, overlap is a neutral term referring to simultaneous speech in general, whereas interruption is a negative one which requires interpretation on the part of the coder. Conversely, Leffler *et al*. (1982) do not distinguish between interruption and overlap, and any time two consecutive identifiable words or at least three syllables of a single word are uttered simultaneously with the first speaker's ongoing talk, it is treated as an interruption. A similar definition of interruption based on the number of words that are trampled on is Esposito's (1979), for whom any time more than one word of the current speaker's unit type is cut off

[110] Nevertheless, Meltzer *et al*. (1971) recognise that listener responses should not be considered interruptive even if produced in overlap with another speaker's talk.

constitutes an interruption.

But the term 'interruption' has not only been used singly to refer to any simultaneous speech, or as one member forming a binary opposition with the term 'overlap'. It has also undergone sub-classification. One of the most cited classifications is Ferguson's (1977). Her analysis of spontaneous conversations yields the following four categories of interruptions, which are defined in opposition to a perfect speaker switch, which in turn is characterised by no simultaneous speech and completeness of the current speaker's utterance. The innovation of this classification is that an interruption does not necessarily entail simultaneous speech, as the category *silent interruption* indicates.

1) *Simple interruption*: the interrupter produces simultaneous talk leaving the current speaker's utterance incomplete. The interrupter takes the floor.
2) *Butting-in interruption*: simultaneously with the ongoing talk the interrupter produces an incomplete utterance. In this case the current speaker continues to develop the floor.
3) *Overlap*: the interrupter produces simultaneous talk that does not break the continuity of the current speaker's utterance. The interrupter takes over at the end of the overlap.
4) *Silent interruption*: no simultaneous speech is produced. The current speaker's utterance is incomplete and the interrupter takes the floor.[111]

In criticism to Ferguson's (*id.*) interruption categories, Bull & Mayer (1988:37) consider that overlaps and silent interruptions "are not really interruptions at all". And later they say that overlaps may be disruptive or just indicate enthusiasm or involvement. In other words, there is no clear delimitation of what does or does not count as an interruption. In Roger, Bull, & Smith (1988:27) interruptions "are acts which actually disrupt a speaker's utterance". The difficulty with this definition, as Beattie (1989) points out, is to know when a speaker's utterance has been disrupted. According to Bull & Mayer (1989:343), "events are not interruptive if they do not appear to disrupt the first speaker's utterance, *i.e.* if the first speaker's utterance appears complete". It is not clear from Bull & Mayer's definition what type of completion they are referring to: syntactic, semantic, etc. Moreover, the definition is

[111] Ferguson's *butting-in interruption, overlap,* and *silent interruption* relate to Pillon *et al.*'s (1992) *unsuccessful interruption, legitimate interruptions,* and *borderline cases*, respectively.

based on an estimate. Bull & Mayer (1988) and Roger *et al*. (*id*.) do not deal with silent interruptions because these do not entail simultaneous speech. Despite this, Roger *et al*. (*id*.:27) mention that "not all interruptions involve simultaneous speech".

From what precedes it can be deduced that Sacks' (1967) view that the non-operation of 'not more than one party talk at a time' constitutes a violation of the turn-taking system does not hold for all researchers. In fact, as Tannen (1994a) argues, not all overlaps must necessarily be interpreted as obstructive. Simultaneous speech can be *cooperative overlapping* (*id*.), that is, supportive rather than obstructive. In her 1984 analysis of a two-and-a-half-hour Thanksgiving dinner conversation, Tannen found many segments in which listeners talked along with speakers, and the latter did not stop. This simultaneous talking was not considered interruptive, but only showed understanding, participation, and solidarity.[112] Tannen (1994) concludes that different speakers may react differently to the same turn-taking strategies, and while some speakers may feel interrupted, others may not.[113]

It is the different perception that people have of interruptions that leads Murray (1985) to propose a classification of interruptions based on a scale of severity of violation of a speaker's completion rights. These are in a descending order:

1) cutting off someone before he/she has made any point at all;
2) cutting off a speaker before he/she has completely finished making his/her point in a turn;
3) cutting off a speaker in mid-clause after he/she has made at least one point in a turn;

[112] *Vid*. also Sacks (1967) and Edelsky (1981) for the use of simultaneous speech to indicate liveliness and involvement. *Cf*. Oreström (1983) for a different reason for cooperative overlaps: "editing redundancy" (*id*.:163).

[113] Tannen (1984, 1994a) calls *high involvement speakers* those speakers whose style is characterised by little or no inter-turn pause, frequent overlaps, and fast pace. Speakers sharing this conversational style do not feel interrupted when these strategies are used with them, for they interpret it as a display of interest in and encouragement of what the speaker says. In other words, this conversational behaviour is aimed at the speaker's *positive face* (*vid*. Brown & Levinson, 1987). But when the same strategies are used with *high considerateness speakers* (*vid*. Tannen, 1984, 1994a), who are speakers that favour pausing and avert overlaps, then they feel interrupted, for they give more importance to the need for *negative face*, *i.e.* not to impose. What is or is not considered an interruption varies not only among individuals but also among cultures. Reisman (1974) documented an Antiguan style in which overlapping speech served a co-operative rather than an obstructive purpose.

4) beginning to speak in the environs of a turn signal.

Thus, the first class is the most severe interruption, whereas the last one is the least severe. Moreover, any of these classes is most severe if the floor is never restored to the current speaker, less severe if restored, and even less severe if restored sooner than later. This classification is based on the claim that completion rights are not absolute, and that distributive justice in speech allocation takes precedence over them. Counting syllables is therefore not enough to determine what is or is not an interruption. Thus, a speaker may be cut off without vicinity of a possible TRP and this act may not be perceived as an interruption if the speaker has exceeded the amount of speech time locally established. This makes a prospective/retrospective analysis of the speech event necessary in order to determine what counts as an interruption in a particular circumstance.

With few exceptions, the literature presented so far views interruption basically as a sequential phenomenon. Hutchby (1992), by contrast, treats it as an interactional phenomenon. This treatment allows the discrimination of particular uses depending on the organisational constraints of the setting in which the phenomenon occurs. Hutchby (*id.*) distinguishes 'interruptive' in a sequential and in a moral sense. This twofold interpretation results from viewing interruption as "the act of *starting to speak 'in the midst of' another's speech; not letting another 'finish'*" (*id.*:345; emphasis in original). The sequential sense results from the next speaker starting to speak at a non-TRP. And the moral sense derives from the next speaker denying the current speaker's right to continue his/her turn until the next TRP. Some incursions are only interruptions from a sequential viewpoint but not from a moral, hostile or interactional perspective (*e.g.* affiliative utterances, conveying better or additional information, warnings, extraordinary noticings). According to Hutchby (*id.*), it is the moral sense that is most significant for interlocutors in judging whether some simultaneous speech is or is not interruptive of their ongoing talk. The moral dimension of an interruption can be deduced from the interlocutors' overt orientation towards it (*e.g.* the use of resistance strategies). Consequently, interruptions are best understood "as an

interactional *deed*" (*id*.:349; emphasis in original), rather than as a particular type of overlap.

A more fully developed participant-oriented perspective is found in Bañón-Hernández (1997) and in Bilmes (1997). Bilmes, for example, considers that one can only talk of an interruption if at least one of the participants decides to overtly display that an obstruction is received as a violation of his/her speaking rights. In this sense, the participants' judgement that some individual's speaking rights have been violated or the analysts' observation of a cut-off are not enough to speak of an interruption; one of the participants has to display that judgement by either 'doing interrupting' (recognising that he/she is interrupting through an apology or a request for permission) or by 'doing being interrupted' (by means of direct claims, interruption displays, and ignoring out-of-place speech).

Summarising, the identification of interruptions poses problems to the analyst because there is no general agreement on what counts as an interruption. Simultaneous speech is neither a necessary nor a sufficient signal of interruption. Moreover, the same conversational habits may for some participants be violative of their speaking rights while not for others, and the judgement that is made of that behaviour also varies depending on the speech situation in progress.

2.4.2. Defining the interruption

2.4.2.1. Turn and TRP

Lack of agreement on what counts as an interruption among researchers is to be traced to three main reasons, two of which have already been mentioned in the above section: the individuals' different interpretation of the same speech behaviour, and the context-specific restraints on the speech event under way. Yet a further reason relates to the divergence over what constitutes a *turn* and a place of legitimate speaker change or *transition relevance place* (Sacks *et al*.'s (1974) terminology).

The concept of interruption is closely linked with what counts as a turn and a transition relevance place. Understanding the former notion, then, entails defining the latter two. In the present study the notion of *turn* encompasses two meanings: (1) in a broad sense (*vid*. Gallardo-Paúls, 1996), turn corresponds to a purely structural unit that comprises any utterance(s)[114] produced by a speaker during a speech event and bounded by two speaker changes.[115] This structural notion entails counting any talk as a turn, including *backchannel* (Yngve's (1970) terminology) utterances. (2) In a restricted sense (*vid*. Edelsky, 1981), a turn consists only of the utterance(s) that contain(s) both a functional and referential message.[116] Backchannel talk is excluded from this sense of the term because it contains only feedback and not a referential message.[117]

A turn, then, may consist of one or more utterances, and commonly a legitimate point of speaker switch corresponds to the end of an utterance.[118] If a listener starts speaking at a point that is not a legitimate point of speaker switch, it will be counted as an interruption. A possible completion point or *transition relevance place* will primarily be identified on the basis of syntactic, prosodic, and semantic-pragmatic factors.[119] A TRP

[114] For the notion of *utterance vid*. *supra* footnote 87, section 2.1.2.

[115] This meaning of turn corresponds to what Sacks (1967) and Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) call *utterance.*

[116] Edelsky (1981) defines turn in opposition to *floor* as "*an on-record "speaking"* (which may include nonverbal activities) *behind which lies an intention to convey a message that is both referential and functional*" (Edelsky, 1981:403; emphasis in original). Turn in this restricted sense is called "intervención" in Gallardo-Paúls (1996:74-5).

[117] For the non-interpretation of back channels as turns *vid*. Schegloff (1968).

[118] But there are structures in conversation, such as joke or story telling, in which it is not after a single utterance that speaker change is legitimate, but after the unit *joke* or *story* is completed (*vid*. Sacks, 1974). The same occurs if you explicitly signal that your turn will be more than one utterance long (*e.g*. *I'd like to make two points*, etc.). The use of such "floor seekers" (Sacks, 1967:675) is a technique of securing a turn at talk that extends far beyond the next TRP. Consequently, the next TRP does not constitute a legitimate point to make a bid for turn space.

The problem of trying to take over speech is that one can never be absolutely sure whether the current speaker will relinquish the floor at a next TRP, for it is always possible that the current speaker might add some new information after what appeared to be a finished utterance.

[119] Researchers attach different value to the criteria that indicate the end of a speaker's turn. For example, Sacks *et al*. (1974) predicted the end of a turn on the basis of syntactic structure. Prosody, in their view, might only play a secondary role. By contrast, Beattie's (1983) findings suggest that syntactic together with

corresponds to a point where the end of a syntactically complete structure, terminal intonation pattern, and end of a semantic-pragmatically complete stretch co-occur (*vid*. Oreström, 1983).[120] Lack of fulfilment of any of the three conditions indicates that a TRP has not been reached yet. On exceptional occasions, a valid substitute for these linguistic parameters may be nonverbal behaviour (*e.g.* answering a yes/no question with a nod).[121]

As a syntactically complete structure will count a one-word construction, a phrase, a clause, and a sentence.[122] An elliptical sentence, that is, a construction either lacking a finite verb or a subject, will also be considered complete for it is contextual completeness rather than grammatical completeness that makes a sentence appropriate and interpretable (*vid*. Lyons, 1977). In this case, syntactic completion is dependent on semantic-pragmatic completion, which refers to the point at which the semantic content of a construction is made comprehensible. Finally, as far as intonation is concerned, although a falling contour is by far the most common pattern at the end of complete utterances, a rising contour is also possible especially in yes/no questions. An intonational pattern indicating continuation, such as a rise or a level tone, will signal an unfinished utterance and, consequently, an unfinished turn. As for the split fall-rise tone, it has been subsumed under the falling contour as the second element of the compound tone, the rise, has lost its value as a primary accent (*vid*. Cruttenden, 1986).

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intonational cues play a dominant role in the regulation of turn taking. A radically different position is represented by Murray (1985), who argues that it is difficult to identify TRPs because there are "*no absolute syntactic or acoustic criteria* available either to those involved in conversing or to those analyzing records made of them" (*id*.:33; emphasis in original).

[120] Oreström (1983) terms the juncture formed by the joint completion of these three signals a "grammatical boundary" (*id*.:68).

[121] Though the term TRP has been adopted from Sacks *et al*. (1974), the defining criteria of the notion follow Oreström's (1983) work.

[122] One-word constructions comprise, for example, address forms formed by isolated proper names. But *cf*. Burton-Roberts (1986) for whom the proper name would constitute an N(oun)P(hrase) consisting only of a NOM(inal) and lacking a DET(erminant).

Despite the fact that backchannel interjections such as 'yes', 'mhm', 'all right', 'okay', 'fine', etc. are syntactically complete, they will not be counted as constituting a turn in a restricted sense.

Commonly the above three *possible turn-yielding signals*[123] are accompanied by other cues. Oreström (*id*.) mentions two secondary cues: a silent pause and decrease in loudness. He found that decrease in loudness functions as a pre-signal for a TRP, and that a step-up in loudness may be indicative of the speaker's wish to continue speaking. As regards the pause immediately after the complete structure, the longer it is, the more likely it is to indicate a turn boundary.

To these possible turn-yielding signals, excepting semantic-pragmatic completeness and pause, Duncan (1972) added drawl on the final syllable or on the stressed syllable of a terminal clause, the termination of any hand gesticulation, and a sociocentric sequence (such as 'but uh', 'or something', or 'you know').[124,125] Eye gaze directed at the listener does also appear to indicate that the speaker has finished his/her turn (*vid*. Kendon, 1967). Unlike Duncan (*id*.), who attached the same value to all his cues except to hand gesticulation, for it has the value of overriding all the other features and suppressing any attempt at speakership, in the present study these cues will be considered secondary with respect to the three primary features and, on appearance, will be interpreted as reinforcing the signalling value of the primary ones.[126] With the sole exception of hand gesticulation for the reasons just mentioned, secondary cues alone will be disregarded as indicating a

[123] The common expression *turn-yielding signals* should be avoided because, as Oreström (1983) correctly points out, "we do not know for certain if the ongoing speaker actually intended to give up his turn when displaying those features" (*id*.:68). In accordance with Oreström (*id*.:72), the more accurate *possible turn-yielding signals* is adopted in its place.

[124] In Duncan (1972, 1974) the unfilled pause is considered a boundary marker of the unit of analysis, but not a turn-yielding cue.

[125] *Cf*. Stephens & Beattie (1986), who found that drawl is associated with the end of syntactic constituents in general and can therefore not function as a fixed turn signal. Similarly, in Oreström's (1983) study drawl and sociocentric sequences did not seem to play an import role in turn taking. No reference, however, is made to gesticulations, that is, "those hand movements generally away from the body, which commonly accompany, and which appear to bear a direct relationship to, speech" (Duncan, *id*.:287).

[126] Duncan (1972) reported that the probability of a turn-taking attempt increased in a linear way as the number of cues jointly displayed increased. But *cf*. Beattie (1983), whose findings suggest that it is a special combination of the cues rather than the mere number of them that increases the probability of turn change.

possible turn shift.[127] However, the more secondary cues the current speaker displays jointly with the primary ones, the higher the probabilities that he/she intends to relinquish the floor to a next speaker.

As has been mentioned above, backchannel responses constitute a turn only from a structural viewpoint, but not from a functional and referential perspective due to their low informational content. A back channel is

> a brief, spontaneous reaction to the content of the speaker's turn supplying him with direct feedback. It signals continued attention, agreement, and various emotional reactions, thereby indicating that the communicative contact is still maintained, that speaker and listener are 'on line'. (Oreström, 1983:104)

Following Oreström (*ibid*.), in the present study back channels will comprise supports ('mhm', 'yes', 'yeah', 'okay', 'I know', etc. including also kinesic signals such as head nods, eye glances, laughter), exclamations, exclamatory questions ('what', 'really', etc.), and sentence completions (the listener completes a sentence that the speaker has begun). Requests for clarification, which is another category of back channels identified in Duncan & Niederehe (1974), will be excluded as "they have the effect of directly influencing the subject matter and the stream of talk and are very close to ordinary question/answer paired turns" (Oreström, *id*.:106). Similarly, brief restatements in televised interviews and debates, as in any other form of spoken interaction, might take on the function of eliciting confirmation of the interviewer's or host's interpretation of the interviewee's or discussant's words. Uttering brief restatements may influence the subsequent development of the speech encounter. Therefore, on their appearance decisions will be taken as to whether or not they function as a mere backchannel behaviour and, consequently, whether or not they are eligible for interruptions.

Because they do not constitute a functional and referential turn, back channels will not be considered instances of interruptions even if produced simultaneously with a current

[127] For the supportive value of paralinguistic and kinesic cues in turn taking *vid.* Levinson (1983). *Cf.* Duncan & Fiske (1977) and Capella (1985) for a different view.

speaker's utterance. Unless for a particular purpose, and only if explicitly stated so, the term *turn* will NOT refer to back channels (henceforth BCs).

Finally, it must be pointed out that certain items functioning as message-received signals are not to be confused with the same items adopting a function other than merely signalling the listener's attention and generally encouraging the speaker to keep going. Items such as 'yes', 'yeah', and 'no' may also function as answers to questions or as objections to assertions, in which case they fall outside the scope of BCs. Also, a BC must be strictly distinguished from an acknowledging act ratifying a response to an initiation. In both cases the items (*e.g.* 'that's right') are acknowledging acts, but in the latter case the acknowledgement is integrated within a follow-up move that closes a two-part exchange structure prior to a change of topic, thereby constituting a proper turn.[128]

2.4.2.2. Genre-specific and participant-oriented approaches

Though any speaker switch produced at a non-TRP will be judged as an interruption, there may be cases in which apparently legitimate speaker switches will also be considered instances of interruption. Justification for this is to be traced to the fact that the study of the interruption will be located within the broadcast speech events under consideration: a political interview, a talk show interview, and an audience debate. Thus, the, at first sight, mere sequential view of the interruption is embedded within a broader genre-specific approach. For example, the turn-taking system for an interview provides that change of speakership is only relevant on turn-type completion (*vid*. Clayman, 1987; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Heritage & Roth, 1995). The IE is, therefore, not to take a turn at talk whilst the IR has not issued an elicitation. Correspondingly, the IR has to await the end of the IE's response to initiate another elicitation. In the context of the interview any intrusion into the other's incomplete turn type, even if after a complete utterance, is considered an interruption. Likewise, violation of the turn order in a debate or in a multi-IE interview will also be viewed as interruptive.

[128] For a description of moves and acts *vid*. Stenström (1994).

As regards the current speaker's speaking rights, they demand that one attend to what he/she considers to be the end of his/her message, for an interlocutor may well miscalculate the end of the turn and interpret as a TRP what is not actually the completion of the speaker's communicative intent. In other words, the definition of turn as understood from both a generic and a speaker's perspective is equivalent to that of *floor*, *i.e.* "the acknowledged what's-going-on within a psychological time/space" (Edelsky, 1981:405). Thus, for example, in an interview the IR holds the floor until an elicitation is issued, so that any IE utterance produced prior to that elicitation constitutes a non-floor-holding turn and is consequently interpreted as interruptive. The same holds for those cases in which the next speaker produces a turn at a seeming TRP while the current speaker is still in possession of the floor because he/she has not yet conveyed the entire message. Yet a further out-of-floor turn corresponds to a self-selector's utterance produced in the space assigned to a different pre-selected next speaker. Consequently, in order to help distinguish the real agent of the interruption from the victim of the violative talk, a mere linear analysis is abandoned in favour of a prospective/retrospective one. In short, often the person holding the turn is also in possession of the floor, in which case *turn* and *floor* can be equated; but, at times the two notions are dissociated generating turns that intrude into the floor-holder's unfinished speech.[129]

Since *a posteriori* evaluation on the part of the participants to the speech events analysed is not feasible due to their televised nature, no participant interpretation will be considered for identifying interruptions. The violative character of a specific turn exchange, considered either from the perspective of the restrictions imposed by the speech encounter, or from the speaker's particular interpretation of his/her speaking rights, will primarily be evaluated on the basis of the participants' interactional behaviour towards the speaker shift. Participants' reactions will also determine the nature of the interruption if these two perspectives were to clash. In the absence of any overt speaker reaction, in principle the generic rules governing the event take precedence over an individual's interpretation of his/her rights to a turn at talk. (Further explanation about the participant-oriented approach will be

[129] On collaboratively developed floors *vid*. Edelsky (1981).

provided in subsequent sections, especially in section 2.4.2.3 as the discussion goes along.)

2.4.2.3. Categories of interruptions I: The qualifiers *interruptive*, *successful*, *unsuccessful*, *single*, *complex*, *successive*, and *compound*

For the purpose of the present study an interruption categorisation scheme has been devised (*vid*. figure [4] on p. 122). As the scheme shows, the unmarked case of speaker switch corresponds to a smooth, non-interruptive transition in which no simultaneous speech occurs. By contrast, a marked case corresponds to any type of speaker exchange that entails an interruption with or without simultaneous speech. This indicates that simultaneous speech is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition of an interruption. Thus, certain types of overlaps are not interpreted as interruptive even though they are produced with two participants talking at once; and, silent interruptions are treated as interruptive despite the fact that no simultaneous speech occurs.

The qualifier *interruptive* is here used in a broad sense, meaning any verbal (or exceptionally nonverbal) action that obstructs the development of a current speaker's ongoing turn. Following Roger *et al*. (1988), if the attempt is fruitful, *i.e.* if the continuity of the current speaker's utterance is broken and the interrupter manages to finish his/her turn, the interruption is *successful.*[130] If, instead, the attempt is unfruitful, because the current speaker is not prevented from finishing his/her turn or the interrupter does not finish his/hers, then the interruption is considered *unsuccessful*. As it stands, the term *interruptive* implies a bilateral dimension, contrary to what might appear superficially. In other words, it is not only an intentional action on the part of the next speaker to obstruct the current speaker's speaking rights that determines an interruption. That interruptions are not the action of a single party[131] is mainly suggested in the definition of the *unsuccessful* interruption, where some type of counteraction from the current speaker is implied in order not to be prevented from finishing his/her turn or to prevent the interrupter from finishing

[130] This aspect corresponds to the literal sense of the word 'interruption'.

[131] For the view that an interruption is the result of a joint effort between participants *vid*. Hutchby (1992) and Bilmes (1997).

his/hers. In a participant-oriented approach the reaction of the current speaker to that attempt is very important in determining if a particular behaviour has been received as interruptive or not. Moreover, at times it is solely this reaction rather than the action of the next speaker that indicates violation. For this purpose, objective criteria related primarily to the response of the ongoing speaker will be considered. These means of "'doing being interrupted'" (Bilmes, 1997:515) refer to devices aimed at counteracting the obstructive turn-taking behaviour of the interrupter, such as repetition, increase in loudness, gaze aversion, sanction, etc. The interrupter's attitude will also be taken into account: for example, whether or not the interrupter insists on interrupting,[132] or if he uses downtoners.

Judgement will also be based on semantic grounds: for instance, on whether simultaneous speech is produced to support or to oppose the current speaker's ideas; at times, invasion of the other's floor space constitutes one way of 'being confrontational', whereas at others it is a technique of 'being supportive'. These objective criteria missing, interruptiveness will be judged solely on the continuance or not of the current speaker. As a means of ignoring the next speaker, continuance may be indicative of interruptiveness (*id*.). Likewise, an unprotested current speaker withdrawal will also generally be regarded as a signal of intrusion. Although there is never the guarantee that a specific turn-taking behaviour is received as interruptive unless there is explicit claim that an interruption has occurred, lack of protest must not indicate compliance with the behaviour; rather, it may become a technique of dealing with a violation taking place in an institutional context that may refrain the current speaker from publicly complaining for the sake of politeness.

The terms *single* and *complex* refer to the number of attempts at interrupting produced by the same interlocutor, namely one and several, respectively (*vid*. Roger *et al*., 1988). Despite the successive character of the various attempts that constitute a complex interruption, it is not to be equated with Bañón-Hernández's (1997) *successive* ("sucesivas" (*id*.:34)) interruptions. Although the latter category may entail several successive attempts by the same speaker, it also comprises those cases in which the current speaker is

[132] *Vid*. Bañón-Hernández (1997) for a detailed explanation of these and other 'turn-fighting' devices.

interrupted several times but each time by a different interlocutor. Thus, a *complex* interruption in the present study pertains to the class successive interruption in Bañón-Hernández's sense, but a successive interruption is not necessarily a *complex* one. For the present purpose, if the current speaker's turn is interrupted by different interlocutors in sequence, it will be counted as a successive interruption, and not as a complex one.

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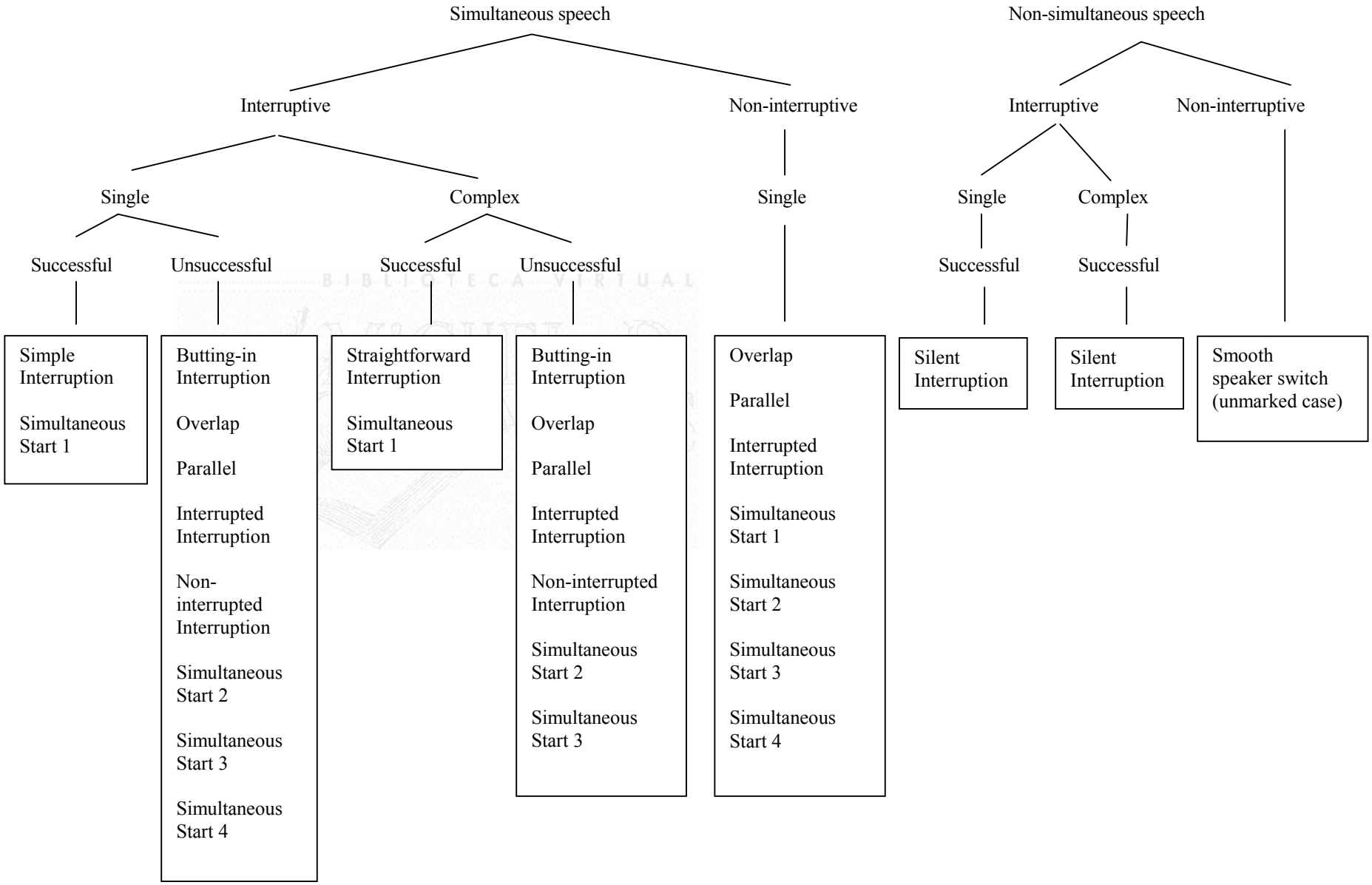
Figure [4]: Interruption categorisation scheme



Before proceeding with the explanation of the categorisation scheme, a caveat is due here. The scheme focuses only on interruptions generated by the intrusive behaviour of one single participant, as these are overwhelmingly the most common ones. This, however, is not an indication that the study neglects cases of marked speaker transition generated jointly by two or more participants. In fact, the term *compound* is proposed for cases in which two or more participants interrupt the current speaker simultaneously.

2.4.2.4. Categories of interruptions II: *simple interruption*, *overlap*, *butting-in interruption*, and *silent interruption*

Within single interruptions, the categories *simple interruption* (extract [4]), *overlap* (extract [5]), *butting-in* (extract [6]) and *silent interruption* (extract [7]) are adopted from Ferguson (1977). In order to overcome the drawback of Ferguson's classification, namely it does not mention the point at which the interrupter starts talking, it is necessary to specify that, as exemplified in the following extracts, in all four categories this point will not constitute a TRP.

[4][Programme: *Vanessa*.]

1. **K:** I told them [=Samaritans] I was quite ++ frustrated and desperate. + And they
2. like "well we're Samaritans. Talk to me." An' I'm like + five hours later, + I'm still
3. on the phone to him. ++ And he's like=
4. →**IR:** =They don't send over reinforcements, do they. When (*AUD laughter*) [++]
5. **K:** (*laughs*) No. They try to help your frustration. [+]
6. **IR:** And did they? [+]
7. **K:** No. [+]
8. **IR:** I mean would it be said that it's- it's
9. **K:** I even asked the man on the phone to come over.
10. (*AUD and K laugh*) [+++]

[5] [Multi-IE interview. Programme: *A Week in Politics*.]

1. **IR:** <u>Noth</u>ing to do + with personal morality, it's more <u>back</u> to <u>plat</u>itudes. Or <u>back</u> to
2. ma<u>nal</u>- ba<u>nal</u>ities like good Go⌈vernment.
3. **DA:** No. These ↑aren't↑ platitudes. I've been in the
4. surgery this morning, and <u>these</u> were the sort of things that my constituents were
5. concerned about. No one came in to talk to me about their sex lives, or anyone +
6. ⌈else's sex life.
7. →**IR:** (*pointing at DA and smiling*) OR YOUR SEX LIFE, THAT (*INAUD.*)

8. **DA:** NO ONE CAME into my surgery to talk about...

[6] [Interview with Robin Cousins. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **RC:**...I think it- it certainly makes a- a- a better definition of what ice-dancing is for
2. the spectator. Because they [=Jane Torvill and Chris Dean] are dancing + on ice.
3. **IR2:** Yeah.
4. **RC:** As opposed to + emoting and- and + you know. This choreography that- that +
5. ⌈they had. They were so clever.
6. →**IR2:** Everyone says
7. **IR2:** Everyone says their routine is much less emotional than the- than the Bolero
8. one...

[7] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 414-7.]

1. **S:** Isn't it we're just more concerned about our heritage that we feel we'll lose our
2. i⌈dentity. We're not actually realising=
3. **PS:** ↑No.↑
4. →**PS:** =It's your de↑<u>moc</u>racy. + It's what- + what (*vertical hand mov*.) people
5. <u>fought</u> for. To <u>give</u> you.↑

It is worth remembering that a TRP is defined not only in syntactic and intonational terms, but also in semantic-pragmatic ones. This has important consequences, especially for the identification of a silent interruption, as such a category may occur at the end of a syntactically and intonationally complete unit but from a semantic-pragmatic perspective there is evidence that it is yet an unfinished turn. In extract [8] the utterance "I'm frightened actually" (l. 2), though complete on syntactic and intonational grounds, is not the end of AUD30's turn. His contribution to the ongoing debate about whether young English people are in favour of or against being part of Europe starts in the form of a confrontation to what up to that moment appears to be the generalised position, *i.e*. that the young are pro-European. Knowledge of the argument structure tells one that a challenging position is commonly supported with reasons (*vid*. Schiffrin, 1985), and at the point when the host enquires about AUD30's age (l. 3), opening up a humorous exchange, AUD30 has only just announced that, unlike many young people, he is frightened at the prospect of a federal Europe. It is not until he offers justification for his counter-position through evidence or explanation that his turn is felt to be complete. Consequently, in this context the host's questioning utterance constitutes an instance of a silent interruption.

[8] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 880-9.]

1. **AUD30:** (*self-selecting*) Well, if I can be the exception that breaks the rule, I'm a
2. young person. And I'm- + I'm (*AUD laughter*) (frightened actually.)=
3. →**IR:** =How old are you.
4. **AUD30:** Well I'm 31.
5. **IR:** [*AUD laughter*] [Oh! Right.
6. **AUD30:** (*putting hand on IR's shoulder*) I'm younger than you are.
7. **IR:** I'm ↑YOUNG TOO. ++ WE'RE ALL YOUNG.↑] [++]
8. **AUD30:** There's this impression that all young people in favour of European uh +
9. federalism is not actually true. (...) it's suppressing a national identity. And that will
10. happen. If we have a superstate.

2.4.2.5. Categories of interruptions III: *simultaneous start 1*, *simultaneous start 2*, *simultaneous start 3*, *simultaneous start 4*, *parallel*, *interrupted interruption*, and *non-interrupted interruption*

Due to the need to account for more instances of unsmooth speaker shift, Ferguson's categories have been supplemented with Oreström's (1983) *simultaneous start 1* (extract [12]), *simultaneous start 2* (extract [13]), and *parallel* (extract [9]), with Roger *et al*.'s (1988) *interrupted interruption* (extract [10]), and with the categories *non-interrupted interruption* (extract [11]), *simultaneous start 3* (extract [16]) and *simultaneous start 4* created to serve the present purpose. As extract [9] below shows, a *parallel* shares the same characteristics of an *overlap* except that it is the current speaker, not the interrupter, who keeps the floor.

[9] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** ...In Cabinet they can decide whether there's a constitutional barrier or not.
2. There either is or there isn't. Now. To be fair to people like ⌈+ John Redwood and=
3. →**IR:** Well then there is a difference.=
4. **TB:** =others- if I ⌈could just fin- finish Jonathan. To be fair to John Redwood or=
5. **IR:** = Because they said there might be.
6. **TB:** =Margaret Thatcher, they say "look there is an insuperable barrier." We say never. (...)

The category *interrupted interruption* refers to those instances when the interrupter prevents the current speaker from finishing his/her turn but fails to complete his/her own because the interrupter's interruption is in turn aborted by the interruptee. As the following extract shows, Tony Blair has not finished the point he is making when the interviewer

starts his elicitation (l. 5: "[c]an you guarantee then") at what is seemingly a legitimate TRP. As in extract [8], here again what might appear a finished turn is not actually one, and the interruptee counteracts this intrusion by, in turn, interrupting the interviewer's elicitation (l. 6), thus securing the floor to finish his point.

[10] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *JonathanDimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** ...those are the circumstances in 1992. But you know. We can go over this
2. (nausea.) + The most important thing is to say look. Is it sensible for Britain to carry
3. on + with you- eight hundred thousand people in this country paid under two
4. pounds fifty an hour? I don't think so.
5. →**IR:** Can you gua⌈rantee then
6. **TB:** Is it sensible uh- I would- sorry. Can I just finish this point I'm
7. making. Is it sensible for Britain to carry on with this <u>huge</u> expenditure on benefits
8. to subsidise low pay? (...)

By contrast, the category *non-interrupted interruption* identifies those cases in which the interrupter does not fail to complete his/her turn because the floor-keeping interruption(s) produced by the interruptee do(es) not manage to abort the interrupter's talk. It should be noted that, independently from the failure to truncate the interrupter's talk, the interruptee may or may not succeed in finishing his/her own utterance. In the following example, Robert Hicks attempts to control the floor that he is losing by the host's elicitation (l. 7: "[w]hat. So even the loyalists are critical. Are they?") twice. Despite resorting to the use of extra loudness and repetition as devices to regain the floor, it is not until the host finishes his turn that the interruptee manages to resume the utterance at its cut-off point (l. 10).

[11] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 111-120.]

1. **RH:** ...Government itself hasn't given a sufficiently positive lead over the last 18
2. months.=
3. **IR:** =Government.=
4. **RH:** =That means⌈ Government- I am talking about the Prime Minister, I am=
5. **IR:** ⌊Wait a moment. You mean John Major.
6. **RH:** =talking about the Cabinet, + the Government as a whole,=
7. →**IR:** What.⌈ So even ⌉the loyalists are critical. Are they? +⌈Even the⌉=
8. →**RH:** ⌊=HAVEN'T GIVEN ⌊HAVEN'T GIVEN
9. →**IR:** =loyalists are critical.=
10. **RH:** =HAVEN'T GIVEN A SUFFICIENTLY FIRM LEAD. (...)

As extracts [12] and [13] below respectively show, *simultaneous start 1* and *simultaneous start 2* refer to instances of simultaneous talk that start at a TRP and where one of the participants leaves his/her turn unfinished, the difference being the interlocutor that carries his/her turn off: the new speaker in *simultaneous start 1,* and the current speaker in *simultaneous start 2.* As for *simultaneous start 3* (extract [16]), it was created to name a turn-taking behaviour similar to an *overlap* or a *parallel* but where simultaneous talk starts at a TRP.

[12] [Interview with John Nettles. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **JN:** ...You can always know the scriptwriters are <u>run</u>ning <u>des</u>perately- running <u>out</u>
2. of ideas. Can't think of anything to do. <u>And</u> they also introduced a loving twist we
3. thought boring.
4. **IR:** You had ↑so many↑ ++ I mean
5. **JN:** I had (*shaking head*) <u>NONE</u> OF THEM APPARENTLY.
6. **IR:** Oh!
7. **JN:** They had the situ (*looking at AUD*) (ation- was dire [*laughter from AUD and*
8. *IR*] [James Bergerac.) I mean.] I could so:lve the cases well enough. ⌈But- but=
9. →**IR:** ⌊Because you were=
10. **JN:** =when it came to- ca- came
11. **IR:** =concentrating. That's why. (*laughter from AUD and JN*) With the women he
12. just wanted a bit of mischief.

[13] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 698-715.]

1. **IR:** (*click*) Alright. So you won't give the pledge.
2. **WW:** Uh ⌈what-⌉ + ⌈what⌉ pledge may I ask you.
3. **IR:** ⌊hh ⌊That
4. **IR:** That to resi:gn + if the inquiry criticises your conduct.
5. **WW:** <Well. It depends how- + how se- + se⌈rious⌉ the criticism is.
6. **IR:** ⌊Alright.
7. **IR:** That's=
8. **WW:** =If- if they say> + Mr. Waldegrave + could well have taken account of this or
9. that. + Or uh- is that a resigning matter?
10. **IR:** Mm. Alright. I'll leave it.
11. **WW:** Well is ⌈that⌉ not a fair point I mean.
12. **IR:** ⌊Just
13. **IR:** No. I don't think it is really. +⌈You could give an un<u>varn</u>ished pledge, that if-⌉=
14. →**WW:** ⌊Will any criticism- any crit- any criticism
15. **IR:** =if there was sub<u>stan</u>tial criticism, you used the word ⌈yourself. + Of⌉
16. **WW:** ⌊Ah you've introduced another-+
17. you've introduced another ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
18. **IR:** ⌊You would resign. [+]

As in both extracts one of the interlocutors produces an unfinished turn that goes beyond what might be considered a point of immediate abandonment –beyond four syllables or two consecutive words–,[133] the simultaneous starts herein exemplified are interpreted as interruptive. By contrast, if the floor is relinquished immediately by one of the parties, his/her behaviour is viewed as showing attendance either to the right of the current speaker to end his/her incomplete turn, or to the right of the next speaker to take over at a legitimate point. Thus, in extract [14] the interviewer twice awaits a TRP to utter the uptake 'well' (ll. 6, 8) with which he attempts to retake control of the interaction, and in both instances he immediately withdraws. It is not until the interviewee has completely finished his turn that the interviewer takes over. And in extract [15] the interviewee intends to provide additional information to what he has just said (that it is nice "to be doing something different, and to have all this versatility around") by means of introducing a relative clause at the TRP (l. 4). However, attendance at IR1's right to utter an elicitation at the same point takes precedence and makes him abandon. Hence, any of the two behaviours is considered non-interruptive.

[14] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 519-529.]

1. **IR:** Mr. Waldegrave, I put it to you: uh in the first part, + that back-to-basics + <and
2. a number of other things> + justify + some of the charges that have been made +
3. against the Government. + Now let me take a completely different matter. [+]
4. **WW:** Let me just⌈say⌉that I hope I refuted that.=
5. **IR:** ⌊Let us
6. →**IR:** =Well,=
7. **WW:** =I try to do my best to refute it.⌈I do⌉believe it's fact.
8. →**IR:** ⌊Well,
9. **IR:** The viewers will judge.
10. **WW:** Quite.

[133] Other participants' displays of interruptiveness lacking, the duration of simultaneous speech becomes a key element in deciding when an interruption took place: the longer the time taken to win the floor at the boundary of a turn unit, the more interruptive the behaviour is found to be. Now, duration is measured in terms of the number of syllables or words trampled on away from the boundary. In the literature reviewed counting syllables and/or words has often been used as a criterion to decide when a behaviour is interruptive: more than one word (*vid*. Esposito, 1979), two consecutive words or three syllables of a single word (*vid*. Leffler *et al*., 1982), or simply more than two syllables (*vid*. Zimmerman & West, 1975). Though counting is not always considered a reliable mechanism (*vid*. Murray, 1985), in the case of simultaneous starts it becomes a useful tool to set the limit beyond which simultaneous speech is no longer viewed as the result of misprojection of the end of a current speaker's turn, but as an attempt to silence his/her voice and thus gain the floor. The reason for setting this limit beyond four syllables or two words was based on a preliminary analysis of the data which appeared to show that commonly dispute for the floor entails more than that number of syllables or words. Instead, an utterance abandoned within the first four syllables or two words did not give the impression of wishing to obstruct the other's speech.

11. **IR:** Let me take a completely different matter. (...)

[15] [Interview with Robin Cousins. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **RC:** And it's just nice to be- + to be doing something different. And to have all
2. (*hand movement*) (this versatility) around.
3. **IR2:** Yeah.
4. →**RC:** ⌈Which is
5. →**IR1:** ⌊You sort- you ↑sort of pre-dated↑ towards the end didn't you?
6. **RC:** A few years. Yes.

[16] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** (*pointing at AUD5*) The guy- the guy wearing the <u>black</u> waistcoat. Four in there.
2. **AUD5:** Um. Yes. Basically <u>man</u>y um small businesses in America are in um
3. negotiations, because they are exempt from having to pay minimum wage. Which is
4. why there is lower umemployment. ⌈Surely it's your responsibility to look after=
5. →**IR:** ⌊<Is that an option>?
6. **AUD5:** =the people. You can't afford to cut the benefit uhm budget, + and pass that
7. responsibility onto the successful employer. That's your responsibility.

A problem that interruptive simultaneous starts might pose is deciding whether they constitute successful or unsuccessful interruptions. The solution to this question can be found in the identification of the interrupter in such situations. With the exception of *simultaneous starts 4*, simultaneous starts occur because what appeared to be a current speaker's finished turn is not actually one: because only speakers have absolute knowledge of whether they have finished their message, when a current speaker decides to continue talking it indicates that the communicative message he/she wanted to express in a turn is not complete. As the right of the current speaker to finish his/her turn commonly takes precedence over the next speaker's right to enter at a TRP, it is the next speaker that acts as the interrupter. As a consequence of this identification, a *simultaneous start 1* is classified as a successful interruption, for the current speaker's turn is unfinished, whereas a *simultaneous start 2* as an unsuccessful one, because now it is the current speaker who continues talking while the interrupter produces only an incomplete turn. Due to its parallelism with an *overlap* and a *parallel*, a *simultaneous start 3* pertains to the group of unsuccessful interruptions.

In the types of simultaneous starts presented so far, the floor is considered to be disputed between an ongoing speaker and a next speaker. But, it is also possible for two next

speakers to compete for the floor at a TRP produced after a third participant's talk. The category *simultaneous start 4* has been proposed to account for this situation. Again, if one of the two willing next speakers gives way to the other within the first four simultaneous syllables or two words, the speaker transition is judged to be non-interruptive; whereas if one of them does not abandon immediately, the speaker switch is viewed as interruptive, as in the following extract.

[**17]** [Interview with Samantha Fox and Barry McGuigan. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **IR1:** Well obviously boxing in itself i- is going to get you fit, but you don't actually
2. land blows, do you.
3. **SF:** No. ⌈There's no contact.
4. **BM:** ⌊No. There's no contact whatsoever. No.
5. **IR1:** No. It's shadow boxing.
6. →**BM:** ⌈No. No no. It's not shadow boxing. It's actually punching the ball, +
7. →**SF:** ⌊Well no. Shadow boxing
8. **BM:** punching the bag, if you can go to a gym. You can shadow box at home. (...)

In this type of category the notions of interrupter and interruptee are not viable since, in principle, neither party has exclusive claim to the floor: any next speaker has the right to start speaking, so that it is not a specific next speaker's utterance that has an interruptive character, but the whole simultaneous talk becomes mutually interruptive. In the above example, Samantha Fox yields the floor to her coach, Barry McGuigan, thus observing the 'not-more-than-one-at-a-time' principle and consequently avoiding to render both utterances unintelligible.[134] A completely different situation, however, would arise if, a turn having been assigned to a specific next speaker, a simultaneous start occurred between the selected next and another self-selector. In this latter case it would be the self-selector's (in)complete utterance that would constitute an intrusion.

Like simultaneous starts, the categories *interrupted interruption*, *overlap* and *parallel* also appear in the scheme as instances of both interruptions and non-interruptions. The latter two categories are classified as non-interruptive when evidence suggests that simultaneous speech is not intended to be obstructive but rather supportive, co-operative

[134] But *cf.* Bilmes (1997:511) who claims that this manifestation of the principle ("rule" in his terminology) is

talk. In extract [18] the *overlap* produced by Seline (l. 12) is intended as an alignment with AUD11 in favour of integration into the European Community and the single currency, and against Peter Shore, who views the single currency as a loss of democracy. In other words, Seline's overlap is not intended as a competition against AUD11 for the floor, but rather the opposite, as an act of collaboration with him against a third party.

[18] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 414-426.]

1. **S:** Isn't it we're just more concerned about our heritage that we feel we'll lose our
2. i⌈dentity.⌉ We're not actually realising=
3. **PS:** ⌊↑No.↑
4. **PS:** =It's your de↑mocracy. + It's what- + what (*vertical hand mov*.) (people fought
5. for. To give you.↑)=
6. **S:** =(*turning to AUD11 who is sitting behind her and also arguing against PS*)
7. ⌈It's your⌉
8. **AUD11:** =(*self-selecting*) ⌊<So you're not a European citizen. You're a British
9. citizen.>
10. **S:** Yes.
11. **AUD11:** <It's not a question of- + it's not a question ⌈of one or the other.>⌉
12. →**S:** (*to AUD11*) ⌊Europe- and- Europe would
13. be a democracy.=
14. **IR:** =(*stumbles*) I'm sorry. (...)

A different instance of co-operative talk is exemplified in the following extract where the *parallel* constitutes part of a joint effort of politely closing the interaction by means of a thanksgiving exchange.

[19] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 806-808.]

1. **IR:** You mentioned it. I didn't. But thank you very ⌈much indeed⌉ Mr. Waldegrave.
2. →**WW:** ⌊Thank you.
3. **WW:** Thank you.

As to interrupted interruptions, these may be judged as non-interruptive if the willing next speaker initiates talk at what appears to be a TRP and withdraws immediately when the interruptee continues talking. For example, in the following excerpt Mr. Waldegrave decides to expand on an utterance (l. 5: "[i]t depends how serious the criticism is") that could perfectly well have constituted an entire turn. Apparently misled, the

not a sufficient sign of interruptiveness.

interviewer attempts to take the floor (l. 7), which is relinquished as soon as the interviewee marks his turn as incomplete (l. 8).

[20] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 698-706.]

1. **IR:** (*click*) Alright. So you won't give the pledge.
2. **WW:** Uh⌈what-⌉+⌈what⌉pledge may I ask you.
3. **IR:** ⌊ hh ⌊That
4. **IR:** That to resi:gn + if the inquiry criticises your conduct.
5. **WW:** <Well. It depends how- + how se- + se⌈rious⌉the criticism is.
6. **IR:** ⌊Alright.
7. →**IR:** That's=
8. **WW:** =If- if they say> + Mr. Waldegrave + could well have taken account of this or
9. that. (...)

Finally, as the interruption categorisation scheme indicates, the sub-classification of complex interruptions parallels that of single interruptions, with the sole difference that a complex interruption comprises any of the single sub-categories mentioned above preceded by one or more attempts at gaining a turn at talk. In the following extract, for example, the interviewer in his purpose of reprimanding Mr. Waldegrave for 'usurping' his role of information elicitor produces a *straightforward complex interruption*, that is, a *simple interruption* (l. 9) preceded in this occasion by two unfruitful attempts at interrupting: a simultaneous start 2 (l. 7) followed by a butting-in (l. 7).[135]

[21] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 768-781.]

1. **WW:** (...) <We got so many hypotheticals there, I'm not quite sure what + exactly
2. we're talking about. I was- I asked you> + do you think it fair, + uh that in every
3. case, + where somebody is unfaithful to their wife, they should resign ministerial
4. office. It seems to me, + that + traditionally in this country, and in any liberal
5. society, we've tried to look + at the individual case and say is there real hurt here?
6. Is there real dishonour here?⌈Have people behaved really badly⌈here? And=
7. →**IR:** ⌊Mr. Waldegrave ⌊Mr. Waldegrave I=
8. **WW:** =then- + and ⌈then you
9. **IR:** =won't- ⌊I won't answer questions. Because I don't answer questions.
10. **WW:** (*laughs*)
11. **IR:** I put questions.=
12. **WW:** =I know.

[135] The label 'straightforward complex interruption' was preferred over 'simple complex interruption' to avoid the seeming contradiction that the expression entails.

As the complex interruption entails a next speaker making several bids for floor space before he/she finally takes over, the category *simultaneous start 4* is not included within the complex group, for one of the two contenders will always get the space in the first attempt and the other will withdraw until a new TRP is in sight. It is also this successive bid for speaker space that makes complex speaker switches commonly interruptive, as the majority of these patterns contain at least one interruptive attempt at floor space (but *vid*. extract [14] above for a complex non-interruptive pattern). Of course, the degree of interruptiveness varies depending on the number of attempts that occur at a non-TRP.

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2.5. Cooperation, face, and politeness

2.5.1. The Cooperative Principle

In order for communication to take place between two rational agents it is necessary not only that these agents transmit information, attitude or commitment between themselves but also that they do it in a co-ordinated way. Grice (1975) identified the guidelines on which an efficient and effective use of language is based. These guidelines underlie the *Cooperative Principle* (CP). According to this principle, conversation is characterised by a joint effort between communicators to achieve a certain purpose or goal in the interaction. Grice expresses the principle as follows:

> Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. (Grice, 1975:45)

Under this essential principle in verbal communication Grice distinguishes four categories or maxims with their corresponding sub-maxims:

– The maxim of *quality*, or truth:

(i) do not say what you believe to be false;
(ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

– The maxim of *quantity*, or amount of information:

(i) make your contribution as informative as is required;
(ii) do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

– The maxim of *relation*:

(i) be relevant.

– The maxim of *manner*, which includes the super-maxim *be perspicuous* and other sub-maxims:

(i) avoid obscurity of expression;
(ii) avoid ambiguity;
(iii) be brief;
(iv) be orderly.

Assuming that participants are interested in pursuing the goal of the verbal exchange, following these maxims should render the exchange profitable. However, it is well-known that participants do not always adhere to the maxims. Sometimes they violate maxims unconsciously. This may occur, for example, when a participant assumes erroneously that his/her interlocutor has sufficient knowledge about the topic or person that they are talking about and therefore avoids giving 'superfluous' information. The interlocutor will have to ask for more information if he/she is to understand exactly what the speaker is talking about.

More frequently, however, violation of the CP occurs deliberately. In these cases the listener, who assumes that the CP is being observed, will have to arrive at the meaning of what is being said by pragmatic implication. *Conversational implicature* (*id*.) refers to the phenomenon of meaning or "implying" more than someone says, intending "what someone has *said* to be closely related to the conventional meaning of the words" (*id*.:44; italics are mine). Therefore, Grice's theory can be said to be hearer-oriented and context-dependent. On the one hand, it is hearer-oriented in the sense that "it spells out the ways in which a hearer arrives at a meaning" (Chilton, 1987:228); on the other hand, it is context-dependent because the meaning implicated in one particular situation differs from the meaning implicated in another situation. For example, to say 'It's hot today, isn't it?' in a context where two persons change topic on the approach of a third person about whom they have been talking has a different implication from saying it when one is about to dress early in the morning. In the first situation, the implication may be that the parties do not want the third person to know that they

have been talking about him/her. In this case, what appears to be a question becomes a marker of topic shift. In the second context, the utterance may implicate that the speaker is actually asking for information about the weather in order to dress accordingly.

Apart from the above-mentioned maxims, Grice also recognises that there are aesthetic, social or moral maxims which regulate conversation and which can originate conversational implicatures. One of these maxims is *politeness*. To be polite is an important principle that people are taught at the early stage of infancy. The high ranking of this principle on the scale of social behaviour at times leaves the CP in the background. This situation may be caused by a clash of maxims, that is, the impossibility of observing two maxims at the same time. Faced with this dilemma, a speaker may opt, for instance, not to reveal the truth (quality maxim), or at least not the whole truth (quantity maxim), about a matter that could cause some distress to the interlocutor. Even more, in order to show respect to one's interlocutor a speaker may decide to "flout a maxim" (Grice, 1975:49) by ostentatiously failing to observe it.[136]

Figures of speech are the best example of exploitation. Figures such as irony, hyperbole or metaphor, among others, constitute the surface structure of an underlying implicated meaning. It is worth noting that, even though they signal politeness by making the listener 'feel good', some of these figures –irony, for example, – may only be a façade of apparent politeness that hides what is actually a rude, even hurtful, remark for the listener.

Having mentioned the important role that politeness plays in a verbal interaction and the relation that it bears to the CP, it is necessary now to discuss the notion of *face*, without which the principle of linguistic politeness would not be understandable.

2.5.2. The notion of face

Goffman (1967) was the first to define the notion of face. He did it in the following terms:

[136] Grice's (1975:49) term "exploitation" is, in my opinion, more accurate than "flouting" (*ibid.*) to refer to situations in which non-observance of a maxim is governed by the principle of politeness. It does not seem very appropriate to use 'flout', which means to disobey and has a negative connotation, for a communicative technique which has the positive aim of making the listener 'feel good'.

> (...) face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes (...). (Goffman, 1967:5)

These attributes form the image a person projects on society. This image or face is shaped by the person's attitude and behaviour among others. Thus, past actions determine present face in the same way as present actions shape future face. As defined by Goffman, the notion is a sociological one. It can be treated as synonymous with 'reputation'. A person will be addressed by other individuals in accordance with his/her good or bad reputation. Face, however, is not an egocentric notion, that is, one person's face is not only constituted by the concern for one's own self but also by the concern for other individuals' faces (*id*.). In other words, a person will defend his/her own face and protect that of others.

Many events can threaten a person's face during an interaction. Following Goffman (*id*.), in order to counteract these 'incidents', *face work* is needed, that is, "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face" (*id*.:12). This ability is sometimes referred to as diplomacy. It covers many strategies. Perhaps the most straightforward one is avoiding interactions that could be a source of face-threatening acts (FTAs). This seems to be the only face-saving strategy that can be considered universal since face work is culture-specific.

Brown & Levinson's (1987) notion of face derives from Goffman. This notion structures their whole work on politeness as a universal in language use. They too define face as

> the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself (...) [and that] is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. (*id*.:61)

Nevertheless, they distinguish between two types of face:

> **negative face**: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others.
> **positive face**: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least others.
> (*id*.:62; emphasis in original)

This distinction shapes a framework of three types of politeness strategies, which will be explained in the following section, namely *positive politeness*, *negative politeness* and *off-record*.

2.5.3. Politeness strategies

According to studies done in the field of politeness, it appears that the task of characterising politeness is a difficult one because of cultural differences among linguistic communities. Despite cultural variation, however, linguists agree that the fundamental basis on which the notion is constructed is universal. This basis refers to the social relationship existing between the speaker and the listener. Despite a certain amount of consensus, differences between theories exist and these depend on the perspective from which politeness is analysed.

Fraser & Nolan (1981) consider verbal interaction a *conversational contract* negotiated between speaker and hearer in terms of rights and duties to which both parties have to adhere. Lakoff (1973), Fillmore (1975) and Brown & Levinson (1987) analyse politeness from the perspective of the emotional distance between participants. Lakoff (*id*.) postulates three principles by which the speaker must not impose on the listener's freedom, thus giving him/her options, and must make the listener 'feel good' by being friendly. Politeness, which specially emphasises sensitivity toward the listener, is determined both by the relationship between participants and the language used.

Leech (1983) also considers politeness an interaction of the social relationship between the participants with *dynamic* and *standing* features of communication. Dynamic features "tend to undergo continuing change and modification during discourse" (*id*.:12); standing features, in contrast, "tend to remain stable over fairly long stretches of time" (*ibid*.). Among the former Leech mentions the illocutionary force of speech acts; among the latter he mentions formality of style. Politeness, he argues, is a function of both types of condition:

> (...) standing features such as the social distance between participants interact with dynamic features such as the kind of illocutionary demand the speaker is making on the hearer (request, advice, command, etc.) to produce a degree of politeness appropriate to the situation. (*ibid*.)

"Social distance" (*ibid*.) can be equated with Grice's notion of face. It is the degree of respectfulness that the participants desire for themselves because of their status, age, degree of intimacy, etc.

The term "illocutionary" derives from work by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), who developed the principle that communication is related both to referential meaning and performance. In other words, when a speaker produces an utterance he/she is not only communicating a meaning but also trying to influence the hearer, for example, by asking, ordering or advising. Austin (*id*.) called the sense and reference of an utterance its *locutionary* meaning and its intended consequence its *illocutionary force*.

Thus, politeness strategies are designed taking into account not only the status of the listener, which is static, but also the expected results of the production of the utterance. That is, the stronger the demand on the listener, the higher the degree of politeness must be. Moreover, the technique and degree of politeness is likely to vary in accordance with the type of illocutionary act. Leech argues that indirect illocutions tend to be more polite because they increase the degree of optionality and diminish their force. The degree of politeness is therefore relative to both the force and type of illocutionary act.

Associated with specific types of illocutionary acts are the six maxims of politeness proposed by Leech. These maxims derive from the *Politeness Principle* (PP) (Leech, 1983), which he formulated in its negative form as "[m]inimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs" (*id*.:81). The principle has also a positive version, namely "[m]aximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs" (*ibid*.). Leech groups maxims (*Tact*, *Generosity*, *Approbation*, *Modesty*, *Agreement*, *Sympathy*) in pairs specifying whether the value expressed in them has to be minimised or maximised with respect to the listener, speaker or both. In order to do so he identified three scales: cost-

benefit, optionality, and indirectness. Politeness as expressed in these maxims is more listener than self centred. This feature of minimisation of self has been adopted by Koike (1989) for the *Principle of Egocentric Minimization in Politeness*. It is more important to minimise cost to another than to maximise benefit to another. This, as Leech argues, may be due to the preference of avoiding discord ("negative politeness" (*id*.:83)) over seeking concord ("positive politeness" (*id*.:84)).

Like Leech, Brown & Levinson (1987) also seek a positive social relationship. As earlier mentioned, the Brown & Levinson framework is based on the notion of face. Their framework refers to strategies which the speakers mutually use to minimise face-threatening acts. FTAs are classified taking into account whose face is being threatened – the speaker's or the listener's–, and which aspect of face –positive or negative.

A first classification divides strategies for doing FTAs into *on record* (*id*.), which leave clear to the listener the intention of the communication, and *off record*, which render the intention of the communication ambiguous. Examples of the latter strategy are irony, understatements or rhetorical questions. In order to arrive at their intended meaning the listener has to use implicature.

A second classification divides on-record strategies into *baldly*, *without redress* (*id*.), which do the FTA in the most clear and direct way without paying attention to face, and *with redressive action* (*id*.), which considers respectfulness towards the interlocutor the key element in order to achieve the goal. This latter strategy is itself sub-divided into *negative politeness* (*id*.), oriented at satisfying the hearer's negative face by interfering as little as possible with his/her freedom of action, and *positive politeness* (*id*.), oriented at the hearer's positive face, thus showing wants common to both.

There is a tension in negative politeness strategies between the speaker's desire to be polite and not to coerce the hearer, and the desire to be direct and clear in one's

intentions. According to Brown & Levinson, the way out of this conflict is through *conventional indirectness*:

> (...), for whatever the indirect mechanism used to do an FTA, once fully conventionalized as a way of doing that FTA it is no longer off record. (Brown & Levinson, 1987:70)

The seriousness of an FTA is related to three important factors. Apart from *social distance* (D), as in (Leech, 1983), Brown & Levinson (*id*.) acknowledge two other factors which influence the degree of politeness, namely *relative power* (P) of speaker and hearer and *absolute ranking* (R) of impositions in a particular culture. Relative power is

> the degree to which H [hearer] can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S's [speaker's] plans and self-evaluation. (Brown & Levinson, 1987:77)

On the other hand, absolute ranking of impositions is the

> degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or of approval (his negative- and positive-face wants). (*ibid*.)

These factors are context-dependent, that is, the degree of D, P and R vary according to circumstances. Thus, the P and D which a doctor or an interviewer display in an interchange with a patient or an interviewee, respectively, differs from the degree of P and D which they display in an informal conversation with a friend. The implication is that a speech act which may constitute an FTA between two strangers of different social statuses may not be perceived as such by a listener who is a friend of the same social status as the speaker.

2.6. Applying CA methodology to the study of broadcast talk

As a type of understanding of *talk-in-interaction* (*vid*. Schegloff, 1992, 1993), the inquiry into broadcast talk will be approached following CA methodology. This understanding is centred on the observation and analysis of the conversational structure of the speech events. Such a structure is primarily concerned with the turn-taking system that organises the distribution of turns at talk into sequences of adjacency pairs. The sequential organisation of, primarily, question-answer pairs will then lead to the overall structure of the speech encounters. The

analysis of the turn-taking organisation also allows to inquire into the actions done in each of the turns at talk. This thematic focus on the conversational organisation will be complemented with references to the structural features of the institutional context in which the speech events take place whenever these features prove to be incorporated in them.

In other words, the study looks at the structure of interactions in which talk is progressively realising the actions that constitute the events. Although the focus falls on the structure of the talk, this talk embodies an event, a speech event that takes place in a specific physical setting, performed by members that belong to a specific social status and occupation. As a consequence, the setting of and the participants to the speech event carry a burden of institutional features into the encounter. One of the objectives is to determine whether, and to what extent, the talk displays characteristics in its organisation that result from the imprint of these institutional parameters. In other words, whether certain institutional components can be localised in spoken interactional terms. It does not consist in accounting for the institutional structure in terms of the conversational organisation of the speech events but, *vice versa*, in accounting for the organisation of the talk in conversational terms and introducing relevant institutional details whenever they, manifestly, enter into the production of the genre and determine facets of its structure and of the participants' conduct. Emphasis falls, therefore, on the explanation of the conversational accomplishment rather than on the contextual – institutional– structure. Focus on the 'external' concerns could systematically obscure features which are products in their own right of the 'internal' conversational structure.

As a process in which talk progressively embodies the shape, content, character and trajectory of the event, the analysis of the organisation of the broadcast genres must show that the details of the talk and of other aspects of the context display the orientation of the participants towards them so that these regularities become the grounds for inference and further action. In short, the analysis will demonstrably show that the behaviour of the

participants is relevant to the event at issue, or, in Schegloff's terms, that it has "determinate consequences for the talk" (Schegloff, 1992:111).[137]

The explication of the objects of inquiry will be approached from an empirically detailed perspective. Despite the fact that it is inevitable not to approach the genres of the political interview, the talk show interview and the audience debate with an amount of interesting intuitions about details mainly concerning the participants and the physical setting, the method employed will attempt to convert these intuitions into empirical details so that what *a priori* might appear to be relevant features to us can manifestly be shown to be relevant to the participants as well. And, that what appears to be relevant about the institutional context both to us and to the participants in question is pertinent to the process of each type of spoken interaction. The objective behind this methodology is to discover regular procedures crucial to each speech event. It is not based on an *a priori* knowledge of the organisation of the interactions, although the elements noticed can, and will, in turn supply the warrant for the intuitions claimed. To help corroborate regularities analysis of deviant cases will be undertaken.

The approach is inductive, descriptive, and contrastive. It is inductive insofar as the conclusions finally reached will be the result of a reasoning founded on factual evidence. The descriptive aspect of the method derives from the aim of providing a detailed analysis of the particulars of the genres. And finally, the contrastive aspect of the approach results from the attempt to juxtapose the features that differentiate the three broadcast genres that constitute the objects of study of the present investigation.

Generally speaking, CA analysis has not paid attention to formal quantification, and claims about interactional conduct have been based on the cumulative experience of extensive corpora analyses.[138] To refer to the frequency of occurrence of particular

[137] Schegloff (1992:111) calls this relevance problem one of "procedural consequentiality".

[138] But *vid*. Heritage & Roth (1998) for the use of quantitative evidence applied to the study of questions in news interviews.

behavioural features terms like 'overwhelmingly', 'generally', 'commonly' or 'massively' have been used. However legitimate this method might be for certain types of interactional analysis, in my view it is not accurate for the kind of contrastive study that I attempt to undertake. Associating interactional practices with three different broadcast genres requires some proportional evidence in relation to which generic similarities and/or differences can be established. Although the use of a formal quantitative method applied specifically to the analysis of interruptions in the three genres is meant to act as an objective indicator supporting my suggestions about generic characterisation, in no way does it aspire to have the status of statistical value. In fact, no chi-square test was applied to test statistical significance of the numerical results obtained. These were compared on a percentage basis.

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2.7. Data collection, transcription, and database design

2.7.1. The corpus

The main corpus of this study consists of 37 videotaped speech events broadcast by BBC and ITV as part of political interview programmes, talk shows and audience discussion programmes, and recorded over a period of 6 years (1991, 1993-1997). The sample of speech events is listed in appendix [1]. Political interview events and debates mostly constitute the entire programme in themselves, whereas talk shows integrate several interview events into the same programme. In any case, the speech events are identified by the name and date of the corresponding programme and contain a brief description, including the names of the interviewers or hosts and interviewees or guests, the topic of talk, and the duration of the speech encounter(s). If it is the case, the presence of a studio audience is also mentioned. In the event of political interviews, reference is also made to the setting whenever the interview is not staged in a television studio.

The selection of the sample speech events was made on a random basis, the only ruling criterion being their representativeness of one of the broadcast genres under investigation. From the main corpus is excluded a group of 6 programmes (listed under *miscellaneous* in appendix [1]) which were originally gathered and considered for analysis. Later, however, after repeated viewing and partial transcription, they were found not to be

representative of the genres selected for study. Thus, the audience discussion programmes *Esther* (1995, on crime, drugs and prostitution), *Vanessa*, *The Time, The Place* (1995, on chocolate addiction), and *The Oprah Winfrey Show* were excluded for their basically therapeutic character. Moreover, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* is an American programme. *Pursuit of Power* was discarded because of its blurred boundaries between the political and the talk show interview genres. Finally, the lack of a prototypical talk show setting led to the exclusion of the programme *Jonathan Ross* from the main corpus.

The sample events together last a total of 14 hours 27 minutes 30 seconds. The amount of time devoted to commercials is substracted from this figure. The distribution of time per genre is as follows:

Political interviews: 7 hours 30 sec.

Talk show interviews: 3 hours 54 min.

Debates: 3hours 33min.

The sample is composed of 13 political interviews, 18 talk show interviews, and 6 audience debates. Most political interviews are a two-party speech event between a journalist and a politician, without a studio audience present. Exceptions are the *Jonathan Dimbleby* programmes, *Granada on Sunday*, and *A Week in Politics* (January 1994), which enlarge the number of participants to the interview. The interviews contained in the latter two programmes are, respectively, multi-interviewer and multi-interviewee encounters. The outstanding feature of the Dimbleby programmes is the presence of a studio audience to whom the second part of the programme is devoted so that they can directly question the politician.

As to the talk show programmes recorded, they contain a series of dyadic interviews between a host or interviewer and a public figure, mostly actors/actresses and singers. The studio audience is mostly passive, audible only through applause and laughter. Exceptional are the programmes *This Morning* and *The Late Late Show*: in the former programme, each interview is carried out by two interviewers; in the latter, the studio audience is given the opportunity to participate actively by posing questions to the guests.

Finally, the debate programmes generally consist in a controversial audience discussion about a social or political issue, monitored by a host. The audience is formed by ordinary, anonymous people and invited guests, mainly experts and/or lay people who claim a special knowledge gained from experience. Variant versions are the programmes *Sport in Question* and *Question Time* which are formatted as a discussion between a panel of experts to which the audience has access later.

Most programmes were fully taped and analysed. Due to technical problems, four programmes (*Granada on Sunday*; *A Week in Politics*, January 1994; *The Late Late Show*; and *Question Time*) were only partly recorded, and consequently analysis concentrated on a set of individual interviews or sections integrating those programmes. For the purpose of analysis, the greater bulk of the corpus was transcribed personally in full, in a period of over two years. A few talk show interviews, however, were transcribed only in part and as necessary for specific analytical purposes. Nevertheless, these interviews were repeatedly viewed in full. No existent computerised corpus was used since the ones revised, such as the *British National Corpus* or the *Lund Corpus*, contain spoken discourse centred basically on non-broadcast speech, and of the collection of broadcast data existing, most recordings concentrate on news broadcasts. To my knowledge, no British corpus contains transcripts of the genres under research.[139]

The mode of transcription combines English orthography with notational conventions that follow the model developed by Gail Jefferson (*vid*. Schenkein, 1978). The CA model was extended or modified in some symbols to suit the purpose of my analysis. The transcripts capture the verbal and prosodic details of speech, such as inbreaths, cut-offs, simultaneous speech, pauses, extra lengthening of a sound or syllable, and variation in intonation, pitch level, stress and loudness. Kinesic phenomena (*e.g.* hand movements, gaze, laughs, etc.) were also selectively included in the transcripts insofar as they became

[139] Even US corpuses with American data, such as *Burrelle's Information Services* or the *Linguistic Data Consortium* (University of Pennsylvania), concentrate mostly on news programmes.

analytically relevant. Particular transcript extracts have been reproduced throughout the text for illustrative purposes. In addition, the transcripts of an entire talk show interview, political interview and debate are included in appendices 3, 4, and 5, respectively. In order to secure reliability of the texts, most of the transcripts were revised by a native English subject. Noting prosodic details was particularly problematic, especially after several hours of continuous transcribing. Therefore, those parts which were judged to be biased by repeated ear exposure to the same prosodic feature were also revised by a second person with a knowledge of prosody.

Due to time restrictions, the study of the interruption process in broadcast talk was not based on the total bulk of data constituting the main corpus but on a selection of 12 speech events. The duration of the events analysed ranges from 3 minutes 60 seconds, as in *Granada on Sunday*, to 53 minutes, as in *Walden*. Appendix [2] contains the entire sample, including a brief description of each speech event in a similar fashion to appendix [1]. The total amount of talk fully transcribed and analysed per genre is distributed in the following way: 1 hour 46 minutes 30 seconds of political interviews, 49 minutes of talk show interviews, and 1 hour 40 minutes of audience debates. The difference in duration between, on the one hand, the talk show interview genre and, on the other hand, the political interview and audience debate genres did not seem to be an impediment for establishing comparisons since the number of categories of interruptions produced in each genre would be related to the total number of interruptions generated in that genre.

2.7.2. The interruption database

2.7.2.1. The database design

After the selection and transcription of the speech events, a third stage of the approach to the data that would constitute the basis of the study of the interruption process corresponded to the identification of all seeming interruptive speech patterns. Finally, once the interruptions had been located, they were included into a specially designed electronic database (SQLBase by Centura), each example constituting one register. Each register organised the information about the relevant interruptive pattern into a structure of fields

representing all the parameters that were considered for the analysis. The set of parameters was adapted from Bañón-Hernández's (1997) study on Spanish radio and TV programmes.

The database was designed so that each SEEMING interruption was assigned one register containing the following informative items, distributed in as many fields:

(a) Name of the programme.
(b) Genre.
(c) Example, *i.e.* the transcript of the extract containing the interruption.
(d) Interruption number: each interruption was assigned a number that would facilitate its location both within the database and on the transcript.
(e) And a series of classifications attending to the following distinctions:
  1 According to its nature: competitive (metaconversational or not) or collaborative.
  2 According to the participants: dyadic interaction, multi-IR interaction, multi-IE interaction, or other.
  3 With or without simultaneous speech.
  4 According to complexity: single, complex, compound, or successive.
  5 If other than single, number of interruptions.
  6 How do the interlocutors interpret the behaviour produced by the interrupter?: interruption, non-interruption, 'disinterruptionalisation' (partial or complete), or 'interruptionalisation' (partial or complete).
  7 Who is the interrupter?: IR, IE, AUD, IR1, IR2, or Secondary IR
  8 According to who the interruptee is: frontal, lateral, special frontal, or special lateral.
  9 According to who the addressee of the interruptive talk is: frontal (same or different participant), lateral (same or different participant), special frontal (same or different participant), or special lateral (same or different participant).
  10 Category (following the scheme outlined in section 2.4.2.3).
  11 With or without prior notice.
  12 Position of interruption with respect to interrupted turn (a): initial (with or without simultaneous start) or non-initial.
  13 Position of interruption with respect to interrupted turn (b):
    - at a TRP: after verbal and intonational cues;
    - not at a TRP:
      - after verbal cues only;
      - next to a predictable end;
      - not next to a predictable end.
  14 Reason for predictability of the end of the interrupted talk.
  15 Reaction towards the interruption:
    - acceptance of interruption:
      - the interruptee keeps the floor;

- the interrupter takes the floor;
- non-acceptance of interruption:
  - the interruptee rejects the interruption;
  - the interrupter insists in interrupting;

16 If acceptance of interruption, marker of acceptance.

17 If non-acceptance:
- the interrupter uses downtoners or intensifiers;
- the interruptee resorts to neutralisation or sanction.

18 The IR or host mediates:
- assigning the floor to the interruptee;
- assigning the floor to the interrupter;
- other.

19 Strategies used by the IR or host in mediation:
- use of vocative;
- use of directive(s);
- other.

20 After the interruptee regains the floor again:
- abandonment;
- rectification;
- continuation;
- repetition;
- other.

21 If the interruptee produces abandonment:
- he/she inserts the content of the interrupting message into his/her turn;
- he/she omits that information.

22 From a thematic point of view (a):
- to change the topic;
- to keep the same topic.

23 From a thematic point of view (b):
- conflictive:
  - disagreeing;
  - other;
- non-conflictive:
  - agreeing;
  - other.

24 According to an informative perspective:
- relevant;
- irrelevant;
- relevance-triggering;
- irrelevance-triggering.

25 According to the informative relevance:
- to ask for new or complementary information;
- to provide new information;
- to complete information provided by another speaker;
- to complete information given by oneself in a prior turn;

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- to correct a piece of information;
- to confirm interferences in the communicative channel;
- other.

So then, each record comprises two broad sections: identification of the interruptive pattern (fields (a) to (d)) and its classification (the rest of the fields). The latter section, in turn, analyses the structure of the interruption from two perspectives: a pragma-communicative one (fields (1) to (20)) and a thematic-informative one (fields (21) to (25)), thus taking into consideration all the interactional aspects that are involved in the interruption process in addition to the merely linear ones.

Before proceeding further, some of the fields of the classification demand a word of explanation. First of all, it is important to point out that the database was designed in such a way that it could make provisions for turn-taking patterns that should turn out not to be interruptive on closer inspection. One such provision is contained in the first classification, where only a *competitive* speaker switch is properly interruptive, whereas a *collaborative* one is not. The possibility of recording instances that only superficially look like interruptions is again considered in classification (6), where the option *non-interruption* clearly rules the record out from the present contrastive study. For purposes of count, therefore, the database contained a check box which was marked when a record was eventually to be excluded from the corpus of interruptions. Further provisions are made with regard to the way participants interpret the turn-taking behaviour. The label '*disinterruptionalisation*' considers the possibility that on occurrence of an interruption one participant (*partial*) or both (*complete*) might not receive it as such, whereas the term '*interruptionalisation*' provides for the opposite, *i.e.* that on non-occurrence of an interruptive turn exchange one participant (*partial*) or both (*complete*) might consider it intrusive (*vid*. Bañón-Hernández, 1997:25).[140] Cases of 'interruptionalisation' and 'disinterruptionalisation' are treated as such only at an overt expression by one of the parties that the turn shift was or was not considered violative, respectively.

[140] The labels 'disinterruptionalisation' and 'interruptionalisation' correspond, respectively, to "desinterrupcionalización" and "interrupcionalización" proposed in Bañón-Hernández (1997:25).

The first classification of the database distinguishes competitive interruptions which are *metaconversational* from those which are not. Because the notion *metaconversational* is understood in a wide sense, metaconversational interruptions refer not only to turns whose purpose is to comment on the talk itself, but also to any primary act that topicalises aspects of the regulation of the interactional behaviour.[141] Since resolving turn-order or turn-type violations, regulating topic control, or selecting next speaker are actions dealing with the conversational behaviour itself, they have been included herein. Metaconversational interruptive turns are, nevertheless, to be distinguished from turns which, though introduced by a metaconversational act, are not meant to comment on the talk. Metaconversational secondary acts of the type 'can I say something about this' or 'let me just' do not realise moves on their own but only precede the primary act that will constitute the verbal action that carries the conversation forward.

Classifications (7), (8), and (9) define the interruption in terms of the persons participating in the process. In this sense, three roles are identified: the *interrupter*, or agent who produces the interruptive utterance; the *interruptee*, whose ongoing speech is obstructed; and the *addressee*, or recipient of the interruptive utterance. The role of interrupter may be taken up by any of the participants with a communicative role in any of the different genres analysed in this study. Thus, the interrupter role may be occupied by the (main) interviewer, host or presenter (*IR*), an interviewee (*IE*), an anonymous member of the audience or the audience as a whole (*AUD*), by one of two interviewers having the same status relationship within the speech encounter (*IR1*, *IR2*), or by a participant with the role of interviewer or presenter but with an inferior internal status to that of IR (*Secondary IR*). Depending on the communicative roles adopted by interrupter and interruptee, the interruption may be classified as *frontal* or *lateral* –interrupter and interruptee having a different or the same communicative function, respectively (*vid.* Bañón-Hernández, 1997:32-3). This has important pragmatic consequences as an interruption taking place

[141] For the distinction between primary, secondary, and complementary acts *vid*. Stenström (1994).

between an IR and an IE has a different reading from an interruption produced between two IRs or two IEs. To the two classes identified in Bañón-Hernández (*id.*) two further groups are proposed here. The classifier *special lateral* identifies an interruptive behaviour which entails participants with equal communicative roles but unequal internal status relationship (*e.g.* IR-Secondary IR relation), whereas *special frontal* allows for a frontal interruption where one of the two parties has an internal status which is lower than that of a third participant with the same role (*e.g.* IE-Secondary IR relation). Finally, as to the classification regarding the addressee of the interruption, it parallels that of the interruptee, the only difference being that the specification *same* or *different participant* reflects the fact that the addressee of the interruption does not necessarily have to be the interruptee.

Moving to the position of the interruption, an *initial* interruption is counted as occurring within the first four syllables of the current speaker's ongoing speech; beyond that point the position is classed as *non-initial*. An initial interruption may be produced with or without a simultaneous start.

A speaker shift occurring after a structure that is only verbally complete, lacking terminal intonational cues, is considered not to occur at a TRP. Other non-TRP speaker transitions may take place at points that are close to a predictable turn end. Predictability is judged on semantic-pragmatic terms. A prototypical non-TRP predictable turn exchange corresponds to overlaps with fixed expressions or with words whose ends can be deduced on hearing their initial syllables. Yet other shifts may occur at a place that is not close to a predictable end.

As to the resumption of the interrupted turn, the interruptee may opt to *abandon* it (formally and/or semantically), so that the new turn bears no direct relation to the interrupted one. Alternatively, the interruptee may decide either to *rectify* (formally and/or semantically) what he/she was saying, to *continue* exactly at the same point where he/she had stopped talking, or to *repeat* the end of his/her prior turn before continuing to talk (*id.*:68).

The last two classifications in need of some comment correspond to (23) and (24). The former classification distinguishes between intrusions that produce or react towards some kind of face threat (*conflictive*) and those that do not entail or respond to a threat to the interlocutor's public self-image but rather enhance it (*non-conflictive*). Classification (24) groups interruptions into either a *relevant*, *irrelevant*, *relevance-triggering*, or *irrelevance-triggering* class. An interruptive turn exchange is classed as *relevant* if it provides new or complementary information necessary for an appropriate understanding of the message. If, by contrast, the information contained in the interruptive utterance does not provide new information, nor gives any enlightenment on the message, the interruption is *irrelevant* (*id*.:85). Related to the previous two groups, Bañón-Hernández claims that interruptions can also be *relevance-triggering*[142] if their aim is to highlight the novelty or the semantic-textual interest of the information transmitted by the interruptee; and, *irrelevance-triggering* when they intend to criticise the alledged value, interest or timeliness of the interruptee's ongoing speech.[143]

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2.7.2.2. Speaker exchange patterns excluded from the generic study of interruptions

The database contained a total of 546 records of seeming interruptions. Excluded from database entries were BCs, for BCs are not eligible to count as interruptions for the reasons expounded earlier in this chapter. Also ignored were expirations and inspirations.

Out of the 546 records only 256 were classed as interruptive following the scheme in section 2.4.2.3, and therefore constitute the sample on which the generic study of the interruption will be based. Of the total number of records 99 entries were excluded since they corresponded to pieces of inaudible simultaneous speech which would render the patterns

[142] For lack of exact equivalent terms in the literature revised to Bañón-Hernández's (1997:85) terms "pertinentizadora" and "impertinentizadora", the terms *relevance-triggering* and *irrelevance-triggering* have, respectively, been proposed.

[143] Relevance-triggering and irrelevance-triggering interruptions serve to corroborate that relevance is a gradable phenomenon and that participants in a speech exchange do not necessarily agree on the degree of relevance of what is being said: what for one interlocutor is relevant may appear completely irrelevant to another.

unanalisable with respect to most parameters. On closer inspection, a further 79 corresponded to non-interruptive speaker shifts. And finally, a further 112 entries recorded behavioural patterns that were considered borderline, as they could not clearly be assigned either to an interruptive or a non-interruptive pattern.

The group of non-interruptive speaker shifts comprises mostly instances of simultaneous speech (specially simultaneous starts 1, 2, and 3) where one of the participants withdraws immediately, and cases of collaborative simultaneous speech (*vid*. extracts [14], [15], [18], and [19] in section 2.4.2.5). In a descending order in the frequency of occurrence, next come the patterns in which a willing next speaker attempts to take the floor at what appears a finished turn; after uttering one or two words, the current speaker continues speaking, thereby cutting off the next speaker's attempt. The pattern resembles an interrupted interruption with the peculiarity that the next speaker withdraws immediately, thus indicating an orientation towards the right of the first speaker to finish (*vid*. extract [20] in section 2.4.2.5). Less frequent are instances where the IR or host produces metaconversational simultaneous utterances aimed at yielding the turn precisely to the current speaker.[144] These cases contrast with clear interruptions where the IR or host obstructs the current speaker's talk to assign next speakership to a different participant. The least common non-interruptive pattern corresponds to what might be called *self-interruptions* (*vid*. Bañón-Hernández, 1997), utterances that the current speaker leaves unfinished because he/she decides to stop talking for

[144] The next excerpt exemplifies this non-interruptive pattern: the host repeats turn assignment to John Wilkinson by means of nomination (l. 9) in a conversational slot that JW, following the earlier turn assignment (l. 4), had already taken to be his talking space, thereby generating simultaneous speech.

[22] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 521-533.]

1. **AUD16:** Well, I entirely agree with the young people. (...) I don't think they're giving ↑near↑ly
2. enough support to John Major, who is an ex↑tremely↑ good negotiator, (*JW moving*
3. *his index finger from one side to the other, saying no*) (and showed that) at Maastricht.=
4. **IR:** =John.=
5. **AUD16:** =And we should ↑trust↑ him.=
6. **JW:** =I think
7. **AUD16:** And we should su↑pport ↑ him. + And- and let him ↑go in.↑ And get the very (*sbdy*
8. *clapping*) (best we can for Europe.) Which I believe John Major can do.
9. →**IR:** ⌈John. John. John.=
10. **JW:** ⌊It was
11. **JW:** =It was suggested that (...)

some reason.[145] Finally, as elsewhere stated, sequences of the type 'you know' or 'you see' are turn-yielding signals, so that speaker transitions produced in overlap with one such sequence are also non-interruptive.

The group of borderline cases has to be viewed as a continuum ranging from speaker shifts that are closest to non-interruptions to others that are closest to interruptions. Closest to non-interruptions are turn switches occurring near to a predictable TRP. Especially common within this subset are overlaps. Following Murray's (1985) severity scale, these would constitute instances of least severe interruptions; or, from Hutchby's (1992) perspective, they would be interruptive only from a sequential point of view, not from a moral one. Basing the classification of interruptive *vs*. non-interruptive on the concept of predictability entails a risk: predictability is a fuzzy notion, for there is never the absolute security that the current speaker will say what one thinks he/she will say, unless the predicted end of the utterance corresponds to part of a fixed expression, to part of a word that the listener is able to guess on hearing its initial syllable, or to part of a repetition of something previously mentioned.[146] Since in other

[145] According to Bañón-Hernández (*id*.:18, fn. 2) the reasons for a self-interruption may be varied: the speaker considers that what he/she was going to say is of little interest to the interlocutor, or wants to give the impression that the topic is uninteresting; the speaker realises that he/she is making a blunder and consequently stops talking; or, the speaker tries to check whether he/she is still being listened to. (For the use of other mechanisms of eliciting a display of recipiency from one's co-interactant *cf*. Heath (1984)). In the following example extracted from an audience discussion programme the IR abandons after what looks like the beginning of an adverbial clause of time (l. 7), possibly because the information is easily recoverable from the context and needs therefore not to be made explicit again. Laughter from the audience at that point seems to corroborate this hypothesis as it indicates that the meaning of the IR's utterance has been fully understood even without the missing adverbial clause.

[23] [Programme: *Vanessa*.]

1. **IR:**...you- + you- you like it [=sex] so much, that when you can't have it, sometimes you ↑panic↑ and-
2. + and call the Sa↑maritans.↑[+]
3. **K:** I did. Yeah. (*laughs; AUD laughter*)
4. **IR:** And ↑what did you say to them.↑[++]
5. **K:** I ↑told them I was quite↑ ++ frustrated and desperate. + And they like "well we're Samaritans.
6. Talk to me." An' I'm like + five hours later, + I'm still on the phone to him. ++ And he's like=
7. →**IR:** =They don't send over reinforcements, do they. When (*AUD laughter*) [++]
8. **K:** (*laughs*) No. They try to help your frustration. [+]

[146] In the following extract, overlapping talk occurs after the first two syllables of the word 'modernisation' have been uttered (l. 5). The overlap is produced at a point where the possibilities of equivocality with respect to the prediction of the full word, and hence of the possible completion of the turn, is reduced to the minimum.

cases prediction may be more or less successful, I considered it convenient to include them all within the group of borderline cases with the qualification that those overlaps resulting from the next speaker successfully predicting what is to come should rather be judged as non-interruptive as they show the give-and-take of active participation and attentiveness.[147]

Another type of speaker exchange to be included within the subset of closest to non-interruptive is the case of simultaneous speech with immediate withdrawal occurring one syllable away from the previous TRP as a result of misprojecting the exact timing-in.[148] An attempt at speaker shift at two syllables away from the previous TRP would be located on the scale further away from the non-interruptive end.

Yet a further set of borderline cases relates to appended phrases or short clauses. These resemble afterthoughts that are added after what appears to be a clear TRP, commonly accompanied by a long pause, and are produced after the next speaker has already started speaking (generally after two or three syllables). Very often these afterthoughts are produced simultaneously with part of the next speaker's utterance; at times, however, they may cause a cut-off in the other's talk. Though afterthoughts are generally taken not to interrupt the next

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[24] [Interview with Tony Benn. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*. Appendix 3, ll. 281-295.]

1. **IR:** (...) <But looking at- looking at the speeches on your-> your video, + uhm you're + <to a certain
2. extent- you're railing against the:- the world going against you. You- obviously you're against [+]
3. (...)
4. **IR:** (...) But you're against + going into Europe, you're against moder⌈nisation,
5. →**TB:** ⌊<No no. I'm not against- I'm
6. against being> run from Brussels,
7. **IR:** Yeah,=
8. **TB:** =by people we don't elect, (...)

[147] *Cf.* Schegloff (1987) for the view that overlaps occurring near to a predictable TRP do not constitute interruptions.

[148] In the following extract the IR starts up one syllable away from an otherwise adequately complete turn.

[25] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 184-9.]

1. **WW:** It's seems to me entirely natural. + I think what they are doing, + or what not, then actually-
2. remember it's not ↑they↑ + who're doing it, + it's- it's um- it's + the way in which + things are
3. presented to them. + The⌈thing⌉
4. →**IR:** ⌊By whom.
5. **WW:** BY + YOU. AND BY ME. AND BY THE NEWSPAPERS. BY ALL OF US who are opinion
6. formers (...)

speaker, judgement may vary depending on whether the other's speech is cut off or not, and also on the length of the appended phrase. Thus, a long afterthought and/or one that breaks the next speaker's ongoing speech is likely to be felt closer to the interruptive end of the continuum; whereas a short phrase (especially if said with reduced loudness) uttered parallel to the current speaker's talk is possibly more akin to a non-interruption. Inseparable from the question of deciding the degree of 'interruptiveness' is the problem of identifying the 'interrupter'. As presented, the 'violation' of the turn-taking system is originated by the speaker that sends out wrong turn-yielding signals which he/she then does not orient to.[149]

[149] Extract [26] below illustrates a short appended phrase that appears to be a non-interruptive parallel (l. 7). In extract [27] Prince Naseem Hamed reacts to the same turn yielding signals as displayed in extract [26] (syntactic, semantic and intonational completeness, and a long pause) and takes the floor (l. 6) to answer the question put by the Secondary IR (l. 5). However, unlike extract [26], PNH withdraws before completing his utterance, which seems to indicate some sort of violation of the turn-taking system. When realising that the Secondary IR has not finished his elicitation, PNH displays attention to the Secondary IR's right to finish it by relinquishing the floor to him. Though, at first sight, PNH might have been thought to be interrupting somebody's yet incomplete elicitation, the analysis of considering PNH the interrupter is difficult to sustain. His behaviour perfectly complies with the rules of an ordered turn shift: he not only awaits clear turn-yielding signals, but also withdraws immediately when the Secondary IR initiates the two adverbial clauses of time (l. 7), thereby signalling his intention not to obstruct the Secondary IR's speech. Consequently, it seems more accurate to argue in favour of the interruptive behaviour of the Secondary IR.

[26] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 192-9.]

1. **IR:** Moira. + Moira Moira.
2. **M:** I wanted to say, ++ I think you'll find that the majority of people actually want the single currency.
3. (*AUD laughing*) (Because it will make- + it will make the single market) more efficient.
4. (++) (*swallows*) How<u>ev</u>er, <u>how</u> are we going to create + the con<u>dit</u>ions + where we can sur<u>vive</u> + uh
5. in <u>Eur</u>ope. [++]
6. **IR:** What are⌈ you tal ⌉king about. A single currency.
7. →**M:** ⌊After that.
8. **M:** (*nodding*) Yes.

[27] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **Sec. IR:** Well, when + Jim Watt said it was an unnecessary punch, + did you feel that that last punch +
2. was unnecessary Nas?
3. **PNH:** Well at the end of the day the uh- the referee made it carry on. (...) the referee's the main man in
4. there. [+]
5. **Sec. IR:** What was your exact feelings. [++]
6. **PNH:** My exact⌈ feelings
7. →**Sec. IR:** ⌊When you threw that punch. + When you threw it.
8. **PNH:** Uh I knew I wasn't going to hurt him (...)

A clearer illustration of an 'interruptive' appended phrase is shown in extract [28]. The high pitch level with which Burkhard Birke utters the phrase (l. 7) emphasises the conflict between the pound and the Deutsche Mark, and extensively the disagreement between most British and German citizens towards the single currency. BB appears to be using the appended phrase as a device of stressing confrontation by invading Peter Shore's speaking space. Moreover, PS's repetition of 'because' appears to be a floor-holding technique aimed at counteracting BB's behaviour and thus displaying it as interruptive.

[28] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 267-274.]

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1. **PS:** (*addressing BB*) The- the- the heart of the matter from the German point of view, is of course that
2. Germany has the strongest economy, and the strongest currency in Europe. (...) It's a great self-interest
3. we have in this matter.
4. **BB:** But, I mean, we are + clear about one thing. (...) ↑Why don't the British want such a strong
5. currency.↑
6. **PS:** Because-⌈because our only-⌉because- because we have many different objectives to uh achieve,=
7. →**BB:** ⌊↑Stronger than the pound.↑
8. **PS:** =in economic policy, <u>oth</u>er than + price stability, (...)

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CHAPTER THREE: OPENINGS

3.1. Introduction

3.1.1. Openings in ordinary conversations

Of the overall structure of speech encounters, openings constitute the first distinguishable section or transaction. Before individuals can be said to be at the heart of a conversation, some prior initial steps have been taken to reach that state. Individuals do not find themselves suddenly talking about a topic without having previously engaged themselves in some activities specifically oriented at negotiating the entry into that spoken interaction.

Entry into ordinary conversation is managed in a co-ordinated fashion between parties and may be initiated by any party. The initial phase or opening is geared towards resolving questions of identity and goal or purpose. Depending on whether the conversation is held face-to-face or over the telephone, the problem of identification is resolved in different ways (*vid*. Schegloff, 1979).

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Descriptions of telephone conversations (*vid*. Schegloff, 1972a, 1979) have shown that upon the answerer's 'hello' the caller returns the greeting, which is commonly accompanied by an address form. The greeting is then routinely followed by a self-identification component, which in cases of familiarity may be omitted, thus inviting the called person to recognise the caller. After the identification, the caller introduces the first topic, which may be reduced to the simple ritual question 'how are you?' (*cf*. Schegloff, 1972a), or may be more formal, as in institutional calls (*cf*. Zimmerman, 1984). The topic is not generally fixed by both parties in advance,[150] a characteristic that also defines ordinary face-to-face conversations. Sometimes a call may be made just as a ritual to maintain social relationships, without an intended "transactional" purpose (Brown & Yule, 1983:1ff; Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990:3ff). The topic(s) is/are then negotiated on a turn-by-turn basis. Generally, however, the purpose of the call is transactional, in which case the caller knows what will usually become the main topic of the conversation, since that topic is the

[150] Although it is not at all uncommon for a call to be arranged in advance by the co-interactants in order to talk about a specific matter.

reason for the call. But, that reason does not necessarily have to be the first topic nor the only one of the conversation.

The opening of a telephone conversation is organised as a summons-answer sequence, where the ring constitutes the attention-getting device and the first speaker's 'hello' the answer. From the moment when the called person responds to the summons, he/she incurs the obligation of listening to what the caller has to say. The summons-answer sequence is, then, a non-terminal sequence (*vid*. Schegloff, 1972a) that functions as a preliminary to further talk.

In order to enter a conversation the initiator has to establish interactionally that the intended co-interactant is willing to collaborate. This problem of availability is solved through the summons-answer sequence. Through the second pair part of this adjacency pair the called person indicates readiness to listen and therefore to initiate the speech interaction proper. Consequently, the sequence aligns both speaker and listener roles to summoner and answerer, respectively, and establishes who is entitled to the next turn at talk.

Whereas the identification problem in telephone calls is resolved through a sequence of turns, in face-to-face conversations, as Schegloff (1979) has noted, the process of mutual identification is normally achieved by visual means and can occur in the "pre-beginning" of the interaction (*id*.:27). The necessity of achieving identification is related to the property of "recipient design" (*id*.:26) of social conduct. This means that an individual's behaviour is affected by the person interactionally addressed. It is important for an interactant to establish the identity of his/her recipient, because it is *vis-à-vis* this identity that the interactant defines his/her own local identity in terms of which he/she will conduct his/her behaviour. In other words, mutual identification defines the roles of the parties to the interaction, and the roles, in turn, determine the actions performed by the parties. Mutual involvement in a spoken interaction is, therefore, ultimately dependent on an initial identification process.

Visual identification, movement of one party to the other or of both parties mutually toward each other and greetings are commonly the actions performed to display co-presence in informal face-to-face conversations and, through it, availability to start a spoken interaction.[151]

3.1.2. News interview openings

Description of the management of interview openings has been undertaken as part of the investigation of news interviews (*vid*. Jucker, 1986; Clayman, 1987, 1991), the only broadcast interview genre exhaustively examined to date from an interactional perspective. Jucker (*id*.) sketches the structure of the opening section of the news interview in a flow-chart adopted from Ventola (1983) that shows the development of the interaction in terms of decision slots occurring during the initial phase of the interview. Jucker concluded that the opening sequence is organised into obligatory and optional components, and that the rules that govern the structural organisation of this phase are the same for all news interviews. He also pointed out that variation between news interview openings is related to the way the components are formulated and to the distinct choices taken at each decision slot.

The two obligatory components identified in Jucker (*id*.:47), namely "topic introduction" and "IE introduction", are more finely described as constituting three components in Clayman (1987:112): "agenda projection", "background information", and "IE introduction". Without substantially changing the structure described in Clayman (1987), Clayman (1991:50ff) offers a yet more detailed decomposition of the opening phase into optional and obligatory components: "pre-headline", "headline", "story", "pre-introduction", and "introduction". Both Clayman's works also contain an exhaustive explanation of the principles that govern the selection of IE descriptions, as well as a list of IE alignment types towards the topic of the interview. Clayman (*id*.) found that the opening

[151] Heath's (1984) report of a similar display of availability in the medical setting demonstrates that this behaviour is not exclusive of informal face-to-face interactions.

sequence in news interviews is, unlike in ordinary conversations, managed unilaterally by the IR and entirely and exclusively addressed to the viewers.

3.1.3. Aim and outline of the chapter

How this initial opening process is managed in the three genres investigated constitutes the object of examination of this chapter. For this purpose, the present chapter is organised into three sections each focusing on the overall structure of the opening phase in one genre. In the first place political interviews will be examined (section 3.2), followed by talk show interviews (section 3.3), and finally debates (section 3.4). In a last section, (section 3.5) I shall try to determine the influence of the institutional machinery on the organisation of the structure of the opening sections, and to establish how genre-specific imprints are manifested in the openings of the three generic contexts. Differences in the opening structures will be highlighted and accounted for from a generic perspective. More specifically, I shall try to demonstrate that the particular opening structure of each communicative event is determined by the specific goal or set of goals of the event, and by the relationship between participants and the intended audience.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 are further arranged into sub-sections. Thus, sub-section 3.2.1 will deal with the overall structure of the political interview opening as organised into routine or relatively obligatory components; sub-section 3.2.2 will look into the distinction between interview opening and programme opening; sub-section 3.2.3 will mainly centre on optional components; sub-section 3.2.4 will deal with the particular case of free-standing interviews; sub-section 3.2.5 will examine the format of the IE introduction component; and, finally, sub-section 3.2.6 will conclude with a summary and a comparison with news interview openings. As to the section concerned with talk show interviews, sub-section 3.3.1 will basically describe the whole opening structure, whereas sub-section 3.3.2 will briefly examine cases of IE pre-introductions, and sub-section 3.3.3 will offer a summary.

3.2. Structure of openings in political interviews

The chunk of talk that constitutes the opening phase of the political interview is organised into distinguishable routine components that tend to occur in a relatively fixed order. However, variations in the degree of complexity of the openings exist. With regard to this, the justification of certain optional components, as well as the entire organisation of the sequence of components, often has to be traced to the way in which the interview is integrated into the overall structure of the TV programme.

3.2.1. Routine opening components

Examination of our data showed that political interview openings customarily contain three structural components: (a) *headline*, (b) *story*, and (c) *IE introduction*.[152] Consider the following excerpt which, for the present purpose, will function as our control interview:

[29] [Interview with George Robertson. Programme: *A Week in Politics*.]

1. **IR:** (*to camera*) Also in This Week in Politics, as those ancient Tory artillery pieces
2. (*inaud.*) exploded (insults) across the Atlantic, we asked where does Labour really stand in
3. the great European war.
4. (*other programme items announced*)
5. Meanwhile what of the Labour Party.
6. →Where do they stand on Europe.
7. →Well. The truth is they're really not far removed from the Tories. ++ There are some
8. differences of course. They are in favour of the social charter. Whatever + that turns out to
9. mean. And they will (mount) to move towards a common + foreign and security policy
10. assuming that Douglas Hurd + doesn't do it first. But these are relatively minor (margers)
11. compared with the three big issues that seem to dominate the current agenda. And they are
12. + a single currency, + a central bank, + and + political union. ++ Now. These Labour's
13. official stands appears- appear to be almost identical to that of John Major. + On the single
14. currency, its latest policy document, Opportunity Britain, states + "premature monetary
15. union would damage Britain. We oppose + a rigid + timetable + for monetary union." ++
16. Just like the Tories. + On the European Central Bank, Labour only wants one that is
17. accountable to politicians. ++ Just like the Tories. And on political union, if you dip into
18. this famous document, Looking to the Future, you can read the words + "we do not believe
19. that further progress towards European unity + will or should + lead to + a European +
20. Superstate." + And where did we hear ↑that↑ this week. ++ Labour has even got their own
21. ↑Bruges Group↑ in the form of the Labour Common Market Safeguards Committee led by
22. Peter Shore + who thinks that Mrs. Thatcher + isn't wrong + about everything.

[152] Most of the labels identifying the opening components of political interviews have been borrowed from Clayman (1991).

23. →(*to IE*) George Robertson, ++ uhhh + Front-bench Spokesman on European Affairs for
24. the Labour Party, ++
25. taking those three issues that are + involved in the agenda at the moment,
26. + first of all let's take political union. +++
27. Where do you stand on political union.
28. **GR:** (*response*)

Headlines introduce the topic of the interview. The subject matter of this particular interview is the Labour Party's position regarding Europe (l. 6). The topic in [29] is formatted as an *agenda projection* (*vid*. Clayman, 1991). However, as shall be shown below, this is only one of two headlining formats. The other is the *news announcement* (*id*.). They differ in the fact that news announcements present the subject matter as a report of a news item, whereas agenda projections introduce the topic as a subject for discussion. Agenda projections in our data were found to be formatted as a puzzling question projecting the forthcoming interview as the means to its answer. In contrast to Clayman's (*id*.) findings for news interviews, no explicit preface was commonly observed to focus on the question.[153]

After the headline comes the story (ll. 7-22), which in [29] is separated from the headline by the boundary marker 'well'.[154] Other less explicit entry markers are shifts in the verbal tense to the past or to the future, habitually accompanied by temporal references.[155] This component provides relevant background information about the topic introduced in the headline. In this particular extract, the IR presents pieces of evidence that suggest that the Labour Party's position regarding the three main issues of European policy –a single currency, a central bank, and political union– is basically the same as that of the Conservative Party.

[153] But *vid. infra* extract [32], l. 15.
On the types of introductory procedures in spoken interaction *vid*. Stenström (1994).

[154] On the use of 'well' as a discourse marker *cf.* Schiffrin (1987).

[155] Examples thereof are contained in extracts [31] (ll. 9-10), [32] (l. 4), and [33] (ll. 6-7) below.

Finally, the politician that has been chosen to talk on the subject is introduced (ll. 23-4). Suffice it for the moment to say that introductions warrant the IE's choice to talk on the subject matter on different grounds, and that in this specific case the IE is aligned both as advocate to a position and as participant in the debate over Britain's future destiny. A detailed examination of this introduction together with other types observed in our sample of political interviews will be offered in section 3.2.5.

Commonly, the entire opening sequence is directly addressed to the camera, that is, to the viewers. In fact, it is the only part of the speech event that is explicitly addressed to the audience. Through this behaviour, the IR displays the exclusive audience-oriented function of the first sequence of the event, and acknowledges the viewers not only as the immediate addressees of the opening phase but also as the ultimate recipients of the entire speech encounter.

However, addressing the opening phase to the camera does not have to be invariably the case. Suffice it for now to remark that in our control interview the IE introduction is produced when the IR has already turned to the IE, initiating the transition to the interview proper. Despite this transitional position in a few cases, IE introductions pertain, by virtue of their exclusive audience-oriented function, to the structure of the opening phase of the interview. We shall discuss this point in more detail in section 3.2.4 below.

The transition between the opening sequence and the interview proper is commonly marked by a direct IE address term or vocative (l. 23). The vocative selects an addressee and signals that the talk is intended for the person so selected. Its placement at the beginning of the utterance, and separated intonationally from the subsequent talk, sets it off from the rest. The function of attention seeker, reinforced by its marginal placement, grants it the status of a boundary marker. As a result of the shift of address from the audience to the IE, the status of the audience changes accordingly from that of direct addressee to "overhearer" (Heritage, 1985:99).

In addition to the vocative, the transitional component may contain a second element, namely a focus explicitly selecting the topic that will constitute the first issue of discussion. The use of the topic-selecting element functions as an explicit organising device whenever the interview is planned to deal with more than one topic. Thus, of the three topics on the agenda in [29] the IR proposes to discuss political union first (l. 26). After the focusing preface the IR initiates the first elicitation, which in this instance is a simple wh-question (l. 27). Contrary to our example, first elicitations very often include a further structural element, the "starter" (Pearce, 1973:105), that provides the scene for the upcoming elicitation proper, constraining the IE's response in terms of content.[156]

Our data also indicate that greetings exclusively oriented at the IE, though possible, are extremely rare. In fact, only one instance was found where such a component occurred in political interviews (*vid. infra* extract [31], ll. 20-1). As expected for reasons of politeness, the politician greeted in return, transforming that utterance into the only occasion of minimal collaboration in the management of the opening of the encounter.

3.2.2. Programme opening *vs.* interview opening

In analysing the structure of political interview openings it is important to take into account whether or not the interview opening is coterminous with the programme opening. When one single interview occupies the entire programme (henceforth 'single-item programme'), the two openings fill the same space. But when more than one interview constitutes the agenda of the programme, then routinely the various items are introduced at the outset of

[156] A first elicitation with a two-element structure can be observed in the following extract, which is a partial reproduction of extract [32] below. Following the IR's proposal to deal first with the crisis in Yugoslavia (l. 1), he sets the scene (ll. 2-3) within which the upcoming elicitation proper (l. 4) is to be understood. The starter refers to the "high hopes" (l. 2) held out in the near past (l. 2: "Yesterday") about the return of the European mission from Yugoslavia. Against this starter, the IR utters the elicitation proper, which consists in an elicitation for confirmation that those hopes seem to have been temporarily destroyed.

[30] [Interview with Douglas Hurd. Programme: *On the Record*.]

1. **IR:** (*to IE*) Foreign Secretary, can we + start with + Europe's ++ crisis in Yugoslavia?
2. Yesterday there were high hopes that the ++ European mission ++ would return, + and + it looked
3. as though there might be a settlement.
4. Those hopes now look alarmingly premature. Don't they.
5 **DH:** (*response*)

the programme constituting the *programme opening*, after which each interview is correspondingly opened in due course. In other words, the programme opening acts as a pre-introduction of all programme items. Examination of our data indicated that the programme opening invariably consists of as many headlines as items are on the programme's agenda. A greeting element prior to the headline is also habitually present. Optionally, the pre-introduction of an interview may contain a story element or even embed the introduction of the IE.

Our control interview stands as one of a list of items included in the programme *A Week in Politics*. Correspondingly, it is pre-introduced at its outset (ll. 1-3).[157] As mentioned above with regard to the headline of the interview opening, the headline of the programme opening announces that the topic will be centred on Labour's position over Europe. Apart from introducing the topic, this headline also foreshadows the type of interview that will result. In that respect, it is necessary to insert a caveat here. Depending on the main trajectory that may be followed, political interviews may be of an "informational" type or of a "debate" type (Clayman, 1991:63). Whereas the former kind focuses on the attainment of background information about the topical issue, the latter brings divergent viewpoints on it to the fore. Using [29] again, although the interview headline (l. 6) appeared to predict an informative interview, the programme headline (ll. 1-3), however, seems to suggest the opposite, namely that the topic will be approached from a comparative angle, relative to the Tories' position on the subject matter. In fact, the interest in the topic is portrayed as arising –as in a cause-effect process– from the debate about the division of the Tories over Europe, a division to which the IR refers metonymically and metaphorically with the subordinate clause "as those...Atlantic" (ll. 1-2).[158] Furthermore,

[157] The rest of the programme items have been omitted from extract [29] for reasons of brevity.

[158] With this metaphor the IR is referring to the disagreement enacted by Mrs. Thatcher and her predecessor Edward Heath. When the Government appeared to have solved their internal divisions over Europe, Mrs. Thatcher, from Europe, declared her position against the single currency arguing that giving up the pound sterling would involve a diminution in parliamentary sovereignty. In response, Edward Heath accused her of lying about Europe.

the use of the intensifier adverb 'really'[159] in the question serves to emphasise a hidden controversy, the supposed Labour position on the topic of discussion *vs*. their real position. The controversial debate format anticipated in the programme headline is finally confirmed through the story segment (ll. 7-22), for there the IR highlights the similarity between Labour and Conservative regarding Europe, anticipating his alignment as 'adversary' to the supposed Labour position.[160]

The transition from the programme opening to the opening of the first interview may be overtly signalled through an utterance ushering in the first item on the programme's agenda. Markers such as 'meanwhile' (l. 5) or 'but first' serve to preface the utterance. Alternatively, the two components may be auditorily and visually separated by the cover of the programme.

The existence of a distinct programme opening is of importance to the structure of the interview opening. To this conclusion leads the observation that in the event of a programme opening, the headlining component of the interview opening may be obliterated. The initial presentation of this component as an obligatory step in interview openings needs, consequently, some specification. Omission of the interview headline when a similar one has occurred earlier is likely to result from an attempt to avoid repetition. In extract [31], for example, only the programme opening (ll. 1-7) contains a headline (ll. 2-5), whereas the interview opening includes a story (ll. 9-13), which appears after a transitional utterance (l. 8), and the IE introduction (ll. 17-9).[161] In other words, the two openings together organise their components into the kind of structural sequence that is typical of the opening of a single-item programme.

[159] For a semantic classification of adjuncts *cf*. Quirk *et al*. (1985).

[160] Clayman (1991) argues that the type of interview is predicted on the basis of the IE's alignment towards the topic and on the story formulation. Apart from these factors, I propose that the interview trajectory may also be projected *via* the headline.

[161] Additionally, this interview opening contains an explicitly marked report (ll. 14-6), as well as an exchange of greetings between IR and IE (ll. 20-1). These optional elements shall be discussed later in section 3.2.3.

[31] [Interview with Stephen Dorrell. Programme: *On the Record*.]

1. **IR:** Good afternoon.
2. →The Tories are trying to rally their troops for the local government elections. It looks
3. as if they're in trouble.
4. And we'll be asking "are they about to become the third party in Britain's Town
5. Halls"?
6. (*report*)
7. (*other programme items announced; reports*)
8. **IR:** But first the local government elections.
9. →Unless something remarkable happens between now and May the readers of the
10. political rules say the Tories will lose many seats. Perhaps 13 hundred. That could mean
11. + they could become + the third party in terms of the town halls they control. They
12. control one in five councils, and that will not exactly help Mr. Major to restore his
13. fortunes on a national level,
14. as Terry Dignan reports.
15. (*report*)
16. **IR:** Terry Dignan reporting.
17. →And with me now the Heritage Secretary Stephen Dorrell. One of the bright young
18. things in the Cabinet, often spoken of as the future party Chairman, and one day, who
19. knows, party leader.
20. Mr. Dorrell, good morning.
21. **SD:** Good morning.
22. **IR:** (*first elicitation*)

3.2.3. Optional opening components

Let us now focus on interview openings that are coterminous with programme openings.[162]

For this purpose consider the following:

[32] [Interview with Douglas Hurd. Programme: *On the Record*.]

1. →**IR:** (*to camera*) Good afternoon. And welcome to On the Record.
2. →Which today comes from (Chievning.) The official residence of the Foreign
3. Secretary + Douglas Hurd.
4. →The summit from which he's just returned was as built + a stocktaking at which the
5. leaders of the Community were able to assess where they'd got to, + and where they
6. go from here. + It was also in the shape of Yugoslavia a big test of their ability to
7. act together, + and decisively + in a major international crisis. + Ahead of them now
8. six months of fierce wrangling as they try to negotiate their way towards a new
9. treaty + of political, and economic union. + At stake, the most profound change in
10. Britain's relationship with Europe since we joined the Common Market, almost
11. twenty years ago. Last week, Margaret Thatcher said that the new draft of the treaty,
12. + proposed the greatest abdication of national sovereignty + in our history. But
13. yesterday, John Major + said that he hoped to agree a final version + by the end of

[162] As both programme and interview openings overlap, only the label interview opening will henceforth be used.

14. the year.
15. →Today I'll be asking Douglas Hurd whether it is really possible to be + at the very
16. heart of Europe + without signing up + for a federal superstate. ++
17. But first, + to set the scene for us, the BBC's political editor, + John Cole, in
18. Luxembourg, where he's following + the ins and outs, + of the Euro Summit.
19. → (*John Cole's report*)
20. (*to IE*) Foreign Secretary, can we + start with + Europe's ++ crisis in Yugoslavia?
21. Yesterday there were high hopes that the ++ European mission ++ would return, +
22. and + it looked as though there might be a settlement. Those hopes now look
23. alarmingly premature. Don't they.
24. **DH:** (*response*)

This extract illustrates two main points: (a) that the components discussed in section 3.2.1. do not necessarily follow a strict order; and (b) that the opening section may comprise optional components. Starting with the second point, [32] shows that the greeting may incorporate a welcoming act embedding the *introduction of the programme* (l. 1). The function of this identification appears to be closely tied to the following optional component, namely the *introduction of the setting* (ll. 2-3). These two components were noticed only when the interview was to take place outside the usual television studio. This observation appears to suggest that the usual setting plays an important role in the identification of the programme, so that, in its absence, some clarification is due. In the event of a 'displaced' interview, the studio changed for a room inside the official residence of the IE. This shift in setting was found to occur only when a member of the Monarchy or certain ministers of the Cabinet were to be interviewed. In this sense, the official rank of the IE might, to some extent, warrant the displacement.

A further optional opening component exemplified in [32] is the *report* (l. 19). At times the relevant background information about the subject matter provided by the IR in the story component is supplemented with additional informative details contained in pre-taped reports. In those cases, the transition is marked explicitly through some metatalk that minimally includes the identification of the reporter, which on occasions may be repeated after the report with the format 'X reporting'. Nonetheless, as the example evinces, information regarding the place from which the journalist reports and the purpose for being there may also be included (ll. 17-8).

As to the point concerning the order of components, extract [32] demonstrates that the headline may not precede the story and the IE introduction, and that a full IE introduction may occur earlier than in last position. In our example, the IE appears indirectly introduced within the identification of the setting (ll. 2-3). The IE introduction appears to work on the assumption that the identity of the residence's inhabitant will be interpreted as coinciding with that of the person that will be interviewed. This assumption is finally corroborated in the headline (ll. 15-6), which includes the identity of the IE as part of the agenda projection. It should be noticed that omission of any person description in the headline might signal the expectation that the first indirect IE introduction should be counted as a proper introduction. Finally, the story component (ll. 4-14) is placed in between the IE introduction and the headline, an order that –according to our data– appears to be quite unusual.

Programme and setting introductions, and reports do not exhaust the range of optional components of a political interview opening. *Pre-headlines* and *audience introductions* also pertain to the spectrum. Pre-headlines are preliminary items that summon the viewers' attention and prepare them for the upcoming headline (*vid*. Clayman, 1991). The attention-seeking task is performed through (an) utterance(s) that set(s) up a riddle of some kind. However, the audience is not left to think hard on it for a long time, since the solution to it is revealed in the subsequent structural component, the headline. In extract [33] the riddle takes the form of provocative citations (ll. 1-2), the author of which being the enigma that is resolved immediately afterwards (l. 3).[163] Curiously, the IE is identified in the headline because, as will be argued in section 3.2.5, he is the central subject of the topic proposed for discussion: his candidacy for the 1997 General Elections.

[33] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. →**IR:** (*to camera*) He says he's <u>ashamed</u> of what the Tories have done to Britain.
2. He says + "trust <u>me</u>" instead. +
3. <u>He</u> is Tony Blair. + And he wants to be + Prime Minister.

[163] Clayman (1991) reports a further means of formulating pre-headlines in news interviews, namely through posing puzzling questions. Similar questions have been shown to function as the very headline in our political interviews in section 3.2.1.

4. (*cover of programme*; *AUD applause*)
5. **IR:** Good afternoon.
6. If the polls are to be believed, then in eleven days' time, John Major will hand
7. over the keys of Downing Street + to Tony Blair. After 18 years in the wilderness, +
8. Labour would be in Government. + Mr. Blair's made a remarkably personal pitch to
9. the voters. + "Not just + trust Labour, the party that + I brought back from the dead,
10. but trust me." +
11. →But + can you trust Mr. Blair? On Europe, + on tax, on spending, + and on the
12. Constitution. These great issues. +
13. →Our audience today comes from many parts of Britain, and as usual is drawn
14. from a broad cross-section of the electorate. And includes supporters from all the
15. three main parties, and those who have yet to make up their mind. +
16. →Will they- + should they + trust the leader + of the Labour Party ? +
17. (*to IE*) Mr. Blair, Europe first. You say that + you have the same official policy as
18. the Tories on the single currency. That's not quite true. Is it? [+]
19. **TB:** (*response*)

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Certain interview programmes devote part of the broadcasting time to audience participation. After the interview proper between the IR and the IE, the members of the studio audience are given the opportunity to question the IE themselves. Consequently, their participating role is acknowledged in the opening section after the topic and IE have been announced and the story recounted. The audience is commonly introduced as a heterogeneous group, formed by members from different geographical, social, ideological, and/or professional backgrounds. An attempt is made to make the audience a representative group of the home viewers and, ultimately, of the citizenry in general. The introduction aligns them towards the topic as advocates of a particular perspective towards the subject matter, or simply as people interested in it. In [33] they are presented as coming from different parts of the country and as pertaining to different sections of the electorate (ll. 13-5). This not only guarantees the representation of the whole citizenry from a political perspective, but also the fairness of the discussion, for it secures that both pro- and anti-Labour supporters will have the chance to have their say.

The excerpt also depicts a special use of the headline. The headline may be repeated in slightly different manners at different points during the opening section. The first repetition occurs after the story (ll. 11-2). Here the headline no longer constitutes a news announcement as in l. 3 but an agenda projection. It sets up a puzzle about Mr. Blair's

trustworthiness on the "great issues" that will constitute the different topics of discussion of the interview. The puzzle is formatted as a polar question. Inasmuch as such a question projects one of two opposite responses, the interview can be viewed as the IE's attempt to defend the positive response. For the IR's part, the doubt highlighted by the extra beat produced on 'but' and 'can' casts him into the role of the 'adversary' in the debate. This doubt is further emphasised *via* the same prosodic means on 'will' and 'should' in the second repetition of the headline (l. 16). Thus, the question of trustworthiness set up as a puzzle of a different kind in the pre-headline and headline runs through the opening section as a cohesive tie warranting the necessity of the upcoming interview in order to find out its solution.

A final remark on [33] concerns the cover of the programme. The function of the cover of the programme cannot here be considered to separate a programme opening from an interview opening. I have earlier held that that may be its function in programmes covering several items. In the case of single-item programmes, however, though separating the headline –and in [33] also the pre-headline– from the rest of the opening components, it seems self-evident to view elements preceding and following the cover as constituting a single opening phase.[164] So, placing the cover after the headline instead of at the very beginning in single-item programmes might be simply a question of programme design. The same reasoning might hold for the location of the greeting after the cover instead of at the very beginning.

3.2.4. The case of free-standing interviews

In section 3.2.1 it was stated that not all opening components must necessarily be addressed to the viewers, and an example was provided to illustrate that the IE introduction may overlap with the vocative that initiates the transition towards the interview proper. Now we shall take up the point at greater length.

[164] A further example of a single opening phase, ignoring the cover, is the Lang interview (*vid*. appendix 1, programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby* (February, 1996)). It contains a complete structure formed by (pre-headline), headline, (greeting), story, and IE introduction.

Our data suggest that IRs in 'free-standing interviews' are specially inclined to addressing opening elements to the IE.[165] The Thatcher interview (extract [34]) is an illustrative example. The interview starts without any audience address. Instead, the IR proceeds straightaway to direct his talk at the IE through a vocative, which is followed by a headline comprising both a news announcement (ll. 1-2) and an agenda projection (ll. 3-4). Here the interview itself is presented as the news item.[166] The agenda projection foreshadows an informative interview, for it is formatted as aiming to elicit from the protagonist of the day's most important news the narration of the events that led to her resignation. As to the IE introduction, it is reduced to a simple address form (l. 1: "Mrs. Thatcher") without any person description. As will become clear from section 3.2.5, the identity of the personality needs no clarification.

[34] [Interview with Margaret Thatcher. Free-standing interview.]

1. →**IR:** Mrs. Thatcher, this is the first time you've spoken to British Television +
2. since your resignation. +
3. →So. + I wonder + because we haven't heard as it were + your ++ version of
4. events. ++ And your side of the story. +
5. You've said in the past that you thought that what happened, + that what led to your
6. departure was <u>real</u>ly because people took <u>fright</u> of the opinion poll. ++ Isn't it really
7. the case + that what had happened was ++ that your Cabinet ++ <u>had</u> in a sense ++
8. begun to desert you? + Because they were worried about the way + you were
9. handling things <u>like</u> Europe and + like the poll tax. + Wasn't that the <u>real</u> reason
10. why things turned out the way they did?

One can only speculate about the reason for addressing the headline to the IE. There is no reason why it could not have been directed at the viewers, as in the rest of political interviews examined. It is difficult to determine to what extent the fact that the news item is taking place at the moment of its announcement could divert the IR from addressing the headline to the camera to directing it at the IE. If this were the explanation, the IR's behaviour could be viewed as an attempt to share with Mrs. Thatcher a piece of news

[165] As free-standing interviews count exclusive interviews that are broadcast on a special occasion and are not inserted into any scheduled programme.

[166] The fact that the event of the interview, and not the resignation act, is topicalised appears to evince the status of non-news of the resignation event. Though the interview took place the same morning of the resignation act -but broadcast in the evening-, the fast spreading of the act among the public might justify that at the moment of the interview it was already viewed as known information.

which, on the other hand, she already knows by virtue of being its protagonist. Or, could the fact that the interview is not part of a scheduled programme have influenced this behaviour? In any case, what can be maintained is that the IR's behaviour casts the audience into the role of overhearers from the very opening of the encounter. Unlike what occurs in the remaining political data analysed excepting the Princess of Wales' interview, no shift in the status of the audience takes place. In this respect, the Princess of Wales' interview (*vid*. appendix 1) constitutes the clearest example, for it lacks any opening components, the interview starting with a vocative followed directly by a wh- question.[167]

3.2.5. The IE introduction component

As anticipated in section 3.2.1, one obligatory component of the opening phase is the IE introduction. In this section I shall concentrate on the different ways into which that introduction is formatted, paying special attention to the relation established between the IE and the upcoming agenda through that introduction.

In 77 per cent of the political interview openings analysed,[168] IEs were introduced by their full name immediately preceded or followed by a description which invariably referred to their official position. In most of these cases the format adopted a syntactic structure of simple apposition, either non-restrictive or restrictive, as in [36] and [37], respectively.

[36] Eddie George, ++ the <u>Gov</u>ernor of the Bank of England,

[37] the President of the Board of Trade + Ian Lang[169]

[167] The transcript of the beginning of the Princess of Wales interview follows.

[35] [Interview with Princess Diana of Wales. Free-standing interview.]

IR: Your Royal Highness, how + prepared were you + for the pressures that came with + marrying into the Royal Family.

[168] This rate corresponds to 10 out of 13 interviews.

[169] Introductions from the interviews with Ian Lang (programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*) and with Eddie George (programme: *Walden*), respectively.

As exemplified in [36], all non-restrictive appositions pertained to the semantic class *designation*, and to the semantic relation *co-reference*.[170] Thus, in our example, the second unit, "the Governor of the Bank of England", designates the person referred to in the first, "Eddie George", through the official position he holds. The reverse occurs in [37], where the second unit is more specific than the first, for it contains the IE's full name. In [37], the first unit denotes the professional category of the person named in the second unit. Against Meyer's view (1989),[171] I argue that the units hold a semantic relation that is close to attribution, similar to the relation claimed for restrictive appositions without a determiner in the first unit (*id.*). The first noun phrase is then a modifier with respect to the name, which acts as the head of the construction.[172] Supporting this interpretation is the fact that all restrictive appositions like [37] were produced with a slight rise after the first unit, a feature that makes the unit dependent on the second, without which the utterance would sound incomplete. Besides, the fact that in these cases the name itself is commonly sufficient for the audience to identify the person referred to seems to corroborate the status of modifier of the first unit.

Not surprisingly, of the two appositive structures, the restrictive type was overwhelmingly more frequent.[173] Our results are in line with Ryden's (1975) and Meyer's (1992) studies which report a frequent use of the structure in the press genre. They also found that the construction with a definite determiner dominated in more prestigious newspapers like *The Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Daily Telegraph*, whereas articleless

[170] For a detailed explanation and classification of appositions *vid*. Quirk *et al*. (1985) and Meyer (1989, 1992). The semantic class exemplified in [36] was identified as designation in Quirk *et al*. (1985), but as *characterisation* in Meyer (1992).

[171] Meyer (1989) argues that the two units of a structure like [37] are as independent as the units in a non-restrictive apposition, and that the structure is therefore fully appositional.

[172] For the view that the units of a restrictive apposition like [37] hold a syntactic relation of modification with the first unit functioning as the modifier *vid*. Burton-Roberts (1953) and Haugen (1953). But *cf*. Lee (1952) for the view that the modifier is the second unit. A different syntactic analysis of the structure can be found in Acuña-Fariña (1996): he maintains that the structure forms an endocentric construction where the determiner does not constitute a phrasal unit with the following noun.

[173] Of the 8 instances of simple appositions encountered, 6 pertained to the restrictive type and 2 to the non-restrictive type.

noun-name collocations dominated in less formal ones like *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Mail*. The lack of articleless constructions in our IE introductions suggests a similar style to the introduction of personalities in formal press writing.

More complex person descriptions were found to be infrequent.[174] In the following, for example, Stephen Dorrell is initially introduced as the Heritage Secretary through a restrictive apposition (l. 1), like [37]. This presentation is supplemented with further details organised into a complex non-restrictive appositive structure where the IE is characterised in relation to the other members of the Cabinet first as a bright and young person (l. 2), and then as a possible candidate for occupying the official position of party Chairman and even party leader (ll. 3-4).

[38] [Interview with Stephen Dorrell. Programme: *On the Record.*]

1. **IR:** (...) And with me now the Heritage Secretary Stephen Dorrell.
2. One of the bright young things in the Cabinet,
3. often spoken of as the future party Chairman, and one day, who knows, party
4. leader.

It should be noticed that the use of a preface such as '[a]nd with me now' or the like to usher in the IE is optional, as extracts [29] or [33] above demonstrate.

The tendency to resort to appositive structures in order to introduce IEs has a pragmatic justification. The structure constitutes a useful tool to supply additional information in a simple and economic way, two features which are highly valued in a medium that, in general, seeks to combine the transmission of the most and clearest amount of information with time restrictions. The need of supplementing the IE's full name with additional information concerning political office arises from the different levels of cultural knowledge of the viewers. Because the amount of shared knowledge among viewers varies, the sole use of one of the introductory items may be insufficient to guarantee a full

[174] Complex person descriptions were observed in only 2 out of 13 interviews, that is, in only about 15 per cent of the politicians' introductions.

identification of the personality and, as a result, an adequate apprehension of the connection between the politician and the topic at hand.

Non-descriptive introductions occurred in only 23 per cent of the openings. They adopted the format either of a title of respect (*e.g.* "Your Royal Highness"), a title followed by the personal name in apposition (*e.g.* "Mrs. Thatcher"), or solely the full name (*e.g.* "Tony Benn").[175] Besides, the first two forms were uttered as vocatives marking the transition to the interview proper. Absence of any personal descriptive item in the three instances found is likely to have face implications. In all three cases, definitely in the first two, the IE is assumed to be sufficiently well-known to the British public, so that any descriptive item can be considered redundant. Inasmuch as IE descriptions are designed to satisfy the audience's positive face want to be informed about the identity of the IE, inclusion of (a) descriptive item(s) in cases where that information is presupposed could be interpreted as a threatening act to the positive face not only of the audience but also of the IE. On the one hand, the audience does not expect to be treated as ignorant and, on the other, the IE expects to be treated as a recognisable person. Hence, omission of any information regarding the position of the IE can be viewed as constituting a positive-politeness device.

In other words, omission of descriptive items in certain introductions is governed by the same *principle of recipient design* (*vid*. Clayman, 1987; 1991) that selects those items in other introductions. The degree of elaborateness of an IE introduction depends on the degree of familiarity that its intended recipient, *i.e.* the viewing audience, is assumed to have *vis-à-vis* the IE's official position. The amount of information selected is just the necessary to make the relation of the IE to the topic at hand sufficiently transparent. When that relation might be considered to be graspable without any clarification at all, non-descriptive introductions such as the three cases observed may result.

[175] Introductions from the interviews with the Princess of Wales (free-standing interview), with Mrs. Thatcher (free-standing interview), and Tony Benn MP (programme: *Granada on Sunday*), respectively.

A further selectional principle constraining an IE introduction is the *topical relevance principle* (*vid*. Schegloff, 1972b; *id*.). In principle, any description may be extended indefinitely. However, descriptions are limited; only "those components of the IE's self that are relevant to the forthcoming topic" are selected (Clayman, 1987:129; 1991:60). His/her identity is presented in a way that is aligned to the topic of discussion. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that the IE introduction is, not in vain, routinely located after the headline. Its strategic placement in between the topic and the interview proper structurally reinforces the gap which the audience have to bridge in order to understand how the IE's talk relates to the subject matter.

IEs in our political interview data were observed to be aligned in three different manners to the topic: as advocates, jointly as advocates and participants, and as stories.[176] The controversial nature that political interviews frequently display is likely to explain the fact that IE alignments in our data largely pertain to the advocacy type. A politician may be selected to talk on the focal issue as a representative of a specific position on the subject matter. The IE's party affiliation then functions indirectly to project the position that the politician is ready to take. For example, introducing the IE as **[39]** "William Waldegrave, the Minister for Public Service,"[177] predicts an alignment of the IE as a pro-Government representative on the question of whether the Tories are any longer fit to rule after the charges of misbehaviour against the Major Government.

In other IE introductions the politician's advocacy is coupled with his/her direct participation in the events or processes that warranted the relevance of the interview. For instance, the introduction **[40]** "George Robertson, ++ uhhh + Front-bench Spokesman on European Affairs for the Labour Party," (*vid*. *supra* extract [29], ll. 23-4) exhibits two grounds for the choice of that particular IE to inquire if the official position of the Labour Party regarding a single currency, a European central bank, and political union actually is,

[176] Clayman (1987, 1991) has shown that IEs in news interviews may also be aligned as observers/witnesses and as experts.

[177] From the interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden* (*vid*. appendix 4, ll. 5-6).

as Labour members contend, so much different from that of the Tories. The politician is aligned towards the topics from two particular angles: from the angle of a representative of the Labour Party and from that of a key participant in the process of discussing in the political sphere Britain's future in Europe. His affiliation to the Labour Party, and consequently to the political adversary of the Conservative Party, projects that his stance towards the topic matter will focus on the differences between the two parties on those issues, thus denying the non-distinction suggested by the IR earlier in the story phase (*vid. supra* extract [29], ll. 7-22). But the IE is not only tied to the topic as any official representative of a position defined in opposition to the Tories'. The introduction aligns him as a privileged speaker within the Labour Party by virtue of the direct knowledge of the topics acquired from his participating role in European affairs as Front-bench Spokesman of his party.

Politicians may also be interviewed because they constitute themselves the core of the news story. The topic, then, revolves around some event or process in which they play the main part. Clayman (1987:138) defines this alignment as one of "equivalence" between IE and story. Consider the following, which was uttered in a leader interview during the run-up to the 1997 General Elections:

[41] <u>He</u> is Tony Blair. + And he wants to be + Prime Minister. (*vid. supra* extract [33], l. 3)

Here the politician is described as a candidate for Prime Minister, an introduction which itself equals the story, namely that Tony Blair is running for election. Moreover, there is structural evidence that supports the IE-story equivalence. In this specific case the introduction constitutes in fact the headline of the opening section, and there is no separate structural slot exclusively devoted to introducing the IE later. This points to the conclusion that both news and person are to be interpreted as one and the same thing.

Excepting [41], IEs chosen to speak on a topic of which they are the main subjects were found to be introduced without any description. As explained earlier, non-descriptive introductions might be a consequence of face-work, which in turn is partly dependent on

the principle of recipient design. That all non-descriptive introductions happen to correspond to IEs aligned as stories can be justified on the following grounds. If those IEs play the main part in a political event or process of such an important significance to the public that the broadcasting organisation considers it worth an interview, they are likely to be such prominent figures in the public sphere that their identity needs no clarification. Thus, for example, Margaret Thatcher needs no introduction other than **[42]** "Mrs. Thatcher" (*vid*. *supra* extract [34], l. 1) when she is depicted as the protagonist of the news of the day, her resignation. It is in the capacity of this role that she is asked to describe "[her] version of events and [her] side of the story" (ll. 3-4).

3.2.6. Summary and concluding remarks

In sum, the opening phase of political interviews is primarily designed to resolve the problem of topic and IE identification for the absent audience. For this purpose the opening sequence, which is managed solely by the IR, is organised into three compulsory components or stages: headline, story, and IE introduction. The first component introduces the matter of discussion. The second component supplies relevant background information about the event(s) or state of affairs that warranted the selection of the topic in question. The story may highlight clashing opinions on the matter, evincing the subject's debatable character, or simply report a sequence of events. Finally, the IR reveals the identity of the person that will be questioned, providing only the necessary amount of details for the audience to learn the position from which the IE will talk on the subject matter. Transitions from one opening component to another, as well as from the opening phase to the interview proper are signalled in due form.

The overall structure of the opening section of our political interviews is organised into the same obligatory components reported by Clayman (1987, 1991) for news interviews.[178] The development of the initial section of the interview event is basically the

[178] Unlike Clayman (1987, 1992), Jucker (1986) distinguished between news interviews whose initial phase was uttered by the same speaker that would manage the actual interview, and news interviews that were opened by a commentator, different from the IR. Jucker (*id*.) observed that the latter group of interview

same in both sub-genres, although the order of components may, on occasions, be more flexible in political interviews. At times, variations in the opening sequence were demonstrated to affect the headline and IE introduction components. As to the former, variation influences not only the headline format, but also its function and the number of times it can appear within the opening phase. Thus, it was shown (a) that the headline can additionally serve as a cohesive tie; (b) that apart from the story and IE alignment, the headline can also predict the kind of interview following, something that was shown to derive from the very format of the headline; and (c), that predicting the kind of interview also helps to convey the attitude with which the IR will approach the information-eliciting task. If the interview is projected as being of the information type, the IR is implicitly aligned as a neutral elicitor of information; whereas if the headline introduces a debatable state of affairs, the IR's eliciting function is approached from a controversial perspective which casts the IR into a position similar to that of an opponent in a debate. Either of the two approaches to the interview may be taken by the IR on behalf of the audience.

Sub-genre differences in the format of IE introductions affect chiefly the type of IE alignments towards the upcoming agenda. The lower range of alignments observed in our interview sample is in accordance with the nature of the interviews. As the interviews are restricted to major political officials, alignments define IEs in their most common public roles: either as protagonists of a political affair or, more commonly, as representatives of a political party and therefore advocates of a specific position towards political issues. Inasmuch as they participate as representatives of their parties in political events or processes, the advocacy type may be combined with a participant type. Alignments as certified experts or as witnesses, therefore, appear to be specific of the sub-genre of news interviews.

With regard to IE introductions, it was also found that certain IEs were not considered to need any description for the audience to grasp the IE's relationship to the

openings contained a further obligatory component in between the topic introduction and the IE introduction, namely the introduction of the IR.

topic. It was argued that descriptionless introductions are likely to attend to a question of the IE's and the audience's faces.

Further elements were identified as optionally organising the opening sequence of political interviews, namely: audience greeting, programme, setting and audience introductions, pre-headlines, and reports. Only the last two components were also reported to optionally form part of the structure of news interviews (*vid*. Clayman, 1991). The presence of a greeting component, and programme and setting introductions are a natural consequence of the fact that the political interview opening also frequently constitutes the opening of the programme. As to programme and setting introductions, observations have suggested that their occurrences are probably restricted to cases of an unusual location of the interview event outside the studio setting.

Differences in the range of optional opening components in political interviews and news interviews, therefore, depend partly on the way the interviews are inserted into the programme in which they take place. The fact that news interviews are inserted as part of a news story within a news bulletin makes some optional components observed in our sample of openings unable to occur.

As already mentioned, also absent from news interview openings are audience introductions. Certain programmes incorporate unmediated IE questioning on the part of a studio audience after the IR-IE transaction. Because the audience acts as an active participant in the interviewing task during part of the programme, its distinct role is acknowledged in a corresponding opening component. It is this role that justifies the absence of this component or stage in news interview openings.

The place occupied by the interview in question within the structure of the programme in which it is inserted might also justify alterations in the number of obligatory components of the interview opening. Because not all political interviews constitute the sole item of the programme, it was necessary to draw a distinction between interview

openings and programme openings. The fact that programme openings invariably consist of an equal number of headlines to interviews on the agenda of the programme appears to explain the lack, on occasions, of a further interview headline for reasons of redundancy.

3.3. Structure of openings in talk show interviews

The genre of the talk show interview imposes a characteristic structure on its opening sequence that makes it clearly distinctive from the political interview opening. This particular generic opening phase results from the kind of components, the manner in which they organise the initial phase of the speech event, and from the way in which the different status relationships between host, audience, and guest are enacted through those components.

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3.3.1. Routine opening components

Examination of talk show interviews shows that opening sequences are largely organised into two major components: *IE introduction* and *greeting.* The structure of IE introductions in talk shows generally displays the following two elements in turn:

Preface

The IR uses a relatively fixed element to focus the audience's attention on the introduction of a guest. 'My first/next/final guest is (...)' is by far the preferred prefatory element. Variants thereof may be '[h]ere is (...)' or '[l]et's introduce our next guest.'

Description

The structural slot immediately after the preface is filled with a description of the guest. This description invariably refers to the guest's fame resulting from his/her professional activity, usually related to the entertainment industry. Herein, actors/actresses and singers are prototypical talk show guests.

In their minimal form, descriptions characterise guests in terms of current or relatively long-standing attributes. These attributes are linked to the preface constituting an utterance that, syntactically, displays a structure of intensive complementation, as in:

[43] [Interview with Helen Mirron. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*.]

1. →**IR:** My final guest is a distinguished theatre and film actress.
2. So please welcome HELEN MIRRON.

Nevertheless, descriptions structured as characterisations are often more complex. Initial descriptive attributes may be supplemented with utterances providing more specific information. Excerpt [44] is an illustrative example.

[44] [Interview with John Nettles. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **IR:** My next guest is no stranger to radio either. He played Robin Hood last year.
2. And recently narrated Treasure Island on Radio 2. He is a (*inaud*.) star. It's his
3. <u>fourth</u> season + with the RSC. + But it's his Jersey detective Jim Bergerac that is
4. most fondly remembered. (Thought) it was never quite like this.
5. Please welcome JOHN NETTLES.

The guest, John Nettles, is first depicted as "no stranger to radio" (l. 1), an attribute that is immediately justified with information about the different activities carried out in radio.[179] Then he is presented as a star (l. 2). And again, further details warranting the granted stardom are built on that descriptive item, namely his four seasons with the Royal Shakespeare Company and his role as a detective in a TV series.

Though IE descriptions in our talk shows were most commonly structured into the format of a characterisation, two further formats were observed: identification and story.[180] Identification corresponds to copulative structures where the descriptive item occurring in complement position is definite, as in:

[179] This kind of information expansion corresponds to Eggins & Slade's (1997) *prolonging moves*.

[180] Whereas characterisations, singly or in combination with another format, occurred in about 63.6 per cent of IE introductions, identifications and stories appeared, singly or in combination, in only 27.3 and 36.4 per cent of introductions, respectively.

[45] [Interview with Julian Clairie. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*.]

1. →**IR:** My first guest is the most glamorous.
2. Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome JULIAN CLAIRIE**.**

Copulative structures, however, do not exhaust the ways of describing a person. The structural slot of the description may be occupied by very brief stories of (part of) the guest's life. Consider extract [46] where the IE is portrayed in terms of a succession of actions which jointly contribute to shaping his image as a successful radio presenter. Further still, some introductions may display a combination of two formats, as in extract [47] where a story (ll. 1-2) is followed by two identifications (ll. 3-4; 6).

[46] [Interview with James Nockty. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **IR:** Just over a year ago, my next guest got a new job. + It involved getting up + in
2. the dead of night, + be in the office at four fifteen a.m. Can you be↑lieve?↑ + And
3. two and a half hours of live radio, + four days a week. His + Caledonian tone,
4. <regularly wakes up the nation and causes the> famous tremble.
5. Please welcome the newest member of Radio Four Today programme JAMES
6. NOCKTY.

[47] [Interview with Garth Brooks. Programme: *Des O' Connor Show*.]

1. →**IR:** My FINAL GUEST TONIGHT HAS SOLD OVER thirty-three million
2. albums in four years. +
3. →He's recently become the first person, <(here) in America>, to be
4. top + number one, on every chart across the nation. Something which has never
5. happened before.
6. →He's the biggest musical sensation in America today.
7. Will you please welcome- (*arm pointing at IE*) here is singing + the (Red Strokes)
8. GARTH BROOKS.

Regardless of the manner in which descriptions are formatted, their selection is governed by a *principle of noteworthiness*. All descriptions invariably highlight, directly or indirectly, some feature(s) or action(s) that has/have contributed to the guest's fame. Inasmuch as IEs are described as famous people for some reason or other, they are intrinsically aligned as the story itself. This alignment comes to the fore especially when the description itself is structured as a narration.

A noteworthy long-lasting attribute is frequently presented in the opening phase as the only justification for the upcoming interview, as in [43] above. Nevertheless, it is not

the standing fame that really triggers off the IE's appearance on the show at that moment, but a recent newsworthy achievement, action, or event in the personality's professional life. This news item may not be embedded as part of the person description. For example, in extract [48] the IR introduces Tony Benn as an MP that has been occupying that position for a very long time. That in itself might have been sufficient to merit an interview. But soon we discover that it is not his lasting position in the House of Commons but a newsworthy event in his career –the publication in video form of his speeches in Parliament– that warrants the interview (ll. 6-7). In fact, as the first elicitation (ll. 11-12) foreshadows, this news item will become the main topic of the chat.[181]

[48] [Interview with Tony Benn. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*. Appendix 3, ll. 1-12.]

1. **IR**: Now. My next guest ha:s been in the House of Commons longer ++ than
2. anyone except <Sir Edward Heath> and the sta:tue o:f William Gladstone.
3. Please welcome the MP for Chesterfield ++ TONy BENN MP.
4. **AUD:** (*applause*; *cheers and boos*)
5. **IR:** °Please take a seat. (6.1) (*TB takes a seat*) That's right. + Now.° (4.2) That's
6. →right. Now. Apart from being a distinguished member of the House of Commons you
7. have got the- + the video out. + Your- ++ your speeches, + is that right? ++ Is that it
8. there? (*showing a wrong video cassette*) [+]
9. **IE**: No.
10. **IR:** Oh no. I'm sorry. Well, ++ (*showing right tape*) that's it there. That's- I think
11. →we'll plump for that. + And these uh- these uh- a video of your speech uh a non-usual
12. event to be able to publish + speech though.

Often, however, the newsworthy achievement, action, or event is mentioned as shaping the person description, in which case it acquires the status of a headline. In this respect, consider again excerpt [44]. There, John Nettles' stardom was presented as resulting from, among other things, his four seasons with the RSC. Apart from contributing to the description of the guest as a star, this fact is invoked as the news item that functions as the pretext for the interview. Extra emphasis placed on "fourth" (l. 3) makes this piece of information stand out as a newsworthy achievement. Similarly, in excerpt [47] Garth Brook's feat of becoming top one on every music chart is rhythmically presented as the *raison d'être* of the interview.

[181] The news item may, but need not, be the only topic of the interview.

Contrary to what was reported for political interviews, talk show interview openings contain an important greeting component. This component, in turn, is structured into two elements: (a) the host's order to applaud with the corresponding audience response, and (b) the host-guest greeting. The greeting component, therefore, starts with an applause-eliciting act which constitutes the merging point of the two major opening components, introduction and greeting. The element cannot be dissociated from either of the two components, since the applause-eliciting act functions both, prospectively, as the initiation of a welcoming process and, retrospectively, as the termination of the introductory phase, for the name of the guest is finally disclosed herein.

Applause elicitation

After the person description, the IR commands the audience to welcome the guest *via* the utterance '(Ladies and gentlemen,) (please) welcome/Let's meet (...)' followed by the full name of the guest which in a large majority of cases is, for emphatic reasons, produced with increased volume (*e.g.* extracts [44], l. 5; [45], l. 2; [47], ll. 7-8).[182] Additionally, the full name may be preceded by a further descriptive element which together with the name form a syntactic structure of restrictive apposition (*e.g.* extracts [46], l. 5-6; [48], l. 3).[183] Very often the verbal and prosodic means are accompanied by a gestural device: the IR extends an arm pointing with open palm towards the place in the studio from which the guest will make his/her entry (*e.g.* extract [47], l. 7.) The commanding act is responded to by the

[182] About 73 per cent of the interviews examined, that is 8 out of 11, resorted to extra loudness as the prosodic means to introducing the guest. In the remaining encounters it was either extra stress that served the same purpose, or else no special feature was used.

[183] It should be noticed that the use of a restrictive appositive structure to disclose a politician's identity is not reduced to the genre of political interviews. Curiously enough, in the Benn interview examined within the political interview genre the IE was introduced with his full name only.

audience with the requested-for welcoming act, a round of applause.[184] Thus, this first stage is organised into a command-compliance adjacency pair structure.[185]

Before proceeding to the description of the second stage of the greeting component, the introductory component deserves a comment. As its structure indicates, the entire IE introduction is presented as a riddle. The name of the guest is not straightforwardly revealed. Instead, the IR offers descriptive clues engaging the audience in a game of guessing the identity of the guest. When several clues are provided, often each one tends to be more illuminating than the former (*e.g.* extracts [44] and [47] above), thereby narrowing down the choices of the solution to the riddle. The suspense built up during the descriptive phase is dispelled when the IR utters the name of the guest at the end of the welcoming command. The disclosure of the name comes as the answer to the riddle for those who have not intuited it. Nevertheless, at the moment of the applause elicitation the studio audience and home viewers might be expected to have already arrived at the solution to the enigma. In this respect, the fact that the name of the IE is disclosed within an initiating move –the order to applaud– which is clearly different from the move which sets the riddle, might be interpreted as indicating that the utterance of the guest's name is no longer intended as the

[184] That audience responses do not occur anywhere during the course of a speaker's talk but in specific sequential positions, after particular kinds of actions, was already observed by Atkinson (1984) in a study of affiliative audience responses at public meetings. Namings were found to be one of the most recurrently used procedure to make the point at which the audience can begin to applaud recognisable to them.

[185] The type of speech act these applause elicitations constitute are not free of controversy. The claim that the format 'please welcome' or 'will you please welcome' is considered a speech act whose illocutionary goal is to get the addressee to do something is supported, among others, by Labov & Fanshel (1977), Searle (1979), Leech (1983), or Tsui (1994). Disagreement arises as to the category of speech act the formats belong to. Whereas Searle (1979) classifies them within the broad category of *directives*, Labov & Fanshel (1977) bring them under the class of *requests for action*. However, in an attempt to render a more delicate classification, Tsui (1994) differentiates *requestives* from *directives*, basing the distinction on the options of compliance or non-compliance that the former offers, whereas the latter group does not. A similar difference between requests and commands postulated in terms of a "conditionality factor" was suggested in Leech (1983:219), even though both types of acts were nevertheless considered as belonging to a single category, *directives*. Adopting Tsui's classification, the above speech acts pertain to the category of directives, even though superficially they adopt the form of a request, either by using the politeness term 'please' or by using the interrogative. By virtue of the host's power or control over the audience, derived from the authority with which his/her discourse role of manager of the speech encounter is endowed, the host strongly prospects that the addressee of that speech act, *i.e.*, the audience, will comply and produce the "preferred" (*vid*. Levinson, 1983:307; Pomerantz, 1984:63) response.

answer to the enigma. For those members of the audience who have correctly guessed the solution, the IR's utterance of the guest's name functions rather as a feedback to their guess.

Once the name of the guest has been uttered, the audience witnesses a sequence of non-verbal acts that are oriented at stressing the interpersonal aspect of the encounter initiated during the first stage of the greeting component: the guest parading onto the stage and towards the host, who is standing and very often clapping like the studio audience, and host and guest shaking hands. This welcoming enactment culminates, in about half of the cases, in a verbal exchange of greetings between host and guest during the handshake. Not surprisingly, the verbal component of the greeting is in many cases drowned by the noise of the audience's applause and cheers. The kind of verbal greetings exchanged are the same as those reported for ordinary conversation,[186] namely a pair of 'his', 'hellos', 'how are yous', or 'good/nice to see you' responded with a 'thank you.' Finally, and immediately after the handshake, the host commonly offers a seat to the guest, whose acceptance the latter at times acknowledges verbally. This offer-acceptance adjacency pair puts an end to the greeting component.

Talk show interviews are organised from the very outset as a performance. The audience is made to witness the beginning of an encounter that simulates the greeting to a guest that has just arrived at the host's place for a visit. *Vis-à-vis* this encounter the audience is first assigned an active role and then cast into the role of "eavesdroppers" (Greatbatch, 1988:424) on a private conversation.[187] The active role, which began with the guessing activity during the introduction phase, is manifested during the greeting component through the non-verbal welcoming act to the IE. This manifestation of pleasure at the guest's visit somehow positions the studio audience themselves alongside the IR in

[186] *Cf.* Schegloff (1972a) on openings in everyday conversations.

[187] It is important to clarify that, though the role of eavesdropper can, on the whole, be considered a passive one, the conduct of the IR and IE sometimes integrating the audience as a silent participant into their interaction through jokes or comments explicitly addressed at them defines the audience's role as not fully passive.

the role of host, an illusion to which the IR's act of joining in with the audience in the applause often contributes, thereby marking group membership. This illusion is nevertheless very brief. As soon as the face-to-face encounter is initiated through the personal greeting phase between IR and guest, the role of the audience automatically shifts into that of eavesdroppers.

The transition from the opening sequence to the interview proper is strikingly different from its counterpart in political interviews. Noticeably absent is the use of a vocative as an attention-seeking signal and, consequently, as a boundary marker. No specific marker was found to separate off the opening phase of the interview from its main body. Moreover, in about half of the instances, the IR proceeds straight into the issuance of the first elicitation[188] without preceding it with any boundary marker at all. However, in the remaining half of the talk shows the host managed the transition to the interview proper primarily *via* a humorous comment about the IE addressed to the guest himself/herself or even to the audience. Especially outstanding are those comments referring to the guest's outer appearance. In the following extract, for example, the remark refers to the IE's outfit. Immediately after the greeting (ll. 2-3), the IR jokes about the violet colour of FB's suit (ll. 4-5). The guest orients to the joke, contributing to the establishment of the intended familiar atmosphere. In this particular occasion, the IR's initial observation sets up a whole humorous sequence of exchanges, instead of the more frequent single exchange. What is left for the audience to decide is to what extent the origin of the suit is the one claimed by FB to be.[189]

[49] [Interview with Frank Bruno. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **IR:** He's welcome. The gentle giant of boxing FRANK BRUNO. (*applause*)
2. Good to see yer. You're-
3. **FB:** Thank you very⌈much.
4. **→IR:** You're the only man I know, who could dare to wear
5. a suit that colour, and get away with it.=
6. **FB:** =That's a Hong Kong mate. You know, off-the-peg this one.

[188] As in political interviews, elicitations in talk show interviews may contain an optional starter.

[189] The characteristic fuzzy boundaries between truth and insincerity that defines the guest's *synthetic personality* (*vid*. Tolson, 1991) is brought to the fore in this interview from the very beginning.

7. **IR:** Off-the-peg.
8. **FB:** Off-the-peg yeah.
9. **IR:** WHICH PEG.
10. **FB:** Um uh Mr. Wong's peg.
11. (*IR, AUD and FB laugh*)
12. **IR:** Now. Last year Frank you had a fight which lasted one hundred and two seconds.

By contrast to the polite distance marked by vocatives in political interviews, these jokes function as ice-breakers, marking an informal and relaxed attitude typical of an intimate relationship.

A further, yet less frequent, manner of managing the transition may be through a repetition of the descriptive items used in the introduction component. As extract [48] (l. 6) above has shown, this repetition serves as a smooth bridge towards the first topic, which in that particular case also constitutes the major topic of talk.

3.3.2. Optional opening components

On occasions IRs pre-introduce all guests at the outset of the programme and then renew the introduction each time an IE is called onstage. In a similar fashion to what was reported for some political interview programmes, pre-introductions function as the headlines of the programme. Here again the opening of the programme has to be distinguished from the opening of the first interview. The programme opens with the host's parade onto the stage, which triggers in response applause from the audience, and this, in turn, often a thanksgiving act from the host. After the subsequent greeting to the audience, the host proceeds to set the agenda in the form of a list of guest introductions. Unlike agenda projections in political interview programmes, talk show agendas do not customarily refer to the topics in an explicit manner. Due to IEs' alignments as stories, their very introductions function as the agenda. Introductions project the topics to be about the guests, more specifically about matters concerned with the features used to shape their descriptions. It is important to point out that pre-introductions in our data, though shorter than their corresponding introductions, invariably contain the news item that led to the invitation of the guest to the show. Thus, the presence of the news item yields to the pre-

introduction the status of headline. The following programme opening illustrates the pre-introductions corresponding to the IE introductions depicted earlier in extracts [46] and [44], respectively. The news items warranting the relevance of the interviews are contained in ll. 6 and 7, respectively.[190]

[50] [Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **Voiceover:** Ladies and gentlemen, Alan Cookhart.
2. (*host walks onto stage*; *applause starts*)
3. **IR:** Thank you. + ↑Hello. +++ Alright.↑ You're very welcome to a show which +
4. packs even more of a punch than usual today.
5. Joining me the man who likes his politicians well-grille:d. + (*inaud.*) James Nockty.
6. →Who's just completed his first year + on Radio Four Today programme. + (...)
7. →<And an actor + currently rehearsing with the RSC for the new season, but whose>
8. television roles go back ++ >further than you might think.< (*clip from a TV series is*
9. *shown*) John Nettles is also here. (...)

Finally, pre-introductions may also occur prior to a commercial break. In these cases their function is markedly different. The technique serves as an inducement for viewers not to tune in to other channels. Pre-introductions prior to a commercial break were observed to be formatted into a preface ('[c]oming up after the break/in a minute/next' or '[w]e'll be right back with') followed by the identification of the guest through a restrictive appositive structure, as in [52], or simply through the name of the IE. The relative briefness of these

[190] Because sometimes the guests' identities are revealed in a pre-introduction at the beginning of the programme (*e.g. Pebble Mill*), mystery about their identities built up during the opening section of the interview is only a pretence of mystery. The pretended riddle set up during the interview opening is not one as such. Also, at times the guests figuring on the current programme are in some talk shows (*e.g. Des O' Connor Show*) already announced at the end of the previous programme. Hence, (part of) the audience, both in the studio and at home, is expected to know the guest list in advance. One can arrive at this conclusion from the host's interaction with the audience in the next extract (ll. 3-4). The IR is aware of the ladies' impatience to meet the next guest, an impatience that derives from their state of knowledge about the IE's identity. Even though the ladies may already know who the guest is, the descriptive segment is treated as compulsory and, consequently, not omitted. Nonetheless, though the description is obligatory, its degree of elaboration appears to be negotiable, as the meta-statement "[t]he ladies don't wanna hear me say all the things" (l. 3; emphasis mine) suggests.

[51] [Interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O' Connor Show*.]

1. **IR:** HELLO. OKAY. WELCOME BACK. HERE'S + a guy who's really in demand. <One of the big
2. movie stars around us. (Lots) of television. Does everything actually.>
3. →The ladies don't wanna hear me say all the things. You wanna see him. Don't you. You wanna meet
4. him.
5. **AUD:** YEAH.
6. **IR:** WELCOME JEFF GOLDBLUM. (*extends arm towards guest*)

'catch-phrases' compared with pre-introductions occurring at the opening of the programme might be subject to time constraints, since they are uttered when time is due for advertisements.[191]

[52] [Programme: *This Morning*.]
IR: Time for a break. Coming next skating champ Robin Cousins. See you then.

3.3.3. Summary and concluding remarks

In sum, talk show interview openings are organised into only two components, IE introduction and greeting, each structured into further distinguishable elements in turn. It was argued that the IE introduction routinely adopts the format of a riddle, whereby the host initiates some sort of guessing game with the studio audience. The clues to the solution of the game are contained in the descriptive element of the IE introduction, an element that was shown to adopt three different formats all governed by a principle of noteworthiness, and all aligning the guest towards the upcoming interview as the story itself.

The actual event that warrants the speech encounter with a specific personality at a particular moment is not always made explicit in the opening phase. And even when it is mentioned, it is not structurally highlighted through the assignment of a specific headlining stage. Instead, it forms part of the descriptive element of the IE introduction component. Though it might be considered to acquire the status of a headline, it is not explicitly treated as a topic.

The greeting component is sub-organised into two further elements, the command-compliance exchange between host and audience, and the host-guest greeting exchange. Because the first pair part of the first element contains the disclosure of the guest's name, it

[191] It should be remembered that this kind of restrictive appositions or articleless noun-name structures were not encountered in the political interview sample. It was suggested that the reason could be one of style, our political interviews resembling the more formal style of prestigious newspapers which used articles in these constructions. The appearance of articleless restrictive appositions, as in [52], in an informal genre such as the talk show interview goes in the line of supporting the argument of style. Other examples found were **[53]** 'top designer Paul Stallow', and **[54]** 'top pop band + East 17', both produced as pre-introductions prior to a commercial break in the programme *This Morning*.

constitutes the link between the two major opening components: it looks at the same time forward to the actual greeting and backward to the IE introduction.

The IR-IE greeting element projects the upcoming interview as a staged performance where the interactants will create the illusion of an informal chat between equals. The shift from reality to illusion implies a parallel change of status that affects both the host and the audience. The host's entrance onstage depicts him/her as a personality with a superior "external status" (Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990:15) with respect to the audience. That status is degraded once the guest appears and takes centre stage. The host's superior "internal status" (*ibid*.) to the event, which is manifested from the outset by the management of the IE introduction, is then somewhat disguised *vis-à-vis* the guest in order to contribute to the pretence of a face-to-face conversation that the individuals approach without any pre-established institutional role.

Prior to the pretended first meeting between host and guest, the host's managing role is also demonstrated in cases where a distinct programme opening precedes the first interview opening. On those occasions, the programme opening is structurally designed for the IR to set the agenda of the programme. A list of IEs' introductions, which in turn always contain the news items that warrant the upcoming interviews, invariably functions as the agenda. As to guest pre-introductions, it was further observed that they are not reduced to programme openings but may also occur prior to a commercial break, their function being considerably different.

With regard to the shift in status that the audience undergoes, the initial active, though non-verbal, role assigned during the riddle and welcoming act is substituted by a generally passive eavesdropping role once the IR-IE interaction has started. During the active stage, more specifically during the brief lapse of time mediating between the disclosure of the guest's name and the host-guest greeting, the audience is even aligned as the host to the encounter on a par with the actual host.

As a final remark, the transition from the opening sequence to the interview proper is not signalled with a specific discourse marker. However, the intimate relationship between the interactants often becomes clear through the use of humorous comments that serve an icebreaking function.

3.4. Structure of opening in debates

The sample of debates surveyed indicates that debate openings display a structure that fuses features that are typical of political interview openings, as well as of talk show interview openings. On the one hand, the type of opening components and their organisation resemble political interview openings; on the other hand, the statuses of the audience and of the host are partly closer to their talk show counterparts. A representative opening sequence of debates is [55].

[55] [Programme: *The Time, The Place*.]

1. **Host:** (*to camera*) We are about to meet some mothers who are delighted that their
2. sons are boxers. +
3. Could you cope if your son said he wanted to take up the fight game?
4. (*cover*)
5. **Host:** Thank you. ++ Thank you very much. ++
6. Hello.
7. I'm Steve Chalke. ++
8. After the injuries + boxer Ben McCledland sustained on Saturday night there have
9. been renewed calls for the sport to be banned. + A knee-jerk reaction say the
10. followers of boxing. ++
11. But is it? ++
12. We'd like you at home + to join us + in this very important debate + by taking part
13. + in our phone poll. ++ We're asking the question + should + boxing + be banned
14. for good. + If you think yes + boxing should be banned + call + on (…)
15. But first ++ who's unhappy ++ about the state ++ of boxing. +++
16. (*turns to Rachel*) Rachel, +++ I know that uh ++ you used to be a big fight fan. Didn't
17. you.
18. **Rachel:** Yes I did.

As the excerpt shows, the debate opening is coincidental with the programme opening, for debate programmes largely cover one single agenda item. In the event of more than one item for debate, it was observed that they are announced at the outset and correspondingly re-opened individually after a commercial break. As the closing of one topic is visually separated from the beginning of the next by a break, the use of a pre-announcement of the

forthcoming topic acts, like IE pre-introductions in talk shows, as an inducement for viewers to keep watching the programme.

An invariable component of debate openings is the headline. On occasions, as in [55], this stage may precede the greeting component, which tends to be a further opening component. When this occurred, the two components appeared visually separated by the cover of the programme. The rest of the opening stages that will be mentioned are, to various degrees, optional.

The headline in extract [55] comprises an agenda projection that introduces a controversial topic –boxing– in the form of a polar question, thus foreshadowing the debate format (l. 3). The question presages controversy partly because it presupposes a division of the public into supporters and disapprovers of the fight game.[192] This division is already suggested in the pre-headline (ll. 1-2). This optional component, which was not infrequent in our sample of debates, has the same attention-seeking function as in political interviews. Nonetheless, it is differently formulated. In our debate sample, pre-headlines adopted the format of an explicit introduction of a group of the studio audience that will play one side to the debate. Audience attention is captured towards the topic through (a) statement(s) describing a group as provocative due to their opinions or attitudes regarding the social or political matter at hand. As [55], supporters of the boxing game are introduced *via* the presentation of a group of mothers "who are delighted that their sons are boxers". The, probably, most extreme position within supporters of boxing is depicted in order to provoke reaction among the viewers.[193] Pre-headlines, then, serve to suggest one position towards

[192] The other part of the controversy arises from the very nature of the polar question. That a question allows for a 'yes' or 'no' response, however, does not inherently imply that the two answers correspond to two different state of affairs in the real world.

[193] Statements describing a group that represents one perspective to the debate may adopt the format of a short story. In those cases, as in the following excerpt, the events experienced by the protagonists of the story help to reveal their opinion towards the subject matter.

> **[56]** [Programme: *Esther*.]
>
> **Host:** In our studio today, we have people who've met aliens + from outer + space. In fact some of them have been + kidnapped by them. + They've had + strange operations + carried out by them + on their bodies.

the topic of debate, and this position, in turn, is introduced through the presentation of a group of the studio audience. Thus, the active participatory role of the studio audience is established at the very beginning of the programme. Further still, the audience's alignments as advocates of a specific position towards the subject matter becomes evident.

After the thanksgiving acts (l. 5) for the round of applause, greeting (l. 6), and self-introduction (l. 7),[194] the host proceeds to the story stage (ll. 8-10). In our illustration this optional component provides information about the event that originated the public debate about the subject matter, warranting its selection as the programme's topic. As well as in political interviews, the story may be followed by a repetition of the agenda projection (l. 11).

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Sometimes participation in the debate is expanded to home viewers by means of a phone poll. Accordingly, an extra component inviting public participation and providing relevant instructions of how to do so is inserted into the opening phase (ll. 12-14).

The transition from the opening phase, entirely addressed to the home viewers, to the main body of the event is commonly marked through a vocative (l. 16). Furthermore, the host in extract [55] utters a topic preface (l. 15). Over and above the boundary function, the vocative has a next-speaker-selecting function.[195] In order to avoid an undesirable competition for the floor after the first question between audience members, the host resorts to the naming technique to assign first speaker turn. The vocative is accompanied by an elicitation, in this case more specifically by an elicitation for confirmation.

When the debate is, first, between members of a panel and, secondly, between the panel and audience members, a further component is present in debate openings: the panel introduction. Although our sample contained only one panel debate opening, intuition

[194] The fact that *The Time, The Place* is often presented by another host is likely to explain the occurrence of the self-introductory component.

[195] *Vid*. Sacks *et al*. (1974) on the different next-speaker-selection techniques.

dictates that this component must be obligatory for an obvious reason, not dissimilar to the reason for IE introductions in political interviews: the programme must satisfy the audience's face want to be informed about the identity of the expert speakers that will discuss questions put by audience members. In fact, the only panel introduction of our debate sample does not appear to be much different from that of IEs in political interviews: first, it is governed by the same principles of topical relevance and recipient design applied to IE introductions in political interviews; and second, person descriptions are primarily formatted into some kind of appositive structures. The information contained therein is then supplemented with further details syntactically organised into a structure of post-modification.

[57] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.][196]

1. **IR:** Now each week we'll be assembling a panel of top sporting celebries-
2. celebrities rather to answer questions <u>put</u> by a studio audience. + Now alongside me
3. on every show will be Jimmy Greaves. + Ready to make his views known on + just
4. about everything,⌈and believe me, + there's THERE'S PLENTY TO TALK=
5. **JG:** ⌊↑I hope so.↑
6. **IR:** =ABOUT TONIGHT. + WELL SITTING NEXT TO JIMMY, +
7. →RAYMOND ILLINGWORTH. + England's cricket supremo,
8. FRESH FROM A WINTER OF DISAPPOINTMENT IN AUSTRALIA, + but
9. looking ahead + to a much gentler summer, + against the West Indies. + On my left,
10. + I'm delighted to welcome
11. →the manager of Manchester United Alex Ferguson, +
12. whose team showed just how much they miss Eric <u>CAN</u>TONA by hitting a
13. premiership record <u>NINE</u> goals on Saturday, + against Ipswich. + And finally, in
14. the media chair,
15. →Central TV's head of sport Gary <u>New</u>bond. + Ringside reporter in the + Ben
16. McCledland fight last week
17. and + present at most of ITV's major sporting occasions for the past two decades. +
18. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, that's your panel.
19. **AUD:** (*applause*)

In one point, however, this introduction resembles talk show introductions, namely in eliciting applause from the audience as a welcoming signal to the panel members (l. 18), a feature that derives from the active role of the studio audience in both genres.[197] As in

[196] Arrowed lines signal appositive structures.

[197] This does not amount to say that the audiences' roles are indistinct in the two genres.

many talk shows, the initiation of the elicitation is explicitly signalled with a title of respect acting as vocative to draw the audience's attention to the subsequent act. The superior status implicitly granted to panel members with respect to the audience through this star-like introduction contrasts with the status balance between experts and lay participants in non-panel debates. This status equality is manifested in the structure of the opening, as well as in the seating position: experts are not habitually introduced in the opening stage of the event, their identity being revealed through a label; and they sit among the rest of the studio audience, alongside ordinary people. In short, their status is downgraded to be on a par with lay participants.

Whereas the structural components of debate openings substantially resemble their political interview counterparts, in two characteristics they are akin to talk show interview openings, namely in the statuses of the studio audience and of the host. In both talk show and debate openings the role of the studio audience is established as being, to various degrees, that of an active participant. In talk show openings that participation was seen to be basically confined to the unspoken interaction with the host during the guest's introduction, which culminated in the audience's non-verbal expressions of welcome to the guest through applause and cheers. That active role was immediately substituted for the more passive one of eavesdroppers on a private conversation.[198] Against the semi-active role of talk show audiences, audience participation is taken to its ultimate limits in debates. Inasmuch as the audience is aligned as advocates to confronting perspectives on a subject matter from the very topic introduction, they are depicted as the real protagonists of the speech event.

By contrast to IRs in political interviews, both talk show and debate hosts are depicted as participants possessing a superior status that derives from features that are internal as well as external to the speech event. With respect to the rest of the participants, the host's superior internal status springs from his/her managerial role during the encounter.

[198] *Vid*. *supra* footnote 187 on the AUD's role of eavesdropper.

As a consequence, it is a standing status throughout the event. The superior external status, however, is limited to the opening phase of the encounter, and follows from the host's stardom. In fact, both talk show and debate programmes routinely exhibit the host's physical movement onto the stage, at times even accompanied by a voiceover announcing him/her. This star-like appearance is responded to by the audience with a round of applause. Indeed, the host's thanksgiving acts in extract [55] (l. 5) are a response to the audience's recognition of that status. The similarity with talk show guests' entrances is evident. Abandonment of the starring role takes place in talk shows when the host calls the first guest onstage; in debates when the first discussant starts talking.[199]

3.5. Generic imprints on openings

In this chapter I have examined the management of the opening phase in the political interview, talk show interview, and debate genres. Drawing on the results obtained from the analysis of the structural organisation, I shall attempt to determine, first, the general institutional imprints that differentiate the openings of all three genres from the openings of ordinary conversations, and, secondly, genre-specific characteristics of each particular opening sequence as defined by the parameters of the role of the audience and the status of the IR or host.

The strongly institutionalised nature of the genres is manifested in the opening sequence through the marked audience-oriented function of the phase. Orientation to the audience is made visible through the following characteristics:

(a) Address of opening section either to camera or to studio audience. In political interviews and debates the opening phase is directly addressed to the home viewers. However, variations could be observed in free-standing political interviews, where the opening section was entirely addressed to the IE. Though no evident reason for that behaviour could be found, there seemed to be no doubt about the section's audience-

[199] But *cf.* Livingstone & Lunt (1994) for the view that the host plays the role of hero throughout the entire debate programme.

oriented function. Also, debates with a panel present demonstrated address to the studio audience instead of to the home viewers through th e panel introduction component. As to talk show interview openings, they are addressed to the studio audience only during the first component. Due to the entertainment goal of the genre, audience address is substituted by direct IE address once the IR-IE chat performance starts.

(b) Topic introduction. The topic of discussion is explicitly announced in political interview and debate openings. By contrast to ordinary conversations, where the topic is not fixed, in both genres topics are pre-established in advance and, accordingly, announced to the viewers. As was shown, these genres contain invariably a structural component, the headline, devised for this purpose. The way in which this component is commonly formatted, as an agenda projection, not only anticipates the topic but also delimits the parameters within which the subsequent talk must be constructed: either as an informational or debate interview in the political interview genre, and always as two groups defending opposite views on the topic in the debate genre. In political interviews, anticipation of the design of the upcoming talk may be reinforced by the formulation of the story component, a further topic-related component. This latter component may even shed light on the position that the IR will take towards the interviewing task. The presence of an explicit agenda projection manifests the primarily information-oriented or "transactional" (Brown & Yule, 1983:1ff; Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990:3ff) character of the speech event.

Talk show interview topics are also pre-determined but this pre-determination does not become visible in the opening structure of the event as in political interviews or debates. Talk show interview openings do not explicitly announce the main topic in the opening section, although to some extent it is latent in the IE introduction component. This characteristic is in line with the pretence of spontaneous conversation, where any topic may be raised. In opposition to political interviews and debates, it evinces the important listener-oriented or "interactional" (*ibid.*) character of the encounter.

(c) IE introduction. The IE or guest is explicitly introduced *via* a description in political interviews and talk show interviews. The process of identification is markedly different from most ordinary face-to-face conversations. Thus, it neither takes place between the participants, nor is it produced on visual grounds. The IE is identified by the IR or host in a "categorical" manner (Schegloff, 1979:25). Because the IR or host knows the IE or guest, the latter is described for the benefit of the audience. Variations of this structural component must be traced to format, and the latter depends on the goal of the communicative event. The strongly information-oriented purpose of political interviews justifies that IEs in that genre are aligned with respect to the topic in question and that alignments are always related to the IE's public accountability, which is the ultimate goal of the encounter. By contrast, the formulation of IE introductions as a riddle in talk show interviews is a manifestation of the important entertainment purpose of the event.

The IE introduction of talk show interviews not only introduces the guest but, as mentioned above, acts implicitly as topic introduction. The IE's alignment as the protagonist of his/her professional life, implicitly marks the guest as the topic and predicts that it is around him/her that talk will revolve. Therefore, the very description contains clues about the actual topic; the more so when that description includes the newsworthy event in the personality's professional life that occasioned the interview.

Debates do not contain an explicit participant introduction component. Nevertheless, the active participatory role of the entire studio audience is often acknowledged in the pre-headline by the selection of one group of the studio audience for holding a provocative position towards the topic of the debate. Consequently, it is implied that the studio audience is formed by advocates of different views.

(d) Unilateral management.[200] In marked contrast to the co-operative entry into ordinary conversations, the opening phase of political interviews and debates is managed

[200] Features (a) to (d) have also been noted by Clayman (1987, 1991) for news interviews.

unilaterally by the IR or host. The task of opening the speech event is attached exclusively to the IR's or host's managerial role. The lack of IR-IE greeting exchange in political interviews is to be traced to the marked transactional nature of the encounter, which is done exclusively for the viewers' sake. Consequently, acts aimed at reinforcing the interpersonal bonds between IR and IE are omitted. Their meeting is assumed to have taken place before the beginning of the programme.

With regard to talk show interview openings, only the first part of the opening is managed unilaterally by the host. Due to the special performance character of the talk show interview, the overall opening sequence embeds a collaborative entry into the chat between host and guest. Consequently, the kind of interpersonal actions performed to signal availability to talk typical of ordinary conversations are present: movement toward each other, exchange of greetings and handshakes, and an offer-acceptance exchange of a seat. Though the illusion that the audience is witnessing the beginning of the encounter as the parties move towards each other is created, the real beginning of the meeting generally occurs prior to air-time.

The features outlined above have demonstrated that the speech events share one important characteristic: they are pre-arranged encounters that are orchestrated for the benefit of the audience. It is now time to look at two aspects that define crucial differences between the genres, namely the role of the audience and the status of the IR or host within the communicative event in question. Both parameters are manifested in the generic structure of the opening sequences.

(e) Role of audience. As was shown, organisation of the opening structure displays the role that the audience plays in each genre. Three distinct roles were established: passive, 'semi-active', and active. In political interviews, the audience is a passive and absent participant. Following Heritage (1985:99), this role has been defined as "overhearer". Without a right to feedback, the audience participates only inasmuch as it is the ultimate recipient of the information elicited during the encounter. That the IR-IE interaction is

staged for the audience is formally manifested in the IR's conduct of directly addressing the entire opening sequence to the camera. But content too contributes to that manifestation. Announcing the agenda of the interview event and introducing the IE descriptively are functionally significant only if the audience is taken as the primary or ultimate, if unaddressed, recipient of the upcoming interaction. Thus, the structural organisation of the opening sequence of the interview event serves to establish the difference between the audience's role of primary recipient and, tacitly, the IR's role of immediate addressee, though non-primary recipient, of the IE's talk.

In talk shows, the home viewers are represented by a studio audience that can be defined as a present, 'semi-active' participant. The state of semi-activity, which will define the role of the studio audience during the entire speech event, is set during the opening phase *via* a shift from an active, non-verbal period to a more passive one. It was shown that, with the purpose of introducing the guest, the IR initiates an interaction with the studio audience that is formulated as a riddle and chiefly responded to non-verbally with applause. This special game-like interaction results from the important entertainment purpose of the genre, and projects that goal as defining the task of the audience during the following host-guest interaction. In fact, during that conversation the audience is tacitly forced to play the game of discriminating what is true or false about the guest's disclosure.

The audience's role of direct addressee shifts for an instance, during the welcoming act to the guest, to that of host, an alignment the audience shares with the actual host. But, as soon as the actual host displays towards the incoming guest the initial kinesic signals of availability to initiate a conversation, the studio audience is positioned into the more passive role of what has been defined as an "eavesdropper" (Greatbatch, 1988:424) on a private conversation. Even though the label of eavesdropper has been adopted all along section 3.3, the term does not appear to be very accurate to define the exact role of the studio audience in talk show interviews. The humorous comments at times directly addressed to the audience by the host in the transition from the opening to the interview proper display the host's awareness and acceptance of the audience's eavesdropping

activity, a state that is not in principle assumed to be contained in the definition of the term.[201] The audience is thus recognised as a present, though basically mute, recipient of the subsequent conversation. In short, the term can be adopted with the qualification that a state of complicity develops between host and audience.

Studio audiences adopt the role of fully active participants in debates. In contrast to talk shows, that role is not invariably demonstrated in the opening section, for the only explicit reference to the studio audience was shown to be contained in an optional component, the pre-headline.

In like manner to political interviews, the host's direct address to the camera, frequently turning his/her back to the studio audience, during the opening sequence and the similar structural organisation of the opening components establish the viewers as ultimate recipients or overhearers of the upcoming debate, distinguishing consequently between home audience and studio audience. This overhearing role may, on occasions, change to active participation at the end of the debate through a phone poll. In those cases, a structural opening component is explicitly designed to announce that role shift. By contrast to the clear studio audience-home audience separation in debates, the indistinguishable status of studio audience and home audience in talk show interviews appears to be differentiated only through pre-announcements prior to commercial breaks, for their function is clearly oriented at home viewers only.

A final observation focuses on a feature that is akin to the three genres. Together with other verbal markers, body movement, if only as a change of body posture and/or gaze, on the part of the IR or host towards IE, guest, or studio audience is in all three genres, respectively, the recognisable indicator that the audience addressed at the very beginning has been ousted from its role of immediate addressee of the subsequent talk.

[201] According to the *OED* (1989, vol. V:45), to 'eavesdrop' is "to listen secretly to a private conversation".

(f) Status of IR or host. The unilateral management of part of or of the entire opening sequence of the events is conditioned by the institutional role of IR or host. The managerial function attached to the role grants the IR or host a superior internal status with respect to the rest of the parties to the events. It is primarily the IR's or host's external status that brings about differentiation between genres. The socially inferior status of IRs relative to IEs in political interviews is determined by the distant relationship towards the IE manifested in the use of vocatives in the transition to the interview proper. Also manifesting the lower external status of the IR is the absence in the opening phase of an explicit IR introduction, IRs being identified by a visual label.

In marked contrast, talk show and debate programmes depict the host as having a superior external status relative to the studio audience. Thus, in talk shows, the host's star-like entry onstage was mentioned as reinforcing that status. Though the host's social status is a relatively fixed feature of his/her persona, abandonment of the role of star on the appearance of the guest downgrades him/her to a position of social inferiority relative to the guest star. This seeming unequal social distance between host and guest[202] is bridged, not strengthened as in political interviews, *via* the frequent humorous comments which, uttered as a transitional device to the conversation, establish a familiar relationship between co-interactants. Accordingly, the host's superior internal status is disguised to give the impression of a chat on equal terms.

Similarly, in debates, the host's superior external status relative to the home audience is de-emphasised once he/she turns to the studio audience after the opening phase. By contrast, however, in debates the host continues to display his/her superior internal status.

[202] Though these programmes appear to create the impression that hosts generally have an inferior external status relative to guests, it is disputable that this apparent status imbalance reflects the actual social position of one party with respect to the other.

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CHAPTER FOUR: THE INTERRUPTION PROCESS

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I shall report and interpret the results of a detailed analysis of the various parameters determining the interruption process in the genres under investigation: the talk show interview, the political interview, and the debate. The aim is to look for patterns of interruptions in the three genres, make claims about any systematic relationship between them, and suggest a tentative genre-based explanation for each pattern of unsmooth speaker shift. For this purpose, I shall base my report on the raw observed frequencies of the characteristics of the interruptions recorded in the sample programmes described in section 2.7.1 and listed in appendix 2. In the text, raw values will commonly be referred to in percentages in order to facilitate the comparison of patterns between genres.

The subsequent 12 sections are organised in such a way that each deals with one parameter of the interruption in the following order: categories (section 4.2); participants (section 4.3); degree of complexity (section 4.4); position (section 4.5), including a comment on the notion of predictability of message end; floor-securing technique (section 4.6); reaction of participants towards interruptions, including the corresponding acceptance/non-acceptance techniques (section 4.7); interviewer intervention (section 4.8); turn-resumption techniques (section 4.9); insertion of interrupter's message into interruptee's turn (section 4.10); thematic perspective (section 4.11); degree of relevance (section 4.12); and types of informative relevance (section 4.13). The section devoted to participants is further sub-divided into 3 sections (sub-sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.3.3), each sub-section focusing on the corresponding variable as manifested in one genre. Similarly, the section devoted to the thematic perspective of interruptions is further sub-divided, one sub-section focusing on topic change (sub-section 4.11.1), the other on conflict (sub-section 4.11.2). Finally, section 4.13 is organised into 5 sub-sections (excluding the introduction), each corresponding to a different informative category.

Before proceeding to explore the generic characteristics of the interruptions found in our sample programmes, it is necessary to report on the number of interruptions detected in each genre. The total number of interruptions recorded in the sample of interview

programmes amounts to 256, distributed per genre as table [1] shows. It should be remembered that this database contains only those records that were classified as interruptions following the scheme outlined in section 2.4.2.3.

Table [1]: Total number of interruptions per genre

Talk show interview	Political interview	Debate	TOTAL
42	88	126	256

4.2. Categories of interruptions

Of the eleven categories of interruptions recorded in our sample of talk show interviews, the silent interruption and the simple interruption happen to be the most frequently occurring, 14 and 9 cases, respectively, constituting 54.9 per cent of all the interruptions. As table [2] indicates, next in frequency are overlaps, with as many as 7 instances. The remaining 8 interruption categories are scarcely represented. These data allow us to postulate that in our talk show interviews dominate those interruptions that cut off the current speaker in mid speech, as opposed to the other categories represented where the interruptee is not willing to leave the floor free to the interrupter without finishing his/her message.

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Table [2]: Categories of interruptions[203]

Category	Talk show interview		Political interview		Debate		TOTAL	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Silent interruption	14	33.4	8	9.1	26	20.6	48	18.8
Simple interruption	9	21.5	14	15.9	16	12.7	39	15.2
Overlap	7	16.7	14	15.9	17	13.5	38	14.8
Butting-in	2	4.7	7	8	8	6.3	17	6.6
Interrupted interruption	2	4.7	10	11.4	15	12	27	10.5
Non-interrupted interruption	2	4.7	11	12.5	16	12.7	29	11.3
Simultaneous start 3	2	4.7	7	7.9	5	3.9	14	5.5
Parallel	1	2.4	11	12.5	16	12.7	28	10.9
Simultaneous start 1	1	2.4			1	0.8	2	0.8
Simultaneous start 2	1	2.4	2	2.3	2	1.6	5	2
Straightforward interruption			3	3.4	3	2.4	6	2.4
Other	1	2.4	1	1.1	1	0.8	3	1.2
TOTAL	42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

In comparison to talk shows, table [2] depicts the same number of interruption categories in our sample of political interviews. However, the frequency of occurrence of the categories is different. Simple interruptions, silent interruptions, and straightforward interruptions together amount to only 28.4 per cent of all obstructive speaker shifts. By contrast, overlaps, non-interrupted interruptions, parallels, interrupted interruptions, butting-ins and simultaneous starts 3 total 68.1 per cent. This latter group comprises interruptions whose very nature highlight the fight for the floor, as in these categories the interruptee's behaviour indicates his/her unwillingness to yield the floor to the interrupter before completing his/her message. These results might be premised on the fact that in political interviews the IR threatens the IE's face and that this challenge generates disagreement so that the parties are constantly trying to correct each other and to repair face,[204] for which they do not hesitate to produce simultaneous speech. The person threatened does not let the other get away with the challenge without immediately defending himself/herself.

[203] Whenever necessary, percentages in tables were rounded to total 100. Rounding was applied to the figure(s) containing the highest decimal(s).

[204] On the notion of face *vid*. Goffman (1967) and Brown & Levinson (1987).

In our debates, silent interruptions together with simple and straightforward interruptions constitute 35.7 per cent of all interruptive turn switches, whereas the group formed by interrupted interruptions, non-interrupted interruptions, parallels, overlaps and butting-ins amount to 57.2 per cent. As with political interviews, the percentage of occurrence of categories in which the interlocutor is cut off is notably inferior to that of the rest of interruptive types, although this difference is not as marked as in political interviews. This similarity might derive from the fact that usually in a debate two lobbies defend two opposed views, in like manner to the challenging opposition established between IR and IE in a political interview. This opposition is strongly argued, and the different parties, instead of accepting a cut-off, as in talk show interviews, do not let the opponent get away with his/her view, thus generating a lot of simultaneous speech. But the percentages indicate that the difference between cutting-offs and simultaneous speech[205] is inferior in debates to that in political interviews. This might be because participants in a debate make more allowance for a cut-off. As many are ordinary people, not personalities, their low external status might make them not want to stress imposition, by fighting to put across their view –imposition being always a symbol of the stronger, more powerful party–, but to appear polite and hence not talk at the same time and let the other speak.

4.3. Participants

4.3.1. In talk show interviews

As regards the participant that produces the obstruction in talk show interviews, in our sample the IR and the IE generate the same proportion of interruptions. This equality might be a consequence of the informal character of the genre, which makes a talk show interview more akin to a casual conversation than to a formal interview. As in a casual conversation, in a talk show interview participants pretend to enter on equal terms, resembling a conversation between friends. Hence, it is not surprising that the turn-taking behaviour

[205] The labels *cutting-offs* and *simultaneous speech* are here used as broad categories encompassing two large groups of interruptions that differ basically in the emphasis of the latter on the fight for the floor, manifested by means of simultaneous speech, and the lack of this stress in the former. This, however, does not mean that

reflects this equal status relationship in that both parties produce an equal number of interruptions.

As for the classification attending the interruptee, all interruptions, but one, are *frontal*, since in the type of talk show interviews analysed interaction occurred almost exclusively between two parties with different discourse roles, the IR and the IE. It is in cases of more than two participants to the speech event that other classifications may be obtained. The only example in our database came from the *Sam Fox* interview and originated between the two IEs, Sam Fox and her coach Barry McGuigan, as shown in the extract below.

[58] [Interview with Sam Fox and Barry McGuigan. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **IR1:** Well obviously boxing in itself i- is going to get you fit, but you don't actually
2. land blows, do you.
3. **SF:** No. There's no contact.
4. **BM:** No. There's no contact whatsoever. No.
5. **IR1:** No. It's shadow boxing.
6. **→BM:** ⌈No. No no. It's not shadow boxing. It's actually punching the ball,+
7. **→SF:** Well no. Shadow boxing
8. **BM:** punching the bag, if you can go to a gym. You can shadow box at home. (...)

This *lateral* interruption as to interruptee came about when both IEs attempted to answer a question posed by one of the IRs. Lack of more *lateral* interruptions between the two IEs was due to the fact that many turn exchanges, though produced with simultaneous speech, were not interruptive but collaborative. Also lacking were *lateral* interruptions produced between the two IRs. Although no records were found in our sample to corroborate it, it may be assumed that the only likely instances in which one IR may interfere into the other's turn is when attempting to produce an elicitation after the end of an IE's response to a prior elicitation. The IRs' attendance to an ordered turn shift, as required by the principles of social order and politeness, and consequently by the media, would justify the immediate withdrawal of one of the two IRs on the occurrence of a simultaneous start, consequently rendering a non-interruptive turn switch.

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some simultaneous speech is precluded from occurring in the former group. It may originate, as in simple interruptions, but need not, as in silent interruptions.

In a one-to-one party interview talk is always oriented at the other, so that obstructions are always addressed at the party that is holding the floor. As a consequence, interruptee and addressee are the same participant. In a multi-party interaction, however, this need not necessarily be the case, as extract [58] above has shown. There the interruptive talk produced between the two IEs was addressed at the IR who asked the question, consequently rendering a *frontal-different participant* category as to the addressee classification.

The only other instance in our talk show interviews where interruptee and addressee did not overlap corresponded, surprisingly, to a dyadic interaction. In that case the interruptive talk was addressed at a participant other than the interlocutor with whom the interaction was established, namely the audience. As was explained in the previous chapter, in talk show interviews the audience mainly plays the role of eavesdroppers. Nevertheless, its participation may be foregrounded by addressing a comment at them, thus integrating the audience as a third party into the speech interaction. This is what occurred in the *Frank Bruno* interview (*vid.* extract [59]) where the IR addressed a humorous comment at the audience. It is worth noting, however, that although both IR and IE do often address the audience, these comments do not normally generate interruptions.

[59] [Interview with Frank Bruno. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **IR**: ...One lobby is saying, for instance that you shouldn't aim punches at the head.
2. And⌈what do you reckon to that.
3. **FB**: Mmm.
4. **FB**: One doctor says you shouldn't make love. You know what I mean. (*AUD*
5. *laughing*) (So, it makes no difference. Everybody is) entitled to their uh uh um
6. opinion. You know (*laughing*) (what I mean. Because (*AUD laughing*) (++)) Mr.
7. Titchmarch, you're looking at me kind of strange. (*AUD laughing*) (++) Um. But
8. [+]
9. →**IR**: (*turning to AUD*) WELL. I KNOW WHICH I'D RATHER DO, BUT I (*laughs*)
10. + (*laughs*)
11. **FB**: You know, + everything we <u>do</u> in life is a little- little bit of a danger. (...)

4.3.2. In political interviews

4.3.2.1. The interrupter

Analysis of our political interviews revealed that IRs generated 60.2 per cent of the obstructive speaker shifts, while IEs only 38.6 per cent.[206] This important numerical difference in the interruptive behaviour of the two parties appears to indicate that the IR plays an active role in the interruption-generating process. My hypothesis that in political interviews the IR plays an active challenging role which leads him/her to adopt a position similar to that of a discussant, which, as a consequence, generates a high proportion of turn-fighting interruptions appears to be supported by the results obtained from an examination of the categories of interruptions generated per participant. This examination revealed that the IR produced a number of simultaneous-speech interruptions that exceeded the double of cutting-off ones.[207]

IEs do also interrupt, though to a lesser extent. Their interruptions might be due to a face-saving action that makes them obstruct the IRs' talk to defend themselves from the accusations produced by the IR. In fact, after analysing the degree of relevance and the thematic-informative classification of relevant interruptions produced by IEs it was revealed that slightly over 80 per cent (28 cases) of intrusions corresponded to conflictive interactions with the IR. Out of this 80 per cent, over 50 per cent (18 cases) were actions of counterposition to the IR's statements or arguments. Most of these counterpositions were expressed through corrections of the information uttered by the IR. The most bald-on record counterposition appeared in the form of a straightforward refutation marked by the negative adverb 'no'. All these counterpositions constitute an indirect way of saving the politician's and his/her party's reputation, since they present the IR's view of things as incorrect or, at least, misleading. When the degree of tension reached a climactic point the

[206] These percentages correspond to 53 and 34 interruptive cases, respectively.

[207] Simultaneous speech interruptions and cutting-off interruptions produced by the IR amounted to 41.8 per cent and 18.2 per cent of all the interruptions produced in the political interview genre, respectively.

IE tended to resort to metaconversational acts with which he/she admonished the IR for his/her threatening attitude; these acts represent the most direct face-saving attempts.

Only one interruption produced by the AUD was recorded. Though commonly the genre of political interviews does not have an audience present in the studio, the programme hosted by Mr. Dimbleby does. After the interview proper the programme allocates a time to audience participation where audience members are encouraged to put questions to the guest. It is in this part of the programme that the following interruption between a member of the AUD and the IR occurred. AUD10 interrupts the IR to specify the information she is seeking from TB. This clarification comes in response to the IR's request that AUD10 should be more concrete about her elicitation to the politician (ll. 4-5), for her first turn (ll. 1-3) was in this sense very vague.

[60] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **AUD10:** Tony, + um we've- we've had- had a lot of confirmation I think of the
2. Tories' bad record in public spending. (...) We've got problems with our buildings,
3. we've got problems with re⌈sources,
4. **IR:** So what do you want with Mr. Blair. What do you want
5. from him.
6. **AUD10:** We want- we want equality. We want a change of view, a change of
7. direction.
8. **IR:** Yeah. But what's that-⌈that- that- that- he could say that. Is that-⌈are you=
9. **TB:** (*to IR*) Well. (I- I understand that.) |
10. **→AUD10:** I want him to=
11. **IR:** =quite happy with what he's doing?
12. **AUD10:** =tell me how we're going to see that radical change of direction. I don't
13. want more of the same.

4.3.2.2. The interruptee

As to the interruptee of interruptions in political interviews, the classification is *frontal* because the turn exchange always takes place between the two traditional discourse roles of an interview, namely, IR and IE. The exception corresponds again to the second part of the Dimbleby programme. It is in this space in time that the only two interruptions (2.3 per cent of all the interruptions of this genre) were produced that are not *frontal* but *special frontal*: they occurred between the IE –Tony Blair– and a member of the AUD, as in extract [61].

[61] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **AUD4:** There's- there's been almost two billion new businesses started up in the
2. last five years, most of them are still micro-businesses with less than ten employees.
3. Now these employers are desperate to pay their employees as much as they possibly
4. can, but they're on very very tight margins.
5. **TB:** Of course.
6. **AUD4:** If something goes up for example like Employers' National Insurance
7. Contribution, that could be enough to put them under. They'd have two choices, one
8. would be to go under, +<and go and work for the minimum wage for themselves,
9. because they don't pay themselves the minimum wage, or alternatively they'll do
10. what they are doing in Continental Europe,> and that is employing the labour part-
11. time casually + on the black economy.
12. **IR:** (To put it)=
13. **AUD4:** =Have you got any plan that excludes small businesses? Um micro-
14. businesses from + various=
15. →**TB:** =No. But it's precisely- I understand totally that- that there are problems that
16. can be caused for small businesses. (...)

If we consider the above figure against the total of interruptions within the programme, it only represents 4.2 per cent of all the interruptions. This appears to indicate that the degree of interruptiveness during the IE-AUD interaction is extremely low. The nature of this interaction was highly conflictless, if compared with the IR-IE interaction. The members of the AUD replied only in a few cases to the IE's answer to their questions, and this occurred only in cases of disagreement. But even in situations of challenge the exchange lacked the degree of intensity manifested in the IR-IE interaction through the frequency of obstructing turn switches. In my view, this does not necessarily indicate that the answer provided by the IE is satisfactory or convincing to the interlocutor; rather, it is probably that the latter may feel inhibited to reply either because of the social distance between the two parties, or because of the fear of being cut off by the IR, as each member of the AUD is only alloted a limited time span so that the greatest number of participants may be brought into the interaction.

4.3.2.3. The addressee

As in the talk show interviews, the political interviews analysed are based on a one-to-one party relationship, so that interruptee and addressee of the interruptions coincide. The percentage of interruptions other than the *frontal–same participant* class (87.5%) was very

low (12.5%) and corresponded to the second part of the Tony Blair interview, as in this part of the programme the number of participants increases, generating a complex web of relations. Thus, seven interruptions (7.9%) corresponded to the *frontal-different participant* type in which the IR interrupts the IE to address a member of the audience with the aim of either selecting him/her as next speaker[208] (*vid.* extract [62]), or of preventing him/her from obstructing the current speaker (*vid*. extract [63]).

[62] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **AUD4**: Have you got any plan that excludes small businesses? Um micro-
2. businesses from + various=
3. **TB**: =No. But it's precisely- I understand totally that- that there are problems that
4. can be caused for small businesses. (...) I understand the concerns that you have.
5. The small business sector particularly will be considered, and will be brought into
6. our discussion and consultation.⌈I hope that's acceptable to you.
7. **→IR**: The guy- the guy wearing the black waistcoat. Four
8. in there.

[63] [*id*.]

1. **TB**: The reason we <u>have</u> the windfall tax, in order to <u>fund</u> the jobs + and training
2. programmes for young people, is in order to change that. And I see- (*pointing*) (can
3. I just come back to this. 'Cos I see that gentleman at the back⌈there + shaking=
4. **AUD9**: (°*inaud*.°)
5. **TB**: =his head.) But I- I- ⌈I-
6. **→IR**: (*pointing at AUD9*) (Hang on there. Let him [=TB] make his point.)
7. **TB**: Look. + <u>Nob</u>ody can <u>guar</u>an<u>tee</u> jobs for people. (...)

Two interruptions were classed as *special frontal-same participant* (2.3%), because they occurred between the IE –Mr. Blair– and a member of the audience who had taken over the questioning task. The latter is both the interruptee and the addressee of the obstructing talk produced by the politician. (*Vid.* extract [61] above.) Finally, two interruptions generated by the IR (2.3%) were not classified (hence marked as *blank* in the corresponding slot in the database) as it was unclear who the addressee of the interruption was. As extract [64] illustrates, the content of the IR's utterance could perfectly well be aimed at the politician or at the member of the AUD who at that point was initiating an

[208] It need not necessarily be the politician that is interrupted by the IR when selecting a next speaker; the interruptee may also be a member of the AUD when trying to initiate a further elicitation-response exchange with the politician.

exchange with TB. Moreover, gaze was not a clue either, because the interrupter was out of focus at that moment, so that body language did not help disambiguate the addressee of the interruption.

[64] [*id.*]

1. **AUD5:** Um. Yes. Basically many um small businesses in America are um
2. negotiations, because they are exempt from having to pay minimum wage. Which is
3. why there is lower unemployment. ⌈Surely it's your responsibility to look after the=
4. **→IR:** <Is that an option>?
5. **AUD5:** =people. You can't afford to cut the benefit uhm budget, + and pass that
6. responsibility onto the successful employer. That's your responsibility.
7. **TB:** In fact the exemptions are extremely limited in the United States. (...)

4.3.3. In debates

4.3.3.1. Complexity of discourse roles: the interrupter

Before commenting on the raw values obtained from the analysis of the debate genre in relation to participants, a word of explanation about discourse roles is due. The main discourse roles in an interview correspond to IR and IE. In the present genre the former role is held by the presenter or host. At times, however, a Secondary IR may take over the lead in the eliciting function. The IE role is played by all the participants that are 'interviewed' by the IR. Nevertheless, in the debate genre these act mostly as discussants, not only among themselves but even with the IR (as in *Kilroy*), who at times appears to adopt a different role from that of information elicitor. Also, within the IE role distinctions have to be drawn as to the status of participants. The expert-lay differentiation, for example, is frequently at the heart of the *special lateral* classification. Even within the expert class of participants there may be distinctions: in the *Sport in Question* (*SQ*) programme not only the panel members are experts; at strategic points the (main) IR brings into the discussion other experts which at first enter the interaction as IEs answering the (main) IR's questions, and progressively develop their discourse role into that of a discussant with the other panel members. Although both the panel members and the other experts are all subsumed under the discourse role of IE, their statuses are not the same since the expert is always introduced into the debate for her/his special expertise on a specific issue. In short, the various

participants with their different roles and statuses (even within the same role) originate a web of complex interrelations that are absent in other programmes.

In the debate the distribution of the obstructive behaviour per participant was as follows: 54 per cent (68 cases) of the interruptions was originated by the IE; 33.3 per cent (42 cases) by the IR; 11.1 per cent (14 cases) by the Secondary IR; and 1.6 per cent (2 cases) by the AUD. The relatively low frequency of interruptions produced by the IR in the debate genre may be explained on the basis that his/her role is less active than in the other genres, the other parties taking over a more participatory role, at times establishing the conversation directly between themselves without the intervention of the IR or host. The IR or host does at times only control the encounter for purposes of topic shift and in cases of disordered turn exchange. He/she is a mere presenter. It is therefore predictable that most of the interruptions produced by IEs were addressed at somebody other than the IR or host.

The role of Secondary IR is assigned to a participant who works alongside the main IR. In these cases the Secondary IR takes over the active part of asking most questions and debating the topic at length at the same level as the other guests of the panel. This is what seems to justify the quite high proportion of interruptions produced by the Secondary IR, quite high if it is recalled that the 14 interruptive instances were produced within a single programme –*SQ*–, and corresponded to 34.1 per cent of all the interruptive instances that took place therein. In that programme the IR originated only 3 interruptions (7.3%). The Secondary IR's double function of information elicitor AND discussant might be at the root of his/her high interruptive behaviour.

Even if the interruptive behaviour of the IR and Secondary IR were jointly considered, the percentage of interruptions (44.4%) would still be lower than that produced by IEs (54%). This is likely due to the fact that in a debate the guests are the true protagonists; they speak most of the time, very often discussing the topic among themselves without addressing either the IR or the Secondary IR. Hence, it is not surprising that it is they who also produce most of the interruptions. (It is necessary to remember that the label

'IE' in our panel debate refers to any member of the panel or to any special guest sitting among the AUD; and *AUD* signals any member of the audience that puts questions to the panel.)

4.3.3.2. The interruptee

4.3.3.2.1. In the programme *Sport in Question*

As far as the interruptee is concerned, I shall first concentrate on the programme *Sport in Question*.

Table [3]: Interruptee in the programme *Sport in Question*

Participants	Frontal		Sp. frontal		Sp. lateral	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
IR – member of panel	4	9.8				
Sec.IR – member of panel			18	43.9		
Sec.IR – member of AUD			3	7.3		
Member of panel – member of AUD			4	9.8		
IR – Sec. IR					3	7.3
Member of panel – expert guest					9	21.9
TOTAL	4	9.8	25	61	12	29.2

Out of 41 interruptions, table [3] exhibits only 4 (9.8%) *frontal* interruptions, all those occurring between the IR and a panel member (*vid*. extract [65]). 25 (61%) are *special frontal*: they take place mostly between the Secondary IR and either a member of the panel (18 instances, as in extract [66]) or a member of the AUD (only 3 instances, as in extract [67]).[209] That is, the discourse roles of the participants herein involved differ from one another. In this respect, it should be recalled that the role of Secondary IR comprises the functions both of elicitor and discussant, for he/she may be either putting questions to the members of the panel (and exceptionally to a member of the AUD after the latter has put a question or made a comment to a guest of the panel), or defending his/her position in relation to the topic under discussion with the guests of the panel (or exceptionally with a member of the AUD).

[209] Classifications have been established with respect to the more traditional one-to-one IR-IE relationship format.

[65] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **RI:** (...) 'Cos there's- there's a lot more involved in the game itself.
2. **IR:** I think that's Botham's argument. I think the gentleman here was making uh
3. Botham's argument. He wants⌈younger men in
4. **→RI:** Th- that's that's as a manager. Being involved and
5. working with the team. (...)

[66] [*id.*]

1. **Sec.IR:** (...) I mean (*pointing at GN with a pencil*) (you got sent off) what seven times.
2. So + as an (*GN smiling and the rest of the panel laughing*) (aggressive player)=
3. **→GN:** =ST. JOHN WAS THE ↑WORST.↑
4. **Sec.IR:** As an aggressive player yourself, do you have <u>empathy</u> towards Cantona?
5. (...)

[67] [*id.*]

1. **IR:** (*pointing at AUD and moving pen to both sides*) (Anybody else who + got a- an
2. opinion about the way players are behaving at the moment). +++ (*pointing at*
3. *AUD3*) (Yeah. The gent- gentleman here with the + striped football shirt.)
4. **AUD3:** Yeah. Uhm I mean + it seems a bit to me that + with all the money coming
5. into the game now, + that all the problems seemed to be linked to the + money
6. going in (...) We don't control our clubs. Sky's gotta say. + Or Central Television's
7. got Sky. ⌈(I mean in the league.)
8. **Sec. IR:** Yeah, but that's got nothin' to do with it being in the gutter has it.
9. **IR:** (*out of focus*)⌈Yeah well it
10. **Sec.IR:** Is what⌈we're talking about.
11. **→AUD3:** <So money's got nothin' to do with the game going
12. downhill. Paying a 21-year-old lad who left school at 16, + for 4 or 15 grand a
13. week, s'got nothin' to do with him taking drugs.>

Also classed as *special frontal* are those cases occurring between a guest of the panel and a member of the AUD (4 instances), as these are interruptions also occurring between parties holding discourse functions that correspond to different discourse roles (*vid.* extract [68]). In these situations the AUD member has taken over the interviewing or eliciting task, whereas the member of the panel answering the question is still holding the role of IE.[210] In other words, *special frontal* interruptions refer to any frontal relationship other than the unmarked one occurring between IR and IE.

[210] At times the role of AUD participants is fuzzy as it changes from elicitor to discussant, as occurs with the role of the Secondary IR.

[68] [*id.*]

1. **AUD3:** Um. + Yeah. + The point I want to make is actually about the promotion
2. behind boxing, (...) I think that + ↑you know,↑ he [=a boxer] fought some guy
3. down in the South of France, and then there was uhm + a fight with-⌈many years=
4. **→GN:** But (*inaud.*) of=
5. **AUD3:** = ago with
6. **GN:** =Bruno can't be responsible for that. I can't be responsible for that.

The third and last class in the above table, which identifies the interruptee in the *SQ* programme, is *special lateral*, of which 12 records (29.2%) were found in our sample. This class corresponds to interruptions occurring either between the IR and the Secondary IR (only 3 cases, or 7.3%; *vid*. extract [69]), or between a member of the panel and a guest sitting among the AUD who has been invited as an expert in one of the issues under discussion (*vid*. extract [70]). The 9 interruptions resulting from the latter type of relationship represents a 21.9 per cent of the whole interruptions produced during the programme. In like manner to *special frontal* interruptions, *special lateral* ones correspond to those interruptions deriving from the interaction between two participants with a similar, but not identical, discourse role.[211] For example, the relationship between the (main) IR and the Secondary IR differs from that between two IRs with equal internal status. Likewise, though members of the panel and expert guests can all be viewed as functioning as IEs, for they are at some point 'interviewed', their statuses are different. Thus in extract [70], though acting as discussants representing the anti- and pro-boxing lobbies, respectively, and therefore both holding the same discourse role, Doctor Fleur Fisher, Head of Ethics and Science at the BMA, (identified as FF in the extract) holds a superior external status to her interlocutor Central TV's head of sport Gary Newbond, who was also ringside reporter in the McCledland fight, (identified as GN in the extract), due to her expertise in boxing injuries, which is at that moment of the programme the topic under discussion.

[69] [*id.*]

1. **IR:** I would- I would think Jimmy we'd + get you in trouble talking. 'Cos you
2. [*smiling*] [no stopped talking (*AUD and panel laughing*) (since I⌈(*inaud.*))]⌉but +

[211] Though in principle the role is the same, the unequal status of the parties holding the role brings about a differentiation in the tasks carried out by each party that appears to render two distinct roles.

3. **→Sec.IR:** ⌊Well that's
4. **IR:** we- we have discussed this now.=
5. **Sec.IR:**=That's the only thing I can ↑do↑ now (...)

[70] [*id.*]

1. **FF:** But we had- we had all those people in the corner, + at the- at the McCledland
2. fight, and they still couldn't prevent that young man being desperately brain
3. damaged. + They could get him to hospital ⌈more quickly.⌉
4. **→GN:** ⌊<Are you sure that he is brain damaged?
5. He may make a full re⌈covery.>⌉
6. **→FF:** ⌊<He may make a full ⌈recovery. He's in a critical condition.>⌉
7. **GN:** ⌊<You know very well there's a golden hour.>+
8. Because you know very well that there is a golden hour. + Now + ⌈but he- he=
9. **→FF:** ⌊Even in the golden=
10. **GN:** =could well make a ↑full recovery.↑⌉
11. **FF:** =hour he's never gonna box again. He <u>may</u> do. + But + it's + less than 50 per
12. cent of people if they survive.

The low percentage of interruptions in which the IR is involved (17.1% altogether) is not surprising, as part of his/her role has been delegated to the Secondary IR and thus been reduced to a mere presenter. This produces a lower proportion of interventions and consequently also of interruptions. The highest number of interruptions (61%) corresponds to the *special frontal* type, since this class centres on the discourse roles that form the triangle of key parties in this type of genre: the members of the panel, the Secondary IR, and the members of the AUD.

Table [3] indicates that within the *special frontal* type of interruptions it is those occurring between the Secondary IR and the members of the panel that are most frequent (18 cases), whereas those between the Secondary IR and the members of the AUD are the least (3 cases). These results can be explained by the fact that the main discussion takes place between the panel and the Secondary IR. Moreover, the fact that the Secondary IR very often adopts a challenging stance with respect to the panel might be the cause of this frequency. By contrast, as the interaction between the Secondary IR and the AUD is scarce, because most of the interventions produced by members of the AUD are directly addressed to a member of the panel, the frequency of interruptions is also the lowest. Slightly higher

is the frequency between members of the panel and members of the AUD (4 cases). These were generated during disagreement periods between the two parties.

As far as the *special lateral* interruptions are concerned, those taking place between a member of the panel and the expert guest are quite noticeable in number. The expert is always introduced into the discussion by the IR to present a scientifically justified view that is contrary to that held by the current panel speaker. As illustrated in extract [70], this obviously generates moments of conflict between the two opposing lobby representatives which, in turn, produces moments of obstructive speech exchanges. Finally, it is noteworthy that no *lateral* interruptions occur in this programme, that is, interruptions between members of the panel. This is probably due to the few exchanges taking place between members of the panel, for most of their turns are directly addressed at the Secondary IR who commonly selects one at a time to respond to a question or to evaluate a statement made by him.

4.3.3.2.2. In the programme *Kilroy*

Table [4]: Interruptee in the programme *Kilroy*

Participants	**Frontal**		**Lateral**		**Sp. lateral**		**Other**	
	no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
IR – guest/AUD member	51	60						
Guest – guest			2	2.3				
AUD member – AUD member			10	11.8				
Guest – AUD member					21	23.7		
Other							1	1.2
TOTAL	51	60	12	14.1	21	24.7	1	1.2

As table [4] indicates, in the *Kilroy* programme more than half of the interruptions occur between the IR or host and either an expert guest or an ordinary AUD member. These interruptions are all *frontal* as the role of the IR or host is different from that of the AUD who act mostly as discussants (here subsumed under the general label of 'IE' for the reason explained in section 4.3.3.1); despite the fact that the IR or host often appears to act as

another 'discussant',[212] his main function is that of elicitor. The fact that most of the programme corresponds to elicitation-response exchanges between the IR and another participant sitting among the audience justifies that it is interruptions of the *frontal* type that dominate. Lagging well behind are interruptions of the *special lateral* class. These result from the interaction between an expert guest and an unknown member of the AUD. One of the aims of this type of discussion programmes is to confront the views of personalities or experts with that of lay participants. This unequal status relationship intends to be reflected in the use of the classifier *special lateral* as opposed to *lateral*. Fairly closely behind come *lateral* interruptions. Out of the 14.1 per cent of this type, 11.8 per cent (10 cases) occur between lay audience members (*vid.* extract [71]), whereas only 2.3 per cent (2 instances) take place between experts –mainly politicians and journalists– (*vid.* extract [72]).[213] Excepting one interruption taking place between audience members, in all cases the obstruction occurred in moments of disagreement. As for the reasons of the higher rate of interruptive turn switches between lay audience members as opposed to expert-expert interactions, one can only speculate that it might be a reflection of the higher proportion of lay audience members present in the studio.

[71] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 169-175.]

1. **AUD4:** It's [=the single currency] particularly good for Britain for several reasons.
2. + First it'll bring us a lower inflation, + which is⌈something we have + <u>nev</u>er⌉=
3. **AUD:** ⌊(*murmur*)
4. **AUD4:** =managed to counter,
5. **→AUD3:** That's- that certainly isn't⌈my experience.⌉+ That's certainly isn't my=
6. **AUD4:** ⌊it will stop-
7. **AUD3:** =experience of- uhm + of- of the possibility of- of + of the financial union
8. in Europe. (...)

[72] [*id.*, ll. 249-256.]

1. **BB:** (...) <u>we</u> have POLITICIANS + who are capable of saying, (*AUD murmur*) (<u>we</u>
2. have a vision, we <u>stand</u> for it, there are ELECTIONS, THAT IS OUR
3. REFERENDUM, YOU DON'T ACCEPT THIS VISION,) AND <u>THEN</u> + DON'T
4. ELECT US.=

[212] Note that this 'discussant' role may just derive from the IR's challenging task, for very often challenges profferred by the IR resemble the counterposition of a discussant in a debate. Hence, the boundaries between the IR and discussant roles are very fuzzy.

[213] A discussion of the interruption displayed in extract [72] can be found in section 4.6.

5. →**JW:** =Can I- can I=
6. **BB:** =THIS IS THE VISION.=
7. **IR:** =John. ⌈John.
8. **JW:** ⌊Can I reply to our German friend? + The point is, (...)

The results obtained from the analysis of the two debate events regarding the interruptee of the obstructive process can be summarised in three points. First, the range of participants with different discourse roles and statuses taking part in the debate genre account for the variety of interruptive classes. Secondly, despite the variety of classes, interruptions are largely produced between a party holding a managerial role –be it the main or the Secondary IR– and a party with an IE role, as in political interviews and talk show interviews. And thirdly, the presence of a Secondary IR in a debate programme, to whom the main eliciting task is delegated, mainly accounts for the presence of specific interruptive classes in one programme and their absence in the other, as well as the different rates of occurrence of the same interruptive type in the two programmes.

4.3.3.3. The addressee

Table [5]: Addressee in debates

Addressee	**Sport in Q.**		**Kilroy**		**TOTAL**	
	no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Frontal – same	3	7.3	40	47	43	34.1
Frontal – different	3	7.3	14	16.5	17	13.5
Special frontal – same	21	51.2			21	16.6
Special frontal – different	4	9.8			4	3.2
Lateral – same			8	9.4	8	6.4
Special lateral – same	9	22	21	24.7	30	23.8
Special lateral – different	1	2.4	1	1.2	2	1.6
Blank			1	1.2	1	0.8
TOTAL	41	100	85	100	126	100

Table [5] displays the classification of interruptions according to the addressee in our two sample debates. Although this study attempts to focus on the characteristics of the genre as a whole, table [5] is intended to show the enormous differences between the two programmes surveyed. The most outstanding differences correspond to the types *frontal-*

same participant and *special frontal-same participant* interruptions (for examples, *vid*. extracts [65], and [66] to [68] above, respectively). In the *Kilroy* programme the former type constitutes 47 per cent of all the interruptions produced during the programme, whereas this type amounts to only 7.3 per cent of all the interruptions in the *SQ* programme. Conversely, the *special frontal-same participant* category constitutes 51.2 per cent of all the *SQ* interruptions, while it is completely absent in the *Kilroy* programme. This is not surprising if we remember, on the one hand, that in the *SQ* programme the Secondary IR takes over an important interviewing load, which generates an increase in the *special frontal* type of interruptions and a parallel decrease in the *frontal* type, as the IR's interventions are scarce. And, on the other hand, that interaction in the *Kilroy* programme will never yield such a class due to the roles and statuses of the participants to the event.[214] In similar fashion, the higher frequency of *frontal-different participant* interruptions in the *Kilroy* programme (16.5%) as opposed to the *SQ* programme (7.3%) can be explained on the same basis.

Regardless of the type of interruption –*frontal*, *special frontal*, *lateral* or *special lateral*–, both programmes are dominated by interruptions addressed to the same participant that has been interrupted rather than to a different one. As speech is generally directed at the immediately preceding speaker, it is obvious that interruptions are likewise addressed to the interruptee, as in the other genres analysed.

The last striking difference is the lack of certain types of interruption of low rate in each of the two programmes. Thus, the *Kilroy* programme lacks interruptions of the *special frontal-different participant* (*vid.* extract [73]), whereas the *SQ* programme lacks interruptions of the *lateral-same participant* type. This indicates that in the *SQ* programme no interruptions take place between participants with the same discourse role and status, as for example between panel members. In the *Kilroy* programme, by contrast, they do occur

[214] It should be remembered that the only parties in this encounter are the IR and the AUD formed by personalities and ordinary people, who all act as discussants, a role subsumed under the general label IE.

between either lay or expert discussants. Interruptions of the *lateral-different participant* type did not occur in either of the two programmes.

[73] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **AUD3:** =Um. + Yeah. + The point I want to make is actually about the promotion
2. behind boxing, (...) I think that + ↑you know,↑ he fought some guy down in the
3. South of France, and then there was uhm + a fight with-⌈many years ago with⌉
4. **GN:** ⌊But (*inaud*.) of Bruno can't
5. be responsible⌈for that.⌉ I can't be responsible for that.=
6. **AUD3:** ⌊I know. =No. But what I'm saying
7. is,=
8. **→Sec.IR:** =(*to GN*) But you're carrying on the tradition.
9. (*pointing at AUD3*)⌈(This ⌉gentleman) is right.
10. **GN:** ⌊Yes. Yes.

As to similarities, the *special lateral-same participant* classification occurs similarly in both programmes: in the *Kilroy* programme these interruptions occur between expert and lay IEs, whereas in the *SQ* programme they may comprise interruptions between the IR and the Secondary IR, as well as between any panel member and an expert sitting among the audience.

Taking the global results of the genre, the classification of interruptions from the perspective of the addressee roughly equals the classification of the interruptee except for 18.3 per cent of the interruptions which are not addressed at the same person that is being interrupted. 67.4 per cent of all the interruptions produced in this genre are of some sub-type of frontal relation. As has repeatedly been mentioned, this is due to the frequent main or Secondary IR interaction with some other participant. The rest of the percentage corresponds to some sort of lateral relationship. Finally, this genre differs strikingly from others in the variety of interrelations deriving from the unequal statuses of participants subsumed under either the IR or IE role.

4.3.3.4. Further remarks on the interruptee-addressee relationship

Before proceeding further, I shall attempt, by means of table [6] below, to throw more light on the type of directionality that interruptions take in the genres studied. For this purpose,

only the classification of addressees has so far been considered, and the results have been compared with the classification according to the interruptee. If, however, the results obtained from that analysis are compared with the results depicted in the present table it is obvious that the previous tables might be somewhat misleading. For example, it might be interpreted that all *frontal-different participant* interruptions are *frontal* from the perspective of the interruptee, but the present table indicates that that has not necessarily to be the case. In other words, there is no unilateral relation between any *frontal* interruption attending to the interruptee and any *frontal* (same or different participant) interruption attending to the addressee. For example, although in the *S. Fox* and *T. Blair* interruptions the relation is almost fully unilateral (*i.e.*, the interruptee and addressee of the interruptions always correspond to the same category of discourse roles), there is one example in the *S. Fox* interview in which the directionality is altered: as already explained on p. 217 and illustrated by extract [58], the relationship is *lateral* with respect to the interruptee but *frontal-different participant* with respect to the addressee. If we attended only to the result of the addressee classification, this *frontal-different participant* example might immediately be thought to derive from a *frontal* type in the interruptee classification.[215]

[215] This would hold if the number of participants was not known. However, knowing that there are two IRs and two IEs there is no doubt that the interruptee classification cannot be of a frontal type.

Table [6]: Interruptee – addressee classification in various speech events

Interruptee	**Addressee**	**S. Fox**		**T. Blair**		**S.Q.**		**Kilroy**	
		no.	**%**	**no.**	**%.**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Frontal	frontal-same	6	75	37	77.1	3	7.3	40	47.1
	frontal-different			7	14.5	1	2.4	10	11.8
	sp.lateral-different							1	1.1
	blank	1	12.5	2	4.2				
Special frontal	sp.frontal-same			2	4.2	21	51.3		
	sp.frontal-different					3	7.3		
	sp.lateral-different					1	2.4		
Lateral	lateral-same							9	10.6
	lateral-different								
	frontal-different	1	12.5					4	4.7
Special lateral	sp.lateral-same					9	22	20	23.6
	sp.lateral-different								
	frontal-different					2	4.9		
	sp.frontal-different					1	2.4		
Blank	blank							1	1.1
TOTAL		8	100	48	100	41	100	85	100

The intricacies of the directionality of an interruption can be better observed in the *SQ* and *Kilroy* programmes. For example, as extract [74] shows, in the *SQ* programme one *special frontal* interruption according to the interruptee was then addressed at a different party resulting in a *special lateral* category.

[74] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **IR:** Do you think the TV should have sent a TV crew to the West Indies?=
2. **GN:** =No. + Personally, I think that if you're in public eye, you <u>have</u> to take the rough
3. with the smooth. (...) <I personally- it's only a personal opinion, it doesn't represent
4. +⌈the TV's⌉opinion, but I think they were wrong to go ↑out↑ there.>=
5. **→Sec.IR:** (*to IR*)⌊Can we ask
6. **Sec.IR:**=Can we ask (*pointing with pen at next speaker*) (the gentleman what ↑<u>he</u>↑
7. thinks.)

Two further interruptions changed from a *special lateral* interaction to a *frontal*[216] one, as in the following example where the IR tries to put a question to a different participant from those that are currently interacting, thereby interrupting the exchange-in-progress (l. 9). The

[216] At times the classifier *different* will be omitted when the information is redundant: if the relation changes, for example, from a *frontal* to a *lateral* type, the participant must necessarily be different.

IR's equivocality with respect to the end of the exchange is repaired by relinquishing the floor to the Secondary IR until he finishes.

[75] [*id.*]

1. **Sec.IR:** (...) And I just think that the country's in the gutter. Personally, (*gazing at*
2. *RI*) I don't know what you think Ray.
3. **RI:** Yeah, I think that basically, there's a lack- a lack of discipline throughout the
4. whole country. (...) (*gazing at Sec.IR and touching him with a pencil; sitting next to*
5. *each other*) You dismissed national service Jim, but I did it.
6. **Sec. IR:** Yeah. ⌈You did it. Yeah.
7. **RI:** ⌊It didn't do me any harm. I tell ya, it might do these youngsters good
8. now today. [+]
9. **→IR:** Gary ⌈do you- do you
10. **Sec.IR:** ⌊It won't do any good now. Though now you know, we don't know
11. whether to go into Europe or not. I mean, that's another thing. + So. You know.
12. Who knows.
13. **IR:** (*out of focus*) Do you think it's in the gutter? [+]
14. **GN:** (*looking in the IR's direction*) The country?
15. **IR:** No. Football.

And, the following *special lateral* interruption became *special frontal* in the addressee classification. The Secondary IR produces a brief butting-in (l. 12) addressed at Alex Ferguson (AF in the script) during the IR's comment and then gives up until a TRP is in sight. However, a simultaneous start occurs at that point because the IR's turn is not complete after "bath" (l. 11). The long pause produced by the Secondary IR (l. 12) marks his behaviour as oriented to the IR's right to finish before speaker shift: the pause functions as a floor-repairing device in that it grants the IR time enough to continue talking if he so wishes; it is only after the Secondary IR has made sure that this is not the case that he continues to address Alex.

[76] [*id.*]

1. **Sec.IR:** It was interesting that he [=Eric Cantona] never got sent off while playing
2. for Leeds + wasn't it. [+]
3. **AF:** Yeah. But he didn't play all the time though did he. [+]
4. **Sec.IR:** Well,=
5. **AF:** =(*addressing AUD*) (NO. <JUST- NO JUST AN INTERESTING THING
6. ABOUT CANTONA + Eric Cantona,>) ++ everything + <u>al</u>ways happens in the
7. second half of a match.
8. **Sec.IR:** Really. [+]
9. **AF:** Never trouble in the first half. ++ [*AUD laughing*] [(*to AUD*) (You know that.)

10. It's interesting.]
11. **IR:** Maybe he⌈just⌉likes an (*AUD laughing*) (early bath.⌈Who knows.⌉
12. **→Sec.IR:** ⌊Alex ⌊<↑is there-↑ ++ seriously)
13. Alex, + (*moving pen back and forth in a reprimanding manner*) ↑is there↑>
14. something that you can see in him >that there is a problem with?< + (...)

Two more types of non-unilateral instances are recorded in the *Kilroy* programme: a *lateral* interruption may be addressed at a party with whom a *frontal* relation is maintained, as in the *S. Fox* interview,[217] and *vice versa*, a *frontal* interruption may be addressed at a party holding a *special lateral* relation with respect to the interrupter. Extract [77] contains the only record found of this latter type. An ordinary person from the audience produces a parallel interruption with respect to the IR's utterance but, though he is physically addressing the IR, his refutation is ultimately aimed at the politician (PS in the script). That the actual interlocutor of AUD28 is the politician and not the IR is highlighted by the IR's directive "[t]o Peter" (l. 9).

[77] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 821-830.]

1. **IR:** (...) you're the voice of the past in the Labour Party.
2. **PS:** We:ll, I think I'm + probably the voice of the past <u>and</u> of the future. + (...) the
3. genuinely (*AUD11 and AUD31 shaking heads*) (younger generation, <u>share</u> the kind
4. of concerns + that I have expressed. [+]
5. **IR:** They've⌈got more⌉to lose.=
6. **→AUD28:** ⌊No. No.
7. **AUD28:** =(*to IR*) That's not true at all. The younger people already said that they
8. are pro-European, and they <u>need</u> Europe.
9. **IR:** To Peter. To Peter. To- to- to- to Peter (*inaud.*)

It is worth pointing out, however, that although these intricate relationship exchanges do take place, these occurrences only constitute a very low percentage of all interruptions occurring in the programmes: only 9.7 per cent of all the *SQ* interruptions and 5.8 per cent of all the *Kilroy* interruptions. Moreover, frequently each type of these exchanges occurred only once.

[217] For an example of a lateral interruption changing to a frontal one *vid.* extract [58] above from the *S. Fox* interview.

4.4. The degree of complexity of interruptions

Table [7]: Degree of complexity

Degree of complexity	Talk show interview		Political interview		Debate		TOTAL	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Single	38	90.5	69	78.4	96	76.2	203	79.3
Complex	4	9.5	15	17.1	22	17.5	41	16
Compound			1	1.1	2	1.6	3	1.2
Successive			3	3.4	6	4.7	9	3.5
TOTAL	42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

About 80 per cent of all interruptions pertain to the *single* category. As opposed to the other classes, these display an interruptive behaviour of the simplest kind. The remaining 20 per cent of obstructive speaker shifts comprise interruptive patterns of a more intricate sort, as in some more than one attempt at interrupting is produced (*complex*), in others two or more interactants make the attempt at the same time (*compound*), and yet in others different interactants successively obstruct the same ongoing turn (*successive*).

One seems to observe in table [7] that most of the complex interruptions occur in genres of an inherent conflictive nature, that is, political interviews and debates. Nevertheless, in terms of percentage the difference between talk shows and either political interviews or debates is a mere 8 per cent. Thus, it cannot be argued that the use of complex interruptions is genre-based. However, an examination of all complex interruptions makes it possible to consider them potential markers of conflict, since these interruptions largely took place in conflictive exchanges.

With the purpose of trying to provide an explanation for this complex interruptive behaviour, the agent was analysed. The results were the following: in talk shows 3 complex interruptions were originated by the IE and 1 by the IR; in political interviews the IR was to blame on 9 occasions and the IE in 6; finally, in debates 5 were produced by the IR, whereas 17 by the IE. These figures seem to support the claims made in the previous section that in political interviews IRs display a stronger interruptive behaviour than IEs,

whereas the opposite is the case in debates. As for talk show interviews, one observes that it is the IE that mostly resorts to complex interruptions. Against the equal interruptive rate produced by IR and IE in this interview event, it can be argued on the basis of this result that of the two participants the IE appears to adopt a more persistent obstructive attitude.

Compound interruptions were very rare, and of the 3 examples found 2 took place in debates and 1 in a political interview, for in debates and in those political interviews where the audience puts questions to the IE the number of potential participants competing for the floor increases, with the likely result of two or more parties interrupting another at the same time. Consider:

[78] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** (*pointing at AUD8*) <Does that answer your question?>
2. **AUD8:** No. Because I don't think it's possible not to increase + our taxes, and to fund
3. um schools in the way you've been saying you are going to + ⌈(*inaud.*)
4. →**TB:** | Well I
5. →**IR:** (*addressing AUD8*) ⌊ A higher proportion.
6. I think your pledges at the end of five years is a higher + (*TB nodding*) (proportion
7. **TB:** Right.
8. **IR:** of gross national product than at the present.)
9. **TB:** Exactly. Because...

Only 9 successive interruptions were recorded in our database. These appeared in debates and in political interviews, more specifically, in the second part of the *Dimbleby* programme. The presence of this type of interruptions in these two genres and their absence in talk show interviews can be justified on two parameters: (a) the number of parties to the encounter; and (b) the degree of conflict of the event. First, our talk show interviews being overwhelmingly a face-to-face conversation between two parties virtually prevent the occurrence of this class of interruptions for which at least three parties are necessary, as in debates and in the second part of the *Dimbleby* programme. And secondly, since the likelihood of a current speaker being interrupted several successive times in one turn by different participants increases with the degree of confrontation and disagreement, the appearance of successive interruptions in debates and political interviews is justified.

Consider extract [79] where two participants dissenting with the current speaker's views briefly take over at different points within the same ongoing turn.

[79] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 450-456.]

1. **AUD12:** Let's- this- this- this whole idea about national state, national sovereignty,
2. the way the arrogants speak,=
3. **→PS:** =Democracy.=
4. **AUD12:** =the reason I want⌈to⌉
5. **→AUD11:** ⌊De mocracy.=
6. **AUD12:** =The reason I want to be part of a United European State...

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4.5. The position of interruptions

4.5.1. The position of interruptions

Table [8]: Position of interruptions

Position A	Position B	Iter.	Talk show interview		Political interview		Debate		TOTAL	
			no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Initial-simultaneous	At TRP	IR					1	0.8	5	1.9
		IE	2	4.7			2	1.6		
Initial-non simultaneous	At TRP	IR			1	1.1	1	0.8	5	1.9
		IE					3	2.4		
	Not at TRP-not next to p.e.	IR	3	7.2	4	4.6	4	3.2	26	10.2
		Sec. IR					3	2.4		
		IE	4	9.6	3	3.4	5	4		
Non-initial	At TRP	IR	1	2.4	13	14.8	4	3.2	37	14.6
		Sec. IR					2	1.6		
		IE	2	4.7	6	6.8	8	6.3		
		AUD					1	0.8		
	Not at TRP- after verbal cues only	IR			2	2.3	2	1.6	15	5.9
		IE	1	2.4	1	1.1	9	7.1		
	Not at TRP-next to p.e.	IR							4	1.5
		IE			2	2.3	2	1.6		
	Not at TRP-not next to p.e.	IR	17	40.5	33	37.5	29	23	162	63.2
		Sec. IR					9	7.1		
		IE	12	28.5	22	25	38	30.1		
		AUD			1	1.1	1	0.8		
	Blank	IR					1	0.8	2	0.8
		IE					1	0.8		
TOTAL			42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

Regarding the location of the interruption with respect to the current speaker's turn in talk show interviews, table [8] indicates that 69 per cent of the cases correspond to interruptions occurring in a position that is not turn-initial, and it neither corresponds to a TRP nor to a point where the end of the current speech could be predicted (*vid*. extracts [6], [59], [110]). In other words, the most common location of interruptions in our sample is in mid utterance. Far behind lags the next most frequent group of interruptions, namely those appearing in an initial, non-simultaneous-start position which occur at a point that is not a TRP nor close to it (16.8%) (*vid*. extract [145], l. 12). The rest of the locations recorded are not worth commenting because the rate of interruptions taking place at those points does not appear to be significant. (For examples, though not necessarily from talk shows, *vid*. the

following: extract [19] for an interruption at an initial, simultaneous TRP position; extract [10] for an interruption at a non-initial TRP; extract [70], l. 6 for an interruption at a non-initial, non-TRP position, next to a predictable end; and appendix 5, l. 324 for an interruption occurring at a position that is neither initial nor a TRP because the intonational cues have not been observed.)

With respect to political interviews, an overwhelming majority of interruptions occur in turn non-initial position. It is in this location that the two largest groups of interruptions take place: the first constitutes 63.6 per cent of all the interruptions of this genre and corresponds to a point that is neither a TRP nor appears to be close to a predictable end of the current speaker's turn (*vid*. extracts [5]; [9]; [91], l. 7); and the second amounts to 21.6 per cent of all intrusions and occurs at a TRP (*vid*. extract [13]). The remaining 14.8 per cent of interruptions comprise four different positions of scant representativity, for the rate of occurrence of each position is almost always below 5 per cent. In line with the results commented in section 4.3.2.1 on interrupting frequency per participant, the IR generated more interruptions than the IE in any of the most outstanding positions identified.

Again, in the debate genre the turn non-initial position away from a TRP or from a predictable TRP far outnumbers (61%) the rest of the positions where interruptions take place (*vid*. extracts [65], [66], [68]). The next context in frequency of occurrence, the non-initial TRP (11.9%) (*vid*. extract [90], l. 7), lags far behind. The third and fourth positions on the frequency scale follow very closely: the initial non-simultaneous location that neither corresponds to a TRP nor is next to a predictable end of the current speaker's talk (9.6%) (*vid*. extract [96]) and the non-initial position constituting no true TRP, for the completeness of the turn is only verbal and not intonational (8.7%) (*vid*. extract [70], l. 4)

According to the figures, it can be postulated that in any of the three speech events competition for the floor does not commonly take place in the initial stage of the current speaker's turn. The speaker is allowed to utter at least four syllables before a willing next

speaker attempts to take a turn. It can also be maintained that, as a rule, the interrupter does not tend to intrude at a point that could even vaguely be judged as the current speaker's end of his/her message, such as a TRP or a point that could be interpreted as being close to a predictable end. Rather, the interrupter does not hesitate to completely violate the place of possible turn transition and to intrude into the current speaker's floor space when there is evidence that the speaker is not nearly approaching the end of his/her message.

Notwithstanding the similarities, differences concerning the participants' attendance at a legitimate turn transition can be observed in each kind of speech event. Taking into consideration the total number of interruptive instances produced by each participant and the amount of occasions in which those obstructions occurred at a potential TRP or at a point where the end of the current speaker's message was predictable provides an indication of the degree of the participant's orientation towards the other's rights to finish his/her message. In light of table [8], IEs in our talk shows act with respect for the current speaker's speaking rights in 23.8 per cent of the interruptive instances, whereas the IR demonstrates that orientation in only 4.7 per cent of occasions. In debates, IEs also show more attendance towards interfering as little as possible with the ongoing speaker's rights than IRs, including both IRs and Secondary IRs. Nevertheless, in this genre the proportion is higher than in talk shows, namely 35.3 per cent for IEs *vs*. 17.8 per cent for IRs. By contrast, figures suggest that in political interviews it is the IR that orients more towards signals of an ordered turn transition with the intention of trampling as little as possible on the current speaker's words: his/her interruptive attempts corresponded to what appeared a legitimate TRP or a predictable point of turn end in 30.2 per cent of the instances, whereas the IE displayed signals of this behaviour in 26.5 per cent of the cases.

The fact that it is IRs in political interviews and IEs in debates and in talk show interviews that manifest a relatively stronger adherence than their interlocutors to taking speaking turns at places where turn exchanges constitute the least severe intrusions, thus demonstrating a behaviour in accordance with principles of polite social interaction, is conceivably, to a certain extent, related to the status of participants or to the context of

events. The behaviour of the IR in political interviews could be indicative of his/her orientation towards the IE's freedom from imposition as corresponds to the guest's superior external status. If this is claimed, then the IR's behaviour appears to be contradictory: on the one hand, the higher proportion of interruptive instances produced by the IR in comparison with the IE (*cf.* section 4.3.2.1 above) suggests less attention to the other's face wants[218] than that displayed by the IE towards the controller of the event; on the other hand, however, the higher proportion of interruptive instances where the IR attempts to violate as little as possible the IE's speaking rights demonstrates the opposite. The only way of bringing the two contrary aspects of the IR's behaviour into line is viewing them as manifestations of the conflict that results from the IR's observance of both the CP and the PP. In other words, the IR's behaviour displays the clash between the IR's goal of yielding a profitable encounter, which entails a great amount of face-threatening work which, in turn, is very often manifested through interruptions, and his/her aim of maintaing the encounter within the limits of polite social standards.

Debate programmes become the public sphere to which not only experts but also lay participants are given access to discuss social issues. As a kind of action, talk in the public sphere is governed by social principles. Therefore, it does not seem to be a wild thought to view the IE's behaviour as an attempt to maintain social order in the public sphere. Moreover, despite the encouragement frequently given to participants prior to air time to speak freely during the programme, some hosts even inviting the studio audience to be a bit rude and talk over other participants to make it appear a lively debate (*vid*. Livingstone & Lunt, 1994:164ff), the fact that some participants are constantly aware of being on camera might influence their behaviour and make them feel inhibited to trespass the principles of

[218] Although impeding the IE's freedom of action refers only to negative-face threat, it is important to emphasise that interruptions in political interviews also threaten the IE's positive face inasmuch as they are mostly produced to express disagreements or challenges, indicating that the IR does not approve of some aspect of the IE's ideas, beliefs, or actions.

polite social interaction.[219] Their behaviour could thus be interpreted as the result of control trying to triumph over free expression.

Finally, the notably low attendance at the least obstructive turn transitions of the IR in talk show interviews might be a further reflection of the intended informal character that the manager tries to imprint on the interaction. Despite the IR's prompting to informality through turn-order violation, the IE appears to be less able to forget the broadcast context in which the encounter takes place, and consequently the politeness routine that the setting demands.

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4.5.2. The notion of predictability of message end

The notion of predictability of message end deserves a comment here. This notion is relevant for interruptions occurring in a non-TRP position. In this location virtually all interruptions occurred at an unpredictable turn end, for speaker transitions occurring prior to the entire delivery of the current speaker's talk but at a point where the missing end was projectable from context were, as explained in section 2.7.2.2, classified as borderline and, hence, fell outside of the actual interruption database. Nevertheless, table [8] depicts 4 instances, 2 in the political interview genre and 2 in the debate genre, where the turn exchange was displayed as interruptive even though it took place at a point where the end could be projected. In these cases transgression was signalled through the linear character of either the interrupting or interrupted speech. Thus, extract [80] illustrates WW trying to produce an overlap at a point (l. 5) of the IR's talk which, in view that it is becoming a partial repetition of the structure of the preceding tone unit (l. 3), could perfectly well be predicted as a legitimate place of turn exchange. However, the IE soon realises that the IR's message is not complete after the simple coordinate clause ending in "blaming us". By withdrawing and not resuming his turn until the IR has completed his message, WW is displaying that the point of intended turn transfer was misjudged as a predictable TRP.

[219] In fact, as Livingstone & Lunt (1994:165) report, carrying a polite discussion is in certain programmes the explicit instruction given to and expected of participants.

[80] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 3, ll. 179-187.]

1. **IR:** ... ↑You <u>are</u> blaming the people.↑ + You say they had a <u>rough</u> time, it's been
2. <u>ver</u>y unfortunate, and <u>there</u>fore it's put them in a <u>ver</u>y sour mood,
3. and <u>there</u>fore they're <u>blam</u>ing us, +
4. and it's <u>their</u> fault for blaming⌈us,⌉ 'Cos actually we're ↑<u>fine</u>.↑>=
5. →**WW**: ⌊No.
6. **WW**: =It seems to me entirely natural. + I think what they <u>are</u> doing, + or what not,
7. then actually- remember it's not ↑<u>they</u>↑ + who're doing it, + it's- it's um- it's + the
8. way in which + things are presented to them. + The⌈thing⌉
9. **IR**: ⌊By whom.

In extract [81], it is the IR's unsuccessful completion of a new utterance which displays NW's otherwise correctly-timed, non-violative overlap as an obstructive conduct. It indicates that what from a semantic-pragmatic perspective could correctly have been perceived as going to be the end of an alternative question, and therefore of the entire turn, was not intended as such.

[81] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 768-772.]

1. **IR:**What's the reality- what's the reality of whether we are likely to get- are we
2. likely to get a referendum or⌈not. The politics of it at
3. →**NW:** ⌊ I think we're almost certain to get- + get a referendum
4. at <u>some</u> point.=
5. **IR:** =When.

4.6. Floor-securing interruptions

A means of securing the floor in situations of competence between several would-be next speakers is to announce one's wish for the floor using a metaconversational act. Petitions for speaking space of the type "[c]an I just say something?", "[c]an I reply to our German friend?", or "I just want to make one point." may themselves constitute an obstruction of the ongoing speech if they are uttered simultaneously with the current speaker's talk. However, these floor-securing devices may also occur at a TRP but nevertheless be judged by the individual uttering them to be obstructing an exchange in progress between two other interactants. In the extract below, for example, JW awaits a TRP to utter the beginning of the petition to speak (l. 5), which is granted him by the IR after BB's appended clause (l. 7). Unlike what had happened a little earlier, when JW had asked for permission to speak for the first time (*vid*. appendix 5, ll. 241: "[c]an I come back on- can I

just come back on") while BB was interacting with the IR, and the IR's ignorance of his request had signalled that JW was obstructing the exchange in progress, now that the exchange between BB and the IR is over, JW's attempt is no longer interruptive to the IR but only to JW, as the petition indicates. Asking for permission to take a turn at talk or announcing the brevity of one's intended speech function as qualitative downtoners that signal the upcoming speech as violative. This is not properly speaking an interruption but a case of partial interruptionalisation, since there is no evidence other than from JW that the request to speak is being interpreted as interruptive.

[82] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 249-256.]

1. **BB:** (...) we have POLITICIANS + who are capable of saying, (*AUD murmur*) (we
2. have a vision, we stand for it, there are ELECTIONS, THAT IS OUR
3. REFERENDUM, YOU DON'T ACCEPT THIS VISION,) AND THEN + DON'T
4. ELECT US.=
5. →**JW:** =Can I- can I=
6. **BB:** =THIS IS THE VISION.=
7. **IR:** =John.⌈John.
8. →**JW:** ⌊Can I reply to our German friend? + The point is, (...)

In our sample, these "placemarking" (Bilmes, 1997:523) devices rarely generated interruptions or interruptionalisations. Only 4 such cases were recorded and all come from the debate genre where competition for next speakership is stronger than in any other of the genres studied due to the amount of participants. Also, as the above case illustrates, floor-securing interruptions are commonly addressed at the IR, who is the person in authority during the encounter and therefore the only one that may secure next speakership to a would-be speaker. Apart from a floor-securing technique, requests for permission also constitute both a negative and a positive politeness technique, for they indicate an orientation away from taking a turn by imposition and an orientation towards the IR's superior internal status.

4.7. The reaction of participants towards interruptions

4.7.1. Introduction

Following Bañón-Hernández (1997), the current speaker's reaction to an obstruction signals whether the interruptee is or is not willing to accept that behaviour. Both acceptance

and non-acceptance of intrusive talk is marked formally and/or verbally. Acceptance here does not only refer to real willingness to accept but also to resignation, and is commonly manifested formally in either of two ways. First, by means of the interruptee's immediate withdrawal so that the interrupter may take over. This mechanism is intrinsically linked to silence, a non-verbal device with the same acceptance function. Or, secondly, by means of the interruptee's continuation when the interrupter decides to abandon his/her attempt at talk. For their part, verbal acceptance devices comprise any utterance on the part of the interruptee that shows willingness to yield the turn to the interrupter.

Non-acceptance of the interruption on the part of the interruptee is signalled in two distinct manners: through neutralisation and/or sanction. The process of neutralisation consists in counteracting the interruption by means of *neutralisers* (*id*.), that is, both linguistic-communicative formulae such as repetition or increase in loudness, and kinesic devices such as gaze aversion.[220] This process does not contain any explicit reference to the interruptee's reluctance to accept the obstruction. Alternatively, the interruptee may opt to explicitly reject the interrupter's intrusion by means of sanctioning formulae, such as appealing to the reciprocal right to speak and to be listened to, admonishing about the incompleteness of one's turn, or evaluating the importance of one's turn.[221]

Not only the interruptee but also the interrupter often displays his/her behaviour as a transgression, and consequently as being non-acceptable. Two main devices are used depending on whether the interrupter insists in winning the floor through imposition or through persuasion. Imposition is signalled by means of *intensifiers* (*id*.) like repetition, and persuasion through *downtoners* (*id*.) like asking for permission, begging pardon, or time

[220] Kendon (1967) found that gaze may function as a signal in the regulation of speaker exchange. He observed that looking away signals that the person in question has taken hold of the floor and that he/she thereby forestalls a response from the co-participant. By contrast, a sustained gaze indicates that the speech is coming to an end and that a response is expected. Consequently, in the battle for the floor during an interruption process gaze aversion may be taken to counteract an intrusion from the co-interactant inasmuch as it indicates that a response at that moment is unwanted.

[221] For more neutralisation and sanctioning formulae *cf.* Bañón-Hernández (1997:52-58).

and topic quantifiers, which refer to the amount of time the interrupter reckons he/she will speak and to the number of issues he/she will discuss.[222]

4.7.2. The tendency of the participants' reactions

As regards the tendency of the interactants' reactions towards the obstruction, the analysis of our sample of interruptions revealed the results per genre depicted in table [9]. Of the two possible reactions, in talk shows acceptance outnumbers non-acceptance by about 29 per cent; in political interviews non-acceptance nearly doubles occasions of acceptance; and in debates the frequency of occurrence of one and the other behaviour is very close. These results suggest differences of tolerance of an interruption in the genres studied. On a scale, talk show interviews appear to occupy the most tolerant extreme, political interviews the opposite end, and debates the middle.

Table [9]: Reaction towards interruptions

Reaction		**Talk show interview**		**Political interview**		**Debate**		**TOTAL**	
		no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Accept.	Iter. takes floor	24	57.2	19	21.6	45	35.7	88	34.4
	Itee. keeps floor	3	7.1	11	12.5	19	15.1	33	12.9
Non-accept.	Itee. rejects	11	26.2	40	45.5	41	32.5	92	35.9
	Iter. insists	4	9.5	18	20.4	20	15.9	42	16.4
Blank						1	0.8	1	0.4
TOTAL		42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

Before proceeding to attempt to establish a relationship between the reaction towards interruptions and their (non-)conflictive nature in each genre, it is necessary to make a caveat here. In the three genres the frequency of conflictive turn obstructions is higher than that of non-acceptance. This is so because conflictive interruptions do not necessarily imply non-acceptance. In fact, conflictive interruptions may be accepted. Conversely, though non-accepted interruptions correspond largely to conflictive exchanges, there are a few cases in all three genres where non-acceptance does not run parallel to conflict. In those cases it is the linear perspective of the interruptive process that informs of

[222] For more downtoners *vid.* Bañón-Hernández (1997:43ff).

the reaction. These instances correspond mostly to *interrupted interruptions*, obstructions in which the interruptee's wish to finish, for example, his/her explanation or elicitation before yielding the floor displays the interrupter's attitude as unacceptable. Other instances pertain to a multi-party interaction and are evidenced by the interruptee's and addressee's ignorance of what the interrupter says.

The results for political interviews are in line with our confrontation hypothesis. The high frequency of non-acceptance of intrusive talk in political interviews mirrors the conflictive nature of this genre generated by the different interests of the participants. In fact, in political interviews about 83 per cent of non-accepted interruptions were also conflictive.[223] Moreover, nearly 69 per cent of all conflictive intrusions were signalled as such by means of the negative reactive attitude of the interlocutors.[224] In other words, the results for this genre appear to indicate that there is a bilateral relationship between the parameters of conflict and reaction in such a way that non-acceptance overwhelmingly signals conflict and, *vice versa*, conflict is manifested primarily by non-acceptance. The same bilateralty cannot, however, be claimed for the acceptance-conflictless pair, for, as has been clarified in the preceding paragraph, acceptance markers may correspond to non-conflictive as well as conflictive interruptions; and, not all conflictless interruptions are necessarily accepted. This is especially the case in political interviews where 73 per cent of all accepted interruptions corresponded to conflictive exchanges,[225] and 60 per cent of all conflictless intrusions are received with a negative reaction.[226]

As expected of a genre where confrontation is not the main interest of the IR, the reaction of talk show interviews to interruptions, as table [9] above indicates, is the opposite of political interviews. Though the difference between the acceptance and non-

[223] This percentage corresponds to 48 of 58 interruptions.

[224] This rate corresponds to 48 of 70 obstructions.

[225] This rate refers to 22 of 30 interruptive instances.

[226] This percentage entails 9 of 15 obstructions.

acceptance conducts is virtually the same in both genres, talk show participants mainly react in a positive manner to obstructions. Also in contrast to what was observed in the political interview genre, in talk shows acceptance largely signals non-conflict,[227] whereas conflict cannot be argued to be greatly marked by non-acceptance techniques since quite a close proportion of conflictive obstructions were readily accepted.[228] These observations help to support the proposal of tolerance made above.

As to debates, non-acceptance largely corresponds to conflictive interruptions.[229] This similarity with political interviews seems to be due to their high degree of confrontation. However, like talk shows, and therefore in line with the tolerance view, conflictive interruptions are not largely signalled by non-acceptance.[230] Taking into account the frequencies of conflictive interruptions and of acceptance/non-acceptance, it can be maintained that debates show a similar level of tolerance towards conflictive interruptions to that found in talk show interviews. Considering that in purpose debates are closer to political interviews than to talk show interviews, these results make the attitude of discussants towards conflictive obstructions stand out as comparatively more tolerant than participants in talk show interviews.

4.7.3. The techniques of reaction

After the discussion of the two reactions to an obstruction, I shall next explore the generic use of the techniques corresponding to each reaction, as depicted in table [9] above. Whenever the interruption is accepted, in all three genres it is mostly the interrupter that

[227] Out of the 27 instances of acceptance recorded in the talk show interview sample, 9 entailed conflict whereas 18 entailed none.

[228] In our talk show interview sample 11 conflictive interruptions were not accepted *vs.* 9 which were.

[229] 77.1 per cent of the 61 instances of non-accepted obstructions in debates overlapped with conflictive exchanges.

[230] 53.4 per cent and 45.5 per cent of the 88 cases of conflictive interruptions recorded in debates received a non-acceptance and an acceptance reaction, respectively. (The remaining 1.1 per cent of conflictive exchanges, *i.e.* 1 interruption, was not classified as to reaction; the complexity of the interruptive process in this particular instance rendered the assignment of reaction to a particular participant difficult to reconcile with the design of the database.)

takes the floor. There are, however, generic differences as to frequency: whereas in talk show interviews the interrupter takes over in approximately as many as 7 times more than the number of cases when the interruptee keeps the floor, in political interviews and debates the gap is in both genres cut to nearly half. These data are in line with the argument defended earlier in the section on categories that in talk shows interruptees are willing to yield the floor to the interrupter to a greater extent than in the other two genres.

As to non-acceptance, in all three genres the interruptee resorts more to rejection than the interrupter to insistence. Looking at the participant that produces the non-acceptance technique, the following behaviour was observed. In our political interviews IEs counter face threats 4 times more by rejecting the IR's proposition(s) uttered out of turn than by an insistent interruption defending his/her own view.[231] This is because the IR takes the initiative of threatening the IE's face and, as a response, the IE rejects the IR's proposition(s). As to the IR's conduct, he/she also resorts more times to rejecting the IE's obstructions than to himself/herself insisting in interrupting.[232] Though the rate of insistent interruptions produced by the IR in conflictive turn exchanges is proportionally higher (17%) than that produced by the IE (11.8%),[233] the difference is not important enough to consider insistence as a mechanism specially related to the IR's set goal.

Similarly, the rejective attitude of IEs in debates also exceeds by far the instances produced by the IR (including the Secondary IR).[234] 75 per cent of the 41 occasions of rejection in our debates corresponded to moments of conflictive exchanges and most took place between IEs (of the same or different status). Here again, rejection of the interruptive behaviour could be accounted for as a formal face-saving mechanism that IEs adopt *vis-à-*

[231] In our political interview sample 20 cases of rejection by the IE were recorded *vs.* 4 of insistence.

[232] 14 cases of rejection by the IR *vs.* 9 of insistence were recorded in conflictive exchanges in the political interview genre.

[233] A 17 per cent and an 11 per cent of the total number of interruptions generated by the IR and the IE correspond to 9 and 4 obstructions, respectively.

[234] The IR rejected obstructions on 9 occasions, whereas the IE in 31.

vis other participants, primarily other IEs, as a result of a strong confrontation concerning a specific subject matter.

The similar behaviour displayed by the parties of our talk show interview sample with regard to the interruption frequency per participant is essentially repeated in their reactions towards the obstructing process. The rate of acceptance and non-acceptance techniques used by the IR and the IE were virtually the same. Focusing on the latter, the results were as follows: the IR and IE each generated one instance of insistence in both conflictive and non-conflictive exchanges; one instance of rejection in non-conflictive interruptions; and, respectively, 4 and 5 occasions of rejections in moments of conflict. Also, the rate of rejection and insistence devices (*i.e.* neutralisers or sanctioning formulae, and intensifiers or downtoners, respectively) used by each of the parties was observed to be very similar.

Rejection of and insistence in an interruptive conduct does not have to be explicitly –verbally and/or prosodically– displayed as such by the two parties to the interruptive process. In the three genres, this was the case in about 26 per cent of all non-acceptance occasions. In those cases, the type of non-acceptance mechanism could be assigned to rejection or to insistence by the purely linear character of the interruptive process: either the interruptee kept talking thereby trying to maintain the floor, or the interrupter continued speaking in an attempt to gain it, respectively.

Sometimes the rejective or insisting behaviour was explicitly manifested by only one of the parties, whereas the other party did not show any overt counteraction to it. The proportion of occurrence of this behavioural pattern varied between genres: it amounted to 26.6 per cent of all non-acceptance processes in talk shows, but increased to 46.5 per cent in political interviews and to 57.4 per cent in debates.

Finally, a non-accepted interruption may be overtly displayed by both participants. A notably higher proportion of these instances occurred in talk shows (46.7%) than in any

of the other two genres (27.6% in political interviews and 16.4% in debates). Lack of social distance, and therefore freedom to speak in symmetrical relations, might justify these results in talk show events; whereas the influence of the status differential of asymmetrical relations in political interviews might, for reasons of politeness, preclude a higher occurrence of cases where the IE's verbal reaction is verbally responded to by the IR. The notably higher rate of sanctioning formulae uttered by the IE, as I shall remark later, points towards supporting this suggestion. In the case of debates, that behaviour was even more common than in political interviews, a conduct that in this genre might be motivated not only by the asymmetrical relation between IR or Secondary IR and IEs but also by the influence that the broadcast context may produce especially on lay participants.

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In general, of the insistence mechanisms, intensifiers were overwhelmingly more frequent (45%) than downtoners (8.5%). Downtoners are a persuasion mechanism and a device for minimising turn violation produced by the interrupter. In all three genres, therefore, it can be concluded that, in cases of non-accepted obstructions, interrupters tend to win the floor more through imposition than through persuasion. The most common intensifier seeking imposition was repetition (32 cases altogether). Far less frequent were other impositive intensifiers such as loudness (9 cases), extra speed (5 cases), or a combination of 2 or 3 mechanisms (3 cases) one of which always happened to be repetition. Even sanction constituted an imposition mechanism. Consider extract [83] where the IR's impositive obstruction is manifested both through repetition and extra speed.

[83] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** You Mr. Blair have committed yourself to + <u>stick</u>ing + within spending limits +
2. <u>set</u> by the Government + for the next two years. (...) ↑Do you expect↑ the voters
3. seriously to believe that you will achieve that? [++]
4. **TB:** We are going to inherit the situation. And so + we have to abide by the
5. spending plans that we will inherit. + And it is particularly important=
6. **IR:** =You don't have to (*inaud.*)=
7. **TB:** =Well.=
8. **→IR:** =<You- you- you could say- you could say we're going to + tax more. We're
9. going to cut [+]
10. **TB:** Yes. I was just ⌈going to come on to that Jonathan. (...)
11. **IR:** ⌊spending.>

As to downtoners, requesting permission to speak out of turn constituted the most common type. The 6 instances encountered were equally distributed among political interviews and debates. Consider:

[84] [*id.*]

1. **TB:**...in exactly the same way, that there have been policies that the Conservative
2. Party for ex⌈ample (*inaud.*)⌉
3. **IR:** ⌊<Now on that- (*pointing with index finger at TB*) let's stick to your policy
4. Tony.> Because- because- because next week I'll be asking John Major about his
5. policy. Let's⌈stick
6. **TB:** ⌊<Yes. But I would just like to answer the point about- on <u>our</u> policy in
7. relation to the minimum wage.>
8. **→IR:** (*pointing with index finger at TB*) <Let me on this one point and then you
9. can.=
10. **TB:** =Okay.=
11. **IR:** =(*palm up*) (I won't stop you doing it.>) Um on this three pound forty, (...)

Another "qualitative" (*vid*. Bañón-Hernández, 1997:43) downtoner recorded was begging pardon for the interruption:

[85] [*id.*]

1. **AUD6:** The costing's not adding up.
2. **TB:** There are actually=
3. **AUD6:** =And also,=
4. **→TB:** =Sorry.=
5. **AUD6:** =it's a socialist principle this. Old Labour. (...)

"Quantitative" (*ibid.*) downtoners were even rarer in our database, and only one instance was found where the interrupter justified the intrusion by the number of topics:

[86] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 61-65.]

1. **JW:** No. I think that is utterly utterly wrong.(...) We've been overwhelmed=
2. **AUD2:** =If you
3. **IR:** Shhh.
4. **JW:** ⌈We- we- we- we-⌉ we have been overwhelmed by the expression of support.
5. **→AUD2:** ⌊I just want to make one point.

As regards rejection techniques, neutralisers were far more frequent (35%) than sanctioning formulae (10.8%). Again, the single use of repetition was observed to be the

most common neutralising device in all three genres (21 cases altogether), with loudness (8 instances) lagging far behind. (For an example of repetition used as a neutralisation device, *vid*. above extract [86], l. 4.) And again, on a few occasions two mechanisms were combined, notably repetition together with extra speed or extra loudness, as a means of reinforcing the neutralisation effect in the hope of increasing the possibility of success in the fight for the floor.

When the interruptee decided to sanction the interrupter's violative conduct, the reason most commonly adduced for counteraction was the incomplete state of the interruptee's turn, as in extract [87] below. Similarly, in extract [83] above TB counteracts the impositive IR interruption by indirectly referring to his unfinished turn (l. 10: "I was just going to come on to that Jonathan"). Less frequently, sanctions were justified by the importance of the current message, the right to be listened, or an evaluation of the interrupter's behaviour.

[87] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** (...) In Cabinet they can decide whether there's a constitutional barrier or not.
2. There either is or there isn't. Now. To be fair to people like ⌈+ John Redwood and=
3. **IR:** ⌊Well then there is a=
4. **→TB:** =others- if I could just fin- finish Jonathan. To be fair to John Redwood or=
5. **IR:** =difference. Because they said there might be.
6. **TB:** =Margaret Thatcher, they say "look there is an insuperable constitutional
7. barrier." + We say <u>nev</u>er. (...)

No substantial generic differences in the frequency of use of the techniques could be noticed. Only one observation deserves reporting, namely the fact that most sanctioning formulae occurred in the political interview genre, where 7 out of 8 cases corresponded to the IE admonishing the IR for his/her obstructive conduct.[235] These results indicate that, of the three genres, it is in political interviews where the IR is most often accused of violative

[235] Of the 13 occasions of sanction recorded, 8 pertained to political interviews, 3 to talks shows, and 2 to debates. These figures constitute, respectively, a 9.1, 7.1 and 1.6 per cent of all interruptions generated in those genres. Though percentage-wise the gap between political interviews and talk shows is not significant, it is important to point out that, by contrast to political interviews, in talk show interviews the IR's interruptive behaviour was not the reason of most sanctions, for in two of three sanctioned interruptions the interrupter was the IE.

turn-taking behaviour. It could be speculated that these sanctions result from a relatively low degree of tolerance on the part of IEs who thus exercise the power bestowed upon them by their external status by not letting the IR interfere into his/her speaking rights. However, far from speculations, it is very likely that the comparatively higher rate of IE accusations of the IR's interruptive conduct is connected to the regular face-threatening character that his/her goal entails.

4.8. IR intervention

As controller of the encounter, the IR exercises his/her authority in cases of disordered competition for the floor. Commonly, it is the interactants that restore the turn-taking system themselves, either the current speaker yielding the floor to the interrupter or the interrupter withdrawing till the end of the current speaker's talk. At times, however, the IR feels the need to intervene in an interruptive process to restore order at once, and so does not hesitate to interrupt one of the parties in dispute himself/herself, specially when obstruction is generated by more than two parties at the same time. The instances of IR intervention found in our sample of interruptions were 19[236] and, not surprisingly, all came from the debate genre, except for three which occurred in a political interview, more specifically, in the second part of the *Dimbleby* programme when the AUD puts questions to the IE. Among these three was the only case where the IR restored order in an interruptive process where he himself was one of the participants. As shown in extract [88] below, the IR selects a next speaker among the AUD miscalculating the end of Mr. Blair's turn. After mutual apologies, the IR restores the turn to the IE by means of a directive (l. 6: "[g]o on.").

[88] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** (...) and increased it on unemployment.
2. **IR:** The woman up⌈there.
3. **TB:** ⌊Now the reason we⌈have
4. **→IR:** ⌊Sorry.=

[236] Unlike the rest of the figures mentioned, which exclude interruptions containing inaudible speech on the part of one of the interactants, this figure also includes those records where the talk of one or more of the participants during the interruption was unintelligible precisely because of the simultaneous speech.

5. **TB:** =Sorry. Can I just=
6. **→IR:** =No. Go on.=
7. **TB:** =The reason we have (...)

As the data suggest, IR intervention in debates takes place in disputations for the floor resulting from strong disagreement between two (or more) parties on the current issue. Turn-order restoration is achieved through assigning talking space either to the interrupter or to the interruptee. In order to do so, the IR resorts preferably to the use of vocatives, chiefly the Christian name, whereby he/she selects the person that is to speak next. Sometimes nomination is repeated once or twice successively. This repetitive device not only serves to convey insistence in the speaker selection, thereby contributing to the emphasis of the IR's authoritative position, but also functions as a means of making sure that his decision gets across to the interactants, specially in cases of a compound interruption, that is, when more than two individuals are speaking simultaneously and talk becomes unintelligible.

A further turn-assignment mechanism is the use of directives, which may be an order for the interruptee to continue speaking, as the imperative clause in the extract above illustrates (l. 6); or, conversely, a command for the interrupter to be quiet, whereby turn assignment is achieved indirectly through a turn-suppressing technique. In the latter case the command may be expressed (a) by means of an imperative clause such as "[l]isten to her. Listen to what she says.",[237] "[h]ang on there. Let him make his point.",[238] or "[s]top please."; (b) by means of the noise *shhh*,[239] which tells its addressee to be silent. These turn-suppressing acts may be reinforced with a hand gesticulation, particularly with the palm raised towards the person that is being silenced. Yet a further device to express a command is (c) by means of an indirect speech act such as "come on! You know you can't do

[237] *Vid*. appendix 5, ll. 411-3.

[238] *Vid*. extract [63], l. 6.

[239] *Vid*. appendix 5, l. 40.

that!"[240] Though the degree of imposition varies depending on whether the speech act is direct or indirect, turn-suppressing techniques always constitute an FTA to the person that is silenced as it does not satisfy his/her negative face wants.

4.9. Turn-resumption techniques

Table [10]: Turn-resumption techniques

Technique	Talk show interview		Political interview		Debate		TOTAL	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Abandonment	30	71.4	31	35.2	53	42.1	114	44.5
Confirmation	2	4.8	11	12.5	15	11.9	28	10.9
Continuation	7	16.7	35	39.8	39	31	81	31.7
Rectification	3	7.2	10	11.4	8	6.3	21	8.2
Other			1	1.1	11	8.7	12	4.7
TOTAL	42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

According to the above figures, abandonment and continuation are in political interviews and debates by far the most frequent techniques of floor resumption. Of the two techniques, the instances of abandonment outnumber those of continuation in debates, whereas the opposite occurs in political interviews though not by much. In talk show interviews, though abandonment is, as in debates, more common than continuation, their frequencies of occurrence are considerably distant if compared with those in the debate genre. In the latter genre, the frequency gap between the two techniques is only 11.1 per cent, considerably small if it is compared with the gap existing in talk shows, which amounts to 54.7 per cent. In 71.4 per cent of the talk show interruption sample the new turn initiated by the interruptee after the obstruction is neither formally nor semantically related to his/her prior utterance, as illustrated in the following extract. The arrowed turn corresponds to the first turn produced by the IR after Barry McGuigan's simple interruption (l. 2) answering whether that exercise was for losing fat from the body.[241] As can be seen, after the

[240] *Vid*. appendix 5, ll. 549-550.

[241] Following the distinction between (functional) turn and BC response explained in section 2.4.2.1, IR1's message-received signals "[o]h right." (l. 4) and "[y]es." (l. 8) constitute BC responses.

interruption the new turn produced by the IR inquires about another exercise (l. 11). This question is unrelated to the IR's prior question. As the IE has satisfactorily answered the first question related to the first exercise, there is no need to resume the truncated question.

[89] [Interview with Sam Fox and Barry McGuigan. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **IR1:** Is that actually- is that for losing fat? From⌈the body. Or is that
2. **BM:** ⌊That's for removing the love handles.
3. That's actually
4. **IR1:** Oh right.
5. **BM:**⌈what uh toning the muscles. That's not burning fat. Because we haven't- +
6. **SF:**⌊Yes.
7. **BM:** that's not an aerobic exercise.
8. **IR1:** Yes.
9. **BM:** But we'll tell you a little more about that in a second. ++ Let's try it again.
10. Now try the twisting movement. Hands here. +++ One. [++]
11. **→IR1:** And what's that exercise.

Far behind abandonment in talk shows come continuation, rectification, and confirmation, which altogether amount to less than a third of all instances (28.6%). Our data suggest that in this genre the interruptee tends to abandon his/her talk at the point of interruption to attend to what the interrupter has to say, and only on a few occasions the interruptee continues with what he/she was saying. Moreover, only rarely the interruptee produces confirmation or rectification. The little representativity of these two techniques is likely to be due to the relatively low degree of strong disagreement in talk show interviews. These techniques are predictable to be more common in genres that are characterised by a high degree of conflict.

A possible explanation for this behaviour in talk show interviews could in principle be based on the relatively low rate of confrontation between interlocutors (47.6%), if compared with that of political interviews (79.6%). In that type of speech events the goal of the participants is the progressive unfolding of part of the IE's life story. The main point is

Instead of a BC, it could be argued that 'oh right' (l. 4) is a follow-up acknowledgement act (*vid*. Tsui, 1994) indicating not only that the response has been heard and accepted but also that the interaction has been felicitous. Nevertheless, the fact that the exchange does not terminate after the token makes the distinction between the two categories difficult to draw.

to let the IE talk primarily about his/her profession, family, and so on, though guided by the IR who, through specific elicitations, chooses the topics that are of most interest for the viewing audience. In this context, there appears to be great willingness to orient to what the interrupter has to say, be it the IR or the IE, the interruptee abandoning his/her ongoing utterance in order to make a coherent contribution to the interrupter's utterance.[242] Thereby, frequent topic shifts are favoured, a characteristic which underlines the strongly conversational character of the genre. The process of abandonment, therefore, lends quickness to the development of a kind of interview where time constitutes an especially important factor since the event does not frequently exceed a 10-minute interaction.

In order to test this hypothesis, a deeper analysis into the relation between resumption techniques and degree of conflict of interruptions was carried out. It could be observed that in talk show interviews abandonment was frequently associated with non-conflictive obstructions. In our sample, abandonment of the interrupted turn was produced in 60 per cent of the cases in non-conflictive interruptions, whereas the percentage was reduced to 40 per cent in conflictive ones. Though the results do appear to corroborate my hypothesis, they should be treated with caution as lack of confrontation does not entirely justify the use of that resumption technique.

Compared with the talk show interview, the debate genre also shows a higher percentage of abandonment technique than of continuation, though the first only outnumbers the second in 11.1 per cent, whereas in the previous genre the difference exceeded 50 per cent. By contrast, in the debate genre the percentage of cases in which the interruptee decides to continue at exactly the same point where he/she was intruded upon (31%) nearly doubles the corresponding figure in the talk show format (16.7%). Again, this

[242] It should be noted that the preference for the abandonment technique in talk show interviews cannot be justified with the claim that it is due to the IR's controlling role that the IE abandons his/her interrupted turn to respond immediately to the IR's elicitation because, as reported elsewhere, the frequency of interruptiveness by the IR equals that by the IE.

might be indicative of a higher degree of controversy present in our debates.[243] Interruptees manifest their aim of confronting views different from their own by insisting in theirs and not letting others cut their ideas off. Being able to finish the utterance of one's ideas constitutes a means of dominating controversy. Extract [90] below exemplifies one such conflictive situation where two audience members disagree about who should decide whether Britain should join the single currency. AUD18 is in favour of leaving it to Parliament; AUD16, by contrast, advocates that a referendum should be called for people to decide. The first arrow marks resumption of AUD18's interrupted turn through continuation: "After all they were elected for purpose". Instead, AUD16 (second arrow) resumes her attempt at floor space by means of a confirmation technique, that is, of repeating the end of his prior utterance (l. 7: "they haven't done").

[90] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 618-625.]

1. **IR:** Do we want a referendum?
2. **AUD18:** I be⌈lieve⌉
3. **IR:** ⌊If so, what's the question and when.
4. **AUD18:** I believe a referendum is unnecessary at this stage, and it should be treated
5. as a last-resort measure. We should really rely on the Parliament to decide + in
6. which direction we go. + ⌈After all⌉
7. **AUD16:** ⌊They- they haven't done-
8. **→AUD18:** They were elected for purpose. [+]
9. **→AUD16:** They haven't done very well at the moment. (...)

As mentioned earlier, it is in political interviews where conflict, manifested in IR-IE disagreement over the (negative) way IRs present the management of the party the politician represents, is most foregrounded. I contend that the techniques resorted to in order to resume the interrupted turn constitute, once more, an indicator of it. As table [10] above illustrates, in our political interviews continuation is the main technique used in the recovery of the interrupted turn (39.8%), though closely followed by abandonment (35.2%). Nevertheless, the frequency of occurrence of the abandonment technique in the political interview is comparatively the lowest of the three genres studied. As expected, the difference is large with respect to the talk show interview but fairly small with regard to the

[243] In fact, 69.2 per cent of the cases of continuation in debates corresponded to conflictive interruptions,

debate, since the latter format shares the confronting goal of the political interview. When it comes to the least frequently occurring techniques, again the debate and political interview are close in the use of the confirmation method, about 12 per cent, a frequency which doubles that of the talk show interview. I would argue that, in the context of both the political interview and the debate, confirmation may further contribute to strengthen one's view as opposed to anybody else's through repetition of the end of the interrupted turn. This is precisely what WW does in the extract below when he repeats "if you read" after the IR's silent interruption (l. 7) refuting the IE's affirmation that the Prime Minister had been consistent with the back-to-basics policy.

[91] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 390-8.]

1. **IR:** (...) Are you really telling me that this back-to-basics policy + has been clear.
2. ++ And consistent. + And meaningful. + And has always been the ↑same, ++ and
3. that the Government's actions and statements with regard to it have been consistent?
4. + You're really trying to get that one past me?↑
5. **WW:** (*click*) The Prime Minister has been consistent. + Throughout. + And if you
6. read=
7. **IR:** =↑No he hasn't.↑
8. **→WW:** Oh I think yes. If you read- + read again his party conference speech, + um
9. a lot of things + uh are alleged that he said in that speech which he didn't. (...)

However, the process of rectification, that is, of resuming the floor changing the form (*vid*. extract [92]) or the content of the interrupted turn, does not appear to support the conflictive or conflictless spirit of the genres analysed in the way the other techniques seem to do.

[92] [*id*., ll. 741-754.]

1. **WW:** (...) If I'm criticised at the level + which would be appropriate for resignation,
2. + I will + resign. That is + the same + thing that Mr. Clarke has
3. ⌈said, and Mr. Heseltine has said.⌉
4. **IR:** ⌊What is the level of- for resignation. With ↑your lot it has to be a pretty high
5. hurdle.⌈Hasn't it.↑+⌉=
6. **WW:** ⌊ (*inaud*.)
7. **IR:** =Mr. Yoe hung about a long time.=
8. **WW:** =Well. Let- + let us
9. **IR:** And Mr. Mellor.
10. **WW:** Hm. Let us look at- + at it⌈in turn.

whereas the proportion was reduced to 42.9 per cent in talk show interviews.

11. **IR:** ⌊Not to mention Mr. Lamont.
12. **→WW:** Mm. Let us look at those. Are you saying, + that in every case, +
13. automatically, + where: a minister has been to bed with someone who isn't his wife,
14. + and is caught, he should resign?

Although in all three genres rectification largely corresponded to conflictive obstructions,[244] and in that sense it can be deduced that it serves to signal conflict, the proportion of rectification occurrences per genre does not favour a genre-specific justification. It may be claimed that the technique contributes to sustain the goal of the political interviews, for its incidence is the highest of the three genres in which it takes place. But, in accordance with the confrontation hypothesis, the rate of rectification in debates would be expected to be higher than in talk shows. In line with our hypothesis, the frequency of occurrence of this technique in the talk show genre would not be halfway between those of the political interview and the debate, as its goal is clearly different from theirs. Contrary to one's expectations, therefore, rectification does not further contribute to stress the gap between genres with a distinct goal such as talk show interviews and debates, and hence to mark similarity between debates and political interviews.

4.10. Insertion of interrupter's message into interruptee's turn

The results of the database survey indicate that in only 27.3 per cent (70 cases) of all interruptions recorded (256 cases) did the interruptee explicitly insert (part of) the interrupter's message into his/her own turn. Depending on whether the interruptee was cut off at some point or not, insertion occurred after resuming the interrupted turn –as in simple interruptions, silent interruptions, non-interrupted interruptions–, or during the ongoing obstructed utterance –as in overlaps, parallels, simultaneous starts–, respectively. Not surprisingly, about 80 per cent of the cases of insertion took place in the first of the two contexts mentioned, for the very nature of those categories favours reference to the interrupter's message: the interruptee is silent for a period of time after which he/she starts talking again, a moment that gives the interruptee a good opportunity to respond to the

[244] In our political interviews 9 out of 10 instances where the interruptee used that technique when resuming his/her interrupted turn corresponded to conflictive exchanges. The rate decreases in our debates to 5 (62.5%) out of 8 cases. In talk shows, finally, all three cases recorded were characterised by the feature conflict.

interrupter if he/she so wishes. By contrast, categories such as overlaps or parallels, where the interruptee does not stop speaking before finishing his/her utterance, are not likely candidates for insertion, as figures suggest. Patterns such as the next were rare.

[93] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 181-191.]

1. **AUD4:** (...) WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED- + WHAT ACTUALLY
2. HAPPENED is that <Germany put up its interest rates because of> + reunification.
3. <British interest rates always have to follow German interest rates.>=
4. **AUD3:** =Why.
5. **→AUD4:** And what it⌈has⌉done- + and- + well, because if Britain + cuts its=
6. **AUD:** ⌊Why.
7. **AUD4:** =interest rates <u>and</u> + investors fear the pound will devalue, the (*inaud.*)
8. pound, which happened ever since the war, <u>and</u> we then have to devalue and
9. become a high-inflation country again.

The interruptee (arrowed turn) appears at first not to have the intention of responding to the AUD's elicitation (l. 6), since he has already ignored the same question when uttered the first time by AUD3 (l. 4), and his second 'and' after the parallel with the AUD's question seems to signal his intention of repeating "[a]nd what it has done". However, he finally decides to respond (l. 5: "well, because if Britain..."), maybe due to the pressure exercised not by a single individual but by many audience members –here represented by AUD (l. 6)– to know the reason why "British interest rates always have to follow German interest rates".

Examining each genre, in talk show interviews insertion took place in 30.9 per cent of all interruptive instances. The frequency of occurrence decreases to 28.5 per cent in debates, and to 23.9 per cent in political interviews. The small percentage gap between the genres prevents a reliable genre-specific explanation of the use of the insertion mechanism. Nevertheless, it does not appear to be at all unlikely that its frequency rate could be related to the degree of conflict in the following terms. If the degree of conflict is high, introducing the other's message could be interpreted as being acquiescent with the other's view; not introducing it, however, could be read as a means of ignoring what he/she says and trying to impose one's view. Whereas if the interaction is non-conflictive, introducing the interrupter's message is not viewed as an indication of 'surrender' to the other's position,

but rather as a signal of attention and politeness. This suggestion would justify the frequency of use of the insertion mechanism in the three genres.

In political interviews, insertions by the IE, that is, when the IR is the interrupter, corresponded in about 80 per cent of the cases[245] to conflictive interactions. This indicates that the IR was producing some kind of face threat. Here, insertion is a technique of immediate face-saving work. Extract [91] above, renamed as extract [94] below, serves to exemplify face-work through insertion of a direct response to the interrupting message. In this case, the IR's contention is that the Government's behaviour has not been consistent with the back-to-basics policy. Clash of views is highlighted in the IR's first turn by disbelief expressed, first, by means of "[a]re you really telling me" (l. 1); notice the increased stress produced on 'really' which throws more doubt on the content of the subsequent clause; and, secondly, by means of the question "[y]ou're really trying to get that one past me?" (l. 4) uttered with high pitch for the same purpose. The climactic moment of the conflict corresponds to the IR's direct interruptive refutation that the Prime Minister had been consistent (l. 7). The arrowed turn contains an immediate reference to the IR's threatening statement in the form of a further refutation (l. 8: "[o]h I think yes."), which throws doubt on the IR's view thus trying to save the Government's reputation. This face-saving work is supplemented, after WW resumes his interrupted turn, with evidence for the reliability of his argument. Reputation for inconsistency, he claims, derives not from what the Prime Minister actually said but from what other people allege that he said; in other words, it is a false myth.

[94] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 390-9.]

1. **IR:** (...) Are you really telling me that this back-to-basics policy + has been clear.
2. ++ And consistent. + And meaningful. + And has always been the ↑same, ++ and
3. that the Government's actions and statements with regard to it have been consistent?
4. + You're really trying to get that one past me?↑
5. **WW:** (*click*) The Prime Minister has been consistent. + Throughout. + And if you
6. read=
7. **IR:** =↑No he hasn't.↑
8. **→WW:** Oh I think yes. If you read- + read again his party conference speech, + um

[245] This percentage corresponds to 11 out of 14 interruptions.

9. a lot of things + uh are alleged that he said in that speech which he didn't. + As a
10. matter of fact, + quite a lot of myths have grown up round other speeches. (...)

The same face-saving function cannot be predicated of the insertions produced by the IR when the IE is the interrupter, since the proportion of conflictive and non-conflictive interruptions was quite similar (4 *vs*. 3, respectively).

The tendency observed in political interviews of putting the technique of insertion of the interrupter's message to the service of face-work in conflictive exchanges can also be detected in debates, though to a lesser extent and without making distinctions as to the participant that uses the technique. As table [11] below shows, in this genre the number of conflictive interactions with insertion amounts to 66.7 per cent, of which most (18 out of 24) resorted to the insertion pattern for purposes of face-work. A word of clarification with respect to face-work is needed here. Most of the face-work done in debates is not of the same direct kind as in political interviews, because in debates threats are only indirectly aimed at the interlocutor's face inasmuch as he/she acts as a supporter of a particular stance on a specific issue.

Table [11]: Insertion of interrupter's message into interruptee's turn according to degree of conflict

Degree of conflict	**Talk show interview**		**Political interview**		**Debate**	
	no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Conflictive	6	46.2	15	71.4	24	66.7
Non-conflictive	7	53.8	6	28.6	12	33.3
TOTAL	13	100	21	100	36	100

A further distinction between political interviews and debates in this regard relates to the thematic class of interruption where insertion occurs. In our political interviews insertion by the interruptee originated primarily in cases in which the interrupter asked for new or complementary information, whereas in debates, cases of insertion that occurred not only when the interrupter asked for but also provided new information dominated at equal rate, as in:

[95] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **IR:** Do you think it's [=sport] in the gutter? [+]
2. (...)
3. **GN:** I DON'T KNOW. I DON'T ACTUALLY. (...) The tabloids are leading us into
4. the gutter at times I think. Uh the⌈sport⌉
5. **→Sec.IR:** ⌊You write some of it.
6. **GN:** I don't write in the newspapers. [+]
7. **Sec.IR:** Oh we've got rid of you at last then.
8. **GN:** No. I haven't written for years. I don't write in the newspapers.

In our talk shows, however, insertion is not a characteristic procedure associated with conflict and hence with face-work, since its use is quite similarly distributed between conflictive and non-conflictive exchanges and, moreover, it is non-conflictive cases that outnumber conflictive ones, not *vice versa* as in our political interviews and debates.

If we claim that non-insertion of the interrupter's message into the interruptee's turn may constitute a means of ignoring the other's viewpoint and, consequently, might be judged as a technique of imposition and dominance of the interruptee's argument(s), figures from the three genres lead to the conclusion that the highest degree of dominance is exerted in political interviews and the least in talk show interviews. This appears to corroborate the inherent degree of controversy of these genres.

So far, the generic analysis of the interruptive process has focused on three parameters: (1) the linear aspect of the interruption itself, *i.e.*, the categories, complexity, and position; (2) the parties that take part in the interruption, that is, who interrupts, who is interrupted, and who is the addressee of the interruptive talk; and (3) the properties of the processes immediately preceding the interruption, such as the predictability of the end of the interrupted message and the floor-securing mechanisms; the reaction of the participants and the IR intervention during the interruption; and the processes after it, namely how the interrupted turn is resumed and whether it explicitly inserts (part of) the interruptive message. The following sections will concentrate on the thematic-informative aspects of the interruption. Thus, the obstructive process will be analised, first, from the perspective of the attitude of the interrupter towards the topic in hand; in other words, if the interrupter

produces the intrusion with the intention of shifting the current topic or of avoiding topic change; second, from the perspective of the conflict it entails; third, from the point of view of its degree of relevance to the immediate context; and fourth, from the perspective of the kind of relevant information they convey to the discursive moment.

4.11. The thematic perspective

4.11.1. Topic shift

Interruptions produced with the aim of introducing a new topic were almost non-existent. Only 2 occasions were found in the database and both were produced by the IR or host in debates. From these results we may postulate that topic shifts[246] are produced once the IR is sure that the current speaker has finished talking about the current topic and the IR considers the topic exhausted.[247] As a consequence, elicitations containing topic shifts do not generate interruptions. It is only in multi-party speech events where obstructive speaker changes of this sort may result, even if very rarely as the corpus sample suggests. Since in all topic shifts the IR perfectly timed in elicitations, the following exemplification could be interpreted as a deviant case.

[96] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 42-58.]

1. **R:** <↑Of <u>course</u>↑ I walk around and ask ⌈people what they think about=
2. **TM:** ⌊ (*inaud.*)
3. **R:** =Europe.>⌉ They just don't want + to have the Conservative Party divided=
4. **TM:**
5. **R:**=by people like ↑you.↑ (...)
6. (...)
7. **TM:** (...) <We've <u>LOST</u> our sovereignty. We've got to get some back.>
8. **R:** We have not=
9. **→IR:** =(*moving to the next speaker*) Is that right to go round the country saying talk

[246] The notion of *topic shift* will henceforth refer not only to shifts of topics but also to shifts of sub-topics, points or topical lines. Because many of the speech events investigated are devoted to one overall topic, any change in subject is properly speaking a shift to a different aspect of the event's general topic. Jucker (1986:126), however, uses the term "topical shift" since news interviews are invariably devoted to a single topic; consequently, any change of subject entails always a shift of sub-topic.

[247] It is important to point out that a topic or topical line is not exhausted in an interview or debate when the current speaker has finished a response to the IR's or host's prior elicitation, but when the IR or host decides not to expand the subject further through "topic extensions", "reformulations", and/or "challenges" (*vid*. Jucker, 1986:128ff). (These categories correspond to Heritage's (1985:105ff) "prompts", "cooperative recycles", and/or "inferentially elaborative probes".)

10. to the party, + it's not divided, not betrayed?
11. **AUD11:** Mr. Marlow is obviously <u>not</u> going around the country (...)

The host decides to change the topic, or rather topical line, from the discussion of whether or not the Conservative Party is divided on Europe to the topic, or rather topical line, of whether it is right for politicians to go around the country to find out what people think about Europe. When the host considers that the first aspect has been sufficiently discussed, he moves to a different speaker to address the next point, which arose from the discussion of the previous two participants. In doing so, the host cuts off R's intention of continuing the discussion with TM (l. 7). Aware of the limited time alloted to each participant, R considers that his time is over and does not seek to regain the floor. Thereby he displays observance to the host's duty to bring in further speakers as corresponds to a multi-party debate event.

Some more occurrences (11 cases)[248] were recorded in our sample of interruptions with the opposite purpose, namely to signal that the interrupter wishes to delay the topic shift proposed by the interruptee. Despite their low representativity from an interruptive perspective, their interest with regard to the principles that govern the interview format is worth a detailed explanation. Extract [97] contains two interruptions (arrowed turns) produced by the IE at a point when the IR "want[s] to come to a<u>noth</u>er issue" (l. 3).

[97] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 502-529.]

1. **IR:** Mm (*click*) + Mr. Waldegrave, you conce:de that there have been things that
2. have gone wrong with back-to-basics. >I think it's far worse than you ↑say.↑ + I
3. want to come to a<u>noth</u>er i⌈ssue.<
4. **→WW:** ⌊<I didn't concede that⌈there are things that have gone=
5. **IR:** ⌊That justifies-
6. **WW:** =wrong- + gone wrong with back-to-basics. But it would be foolish of me
7. against the-> + the uhh + uh uh business in the press over the last + three or four
8. months, to say + that we couldn't have done better. We could- surely could have
9. done better.⌈Surely. We're on the right theme.=
10. **IR:** ⌊But that-
11. **IR:** =That-=
12. **WW:** =<And we're gonna- and we're gonna press on. + And we're going to get

[248] These cases were almost equally distributed among the three genres: 3 interruptions occurred in the political interview genre, and 4 in each of the other two genres.

13. better at it. Because it's a real theme.>
14. **IR:** That's a concession. + But I think it's worse than that. And I want to bring up
15. another issue. Which I think illustrates the nature of the charges made against you
16. and their validity. + But first, ++ we must take a break.
17. (*commercial break*)
18. **IR:** Mr. Waldegrave, I put it to you: uh in the first part, + that back-to-basics + <and
19. a number of other things> + justify + some of the charges that have been made +
20. against the Government. + Now let me take a completely different matter. [+]
21. →**WW:** Let me just ⌈say that I hope I refuted that.=
22. **IR:** ⌊Let us
23. **IR:** =Well,=
24. **WW:** =I try to do my best to refute it. ⌈I do believe it's fact.
25. **IR:** ⌊Well,
26. **IR:** The viewers will judge.
27. **WW:** Quite.
28. **IR:** Let me take a completely different matter. + The Scott Inquiry.

Both interruptions are the result of the same cause and, consequently, seek the same effect. The cause is an assertion by the IR, prior to the announcement of topic shift, that functions as a summary of WW's statements up to that point and that constitutes a face-threatening act to the politician (ll. 1-2). The first of the two interruptions (l. 4) purports to save the IE's image from the assertion that the IE has admitted that the Government had made mistakes with respect to the back-to-basics policy. The second face-threat (ll. 18-20) is just a slightly reformulated repetition of the first, since the whole structure of summary plus topic shift is repeated after the commercial break (l. 17). Both interruptions delay topic change until the face-saving act has been completed. In the first case the face-saving delay consists in a refutation (ll. 4, 6: "I didn't concede...back-to-basics.") followed by a clarification (ll. 6-13), which in turn originates two final follow-up comments by the IR (l. 14) which are followed by the announcement of the following issue. This issue is again presented as conflictive, for it will serve to illustrate the nature of the charges made against the Government and, most importantly, their validity. As can be observed, the first interruption delays topic shift until after the commercial break, after which the IR, as is customary in political interview events, resumes talk by means of an utterance that summarises briefly the gist of the speech event so far (ll. 18-20).[249] Though the summary is formally different

[249] Sometimes this utterance is a simple reminder to the audience of who the IE is.

Apart from the purpose of clearly stating for the audience the point to which the interview has got, Dimbleby (private communication) maintains that summaries have two further functions: (a) they function as

from the first, its content and purpose is the same: it projects a negative image of the Government through the suggestion that some of the charges made against the Government are justified. Since silence implies consent, not responding to the summary would be interpreted as an admission that the IR's suggestion is true, and consequently, that the Government had made mistakes. Unwilling to accept that suggestion due to the disadvantageous impression it would project of the Government, the politician produces the second topic-delaying interruption to emphasise the refutation produced during the first half of the interview (ll. 21, 24). Here again the interruption originates a follow-up comment from the IR (l. 26) which in turn generates another from the IE (l. 27). Only then is the topic shift successfully introduced (l. 28). It should be noticed that the degree of face-threat produced by the IR's summary is smoothed down in the follow-up move in an attempt to end the argument.

Topic-shift-delaying interruptions for face-saving reasons are not exclusive of political interviews. Instances were also found in debates and talk show interviews. In the former genre, the cases encountered came about when the interrupter –always a politician– intended to refute a face-threatening argument used by a representative of the opposite lobby. Aware that the topic might be exhausted after the current speaker's turn and that, consequently, the host might produce a topic shift, the willing next speaker addresses an interruptive metaconversational act to the host of the type "[c]can I come back on" or "[c]an I reply to our German friend?" (*vid*. *Kilroy*, appendix 5, ll. 256) in order to secure an opportunity to restore face to his/her lobby before a new topic is introduced.

As for talk show interviews, in the following extract the interruption produced by the IE (l. 3) initiates a series of turns that foreground the importance of topic control in an interview. The interview has so far revolved around TB's publication on video of his speeches in Parliament. His argument has been that he decided to publish them so that his

a transition to a further challenge; "we've got there, this is your position, now that leads me to this" (*id*.). And, (b), summaries serve "to point out sometimes for one's colleagues in the media that he said something or she said something really quite significant or advanced on a new ground, or extracted a key piece of information" (*id*.).

views could get across to people because, he contends, "there is practically no coverage of politics" (*vid.* interview with Tony Benn, appendix 3, l. 27) on TV, and the little there is is not of what is actually said but of what "commentators talking to other commentators [about] what other commentators think about" say (*id*., ll. 32-3). The starting point of this extract corresponds to the IR's shift of topical line from Mr. Benn's videos to his tape diaries. But he only manages to utter the preliminary work to the elicitation (ll. 1-2); he does not get to producing the actual question due to the politician's interruptive metaconversational act (l. 3) rebuking him for not understanding the importance of his argument. Thus, though the IR wants to move to a different issue, the IE insists in continuing with the former to clarify his point to the IR, thereby influencing the topical development to his advantage. Clarification has face implications for it constitutes an attempt to dissipate the impression of vanity suggested by the IR's reference to the Benn industry of videos and tape diaries. After discussing topic control, the IE manages to keep talking on the same matter until finally (l. 24) the IR succeeds through an interruption in restoring topic control by reinserting the earlier interrupted topical line. "[T]he point I was trying to put back to you" not only signals a violation of turn type, but also of turn order. As to turn order, it marks that the otherwise unobstructive first arrowed turn was actually interpreted as an interruption. The topic-shifting move is resumed by means of a reformulation: "[y]our diaries are available + every day as well" (ll. 1-2) is reworded as "your diaries you record every day" (ll. 25-6), after which follows the question about the space they occupy.

[98] [Interview with Tony Benn. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*. Appendix 3, ll. 105-189.]

1. **IR:** (...) But on the radio we can listen to your tape diaries. Your diaries are
2. available + every day as well.=
3. →**TB:** =You're missing the point Clive. I mean, take the- +⌈take the⌉
4. **IR:** ⌊No. I'm putting [+]
5. **TB:** You <u>are</u> missing the point. [+]
6. **IR:**⌈<I'm putting the point, and you're not dealing with it.>⌉
7. **TB:**⌊ No, no, no. You're missing the point. An interview, is about
8. what somebody is- + uh + the interviewer wants to talk about.
9. **IR:** Yes.
10. **TB:** But if⌈you want⌉

11. **IR:** ⌊Well it usually is.
12. **TB:** (*IR and AUD laughing*) (Well,- + well I try to reverse the thing as you know,)
13. when we did it last time.
14. (...)
15. **TB:** (...) I tell you I listened to the BBC during the budget. + And at the end of the
16. Chancellor's speech the BBC said, if you wish to listen, + to the leader of the
17. opposition, + switch to ↑long wave.↑ + (*rotating fists*) Because the BB↑C wanted
18. to do all the commenting.↑
19. **IR:** Yes.
20. **TB:** On the budget. They didn't want to hear John Smith speak. + And I think this
21. is + very shallow. + That's all I'm saying.
22. **IR:** Yes.=
23. **TB:** =Now if you uhh=
24. **→IR:** =But the point you were making about getting your: views across uhh- <the
25. point I was trying to put back to you, was that-> + that your diaries you record
26. ↑every day,↑⌈and then occupy- was it something like seven: sheds worth of +
27. **TB:** ⌊I do.
28. **IR:** space in your:?

As already mentioned, the first arrowed turn originates a discussion between the two participants about topic control. The politician's admonition that the IR is missing the point is followed by the IR's sanction to the IE for breaching the conventions of the interview format, according to which the IE has to deal with the topical agenda established by the IR's elicitations (l. 6).[250] The IE is not unaware of this norm (ll. 7-8: "An interview, is about what (...) the interviewer wants to talk about.") but has opted not to comply with it (l. 12: "I try to reverse the thing"). The violative behaviour displayed by the IE is again brought to the fore and indirectly condemned in the IR's statement "[w]ell it usually is" (l. 11), thereby highlighting the contrast between what the interview should be like and what it actually is. In other words, the IR's statement stresses the clash between the normative IR's rights to topic management and the control TB is exercising over it. It is, however, important to remark that on this occasion subversion of the IR's functions, and therefore threat to the IR's role as a competent elicitor, though verbally sanctioned, is quite easily tolerated, as the laughter produced by both the IR and AUD at the IR's statement indicates. Transgressing the conventions about topic control is one manifestation of the overall

[250] Ignoring the topical agenda was found to be the most commonly sanctioned manoeuvre in news interviews when IEs produce talk that wanders along a track different from that set by the IR's elicitation (*vid.* Greatbatch, 1986).

possible transgression of interview protocols that characterises the talk show genre. In contrast to the political interview genre, talk show interviews use transgression as a technique for creating humour, which is one of the main manifestations of the entertainment-seeking goal of the event.

By virtue of his/her institutional footing, not only the IR has sole rights to manipulate topic shift –either introducing a new topic at will or restoring a prior one– but also the Secondary IR, whenever there is one. The Secondary IR may take over the control of the topic as soon as he/she judges that the participants are wandering from the point. This occurred once in the *SQ* programme when the discussants were digressing from the risks in boxing to the risks in other sports. In view of this topic shift, the Secondary IR produced a parallel interruption to restore the former topic. As is common in this type of thematic interruptions, the obstruction consisted in a metaconversational act, "[l]et's just talk about boxing".

To sum up, the control over the topical agenda may on occasions generate violations of turn transitions. Agenda-shifting interruptions were found to be originated for three purposes: (a) to introduce a topic change; (b) to re-establish the topical focus after some turn-type violation; and (c) to delay topic change for some face-saving intention. As corresponds to the functions assigned to the roles of IR and Secondary IR, the first two goals were found to be the reasons that triggered off interruptions occasioned by these two parties. However, the third aim enumerated was typical of the interruptive conduct of politicians acting as IEs or discussants. Due to the issue of accountability, this behaviour is in accordance with their endeavour to appear in a more favourable light *vis-à-vis* the audience.

4.11.2. Conflict

As defined in section 2.7.2.1, conflict is understood as related to some kind of face threat. A conflictive interruption, therefore, may either cause a face threat or constitute a reaction to one. As a consequence of the goals of the participants to the events analysed, political

interviews were, as expected, the most conflictive events (79.6%). In view of table [12], next follow debates (69.8%). Talk show interviews, which display a fairly close proportion of conflictive (47.6%) and non-conflictive interruptions (52.4%), seem to be the least conflictive speech events. In fact, of the three genres it is the only one where the proportion of non-conflictive interruptions outnumbers that of conflictive ones, a result that mirrors the importance that the interlocutor's face image acquires in this interaction. By contrast, potential face loss is disregarded in favour of efficiency in the attainment of the IR's and the IE's goals in political interviews and debates, respectively.

Table [12]: Conflict

Degree of conflict		**Talk show interview**		**Political interview**		**Debate**		**TOTAL**	
		no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Conflict.	Disagreeing	6	14.3	26	29.6	52	41.2	84	32.8
	Other	14	33.3	44	50	36	28.6	94	36.7
Non-Conflict.	Agreeing	1	2.4	1	1.1	2	1.6	4	1.6
	Other	21	50	14	15.9	31	24.6	66	25.8
Other						2	1.6	2	0.8
Blank[251]				3	3.4	3	2.4	6	2.3
TOTAL		42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

Comparing conflictive interruptions in political interviews and debates, we observe that there are far more cases of the sub-category *other* in political interviews than in debates, where the sub-category *disagreeing* dominates. This might suggest that in order to express conflict participants in political interviews resort more to strategies other than straightforward disagreement. As far as the IR's interruptive conduct is concerned, this behaviour is certainly influenced by the turn type assigned to the IR role, which in turn determines that most IR interruptions seek to elicit some kind of information, as shall be reported later in section 4.13.2.1. Elicitations prevent the expression of direct disagreement, whereas they favour other face-threatening suggestions of different sorts, as illustrated in extract [99].

[251] The slot *blank* contains interruptions that could not be classified thematically due mostly to the shortness of the utterance –generally just one word long– which prevented a reliable interpretation of the message.

[99] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 738-747.]

1. **WW:** No. + I will certainly + take um- + all- all I'm trying to uh uh avoid is the
2. famous + Walden + trap. And you're famous for + getting people + into a position +
3. where they're then trapped. + But the trap here is, + to say that any criticism means
4. you have to resign. + That would be a ludicrous position. + If I'm criticised at the
5. level + which would be appropriate for resignation, + I will + resign. That is + the
6. same + thing that Mr. Clarke has ⌈said, and Mr. Heseltine has said.⌉
7. →**IR**: ⌊What is the level of- for resignation. With
8. ↑your lot it has to be a pretty high hurdle. ⌈Hasn't it.↑ +⌉ Mr. Yoe hung about a=
9. **WW:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
10. **IR**: =long time.

In debates, however, direct opposition in the interest of maximum efficiency is favoured to the detriment of the interlocutor's face. In other words, the interrupter tends to go "bald on record" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:60) instead of resorting to "redressive action" (*id.*:69), possibly because it constitutes the most clear and direct way of enlisting the maximum number of audience members (and of home viewers) in support of his/her argument(s) and against the opinion of the addressee. In the following example, AUD7 interrupts twice (ll. 12, 13) to refute Norris McWhirter's (identified as NMc in the script) view that a superstate will not be free of conflict.

[100] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 295-308.]

1. **AUD7:** (*selected by IR*) I- + I- I fundamentally disagree with you- + with you Norris.
2. (...) The European co-operation symbolised, + by + European Community, is putting an
3. end to that. It's ⌈taking⌉ us away from that. ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉ =
4. **NMc:** ⌊It'll- it'll | |
5. **AUD8:** (*out of focus*) ⌊(*inaud.*)
6. **NMc:** =It'll build up more enmities.
7. **AUD7:** Which- which we ⌈should- which we should⌉
8. **NMc:** ⌊If we haven't got control.
9. **IR:** Norris, yes.
10. **NMc:** What happens is + this idea + that a superstate + will be free of conflict, + is the
11. e↑xact ↑opposite of the ↑truth.↑ ⌈It will be full⌉ of enmities.=
12. →**AUD7:** (*out of focus*) ⌊It is not.
13. →**AUD7:** =It is ⌈not. You have for the first time⌉
14. **NMc:** ⌊Because you have lost control + over your own country.

Regarding the talk show genre, predominance of the sub-category *other* over both direct agreement and direct disagreement is undoubtedly a consequence of the fact that the event is not centred around an argumentative discussion of a subject. Thus, instances of

non-conflictive interruptions include mostly turn-taking violations aimed at asking for some new or complementary information, frequently introducing or carrying on a note of humour. Consider the next example where the IR plays on JN's supposed menopause for amusement (l. 7). It should be noted that even within the humorous exchange the IR maintains his positive-face attention by displaying interest in JN's state of health. Display of positive politeness or reaction towards such an orientation was discovered to be another important source of non-conflictive interruptions in talk show events. (For exemplification *vid*. extracts [111] and [145] with comments on p. 286 and 337-8, respectively.)

[101] [Interview with John Nettles. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **JN:** No. The last time I was in Birmingham, I was uh uh in the company of the
2. great + late uh lamented Roy Castle. + Who as you know, uh + contracted if that's
3. the word lung cancer from passive smoking- + And uhh it's an appalling thing. I
4. smoked up until I was uh- + I would tell you how old I was (*looking at AUD*) (but
5. very very very old.) (*some laughter from AUD*) (+) Menopausal indeed. + And I
6. ⌈finally gave it up.
7. **→IR:** ⌊You're over that?
8. **JN:** I'm over that now. The hot flushes have disappeared. (*laughter from AUD*) (+)
9. A:nd [*laughs; looking at AUD*] [this HRT is brilliant isn't it. (*everybody laughs*) I
10. mean. You know + it's wonderful stuff. + Very good stuff.] + <And I'm supporting
11. it in every way I can. My father died of lung cancer. A particularly horrible and
12. nasty death. (...)

As to the sources that occasioned most conflictive interruptions were (a) the expression of sanction for the interlocutor's violative turn-taking behaviour (*vid*. extract [98] with explanation on pp. 274-5); (b) the performance of a redressive action to soothe the potential face damage generated by either a prior or an upcoming negative evaluation, or (c) an expression of indifference towards the interlocutor's positive face. Consider extract [102].

[102] [Interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O'Connor Show*.]

1. **IR:** Is Laura Dern aware- + are you aware + that ladies f- flip their lids when- when
2. your name is mentioned?
3. **JG:** (*AUD laughing*) (Oh. I)=
4. **→IR:** =<I don't wanna> put you on the spot there=
5. **JG:** =°Yeah°.=
6. **IR:** =but=
7. **JG:** =Well I- I- I'm sure it isn't true. But erm it's very flattering. (...)

The IR's interruption (l. 4) functions as an action aimed at giving face to JN after an elicitation (ll. 1-2) that might have been received as a positive-face threat due to the embarrassment it could have caused to the IE. The interruption indicates that no such threat was intended. Again, attention to face is inserted within a humorous atmosphere which leaves the value of the redress open to question. Moreover, the redress may have the status of a white lie.

Yet a further reason for conflictive interruptions was found to be the interrupter's intention of saving his/her face from a threat caused by the interruptee. As in the following illustration, the interrupter does not refute the interruptee's accusation but tones it down by reducing the degree of criticism to just "a bit of difficulty" (l. 3) and justifying that difficulty with the fact that the leaders with which he had difficulties ended up leaving the Labour Party and joining the Tories. This suggests that the difficulties were the natural result of two persons pertaining to different parties.

[103] [Interview with Tony Benn. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*. Appendix 3, ll. 202-206.]

1. **IR:** (...) <You always seem to have + difficulty with the leadership of the Labour Party
2. whoever it is, + uh you've ⌈got
3. **→TB:** ⌊Well I had a bit of difficulty with Ramsey
4. McDONALD, ⌈but he did leave the Labour Party and join the Tories.
5. **IR**: ⌊Yeah,

Finally, the category *other*, created *ad hoc*, comprises the only two interruptions that could not be assigned to either the *conflictive* or the *non-conflictive* class, since part of their messages belongs to one class and part to the other, each part being aimed at a different addressee, as shown in extract [104]. Seeking to regulate the turn-taking order in cases of violation, these metaconversational interruptions contain instructions addressed at the parties talking into each other's spot; for the party that is granted the permission to speak the interruption is non-conflictive, while for the participant who is silenced it is conflictive since it puts some pressure on him/her to refrain from talking, thus impeding his/her freedom of action.

[104] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 538-543.]

1. **JW:** (...) therefore we will ⌈lose jobs, and we will⌉ lose opportunities rather than=
2. **AUD16:** ⌊ (*inaud.*)
3. **JW:** =gain ⌈them.
4. **→IR:** ⌊Hold on John. Hold on. + (*addressing AUD16*) Go on.
5. **AUD16:** I think the Eurosceptics like John Wilkinson have had far too big a say,
6. (...)

4.12. The degree of relevance

As expected from an effective and efficient cooperative use of language, table [13] below indicates that an overwhelming majority of interruptions (82%) pertain to the relevant category. Relevance is one of the four maxims underlying the *Cooperative Principle* that, according to Grice (1975), governs any talk exchange. Although Grice tells us to 'be relevant', he does not elaborate on the notion; he does not explain how to distinguish the relevant from the irrelevant. To draw the distinction, Sperber & Wilson's (1995) work has been followed. According to their theory, information is relevant when it has some "contextual effect" (*id.*:122); in other words, when it has a significant effect on our assumptions that allows us to alter our state of knowledge to yield a more accurate representation of the world. Successful communication, then, provides new information. Sperber & Wilson (*id.*:121) indicate three cases in which a piece of information is considered to have no contextual effect, and is therefore irrelevant: if it is unrelated to any information in the context; if it is already in the context and unable to be strengthened; and if it is inconsistent with the context and not strong enough to change it.

Having contextual effects is a necessary condition for relevance, but not the only one. The other condition is processing effort. For communication to be successful it must not make too many demands on the receiver: information is all the more relevant if the greatest amount of knowledge is gained with the least processing effort. Consequently, relevance "is a matter of degree" (*id.*:123; *cf.* also Leech, 1983:99).

Moving again to our sample, the data indicate that a large majority of contributions to any of the communicative events made by participants through an interruptive conduct is

consistent with the principle of relevance. Interrupters provide information that is pertinent to the immediately given context, which is usually the immediately preceding utterance and the information derived from it. The utterances they produce are related to what is said, they are pertinent to a particular topic or issue at hand, making the general conversational goals advance in the direction pre-established for each speech event.

Table [13]: Degree of relevance

Degree of relevance	**Talk show interview**		**Political interview**		**Debate**		**TOTAL**	
	no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Relevant	35	83.5	63	71.6	112	88.9	210	82
Irrelevant	1	2.3					1	0.4
'Relevance-triggering'	3	7.1	8	9.1			11	4.3
'Irrelevance-triggering'	3	7.1	8	9.1	11	8.7	22	8.6
Blank[252]			9	10.2	3	2.4	12	4.7
TOTAL	42	100	88	100	126	100	256	100

Correspondingly, evidence for the relevant interruptive behaviour of participants in the broadcast situations analysed is also the virtually complete absence of irrelevant interruptions. Despite Sperber & Wilson's (*id.*) indication of the cases in which a piece of information is judged to be irrelevant, it is hard to identify turns that cannot be interpreted as relevant, since what superficially seems not to be acting within the constraints of the principle is commonly an "exploitation" (Grice, 1975:49) for some communicative purpose. In other words, what at first sight appears to be irrelevant can be construed as adhering to the relevance principle if additional inferences are made.

The only irrelevant interruption found in the sample is contained in the following extract (l. 10).

[252] The blank slot corresponds to interruptions which were unanalisable from a thematic perspective due to the few items uttered by the interrupter, at times only a simple marker of turn claim, such as 'well'.

[105] [Interview with Sam Fox and Barry McGuigan. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **BM:** ...that's why it is so difficult for some of these guys to pack it in, because + you
2. know. They are offered an enormous amount of money, and- and promoters make it +
3. almost impossible sometimes for them to turn it down,
4. **IR1:** ⌈Mm.
5. **IR2:** ⌊Mm.
6. **BM:** but uh that's why we have so many + comebacks. But um
7. **IR1:** <Well you done- on my part you've done better- you've done- you've done a
8. video with Sam.>
9. **IR2:** Now ⌈done?
10. →**SF:** ⌊Yeah. Well what more- + what more can he ask for.
11. **BM:** The- ⌈the most important thing I wanna point out ⌈here, this is not in every- in=
12. **IR1:** ⌊(*inaud.*) probably (*inaud.*) ⌊
13. **SF:** ⌊What. ⌊
14. **IR1:** ⌊Yeah.
15. **BM:** =every other fitness video. We've broken new ground here. (...)

The intention of the interrupter could be viewed as fulfilling a social goal, namely marking an intimate relationship not only with her coach but also with the IRs through a humorous note. However, since it cannot be viewed to be contributing to a change in the interactants' state of knowledge, it was classified as irrelevant. In this regard, it must be noted that it is not aimed at answering IR2's elicitation (l. 9). It is merely a humorous rhetorical question of no informational value. Although SF is "speaking topically", no advance in the speech situation is occasioned because she is not "speaking on the topic" (Brown & Yule, 1983:84). Moreover, the fact that the interactants completely ignore SF's utterance indicates that it does not seem relevant to them. According to Sperber & Wilson (1995:156), audience attention is a condition for an act of communication to be successful, and attention is attracted if the speaker succeeds in making his/her utterance seem relevant to the audience.

As regards the remaining two categories, table [13] suggests that 'relevance-triggering' and 'irrelevance-triggering' interruptions occur rarely in all three broadcast events. There are no marked differences in frequency between the genres other than the complete absence of 'relevance-triggering' interruptions in debates, which justifies their altogether lower rate of appearance compared with 'irrelevance-triggering' obstructions. In fact, in our data the latter doubled the rate of the former.

In political interviews, both 'relevance-triggering' and 'irrelevance-triggering' occur in conflictive talk exchanges. 'Relevance-triggering' ones are almost entirely generated by the IR, and tend to highlight the semantic-textual interest of the interruptee's turn, which constitutes an indirect means of stressing the value of the face-threatening suggestion put forward by the IR in his/her previous turn. In the following illustration, for example, the IR interrupts (l. 22) to emphasise that the content of the interruptee's previous turn (ll. 9-17) amounts to an acknowledgement that the back-to-basics policy had been run without sufficient clarity. Thus the interruption serves but to stress the importance of the same accusation made earlier by the IR (ll. 7-8).

[106] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, l. 458-493.]

1. **IR:** Alright. Mr. Waldegrave, if it's all + so + clear,++ ↑why did-↑ and it's been
2. <GOING ON> for four months. + ↑Why did last Thursday↑ the Cabinet have to
3. have a special half-hour chat about it? + And ↑on Friday,↑ lo and behold ++ ↑six +
4. senior + members + of the Cabinet + including GOD SAVE THE MARK THE
5. FOREIGN SECRETARY + DOUGLAS HURD↑ + HAVE TO GO ON THE SPOT
6. + to explain what it means, + and what it doesn't mean, + and where it applies, +
7. and where it doesn't apply, + ISN'T THIS THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE
8. INDICATION OF MUDDLE AND LACK OF CLARITY? [+]
9. **WW**: Uh it is + very + clear + indication that we all believe, + that the chord we
10. Have struck + by uhh + raising these issues, + is an extremely powerful one. (...) +
11. I'm not saying that + every modulation of every speech has been perfect. + Mine +
12. uh certainly- + mine haven't been. (...)
13. You- you can't drive a great political party out of this debate. And we- we you
14. know, + this- this is- + and we've + stirred it up. And I think + it'll turn out to have
15. been a wise + thing + to have done, + and I think you're perfectly right to say, + uh
16. that + uh we- we should now make it absolutely clear. Perhaps clearer than- + than
17. it has been.
18. **IR**: Ahh!
19. **WW**: Perhaps the- I- I- I al- always watch out for that- for that ⌈uh noise you=
20. **IR:** ⌊Mm.
21. **WW:** =make. But + ⌈uh it's
22. **→IR**: ⌊It's an acknowledgement ⌈that there ↑has↑ been a muddle=
23. **WW**: ⌊It's
24. **IR:** =isn't it.=
25. **WW**: =It's an acknowledgement that +++ (...) we didn't + I think follow through
26. the party conference closely enough to develop + the themes uh more widely and
27. more clearly. (...)

As to 'irrelevance-triggering' interruptions, these were equally produced by IRs and IEs, and were intended to highlight the irrelevance of the interruptee's turn. Lack of pertinence could be the result of resorting to outdated, and therefore invalid, premises to elaborate a suggestion, as in [107], ll. 18-9; of violation of the turn type, as in [108], ll. 7, 9, 11; or of wandering off the point, as in extract [109], ll. 5-7.

[107] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** (...) (there are indications that a majority) of small businesses favour in
2. principle the minimum wage. The question then is what level should it be set⌈at.
3. **IR:** ⌊Well.
4. Let me ask you on precisely that point. If it wasn't going to cause job losses, three
5. pounds forty, um for four million people at the last election, <I presume you must
6. think that in today's money, which is just under four pounds, that- that + won't
7. cause job losses ever. And perfectly true. The commission may decide everything,
8. but you personally with the authority of a former employment spokesman and now
9. as leader of your party must think that that kind of figure + isn't going to cause job
10. losses this time round.>
11. **TB:** No. Because I think the- the important thing is to make sure that we consult
12. business properly before we implement⌈the minimum wage.
13. **IR:** ⌊No, I understand- I understand that that's a
14. mechanism which⌈you yourself must surely- logic suggests that if you are- are=
15. **TB:** ⌊It's a mechanism
16. **IR:** =saying to me, <with absolute certainty, no job losses + at the equivalent of just
17. under four pounds an⌈hour in 1992,> and you must be
18. **→TB:** ⌊Yes. Yes. But those were circumstances in 1992. Yes. But
19. Jonathan those are the circumstances in 1992. I mean. There's no⌈point in carrying
20. **IR:** ⌊And the circumstances
21. are so radically different now=
22. **TB:** =Yeah. Hang- hang on. The- the- + those are the circumstances in 1992. (...)

[108] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 768-781.]

1. **WW:** (...) <We got so many hypotheticals there, I'm not quite sure what + exactly
2. we're talking about. I was- I asked you> + do you think it fair, + uh that in every
3. case, + where somebody is unfaithful to their wife, they should resign ministerial
4. office. It seems to me, + that + traditionally in this country, and in any liberal
5. society, we've tried to look + at the individual case and say is there real hurt here?
6. Is there real dishonour here?⌈Have people behaved really badly⌈here? And=
7. **→IR**: ⌊Mr. Waldegrave ⌊Mr. Waldegrave=
8. **WW**: =then- + and⌈then you
9. **→IR**: =I won't- ⌊I won't answer questions. Because I don't answer questions.
10. **WW**: (*laughs*)
11. **IR**: I put questions.=
12. **WW**: =I know.

[109] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** Were you wrong to do that [=campaigning vigorously for a minimum wage]?
2. **TB:** <I think it is better to do it in the way that we are doing it now. I think that is
3. the- the honest and frank answer to that in exactly the same way, that there have
4. been policies that the Conservative Party for ex⌈ample (*inaud.)*>⌉
5. **→IR:** ⌊<Now on that- (*pointing with index*
6. *finger at TB*) let's stick to your policy Tony.> Because- because- because next
7. week I'll be asking John Major about his policy. Let's⌈ stick
8. **TB:** ⌊<Yes. But I would just like
9. to answer the point about- on <u>our</u> policy in relation to the minimum wage.>

Wandering off the point was the most common origin of the criticism contained in 'irrelevance-triggering' interruptions in debates and talk show interviews. *Via* this type of obstructions the interrupter invalidates the interruptee's message for not sticking to the issue at hand, thus making the turn irrelevant to present purposes. This kind of interruptive mechanism occurred invariably when the IE was considered to be trying to control the topic to his/her advantage. A typical interruptive turn of this sort may be phrased as "we are not talking about... We are talking about..." (*vid*. *Kilroy*, appendix 5, l. 665).

Of course, the interactants do not necessarily have to agree about what constitutes a relevant contribution to the interaction, as the following extract from a talk show interview illustrates. Thus, whereas the IR admonishes TB for deviating his turn into a party political broadcast (ll. 5, 7), TB defends the relevance of his turn by remarking that he was about to say that "Churchill was right. But he was in the wilderness" (ll. 9-10), thereby intending to provide further –relevant– evidence in favour of his argument that people should be allowed to listen to dissident voices as well.

[110] [Interview with Tony Benn. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*. Appendix 3, ll. 130-138.]

1. **TB**: And very- look at Chris ↑Murrey,↑+ he said the Birmingham six
2. were↑innocent,↑ so they accused him of being a friend of ↑terrorism.↑ He was
3. right. + (*changing position in chair*) (So + the first time I ever went) to Parlia (*IR*
4. *laughing*) (ment, 1937,) +⌈I actually chose to be + (*inaud*.) I'm making a very=
5. **→IR:** ⌊ (*inaud*.) <Wait a minute. Wait a minute before we go=
6. **TB:** =important point.⌉
7. **IR:** =on. This is not- this is not> a party political broadcast. (*AUD laughing*)
8. ⌈(In fact)

9. **TB**: ⌊No it isn't. I was just about to SAY CHURCHILL WAS RIGHT. But he was
10. in the wilderness.

Finally, as to 'relevance-triggering' interruptions in talk show interviews, one outstanding feature appears to differentiate them from their counterparts in political interviews. In our talk show sample, emphasis on the novelty or the semantic-textual interest of the interruptee's information highlighted through these obstructions did not entail a face threat; rather, it contributed to emphasise attention to the interlocutor's positive face wants, claiming common ground. Consider extract [111] for one such instance.

[111] [*id*., ll. 265-274.]

1. **TB:** (...) And I- I- + when you're 69 ++ uh uh or 68, + (*AUD laughing*) (I think life
2. + becomes ⌈very ⌉)
3. **IR:** ⌊(*inaud*.)
4. **TB:** Well, I don't know. ⌈(*moving position in chair*) ((*inaud*.)) ⌉'cos your wig=
5. **IR:** ⌊You don't look a day over 65.
6. **TB:** =looks quite good. But uh + as a matter of fact, [+]
7. **→IR**: 15 million and a wig, I think you're giving me more than most people
8. ⌈give me.
9. **TB:** ⌊Well, I think lots of people have got away with more (*inaud*.) than that. (...)

This interruptive occasion is the result of a humorous exchange centred on attention to the other's positive face wants. The IR initiates the first positive politeness remark by praising TB's appearance (l. 5), thereby complying with the "approbation maxim" (*vid*. Leech, 1983:132). In turn, the guest also behaves in accordance with the same maxim by approving of the condition of the IR's wig (ll. 4, 6). The novelty of the IR having a wig and an audience of 15 million viewers according to TB –something that was referred to earlier in the conversation (*vid*. appendix 3, ll. 254-5)– is brought to the fore by the IR through the 'relevance-triggering' interruption. The turn has at the same time a further function, namely the understatement of one's appreciation for the guest's flattery. By this means the IR is but stressing the humorous play on the dichotomy truth-falsity, which is one of the important sources of entertainment of the talk show genre.

So far the class of relevant interruptions has been neglected. Detailed attention to this category is devoted in the following section.

4.13. Types of informative relevance

4.13.1. Introduction

In what follows I shall focus the comparative generic analysis on the different interruptive types according to their informative relevance. In the following order, each sub-section will deal with one category, except sub-section 4.13.5 which will describe two categories jointly: asking for new or complementary information (sub-section 4.13.2); giving new information (sub-section 4.13.3); making corrections (sub-section 4.13.4); completing one's own and a different speaker's information (sub-section 4.13.5); interferences in the communicative channel (sub-section 4.13.6); and other (sub-section 4.13.7).

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Table [14]: Types of informative relevance

Types	Iter.	Talk show interview		Political interview		Debate		TOTAL	
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Asking for new or c. information	IR	4	11.4	20	31.7	17	15.1	41	19.7
	IE			2	3.2	5	4.5	7	3.4
	IR1	1	2.8					1	0.5
	IR2	1	2.8					1	0.5
	Sec. IR					5	4.5	5	2.4
	AUD			1	1.6	1	0.9	2	0.9
SUBTOTAL		6	17	23	36.5	28	25	57	27.4
Correction	IR	2	5.8	2	3.2	2	1.8	6	2.8
	IE	10	28.6	14	22.2	24	21.4	48	23
	Sec. IR					1	0.9	1	0.5
	AUD					1	0.9	1	0.5
SUBTOTAL		12	34.4	16	25.4	28	25	56	26.8
Completing one's own information	IR	1	2.8	3	4.8			4	1.9
	IE	3	8.6			4	3.6	7	3.3
	AUD					1	0.9	1	0.5
SUBTOTAL		4	11.4	3	4.8	5	4.5	12	5.7
Completing info. by diff. speaker	IR	1	2.8	3	4.8	2	1.8	6	2.8
	IE			1	1.6			1	0.5
SUBTOTAL		1	2.8	4	6.4	2	1.8	7	3.3
Giving new information	IE	5	14.4	6	9.5	26	23.1	37	17.3
	IR	2	5.8	3	4.7	2	1.8	7	3.3
	IR1	1	2.8					1	0.5
	IR2	1	2.8					1	0.5
	Sec. IR					5	4.5	5	2.3
	AUD								
SUBTOTAL		9	25.8	9	14.2	33	29.4	51	23.9
Interferences in the com. channel	IR			3	4.8	10	8.9	13	6.2
SUBTOTAL				3	4.8	10	8.9	13	6.2
Other	IR	2	5.8	5	7.9	5	4.5	12	5.7
	Sec. IR					1	0.9	1	0.5
	IE								
	IR1	1	2.8					1	0.5
SUBTOTAL		3	8.6	5	7.9	6	5.4	14	6.7
TOTAL		35	100	63	100	112	100	210	100

4.13.2. Asking for new or complementary information

4.13.2.1. The generic use of eliciting interruptions

As table [14] shows, asking for new or complementary information constitutes the most common function of relevant interruptions in our political interviews. It can also be observed that their rate of appearance (36.5%) doubles the record for the same class in our talk show interviews (17%). The higher frequency of occurrence springs naturally from the nature of the genre. Political interviews adopt a cross-examining character which make them more akin to trial interviews than to ordinary conversations, which is the format that talk show interviews attempt to adopt. As to the frequency of this obstructive type in our debates, the results indicate that it is halfway between the records obtained for the previous

two genres. It is arguable that the distinct rate with regard to political interviews results not only from the lack of a cross-examining character of the debate genre, but primarily from the frequent juxtaposition of opinions produced by discussants without an intervening questioning turn by the host. The elicitation-response sequence[253] with which a debate is initiated is commonly enlarged with (a) sequence(s) of comment-response pair(s) between discussants. It is not normally until the host considers that some other audience member should have his/her say, or that the topical line has been exhausted and should be changed, that an elicitation-response sequence is again re-introduced. This structure necessarily limits the frequency of occurrence of elicitations, and consequently influences the rate of interruptions intended to ask for new or complementary information.

In each of the sections devoted to one of the three most common categories of relevant interruptions I will try to develop an explanation for the generic behaviour of each category taking into account two factors: agency and conflict.[254]

Moving to the agent of the class of interruptions aimed at asking for information, table [15] indicates that 84.2 per cent of all these interruptions were generated by the IR; only 12.3 per cent were produced by the IE; and only 3.5 per cent by the AUD. In terms of genres the distribution is as follows:

[253] Following a functional approach to utterances in discourse, I propose to use the term *elicitation* to refer to "those utterances which elicit solely a verbal response" (Tsui, 1994:80). This verbal response may not only be a missing piece of information, including a polarity answer, but also a confirmation, or even a clarification or a repetition of previous talk. ('Verbal' is here meant as opposed to action.) Thus, the functional value of utterances in discourse is preferred over their syntactic form. Though prototypically formatted as interrogatives, elicitations are not to be equated with a specific syntactic characterisation.

[254] For this purpose parts of table [14] have been renamed tables [15], [16], and [17] to allow a clearer overlook of the values.

Table [15]: Interrupter in *asking for new or complementary information* interruptions

Interrupter	Talk show interview		Political interview		Debate		TOTAL	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
IR[255]	6	100	20	87	22	78.6	48	84.2
IE[256]			2	8.7	5	17.8	7	12.3
AUD			1	4.3	1	3.6	2	3.5
TOTAL	6	100	23	100	28	100	57	100

As expected from the pre-established roles of participants to these events, in all three genres it is the IR that mostly interrupts to ask for new or complementary information.[257] Nevertheless, and as suggested by the results on conflict depicted in table [12] above, these information-eliciting interruptions generate a distinct degree of conflict depending on the genre. The strongly conflictive nature of political interviews is manifested primarily through this type of interruptions. As it is the information-eliciting type of turn that is pre-allocated to the role of the IR, consequently it is through obstructions of this kind that challenges to the IE are mainly produced in the IR's pursuit of the unmasking purpose set for himself/herself for the event. Two such interruptions are contained in the following illustration.

[112] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** (...) They're [=people in firms] paid uhh uhh in wage levels that when I hear
2. the Conservatives go on a⌈bout
3. **→IR:** ⌊Wicked employers.
4. **TB:** Well. It's not wicked employers.=
5. **IR:** =Bad employers.
6. **TB:** It's not bad employers, or wicked employers. But it isn't the right⌈type of=
7. **→IR:** ⌊What kind of=
8. **TB:** =labour market to have.

[255] In tables [15], [16], and [17] the label 'IR' encompasses the main IR or host, the Secondary IR, IR1 and IR2.

[256] It is worth reminding that the label 'IE' in debates refers to discussants, be they experts or lay participants, whereas the label AUD designates either the audience as a whole or individual audience members putting questions to a panel, as in the *SQ* programme.

[257] It should be remembered that the label 'asking for new or complementary information' refers to a broad function that comprises not only eliciting a missing piece of information, but also eliciting confirmation, clarification, and repetition.

9. **IR:** =employers are they. Who- who are doing these terrible things.
10. **TB:** Well. + Never mind criticising employers. Let's change the system.

The first arrowed turn (l. 3) consists in a declarative-mood item functioning as an elicitation for confirmation,[258] and the second (l. 7) in a wh- question. Through each of these formally different turns the IR pursues two closely related functions: first, eliciting information that helps to extract a clearer view of TB's position on the reasons for some people's wages under a minimum wage; and secondly, issuing a challenge. The first eliciting interruption constitutes a challenge to the politician inasmuch as it is framed in such a way that it expresses the IR's expectation that the IE will agree to the tentative assertion that it is employers that are to blame for the situation. Agreement would generate a tacit opposition to Mr. Blair on the part of employers, what in turn could bring about disastrous consequences on election day. Though not as pressing as the first one due to its open character,[259] the second interruption is still conflictive because again it contains a face threat to employers in that they are presented negatively as people "who are doing these terrible things"; and again, answering the wh- question would be endorsing the proposition it contains. Both interruptions contain a double face threat: they threaten the IE's negative face inasmuch as they ask him to ratify a positive-face threat to a third person. Instead, TB opts to respond to the elicitation without answering the question but suggesting a course of action to solve the problem (l. 10: "[l]et's change the system.").

By contrast to political interviews, in our debates most interruptions produced by the IR with the eliciting function did not entail conflict.[260] The comparison of results suggests that IRs in debates produce more neutral elicitations, turns that do not threaten the IE's self-image. Indeed, as in extract [113], these interruptions were overwhelmingly

[258] On the communicative function of utterances with a declarative form, falling intonation pattern and mid termination *vid*. Brazil (1997).

[259] On the difference between open-ended and specifying wh- questions *vid*. Stenström (1984).

[260] Out of the interruptions aimed at asking for new or complementary information, the rate of non-conflictive obstructions produced by the IR in debates ascended to 57.1 per cent of the total, whereas the conflictive ones constituted only a 21.4 per cent. Conversely, our political interviews yielded a 59.7 per cent of conflictive interruptions *vs*. only a 27.3 per cent of non-conflictive ones.

intended to elicit neutral complementary information that allowed a clearer understanding of the position being defended by the current speaker.

[113] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 348-354.]

1. **AUD8:** Robert. Robert. You can't have + the state in the market. + You can't have
2. both. And what you're forgetting about is community. A community- I'm a
3. European person. In a European community. And the economic market is God. +
4. And (*pointing at gentleman*) that gentleman over there said=
5. →**IR:** =Are you in favour of it or?=
6. **AUD8:** =(*shaking head*) I'm <u>not</u>. No. And I am a socialist. (...)

By far the lowest rate of conflictive interruptions of this kind pertained to the talk show interview.[261] Since the function of this genre basically concentrates on the attention to the guest's positive face, interruptive elicitations are, consequently, oriented at emphasising the IE's self-image. Interruptive elicitations in this genre, as extract [114] illustrates, are mainly "directive" (Dillon, 1990:141) questions requesting specific details about the guest's narratives or micro stories about his/her professional and private life.[262] In extract [114] the IR produces a simple interruption (l. 4) which consists in a declarative-mood elicitation inviting confirmation about the type of students he understands Jeff Goldblum teaches acting.

[114] [Interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O'Connor Show*.]

1. **IR:** (...) in fact you teach acting in Hollywood. Don't you?
2. **JG:** Yeah yeah. I do. + I do for the last seven years. Whenever I'm off, + ah I- I
3. teach a⌈class
4. →**IR:**⌊This is- this is potential and new students. Students coming to you for +
5. **JG:** Yeah. Mostly⌈new⌉yeah. Mostly new students yeah. At these acting classes.
6. **IR:** ⌊advice.

In our data IEs only occasionally produced such interruptions, and that occurred mostly in debates and to a lesser extent in political interviews. In these genres the AUD was

[261] Only 16.7 per cent of the total interruptions of this class produced by IRs generated conflict *vs*. 83.3 per cent which were non-conflictive.

[262] This type of questions tends to overlap with "closed" questions (Dillon, 1990:140; Foddy, 1993:126), and are opposed to "narrative" or "open" questions (*ibid*.), which are questions that allow the respondent to bespeak a specific topic at some length in his/her own words.

only rarely the agent of obstructions. The reason for both these IE and AUD interruptions was almost invariably some sort of disagreement with the position defended by the current speaker. (For an example of an AUD interruption *vid*. extract [60] with comment on p. 220.) It is noticeable that despite the virtually transgressing nature of talk show interviews, violation of the turn type on the part of the IE did not generate interruptions.

4.13.2.2. The form of eliciting interruptions

An analysis of the form that these interruptions adopt gives us a flavour of the most characteristic types of elicitations used in these speech events. Eliciting interruptions may display one of the following three forms or a combination thereof: (a) yes/no questions; (b) wh- questions; and (c) declarative-mood elicitations.

It is worth repeating that my pragmatic approach to questioning-turn[263] identification considers not only elicitations that initiate a new topical line but also *supplementary* elicitations (*vid*. Greatbatch, 1986b).[264]

(1) Yes/no questions or polarity questions.[265] These put forward a proposition for the addressee to confirm or deny. The truth of the proposition depends on the answer of the addressee.[266]

> **[115]** [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 56-7.]
>
> **IR:** Is that right to go round the country saying talk to the party, + it's not divided, not betrayed?

[263] Questioning is here used in a wide, pragmatic sense, as doing eliciting.

[264] According to Greatbatch (1986b:87), supplementary questions are characterised by three features: (a) they follow a response to a prior question; (b) they are addressed to the author of that response; and (c) they are built on to the content of the preceding response.

[265] *Vid*. Quirk *et al*. (1985) for a detailed study of the characteristics of questions. *Cf*. also Lyons (1977).

[266] As a sub-type of polarity questions have been considered yes/no questions that take the form of alternative questions by adding 'or not' or a matching negative clause.

Nevertheless, as Quirk *et al*. (1985) point out, there are polarity questions which are biased towards one of the two possible answers, as in **[116]** "[d]idn't you vote then?" (programme: *Kilroy*, appendix 5, l. 651), where the negative orientation is combined with an element of surprise or disbelief. Quirk *et al*. (*id*.:808) suggest that in cases such as this one the implication is that the speaker has changed his/her original expectation for a positive response for a negative one in the light of some new piece of evidence.

(2) Wh- questions. They elicit a missing piece of information. In these cases the truth of the embedded proposition is presupposed; the interruptee is not asked to express his/her opinion on it. Nearly all interruptive wh- questions were of the semantic *open-ended* (*vid.* Stenström, 1984; 1994) type, that is, introduced by 'what' in pronominal function, or 'how' or 'why' with adverbial function.[267] Unlike *specifying* (*id*.) wh- questions, open-ended questions put no restrictions on what kind of and how much information can be expected.

[117] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, l. 540.]
IR: Why not by the way.

It was found that wh- questions may occasionally, for reasons of conversational politeness, appear embedded within a polarity question formatted as a metaconversational secondary act that has replaced the primary act. Consider:

[118] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]
Sec. IR: Can we ask (*pointing with pen at him*) the gentleman what ↑<u>he</u>↑ thinks?

The above-mentioned two types of eliciting turns are straightforwardly formatted as questions. Other turns also have the force of an elicitation but are not syntactically formatted as an interrogative, but as a declarative. *Vid*. (3) below.

(3) Declarative-mood elicitations. Even if they stand alone they have a questioning force to them, since they invite the IE to confirm (or deny) the information presented in the

[267] When 'what' and 'how' are used as determiners, the potential set of responses is restricted by the premodified element (*vid*. Stenström, 1984).

statement. Confirmation is expected when these statements are produced with a falling tone and mid termination (*cf*. Brazil, 1997), as in:

[119] [Interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O'Connor Show*.]
IR: This is- this is potential and new students. Students coming to you for advice.[268]

In some cases the expected confirmation is emphasised by the use of the inferential adverb 'so' at the beginning of the turn, as in:[269]

[120] [Interview with Sam Fox and Barry McGuigan. Programme: *This Morning*.]
IR1: So it's aerobic.

By contrast, if high termination is chosen, then the invited response is adjudication (*id*.); in other words, the listener is asked to tell whether the speaker's inference is right or wrong.

Some declarative-mood elicitations are produced with a rising intonation, which makes them akin to polarity questions (*cf*. Quirk *et al*., 1985). Consider:

[121] [Interview with John Nettles. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]
IR: You're over that?

Declarative-mood elicitations may not stand alone, but be followed by a tag question. Tag questions depend entirely on the preceding statement which "can be understood as a necessary preface to the subsequent question" (*vid*. Clayman, 1987:61). If the tag is uttered with a falling tone, the speaker expects the listener to confirm the speaker's assumption, as in [122]. If, instead, the tone selected for the tag is a rise, the

[268] For a wider context in which this elicitation occurs *vid*. extract [114] above.

[269] *Vid*. also extract [123] below, where the adverb 'so' forms part of a complex eliciting turn.
Inferential adverbs are just one of the group of lexical elements identified by Weber (1993) as marking the question function of declaratives within the clause. Other types of lexical markers she lists are hypothetical verbs (*e.g. I suppose*), hearsay verbs (*e.g. I understand*), potential adverbs (*e.g. perhaps*), adverbs of assurance (*e.g. doubtless*), impersonal expressions (*e.g. It must be that*), verbs that imply convictions (*e.g. tell*), tentative expressions which introduce a declarative complement (*e.g. I don't think*), and modal verbs (*e.g. might*).

speaker expresses some doubt about his/her assumption and invites the listener to confirm or deny it. Thus, the use of a fall on the tag in [122] below indicates that the affirmative answer is much more strongly expected than if a rise were chosen. With a rise the speaker would be making some allowance for a negative answer from the listener (*vid*. Couper-Kuhlen, 1986; Cruttenden, 1986).

> **[122]** [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, l. 240.]
> **IR:** He would [say different things]. + Wouldn't he.

(4) Yet other eliciting turns conform more complex structures, constituting either a series of questioning components or a combination of questioning and non-questioning ones. The following examples illustrate the various combinations found in our sample.

> **[123]** [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 849-850.]
> 1. **IR:** So what are you saying.
> 2. Are you generally predisposed toward being a <u>part</u> of Europe? Or you're concerned
> 3. and anxious about it.

Extract [123] displays an elicitation consisting of a wh- question (l. 1) followed by an alternative question (ll. 2-3). The first metaconversational question functions as a prefatory secondary act introducing the primary act that is contained in the upcoming question (*vid*. Stenström, 1984). The wh- question does not function in the same way as other wh-questions, because it is a preliminary action that serves to prepare the listener for the focal point, presented in the alternative question. As one single move, the intention of the IR when uttering this "formulation" (Clayman, 1987:67) is to seek clarification of the speaker's preceding answer concerning his position towards Europe.[270] This clarification is expected to come as a choice between one of the two alternatives presented in the second question.[271]

[270] Questions eliciting clarification of the preceding turn are called "return" in Coulthard (1981:21ff).

[271] Despite the definition of wh- questions provided above, it must be noted that not all wh- questions have the function of eliciting a missing piece of information; on occasions they may be intended to elicit clarification.

In [124] the open-ended wh- question (l. 9) is repaired with a formulation formatted as a more specific question-intoned statement eliciting clarification (l. 10).

[124] [Interview with Robin Cousins. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **IR1:** Will <u>you</u> go back? I mean. Will <u>you</u> do the Olympics?
2. **RC:** (...) I might well have thought about it. But I mean for me now it's fourteen
3. years later. + And what I do in the profes- in my professional skating,
4. **IR1:** Mm.
5. **RC:** is different + than what + I did as an amateur. And what they now do. And I-
6. my + my level of technicality in 1980,
7. **IR1:** Mhm.
8. **RC:** does not compete with what they do <u>now</u>. + Whereas=
9. →**IR1:** =<How has it changed.> +
10. I mean + uh- you mean it's become more refined?
11. **RC:** They're adding- they're adding more revolutions to jumps. (...)

A wh- question, as well as a polarity question, may precede one or more declaratives, as in [125]. There the two repetitive statements uttered by the IR (l. 8), which partly answer his prior wh- question (l. 7), undermine TB's previous response, for they challenge the presupposition that there is some evidence in Britain.

[125] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** But- but isn't he right + Tony Blair (*pointing at prior speaker*) (when- when-
2. when he) says + you <u>can't</u> guaran<u>tee</u> the income. + Because you don't <u>know</u>
3. whether or not they'll be in full-time work. You don't know whether other people +
4. <u>might</u> be put out of work, because of the jobs the employer can pay with the £75
5. subsidy.
6. **TB:** Because that is simply not the evidence. Look. If you've got an employer=
7. →**IR:** =<From where.
8. From- from- not from here. There's ⌈no evidence from here.>
9. **TB:** ⌊Oh yes. There is evidence from here. With
10. respect, there is a lot of evidence from here. + If you look (...)

Instead of functioning as a primary speech act, the wh- question may appear embedded within a metaconversational act designed as a "story solicit" (Clayman, 1987:65), as in the next example (ll. 1-2):

[126] [*id*.]

1. **AUD10:** I want him [=Tony Blair] to tell me how we're going to see that radical
2. change of direction.
3. I don't want more of the same.

Consider [127] where an open-ended wh- question (l. 1) precedes a statement ending in a confirmation-eliciting question tag (l. 2) which, in turn, precedes a further statement (l. 3). The statement followed by the tag, which acts as a clue to the previous question, as well as the subsequent statement, which justifies that clue, constitute a challenge and therefore a face threat to all the members of the Government.

[127] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 744-7.]

1. **IR:** What is the level of- for resignation.
2. With ↑your lot it has to be a pretty high hurdle. Hasn't it.↑ +
3. Mr. Yoe hung about a long time.

Eliciting turns may also consist of a sequence of two statements, the second of which followed by a tag question eliciting confirmation (ll. 3-4). The entire turn illustrated under [128] constitutes an argumentative challenge.

[128] [*id*. ll. 441-3.]

1. **IR:** Mr. Porti- Mr. Portillo is one of the + BASTARDS that the Prime Minister says
2. he has to TOLerate in his ↑Government. +
3. Nobody has to put wedges and divisions there.↑ + THEY ↑ARE↑ THERE.
4. AREN'T THEY.

The following extract serves as a complex variant of formulations that are formatted as declarative-mood elicitations asking for confirmation and introduced by the lexical element 'so'. Here the elicitation (l. 1) is repeated in an expanded way at the end of the turn (ll. 6-8). In between appears a summary of the position defended by an earlier speaker, Norris, which is taken as the starting point to obtain clarification of the position defended by the addressee of the turn.

[129] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 361-369.]

1. **IR:** So you're quite- you're quite happy. +
2. Norris was talking about + you know 1000 years of British history, and sovereignty,
3. and where we've got this ability, + to determine our own affairs, + and the people
4. who make the decisions, are clearly recognisable, responsible, and accountable, +
5. and when we don't like what they do, + in his terms we can sack them.
6. You're quite happy as a young person, in a new Europe, to give all that + away +
7. .hhh to a greater European union, + because of the + other potential benefits that
8. you might deri[ve]

Finally, to provide an illustration of the most complex eliciting turns, consider [130]. The turn consists of several elements. First, a metaconversational act requesting permission for floor space (l. 1), followed by another metaconversational act which functions as a downtoner justifying the reasons for the want of a turn at talk (ll. 2-3). After these two secondary acts comes a primary act which is formatted as a biased polarity question eliciting confirmation (ll. 4-5). Next comes a statement (ll. 6-7) warranting what was said in the previous question. And to finish the turn again a positively biased polarity question reformulating the earlier primary act (ll. 8-9).

[130] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **Sec. IR:** Can I- + can I come in there?
2. Because I- I'd like to ask Gary a question here, and (*cough*) and the Prince there is-
3. uh + is well in on this. +
4. Uh + don't you think there is too much hype in boxing now Gary, and this is part
5. and parcel of the + problem? +
6. I mean, + (*pointing at the screen where Naseem is*) (<u>this</u> lad) spent more
7. energy getting <u>in</u> the ring than (*pointing at him*) (he did) when he was <u>in</u> it. (*some*
8. *laughing; Naseem smiling*) (++) Don't you feel that + you know the time has
9. come to sober the sport down a little bit?

An examination of the frequency of occurrence of each of the three eliciting formats used by IRs, excluding complex elicitations, reveals small differences to allow establishing a genre-specific use of those formats. Our data suggest that IRs in debates do not seem to have a predilection for one of the forms over the others, since their frequency rate was almost the same.[272] A similar rate of yes/no questions and declarative-mood elicitations could be found in talk show interviews.[273] Despite the small number of eliciting interruptions recorded in this genre, interruptive wh- questions were nevertheless

[272] Interruptive yes/no questions and declarative-mood elicitations each amounted to 35.3 per cent of all interruptive elicitations produced by the IR (that is, 6 out of 17 cases), whereas interruptive wh- questions followed closely with a rate of 29.4 per cent (*i.e.*, 5 out of 17 cases).

[273] Out of the 5 instances of obstructive elicitations, 2 were formatted as interruptive yes/no questions and 3 as declarative-mood elicitations.

noticeably absent. As for political interviews, the data suggest a tentative preference towards yes/no questions and especially towards declarative-mood elicitations.[274]

With regard to the IE preference for some specific format of interruptive elicitations, the only remark concerns the debate genre, where a marked tendency towards the recourse to wh- questions could be observed.[275] Proceeding from the assumption that IEs proffer this type of interruptive elicitations in cases of disalignment with the current speaker, it may be argued that IEs impose a lower degree of face threat to their interlocutors than IRs in the same genre. This argument can be maintained on the ground that open-ended wh- questions do not reduce the response to the wh- word to a binary choice as in polarity questions, or even to a single choice, as is the case of the concurred-with option in statements eliciting confirmation.

In any case, a broader study including all non-interruptive IE and IR eliciting turns is needed in order to determine if these observations are corroborated on a larger scale. If this were so, the tentative results obtained for political interviews could easily be ascribed to the pressing and conflictive character of political interviews which is manifested formally in the use of yes/no questions and declarative-mood elicitations; that is, in the use of elicitations that limit considerably the response choice. By not allowing the interlocutor to respond freely, these elicitations increase the degree of face threat.

4.13.3. Giving new information

The distinct natures of the political interview and the talk show interview also appear to be reflected in the proportion of cases recorded of the thematic category *giving new information*, which reverses the results obtained of the category described in the previous section. Only 14.2 per cent of the relevant interruptions in our political interviews belong

[274] Out of the total eliciting interruptions occasioned by the IR in political interviews, 42.9 per cent (that is, 6 out of 14 cases) corresponded to declarative-mood elicitations and 35.7 per cent (that is, 5 out of 14 cases) to yes/no questions. Wh- questions were reduced to 21.4 per cent (*i.e.*, 3 out of 14 interruptions).

[275] All 5 eliciting interruptions recorded adopted the format of wh- questions.

herein, whereas talk show interviews nearly double this rate. The higher figure registered for the talk show genre can probably be interpreted as a consequence of its narrative character. Moreover, as set out below, the participant acting as interrupter constitutes another parameter that leads towards this conclusion.

As to debates, though in terms of rate of occurrence of this category the genre is closer to talk shows,[276] in terms of the interruptive agent it is more akin to political interviews. (For this purpose consider table [16].) The higher rate of these interruptions in debates than in political interviews (*vid*. again table [14] above) is likely to be a result of the debate format where IEs come in to give their opinions on the issue being discussed.[277] Though not by much, nevertheless it is the most common thematic type of interruption in this genre.

Table [16]: Interrupter in *giving new information* interruptions

Interrupter	**Talk show interview**		**Political interview**		**Debate**		**TOTAL**	
	no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
IR	4	44.4	3	33.3	7	21.2	14	27.5
IE	5	55.6	6	66.7	26	78.8	37	72.5
TOTAL	9	100	9	100	33	100	51	100

Following the distribution per genre and per interrupter depicted in table [16], it can be asserted that both in the political interview and debate genres it is primarily the IE that interrupts to contribute to the interaction with a new piece of information, as in:

[131] [Programme: *Sport in Question*.]

1. **Sec.IR:** <(...)↑is there↑> something that you can see in him >that there is a problem
2. with<? + ⌈ That you said to him ⌉ Eric you've gotta
3. **→AF:** (*shaking head*) ⌊No. + No, there is no problem.
4. **→AF:** Oh yeah. I mean, + the discipline thing of ↑<u>course</u>↑ we've talked to him. (...)

[276] In debates the proportion of interruptions purporting to provide new information (29.4%) slightly exceeds the rate registered for talk show interviews (25.8%), and doubles the total found in political interviews (14.2%).

[277] In fact, an examination of this category of interruptions produced by IEs in debates has indicated that 16 out of 26 interruptions (*i.e.*, 61.5%) were produced between IEs during an argumentation, and the rest were produced in an attempt to provide information elicited by the IR.

Nonetheless, the difference between the frequency of these interruptions produced by the IR and the IE is considerably larger in debates than in political interviews. In the former genre the difference amounts to 57.6 per cent, whereas in the latter it is reduced to 33.4 per cent. As claimed above, this might result from the very nature of debates where IEs take the floor not only to provide the information elicited by the IR, but also to contribute with their opinions to a direct argument with other co-IEs in favour of or against the issue under discussion; whereas, as shall be reported in the next section, most of the IE intrusions in political interviews have the function of correcting some proposition(s) put forward by the IR, which consequently reduce the number of other interruptive occurrences.

Notwithstanding the differences between debates and political interviews, figures in tables [16] and [15] above suggest an important similarity between the two genres, namely that the roles of elicitor and provider of new information are clearly signalled through the class of relevant obstructive turn shifts. The types of interruptions chiefly produced by IR and IE quite perfectly match the roles that have been assigned to them in advance.

As regards the interrupter in talk shows, the different proportion of the thematic category at hand produced by the IE and the IR is strikingly smaller than in the other two genres, only 11.2 per cent. Whereas in the other events the data has allowed for an apparently clear correlation between discourse role of the interrupter and frequency of interruptive type, this reciprocity seems to be somewhat blurred in talk show interviews, for both IR and IE contribute in a similar proportion to the provision of new information. I would argue that this characteristic, among others, underlies the closer resemblance of the talk show interview to a casual conversation than to a formal interview, as extract [132] illustrates. The interview format is, nevertheless, kept in that the IR is still the one that elicits information, as table [15] above has indicated.

[132] [Interview with Sam Fox and Barry McGuigan. Programme: *This Morning*.]

1. **IR2:** (...) ↑so you↑ were <u>of</u>fered, a lot of money, ⌈↑to come back.↑
2. **BM:** ⌊A substantial amount of money.
3. All joking aside, that's why it is so difficult for some of these guys to pack it in,
4. because + you know. They are offered an enormous amount of money, and- and

5. promoters make it + almost impossible sometimes for them to turn it down,
6. **IR1:** ⌈Mm.
7. **IR2:** ⌊Mm.
8. **BM:** but uh that's why we have so many + comebacks. But um
9. **→IR1:** <Well you done- on my part you've done better- you've done- you've done
10. a video with Sam.>

4.13.4. Making corrections

Correcting some information provided by a different party is one of the main causes of interruptive instances in our database. Table [14] above depicts the same frequency of occurrence of these interruptions in our political interviews and our debates, about 25 per cent. The frequency is shown to amount to about 34.4 per cent in our talk shows. Contrary to what was expected in line with the conflict hypothesis, political interviews and debates offered fewer instances of these interruptions than talk show interviews. A higher degree of confrontation between interlocutors should in principle favour the occurrence of cases in which, for face-saving reasons, one party corrects the truth of part of or the whole of another party's statement. Thus, in political interviews the IE's expected reaction to the information derived and presented by the IR would be some correction, as this information tends to be damaging to the IE's face and is meant to undermine the image of the politician and his/her political party. While the results are at odds with our expectations about generic behaviour, it should be noticed, however, that they appear to corroborate the prospect about the agent of those corrections, since it is almost exclusively IEs that utter them. In light of table [17], interruptions intended to make corrections are overwhelmingly produced by IEs in all three genres and with a similar proportion of frequency.

Table [17]: Interrupter in *making correction* interruptions

Interrupter	**Talk show interview**		**Political interview**		**Debate**		**TOTAL**	
	no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
IR	2	16.7	2	12.5	3	10.7	7	12.5
IE	10	83.3	14	87.5	24	85.7	48	85.7
AUD					1	3.6	1	1.8
TOTAL	12	100	16	100	28	100	56	100

In political interviews, corrections always correspond to moments of strong disagreement between the IR and the IE about the real version of political issues. The general pattern of the interruptive process is as follows. The IR puts to the IE a reformulation of the IE's position claiming that he/she has said something which the IE considers to be false. The immediate face-saving reaction on the part of the IE is to correct it by means of an interruptive straightforward refutation followed, once the IR has finished the reformulation, by an explanation of what his/her true position is. The refutation may be produced through the negative adverb 'no', used singly or repetitively combined with the corresponding negative operator (*e.g.*: "[n]o it's not. It isn't. No"), or even through the utterance "I do not accept that." As an illustration of this pattern, consider extract [133]:

[133] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 150-215.]

1. **IR:** .hh yeah, you see, + <I find something very odd about this.> (*swallows*)
2. It turns out, that the reason all these charges are made against you is it's the
3. people's fault.=
4. **WW:** =No.
5. **IR:** NOW ↑LUCKILY, + <NOT ON⌈LY THE ENGLISH PEOPLE,↑>the=
6. **→WW:** ⌊No.
7. **IR:** =Germans as well. (...)
8. (...)
9. **IR:** Ah well you see now, ↑there it is.↑ + That's why <I'm putting it to you. ↑You
10. are blaming the people.↑ You say they had a rough time, it's been very unfortunate,
11. and therefore it's put them in a very sour mood, and therefore they're blaming us, +
12. and it's their fault for blaming⌈us, 'cos actually we're ↑fine.↑>=
13. **→WW:** ⌊No.
14. **WW:** =It seems to me entirely natural. + I think what they are doing, + or what not,
15. then actually- remember it's not ↑they↑ + who're doing it, + it's- it's um- it's + the
16. way in which + things are presented to them. + The⌈thing
17. **IR:** ⌊By whom.
18. **WW:** BY + YOU. AND BY ME. AND BY THE NEWSPAPERS. BY ALL OF US
19. who are opinion formers, ++ some things that + would on- on other circumstances
20. be half-way down page three, are now + very very big indeed.
21. (...)
22. **IR:** (*click*) Well now you see:, we: started off + by your + thinking that perhaps the
23. public, + might have something to do with the- + these problems, 'cos they've
24. been through a rough ti:me. And therefore⌈unreasonably are blaming you. (...)
25. **→WW:** ⌊No.

The IR understands that WW is putting the blame for the charges made against the Government on the people (ll. 2-3). But the IE is ready to refute that version (l. 4). The IR

insists in that interpretation of the IE's speech, and later in the interaction he puts it twice more to him. The first time the IR is very assertive in his accusation (ll. 9-10: "↑[y]ou <u>are</u> blaming the people.↑"). The use of increased stress and high pitch serves to emphasise his version, thus bringing into sharp opposition both views and simultaneously excluding the politician's.[278] It should be noticed that the subsequent utterances also resort to emphatic stress in strategic positions to help to reinforce strongly the IR's argument. The IE refutes it again (l. 13), and as soon as a TRP is in sight he takes a turn to explain what his position is, thereby correcting the IR's interpretation of his speech (ll. 14-20). In his view, it is not the people that are to blame for the charges made against the Government (l. 15: "it's not ↑<u>they</u>↑ + who are doing it")[279] but the media (ll. 18-9: "ALL OF US who are opinion formers"). The second time the IR repeats that interpretation (ll. 22-4) the accusation is not so strong. The IR changes the earlier positive assertion for a proposition indicating probability by means of the modal adjunct 'perhaps' and the low modal operator 'might'.[280] Though the offence still exists, as the IE indicates with his immediate refutation (l. 25), its degree has been toned down my means of modality choices. (For a further example *vid.* extract [97] with comment on pp. 271-2.)

A slightly different pattern of the interruptive process appears later in the same interview (*vid*. extract [134]), and consists in the IR's proposal of a different and, in his words, "much more accurate version" (l. 4) of the reasons for the charges of incompetence, dishonesty and hypocrisy made against the Government. Again, this version contains a face threat and an immediate face-saving reaction on the part of the politician. The first two corrections by the IE appear when the IR affirms that back-to-basics was planned to cover up the division in the Conservative Party on Europe (ll. 5-6, 8). Yet the IE is not allowed to make a countercase until the IR finishes what was anticipated as "the longest question" (l. 1) of the interview. With this placemarking device the IR is securing himself the floor in

[278] On the contrastive use of stress and high pitch *vid*. Brazil (1997).

[279] Here again, the use of increased stress and high pitch on the pronoun 'they' has a contrastive function.

[280] On modality and polarity *vid*. Halliday (1985).

order not to be interrupted until the end of that long turn. In fact, the IE is sanctioned (l. 8: "let me carry on") when he interrupts the IR prior to the end of his elicitation.

[134] [*id*., ll. 336-358.]

1. **IR:** Alright. + Now, ah + let me put to you- it's the longest question I'm actually
2. (going to ask you.) + Let me put to you a completely + different + version.
3. **WW:** (*smiling*) Mhm.
4. **IR:** And I think much more + accurate version + of why: back-to-basics
5. demonstrates the charges being made against you. ++ In the first place + it was only
6. cooked up + to paper over the split in the Tory Party which it ⌈ (*inaud*.) + ⌉=
7. **→WW:** ⌊I do not accept that.
8. **IR:** =because of + Maastricht. + ⌈We:ll,+ let me carry on. ++ Then (...) NOW=
9. **→WW:** ⌊No.
10. **IR:** =ISN'T THIS REALLY AN EXTRAORDINARY STORY + OF
11. INCOMPETENCE, + DISHONESTY, + HYPOCRISY. + Doesn't it in fact justify
12. the charges that are made?
13. **WW:** No. + It doesn't. + For the- + let me try and put the countercase to that which
14. you eloquently put. (...)

Instead of a straightforward negation followed by an explanation, corrections may consist in an indirect refutation followed by the act of putting the record straight, as in the following example where "you say that Governments have never been able to do that. Let me just point out the fact to you" (ll. 3-4) constitutes just a circumlocutionary way of saying that the statement is not true. As is often the case, falsity affects just part of the proposition uttered by the IR as "not all Governments since the war" (ll. 9-10) failed to stick to spending targets but only the Conservative Governments. The IE thereby projects a positive image of the past Labour Government.

[135] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:**...Given that + in the past + Governments have not been able to stick to spending
2. targets, however they spent that,=
3. **→TB:** =<Well you- you say that Governments have never been able to do that. Let
4. me just point out the fact ⌈to you.
5. **IR:** ⌊For 30- for 30 years, the spending ⌈programme
6. **→TB:** ⌊<You mean until the
7. Labour Government of the 1960's. Well you're quite right about that. Because
8. actually the only Government> Jonathan that has left office + with a balanced
9. budget + was the Labour Government from 64 to 70. So not all Governments since
10. the war. (...)

In our debates interruptions with the aim of correcting the interlocutor share two main features with the same type of interruptions in our political interviews. First, they occur almost exclusively in conflictive interactions: 92 per cent of the cases of correction express disagreement. This suggests that this category in debates becomes a signal of the discrepant nature of the talk. And, secondly, it is the IE that utters them in over 85 per cent of the total cases. The latter result should not be surprising since –it should be remembered– in debates one of the parties to the interaction is almost always an IE, be it an expert guest or a lay participant, which increases the probabilities of IEs being the agents of interruptions and, consequently, of this type. What by contrast appears to differentiate the two genres is the lower tendency in debates to introduce correction by means of a straightforward negation, favouring instead more indirect refutations such as those that consist in providing evidence to the contrary. For example, in the *SQ* programme Dr. Fisher claims that "[t]here's + relatively a small number of people involved in boxing, + and the number of hours involved in it are not great." Gary Newbond, her interlocutor at that moment, interrupts her to correct that proposition by saying that "there are hundreds of fights going on + all over the world."

As for interruptive corrections in talk show interviews, the results indicate that they share the feature regarding agency shown in the two genres just analysed, that is, the main agent is the IE. The main difference with respect to the other genres relates to the feature of conflictivity. Though corrections tend to occur as the result of the dichotomy falsity-truth of a statement, it is important to emphasise that the degree of conflict is often reduced to the minimum, since the IR's proposition(s) do(es) not frequently entail an offence to the IE, from which follows necessarily that the subsequent IE's interruption does not have the function of face repair. This is the case in the following extract when the IE cuts off the IR's preliminary work to his next elicitation to clarify that they did not tour but were deported (l. 4). The borderline of what is interpreted as a face threat, and consequently capable of generating a face-saving correction, and what is not is blurred by the humorous tone of the interaction and the play on the synthetic personality of the guest. The statement "I assure you" (l. 6) appears to be trying to convince the IR that what he seems to have

interpreted as a joke –notice his laugh at l. 5– is not actually one. Nevertheless, JN's act of assurance is uttered while smiling, which in turn is likely to produce the opposite effect of what appears to be intended. In sum, the difficulty in discriminating between which parts of the guest's story are true or false contributes to blurring the borderline between what the IE interprets as a face threat and what he/she does not.

[136] [Interview with John Nettles. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.]

1. **IR:** (*pointing at JN*) (You ↑<u>toured</u>↑ with Winter's Tale and Leontees) ⌈um all=
2. **JN:** (*nodding*) ⌊° We did.°
3. **IR:** =over the world, and I know, um
4. **→JN:** We were deported.
5. **IR:** You- (*laughs*) ⌈so Bergerac had been there before you.
6. **JN:** (*nodding and smiling*) ⌊I assure you.
7. **JN:** That's right. That's right.

Even in cases of strong disagreement (*vid*. extract [98], ll. 4, 6-7 and 11, pp. 273-4) the humorous attitude commonly adopted by the participants produces a downtoning effect that appears to reduce conflict.

4.13.5. Completing one's own information and completing somebody else's information

As regards interruptions designed to complete one's own prior information, table [14] above displays proportionally half as many cases in our political interviews as in our talk shows. For their part, debates behave in a similar fashion to political interviews. Lack of homogeneity in the characteristics of these interruptions does not allow me to venture a potential generic explanation of their behaviour. Conversely, in political interviews the percentage of occurrence of interruptions aimed at completing information provided by another party doubles that recorded for talk show interviews. Both categories are shown to be rather rare, specially the category that refers to completion of somebody else's message. As regards this latter category, the higher rate registered in political interviews is likely to be connected with the conflictive nature of the genre. In fact, in all four cases recorded this type of interruption becomes a technique of 'coordinated message formation' in which the completion always entails some opposition to the proposition(s) contained in the utterance

to which the completion is appended.[281] This opposition may constitute either a face-saving act produced by the IE or, more often, a face-threatening one uttered by the IR, as in the following extract where "AS A BASTARD" (l. 4) becomes an appendix to the IE's statement "<Mr. Portillo is there, because the Prime Minister put him there.>" (l. 1), thus transforming into an act of denigration what was intended as one of praise. The discrepant effect is signalled not only linearly but also prosodically by means of extra loudness and increased stress on the words that carry the gist of the message.

[137] [Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. Appendix 4, ll. 444-448.]

1. **WW:** ↑Well,↑ <Mr. Portillo is there, because the Prime Minister put him there.>
2. **IR:** Hm.
3. **WW:** And uh he⌈remains there. + And he remains there.⌉
4. **→IR:** ⌊AS A BASTARD. BECAUSE HE PREFERS HIM THERE,
5. RATHER THAN OUTSIDE. (...)

4.13.6. Signalling interferences in the communicative channel

The type of interruption sharing the bottom level of the frequency scale in political interviews with the category *completing one's own information* is the obstruction generated to signal interferences in the communicative channel (about 5%). This type of interruptions is shown to be altogether absent from our talk show interviews. The three interruptions of this kind found in the political interview genre took place in the second part of the *Dimbleby* programme (*vid*. extract [138]), where the number of parties to the interaction was enlarged from two –IR and IE– to three in order to allow the AUD to participate actively. An increase in the probabilities of turn order violations, which are the origin of this thematic class of obstructions, runs parallel to an increase in the number of participants. Of course, this type of interruptions is hardly going to take place in a two-party interview, as are most of our talk show interviews, where the need to restore turn order does not normally exist.[282]

[281] This technique has to be distinguished from cooperative turns where the interrupter exactly times in what he/she predicts to be the end of the current speaker's message (*vid*. Sacks, 1967; Tannen, 1983). In no case is it the intention of the interrupter when producing a cooperative turn to challenge the content of the interruptee's utterance so far, as it is in the interruptive pattern commented here.

[138] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **TB:** The reason we have the windfall tax, in order to fund the jobs + and training
2. programmes for young people, is in order to change that. And I see- (*pointing*) (can
3. I just come back to this. 'Cos I see that gentleman at the back ⌈there + shaking=
4. **AUD9:** ⌊(°*inaud*.°)
5. **TB:** =his head.) But I- I- ⌈I
6. **→IR:** (*to AUD9*) ⌊Hang on there. Let him [=TB] make his point.
7. **TB:** Look. + Nobody can guarantee jobs for people. Nobody. Not me or any other
8. Government. But I will say this to you ⌈sir, (*index finger up and down*) we will do=
9. **AUD9:** ⌊(*inaud*.)
10. **TB:** =better- we ⌈will do- + we will do better at least giving our young people a=
11. **→IR:** (*to AUD9*) ⌊<Hold on.> Hold on.
12. **TB:** =chance + and that is a chance that has been denied them by Conservative
13. Government + over eighteen years.

The above extract illustrates two of the three interruptions encountered of this relevant class (arrowed turns). Interferences correspond to out-of-turn talk uttered in both cases by the same self-selected AUD member who, judging from prosodic and kinesic features,[283] does not appear to concur with TB's views. In both cases AUD9's utterances are inaudible to us; simultaneity of speeches frequently produces this effect, rendering one speaker's talk partly or fully unintelligible. Moreover, in the first of the two cases the low voice in which the utterance is spoken further contributes to this effect. In an attempt to restore the turn-taking order, the IR produces two interruptions commanding AUD9 not to speak into TB's floor space.

The interference originating the third and last interruption of this kind corresponds to the act of clapping on the part of the AUD in order to express alignment with one of its members who has just expressed to the politician his concern about the minimum wage (*vid*. extract [139]). As "clapping wastes time" (l. 10), because the politician would be

[282] Though in talk shows transgression of the interviewing format may produce violations of turn order, these are commonly resolved without the need to resort to this type of sanctioning interruptions; and though turn order sanctions are produced, our data showed that they do not constitute an interruption *per se*.

[283] The fact that AUD9 is shaking his head, as TB remarks (ll. 3, 5), and murmuring in a low voice (l. 4) clearly signals disagreement with the politician's view. It is quite frequent for AUD members out of turn to murmur in a low voice their disagreement with the current or immediately prior speaker.

forced to await the end of the applause before starting to respond if he wanted his speech to get across to the AUD, the IR reprimands them in order to stop it.

[139] [*id.*]

1. **AUD3:** Mr. Blair. + Um I'm a small businessman, and one of the businesses that's
2. increased over the last five years, + I deal + in Europe quite a lot. So I know what
3. European + businesses views are on the minimum wage. They don't agree with <u>you</u>.
4. Um what I'm very concerned about is you've told us uhhm what your tax plans are.
5. You've told us what your spending + plans are, or your spending limits will be, but
6. you won't tell us what the minimum wage will be. How as a businessman am I
7. expected to plan + for the future + if I do not know + what wage + you may set me
8. + to have to pay my staff.
9. **TB:** But (*AUD clapping*) (it's- it's
10. **→IR:** No.) Hold on. Hold on. Clapping wastes time. Tony Blair.
11. **TB:** It is precisely for that reason + that as a small business person of course you
12. <u>will</u> be consulted on the minimum wage. (...)

In terms of the thematic classification of relevant interruptions our sample debates behave similarly to our political interviews in three categories: correction, completion of one's own information, and interferences in the communicative channel. The frequency of occurrence of the first two categories is the same in both samples of interruptions. As to the sample directed at signalling interferences in the communicative channel, though the figure of debates and political interviews is different –the former almost doubles that of the latter– the results show that at least in both samples such interruptions do occur, whereas no such instances are present in the talk show interviews analysed. As already stated above, this is due to the primarily dyadic format of the talk show event. That the number of interruptions of this sort is higher in debates than in political interviews can easily be justified by the role of the AUD in the speech event. Our political interviews are encounters between IR and IE without a studio audience present, except in the *Dimbleby* programme where the AUD act as overhearers in the first half of the programme and only in the second half do they play an active part as elicitors. In contrast, in our debates, specially in the *Kilroy* programme in which these interruptions appear, the AUD is the true protagonist expressing their opinions about the topic under discussion. The conflictive views defended by members of two opposite groups generate moments of great tension which originate simultaneous speech – even if at times only in the form of murmurs– on the part of members of the AUD who

have not been assigned the turn; these expressions of disalignment commonly derive in violations of the turn-taking order that the IR repairs by means of interruptive directives. The favourite acts are 'hold on', and the noise 'shhh' followed or not by the downtoner 'please'. The data suggest that the latter command is preferred when it is aimed at more than one individual murmuring. In cases in which the obstructive utterance(s) come(s) from a single person more severe rebukes may be heard, such as "[j]ust listen to her. Listen to what she says", "[s]top please", or "come on. You know you can't do that" (*vid*. programme: *Kilroy*, appendix 5, ll. 411, 636, 549-550, respectively).

4.13.7. Other

The class identified as *other* corresponds mainly to metaconversational acts of the type of next speaker selection such as "[t]he woman up there", or "I'm going to move the- to the- to the guy wearing a yellow tie in the fourth row in the centre." (programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*). Similar interruptions to these found in the second part of the *Dimbleby* programme occur in debates due to the need to regulate the turn-taking system among the audience, for any audience member can at any point be a potential next speaker. In our talk show interviews, however, where this need does not exist, this class comprises metaconversational acts that reflect a different genre-specific property, namely transgression of the traditional interview format for reasons of entertainment. For example, "[w]ell be quick. 'Cos it sounds deadly boring to me.", which was uttered by the IR in the *Nettles* interview (programme: *Pebble Mill*), runs counter to all formal interviewing principles. A requirement for briefness of response can be justified by time restrictions but never by the IR's lack of interest in the response. In fact, a principle governing the choice of a topic is its alleged interest. Consequently, this utterance constitutes a humorous contradiction of sorts.[284]

[284] The joke may also result from the IR's pretended separation of his interests from those of the audience. He is thereby highlighting in a humorous way the performance character of the speech event that is represented on behalf of the audience.

4.14. Summary and concluding remarks

The preceding sections have shown the ways in which the participants' turn-taking behaviour conforms to the restrictions imposed by the speech events under scrutiny. More specifically, I have tried to demonstrate the extent to which violations of the turn-taking system are determined by factors that shape the genre in which they occur, such as communicative goals, relations contracted between individuals, and degree of formality. In this sense, interruptions conducted in each speech event investigated were claimed to display certain features that can be viewed as specific manifestations of the distinct generic properties of each communicative encounter. Nevertheless, these differences do not preclude the existence of common imprints on the turn-taking conduct derived from the similarities between the interactive events.

The goals of the events have an effect primarily on the linear character of the interruption, on the degree of interruptiveness of the participants, on the reaction that the interruption provokes, and on its thematic-informativeness. In political interviews, the unmasking task pursued in demand for political accountability makes the IR bring out thorny aspects of political issues as managed by the party or Government represented by the IE. This face-threatening task clashes with the IE's goal of transmitting a favourable party or Government image, which produces moments of great tension due to disagreement over the views held by the two participants. This situation is manifested in the turn-taking system. The challenging function adopted by the IR motivates his/her high degree of interruptiveness, from which his/her resource to complex interruptions also derives. The conflict reached during the controversial interview is evinced in the type of obstructive category produced, mostly one that entails simultaneous speech, that is, one where the interruptee is not willing to leave the floor free to the interrupter without finishing the message. Therefore, fighting for the floor becomes a signal of argumentative opposition through which both IR and IE manifest their respective goals; and continuing one's argument at the point at which the intrusion occurs until it is finished constitutes a means of

imposing one's argument during the controversial fight. The same purpose is achieved when resuming the interrupted turn through confirmation.

Whereas the IR primarily interrupts for face-threatening purposes, the IE does it for face-saving reasons, trying to counter the threats posed to his/her public image through corrections. In line with the face-saving intention appears also to be the IE's resource to insertion of (part of) the IR's message into his/her resumed turn. As to the IR's behaviour, the challenging task pursued is constrained by the pre-established turn type assigned to the IR role; in other words, challenging obstructions are formatted as elicitations for information, lending the interview the character of a cross-examination. The very format of some eliciting interruptions is face-threatening as well, since they are structured so as to restrict the response choice to the IE. Constraints of IR turn type also prevent the occurrence of interruptions expressing direct disagreement. In sum, turn type determines features of turn-order violations.

The inherently conflictive character of political interviews is readily demonstrated by the individuals' reaction of non-acceptance to turn obstructions, so that non-acceptance techniques become a signal of challenging interruptions and these are primarily manifested through those reactive mechanisms. As it is the IE that is mostly interrupted, it is also the politician enacting this discourse role that most often displays a rejective attitude, resorting to sanctioning formulae when violation of his/her speaking rights coincides with moments of climactic tension.

It is in talk show interviews where degree of formality and interpersonal relationship between the parties comes most strongly to the fore as depending on the goal of the communicative encounter. The entertainment component of the genre justifies the degree of informality of the interview that springs from the pretended symmetrical interpersonal relation established between the individuals. As informality is partly based on the procedures used for turn taking, the goal of the event can be seen to be organised through it and manifested primarily in the interruptive process.

Since the information-seeking function of the genre is approached for the purpose of entertainment from within a casual conversation about the public and private life of a personality, the turn-taking process transgresses the protocols of formal interviewing to adapt as far as possible to mundane conversation. Thus, IRs format a considerable number of interruptions as turns that deviate from the pre-established questioning turn type assigned to their role. Rather than eliciting information, these provide new information in a similar rate to the IE interruptions formatted as the pre-established information-giving or answering turn type. Thus, throughout the interaction the comment-response adjacency pair frequently substitutes the traditional question-answer pair. This conduct underlines the resemblance of the speech event to a casual conversation.

Interest in the life of the guest orients the interaction primarily towards the narration of personal episodes, so that the chat displays a low degree of inherent conflict. Imprints of this purpose are left on the interruptive process through the IR's production of obstructions aimed at eliciting information that emphasises the IE's self-image. The inherently low degree of confrontation of the event is also signalled in the individuals' reactions towards floor intrusions. Because interruptions are not primarily threatening acts, the interruptee is quite willing to yield the floor to the interrupter, abandoning his/her thread of talk in favour of a response to the interrupter's talk. The result is a predominance of acceptance mechanisms which is also reflected in the frequent rate of cutting-off categories and of the abandonment technique on turn resumption, all of which suggest a high degree of tolerance towards interruptions in this genre. A further trace of the narrative –and therefore non-argumentative– nature of the genre is the fact that interruptions do not commonly express either direct agreement or direct disagreement.

The pretended symmetrical relation –and therefore lack of social distance– established between the participants was proposed to justify their equal rate of interruptive behaviour, as well as of acceptance and non-acceptance techniques.

The controversial conversation and argument sought in debates between groups supporting opposite views on a subject matter determines the conflictive nature of the genre and, consequently, of interruptions. Similarly to what was observed in political interviews, this function has an effect on:

(a) the categories of obstructions, mostly containing simultaneous speech as the participants try to finish their arguments during a moment of strong disagreement;
(b) the purpose of correcting interruptions, namely to save face on the part of IEs;
(c) turn-resumption techniques, favouring the occurrence of continuation and confirmation due to the purpose of imposing one's view over that of the opponent during an argumentative interruption;
(d) the resource to insertion of the interrupter's message as a method of indirect face-saving work;
(e) the reaction towards the floor obstruction, making non-acceptance techniques a marker of conflict; and
(f) the agent of corrections, being IEs who produce them in conflictive exchanges.

Despite the similarities between debates and political interviews regarding the interruption process, there are marked turn-taking differences which evince an altogether different generic structure. Decisive for these differences is the role of the audience in the communicative encounter. Apart from the factor of strong confrontation, the active participation of the audience in debates, with the subsequent increase in the number of participants to the speech event, makes competition for floor space between several individuals a common turn-taking problem, of which compound, successive, and floor securing interruptions are a clear evidence. In extreme cases, the solution to the problem is resolved with an interruptive intervention produced by the IR who, by virtue of the function of manager of the speech encounter with which his/her discourse role is endowed, signals interference(s) in the communicative channel and decides who is to keep or take the floor, restoring turn-taking order. These types of interruptions are barred from occurring in traditional political interviews. Only special political interview programmes counting on an audience to put questions to the politician are candidates for similar interruption processes.

The active role of the audience in the debate event also accounts for the fact that it is audience members (or panel members in case of a panel debate) that mostly generate a turn obstruction –either of a single or complex type– to express direct disagreement, the degree of IR interruptiveness being considerably low due his/her mere managing function, specially when a Secondary IR takes over the eliciting function.

The lower degree of conflict in debates with regard to political interviews is manifested, among other things, by the IR's generally neutral attitude towards the eliciting function, whereas in political interviews the IR overwhelmingly adopts a challenging stance.

Certain characteristics of the interruption process were observed to be common to all three genres, namely:

(a) Overwhelmingly interrupters produce single interruptions.
(b) With respect to the current speaker's turn, these interruptions largely occur at a non-initial position, more specifically at a point that constitutes no TRP nor is close to what can be considered the predictable end of the current message.
(c) Almost always interruptions contain information that is relevant to the immediate context.
(d) Non-acceptance techniques correspond largely to conflictive exchanges.
(e) Non-acceptance is more frequently signalled by rejection on the part of the interruptee than by insistence on the part of the interrupter.
(f) Interrupters win the floor more through imposition than through persuasion.

Other common characteristics, though showing minor differences due to the influence of generic key elements (*e.g.* the number or relation of participants, degree of formality), were the following:

(g) Interruptions in traditional face-to-face political interviews and talk show interviews were frontal as corresponds to the relation taking place between two different discourse

roles, IR and IE. Though some kind of frontal interruption dominated in debates, the variety of communicative relations established during the interaction owing to the high number of participants and to their different statuses –even within the same discourse role (*e.g.* IR *vs.* Secondary IR)– generated a wider range of interruption types than in the aforementioned two genres.

(h) The IR's function of topic controller is manifested in the interruption process in that when interruptions are produced with the aim of changing the topical line, these are always initiated by the IR. By contrast, when interruptions are produced in order to delay the introduction of a proposed new topic, these are invariably initiated by the IE with a face-saving intention. Nevertheless, the conflict manifested by these interruptions in talk shows was observed to be put to the service of humour.

(i) 'Relevance-triggering' interruptions were produced by IRs in talk show interviews and in debates, but whereas in the former speech event they appear to have the purpose of enhancing face, in the latter they seem to stress face threat.

It was proposed that the genres investigated differ in degree of tolerance towards the interruption process which, in turn, was claimed to depend on the degree of confrontation of the speech event in question: the lowest degree of confrontation corresponding to the highest level of interruption tolerance, marked by reactions of acceptance towards floor obstructions; and *vice versa*, the highest degree of confrontation corresponding to the lowest degree of tolerance, signalled by reactions of non-acceptance. Following this line, it was maintained that talk show interviews display the highest grade of tolerance and political interviews the lowest. The intermediate tolerance attitude displayed in debates was considered to be mainly due to the fact that in this genre conflictive exchanges were more readily accepted than in political interviews.

Finally, two remarks with regard to the conflict hypothesis. First, the claim of a lower degree of conflict maintained for debates with respect to political interviews was based on a correspondingly lower degree of imposition during confrontation which was manifested in the interruption process in the smaller rate of interruptions displaying

simultaneous speech as opposed to a cut-off. And secondly, the number of instances of corrections taking place in talk show interviews run counter to one's expectations for the degree of conflict of this genre. In line with the hypothesis, talk shows were not expected to produce more corrective interruptions than political interviews or debates. Corrections in this genre are to be interpreted as mostly of a non-face-repairing quality, and in any case as a product of the lack of a neat distinction between what counts as an actual face-threat and what does not due to the humorous transgression of all interviewing protocols.

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CHAPTER FIVE: ACCOMPLISHING CLOSINGS

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. News interview closings

Like openings, closings are an integral part of the structure of spoken interaction in general. Bringing an ordinary conversation to an end is part of the organised machinery of the whole communicative situation. Closings, which have been described as "events-in-the-conversation" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973:238), follow a quite systematic ritual.[285] The more so if the communicative event occurs in an institutional context, as in this case the closing task is contingent on the general constraints that the context dictates for the entire speech event.

Analyses of broadcast interview closings have concentrated only on the genre of news interviews (*vid*. Jucker, 1986; Clayman, 1987; Greatbatch, 1988). Their management has been characterised in opposition to closings in ordinary conversation. Analysing American and British data, respectively, Clayman (1987) and Greatbatch (1988) found that news interview closings are routinely accomplished by IRs unilaterally. By virtue of his/her role of manager of the encounter, it is the IR's decision when to decline issuing a further question, thus putting an end to the interaction. They noticed that closings by IEs are extremely rare, since they would be heard as a refusal of the IE to answer either the last question or any potential subsequent question, which would reflect unfavourably upon the IE. This management stands in marked contrast to closings in ordinary conversations which any party may initiate and are collaboratively implemented through a terminal exchange. Though in news interviews IEs often respond with acknowledgements to the IR's closing utterance, Clayman (*id*.) and Greatbatch (*id*.) maintain that it is not a technically necessary component. The fact that the IR does not await a response to his/her closing turn but immediately addresses the audience, and that recorded interviews are commonly cut after the IR's closing turn component evinces the claim that the closing in news interviews is managed unilaterally.

[285] *Vid*. Schegloff & Sacks (1973) and Button (1987) on closings in ordinary conversations. Davidson (1978) and Levinson (1983) have paid special analytical attention to closings in telephone calls.

As Clayman (*id*.) remarks, interviews are restricted by time constraints. As occurs with any broadcast product, the duration of an interview programme is fixed and, as a consequence, has to be closed within the time span assigned in advance. Broadcasting time is nevertheless not the only institutional restriction that influences the achievement of a coordinated exit from talk.

5.1.2. Aim and outline of the chapter

I shall try to demonstrate that within the broadcasting institution, the specific goal or set of goals, structure, style, content, and intended audience determining particular speech events also leave a specific generic imprint on the closing section. Nor are limitations only of an institutional sort. Interactional constraints also bear on closings. For this purpose, in this chapter I shall examine the organisation of the closing section in political interviews (section 5.2), talk show interviews (section 5.3), and debates (section 5.4) with the attempt to elucidate to what extent and how genre-specific imprints are manifested in the closings of the three generic contexts. Differences will be highlighted and accounted for from a generic perspective. I shall start with the examination of the most common structure in each genre. Political interview closings will be contrasted with the results obtained by Clayman (1987) for news interviews, as his constitutes, to my knowledge, the most detailed analysis of this part of the interview. But first a brief preliminary explanation of the accomplishment of closings in ordinary conversations, for it will constitute a helpful reference point in the characterisation of closings in our data, especially in talk show interviews.

5.1.3. Closings in ordinary conversations

In everyday conversation, participants are not restricted to a pre-specified time, topic, order, or activity, though the range is not illimitable. These factors are negotiated locally, on a turn-by-turn basis. According to Schegloff & Sacks (1973), the problem with closings is twofold. First, they must be accomplished in such a way that they are recognisable as such. The problem is to arrive at a point where one participant's completion is not interpreted as silence. Following the turn-taking provisions for ordinary conversations, silence would be taken to indicate that the speaker is opting not to take a further turn, but would not signal

that the participant is wishing to bring the conversation to an end. To solve this problem, the accomplishment of a closing is customarily done by an exchange of farewell turns, which indicates an orientation of participants to the completion of the speech encounter.

And, second, closings must not infringe on the interlocutor's right to initiate further talk. To secure that the co-interactant does not intend to continue talking about the same topic or to raise a different one, a pre-closing exchange is commonly produced. Any party to the conversation may initiate this exchange, thus signalling his/her wish or need to close the conversation. A simple passing turn of the type 'okay' is commonly enough. Sometimes, however, a more explicit warrant is produced (*e.g.* 'I've gotta go').[286] The passing turn acts as a floor-offering device. If the co-participant intends to initiate a new topic line, this is the moment to do so.[287] The pre-terminal phase is the slot where "unmentioned mentionables" (*id*.:246) can be fitted in. Alternatively, if the co-participant's wish is also to bring the conversation to an end, he/she will demonstrate it by responding with another passing turn or acknowledgement.

Nevertheless, the pre-closing phase is often extensive and contains turns that enact arrangements for future actions (*e.g.* giving directions, arranging meetings, making invitations), re-invoke materials talked about earlier, and/or express well-wishes for future activities and/or thanks (*vid*. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Levinson, 1983;[288] Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990). Despite this expansion, the only two crucial components of the whole closing section are the pre-closing passing turns and the terminal exchange.

[286] According to Laver (1975), it is very likely that the participant that initiates the closing will refer to some factor outside the encounter to justify the closing.

[287] If the re-opening move occurs after the pre-closing passing turns, then it is typically marked as being misplaced (*cf.* Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

[288] Taking telephone calls as the object of analysis, Levinson (1983) describes the structure of closing sections as generally consisting of the following elements: (a) a "closing implicative" topic (*id*.:317); (b) one or more passing turns; (c) a "typing" of the call, if appropriate (*ibid*.); and (d), a final exchange of terminal elements. Of the four elements, however, only (b) and (d) are crucial. And, all elements except (c), which is specific to telephone calls, are applicable to any ordinary conversation.

5.2. Political interview closings

5.2.1. Closing components in news interviews

According to Clayman's (1987) findings, news interview closings consist of a distinguishable pre-closing component and a terminal component, elements which differ, however, from their counterparts in everyday conversations. The closing utterance usually consists of a simple 'thank you' addressed at the IE. The IE may, but need not, thank in return. In cases where no response is produced, Clayman does not observe any non-verbal response either. The facts that the IR proceeds to other programming business and that the camera is focused on him/her are taken to indicate that a responding turn to the IR's thanksgiving act is not treated as compulsory.

The pre-closing component is not structured into an exchange as in ordinary conversations. Instead, it may adopt the form of either a *closing preface* or a *closing projection* (*id*.). The closing preface, which was the more common of the two in Clayman's data, may simply consist of a boundary marker, or "frame" (Stenström, 1994:85), such as 'well' or 'alright', which signals a shift of direction.[289] Alternatively,

> it may consist of an overt announcement that termination is impending, usually including some reference to the necessity of its occurring at that point. (...) Or, the preface may consist of an item that responds in some fashion to the IE's prior response turn, thereby establishing a "bridge" between that turn and the closing. (*id*.:261-2)

In this way, the closing appears to follow the IE's turn naturally. Like the terminal component, the pre-closing component is produced by the IR, without ordinarily being responded to by the IE. After the pre-closing, the IR proceeds straight to launching the closing proper or final element.

An alternative to the preface is the closing projection, which consists in producing a speech act in the IR's immediately prior turn (or even in an earlier turn) announcing in a more or less direct fashion the end of the interview. An explicit manner may consist in announcing that it is the last question. A more implicit way would be to express "lastness"

(*id*.:264) in the design of the question, for example, by asking about future plans or projects.

5.2.2. Closing components in political interviews

In our data, only on very few occasions[290] did the closing section consist solely of the terminal component, that is, the thanksgiving act, without any pre-closing work. Orientation towards a cooperative closing accomplishment is commonly initiated in the IR's last eliciting turn (or, at times, even in an earlier turn). At this stage, the IR may project the end of the interview by means of either of two techniques: first, by overtly announcing the nearing end. This technique usually takes the form of a metaconversational act announcing that the talk coming immediately afterwards will be the IR's last elicitation (*e.g.* "[a]s a final thought", "I just want- want to put one very brief point", "[l]et me put a last question to you").[291] Thus, after producing the metaconversational act, the IR proceeds straight into the initiation of the final elicitation-response exchange. Unlike ordinary conversations, where co-participants usually acknowledge a pre-closing element, no response from the IE to the pre-closing element is awaited in this context. In a cooperative fashion with the turn-taking provisions for the encounter, by virtue of which the closing task pertains exclusively to the IR role, the IE proceeds to respond only to the elicitation.[292]

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[289] On the functions of 'well', 'alright', and other items as discourse markers *cf*. Schiffrin (1987).

[290] In 15 per cent of the cases, that is, in 2 out of 13 occasions.

[291] These examples come, respectively, from the following sources: (a) Interview with Norman Lamont. Programme: *On the Record*. (b) Interview with Robin Cook. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*. (c) Interview with Eddie George. Programme: *Walden*.

[292] Nevertheless, one instance could be found in the data where the politician responded to the pre-closing announcement, opening up a side sequence in between the IR's pre-closing element and final elicitation. This instance is reproduced in the extract below. After the closing projection (l. 1), the side sequence extends from l. 2 to l. 8. At l. 9 the IR initiates the last elicitation of the interview before the terminal element.

[140] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** Mr. Blair, we're virtually I'm afraid + at the end. One last question to you. Um [++]
2. **→TB:** At the end of the whole programme?
3. **IR:** I'm afraid so.
4. **TB:** Oh!
5. **IR:** As you contemplate the possibility of being
6. **TB:** Sorry. I was just beginning to get into my stride and

The pre-closing announcement act always serves as a warrant for the IR producing the terminal component in his/her subsequent turn.

A second pre-closing technique recorded consists in evincing "lastness" (*ibid.*) through the content of the elicitation. The last question commonly centres on arrangements, plans, or prospects regarding the future, as in the following example where the IR refers to a future meeting with the Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

[141] [Interview with Douglas Hurd. Programme: *On the Record*.]

1. →**IR:** Are you + able to reassure me now, when we next meet in December Foreign
2. Secretary that you
3. **DH:** (*laughing*) How if you regret this invitation.
4. **IR:** (*smiling*) (I bet you will. I hope you don't. <I regret it>) that you will be- that
5. you will be + able to say to me, + I've conceded NOTHing + that I + uhm said I
6. wouldn't concede + in this interview.

Though in our data the second technique proved to be more common than the first, the two are not mutually exclusive, however. In fact, at times they are jointly used. Consider:

[142] [Interview with Robin Cook. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. →**IR:** (...) we are + ah nearly out of time. (*pointing at IE*) (<I just want- want to put
2. one> very brief point +) to Robin Cook. + Which is about the divisions.
3. **RC:** Mm.
4. →**IR:** Given that there are these powerful ++ different views of principle, + aren't
5. you very likely + to end up on these core issues ++ in a very difficult position. ++
6. Much like the Government ++ is at the moment. ++ When you become Government.

The closing projection is most commonly followed by the terminal component, without any intervening prefacing element. Prefaces were rather infrequent in our data. Out of the 30 per cent of occasions in which they occurred,[293] only half of them were produced

7. (*AUD laughing; some applause*) (enjoying it.
8. **IR:** I'm sure you were. + I'm sure you were.
9. Uh do you-) when you think back- when you think back in a word- is there anything you've
10. learnt from the records of the last + Labour Government + that ended in tears as you + face the +
11. possibility + that you might be Prime Minister?

[293] This percentage corresponds to 4 out of 13 interviews.

in concert with a closing projection. As to their composition, prefaces always contained a response to prior talk, which only in half of the cases were preceded by a boundary marker, as in extract [143]. No preface contained an overt closing announcement.

[143] [Interview with George Robertson. Programme: *On the Record*.]

1. **GR:** no n they have not got fifty-one + paid-up + Labour Party MP members +
2. where I uh + have a letter + sent to one of my colleagues saying we can't take your
3. name off the headed note-paper because we haven't enough money
4. **IR:** Okay.
5. **GR:** to reprint the ⌈note-paper.
6. **→IR:** Well. They're having a press conference next week. We'll have
7. to check it.
8. **GR:** Well somebody- + somebody's- + somebody's having a press conference. +
9. The Labour Party has a unified policy + with ⌈some people who
10. **→IR:** Alright. + Be interesting to see who's
11. there.
12. **GR:** ⌈conscienciously disagree but it is unified on the basic issues.
13. **IR:** ⌊Decision (*inaud*.)
14. **IR:** Thank you very much indeed George Robertson.

At l. 6, the IR attempts to initiate the closing section using the marker "[w]ell" followed by a response that refers to a future press conference where GR's prior argument can be checked.[294] The IE re-opens his argument before the IR can proceed to the terminal element. Instead of uttering the terminal element immediately afterwards, the IR decides to re-initiate the pre-closing component (ll. 10-1) with the same pattern as before: a boundary marker ('alright') followed by a statement that establishes a link both with the announced press conference and with GR's utterance at l. 8. Then comes the thanksgiving act (l. 14). By re-initiating the closing section, and trying to produce the thanksgiving act immediately after the preface, the IR is acting in accordance with the expectation that in this genre the IE does not respond to the pre-closing component.

These results stand in marked contrast with Clayman's (1987) report for news interviews, according to which prefaces were more common than closing projections, and

[294] Against the IR's suggestion, GR argues that there is no big safe-guards committee within the Labour Party, and that the list of anti-European members is considerably shorter than is alleged. With this argument GR attempts to transmit the image that there is no important split in the Labour Party as far as Europe is concerned.

there was an observed tendency for both elements to appear together in the pre-closing phase.[295]

The terminal component consists of a simple, but polite and formal, thanksgiving act preceded or followed by a direct address form, which may be either a title before the name of the IE (*e.g.* "[t]hank you very much indeed Mr. Waldegrave."), or his/her position (*e.g.* "Chancellor of the Exchequer, ++ thank you very much + for that interesting + conversation.").[296] Any of the address forms functions as a reminder to the audience of the identity of the IE, a device which is specially useful for viewers who tune in at the very end. More specifically, the format containing the position displays a special orientation towards the viewers, for it informs of the position from which the IE has spoken and for which he/she has been held accountable.

Although a response to the IR's thanksgiving act is not a compulsory element (*id*.), in 58 per cent of our interviews IEs did respond, if only with a nod, thus turning the terminal element into a thanksgiving exchange, a conduct that lends a conversational character to the closing section. Thanking in return not only constitutes a token of politeness. With this act the politician is acknowledging the opportunity he/she was given to transmit his/her position and that of his/her party to the public.

Then, upon hearing the terminal component both the IE and the audience know that the interview has finished. The pre-closing component serves as a justification for the subsequent terminal component, which at the same time is projected by it as the relevant next action. As our data has demonstrated, the relevance of the closing may be established

[295] Even though Clayman's (1987) study lacks a quantification component, it can hardly invalidate our contrast since our percentages are balanced against what is being described by Clayman as a "most common" tendency (*id*.:260, 265).

[296] These two examples come, respectively, from the following sources: (a) Interview with William Waldegrave. Programme: *Walden*. (*Vid*. appendix 4, l. 806.) (b) Interview with Norman Lamont. Programme: *On the Record*.

in considerable advance, for example, at the beginning of what is expected to be the last question-answer exchange.

5.2.3. Contrasting closings in political interviews and in ordinary conversations

Observations resulting from the analysis of our political interviews corroborate Clayman's (1987) claims about the contrast between the accomplishment of closings in news interviews and the achievement of their counterparts in ordinary conversations. Though the political interview resembles an ordinary conversation in that its closing contains a pre-closing component prior to the terminal element, one of the differences is the distinct grounds on which the termination is warranted. No passing turns are used, and the termination is warranted by the last question-answer exchange, which, in turn, is anticipated by the closing projection. Lack of passing turns is, then, a fundamental difference between political interview closings and their counterparts in ordinary conversation.

The other main difference that Clayman points out between closings in one and the other context is that the closing of ordinary conversations is accomplished collaboratively, whereas it is managed unilaterally in news interviews. On the whole the feature of unilateral management is also applicable to our political interview data. The IE refrains from acknowledging the pre-closing element and does not necessarily respond to the thanksgiving component. As for returning the thanksgiving, the result obtained from our quantification (58%) indicates that, although not structurally needed, a response is quite often produced. The rate of this behaviour suggests that a response might be strongly advisable for the sake of politeness.

Clayman attaches a passive role to the IE on the basis of his/her non-response to both the pre-closing and terminal elements. In this respect, however, I want to remark that, though the closing is managed unilaterally, the IR counts on the IE's 'passive collaboration' for that management. By letting the IR do the entire closing work, the IE is orienting to the turn-taking provisions of the encounter in that the IE's task is only to produce turns in

response to IR elicitations. By contrast, the role of IR is not limited to acting as information elicitor, but has attached to it the function of managing the encounter, which comprises producing initiating acts of other types as well. Initiating the closing phase of the speech event is one such act. Then, it can be maintained, as Clayman does, that the unilateral feature of the closing process derives from the turn type assigned to each participant.

The lack of passing turns can also be explained on the basis of the turn-taking system. If the IR produced a passing turn, the IE would be free to produce an initiating act, something that runs against the conduct of this type of broadcast interview.

Apart from the turn-taking system, time constraints also account for both the unilateral management of the closing and its lack of passing turns (*id*.). The time the programme is on the air is pre-established by the institutional broadcasting schedule. Hence, the programme is necessarily over when time runs out. At that moment producing passing turns, which indicate that participants have nothing else to add, would make no sense, since in the broadcasting context the encounter cannot be extended at will. Time restrictions justify to some extent the unilateral character of the process too. Through warnings received from a control room, the IR knows exactly the amount of time that is still to go before the end. Therefore, he/she is the one that has to time the closing section to fit exactly within that time span. Because the closing process is initiated when the time has run out, there is no possibility for the IE to produce further talk.

The fixed time constraints are often manifested in the closing section through a warning that the IR includes as a closing projection. In order to avoid interrupting the IE during his/her talk to initiate the closing, often the IR includes a warning before the last elicitation so that the IE may construct his/her answer accordingly. The warning may consist of a general reminder that they are short of time (*e.g.* "we are + ah nearly out of time"),[297] or even an instruction urging the IE to be quick because they are running out of

[297] From the interview with Robin Cook. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.

time (*e.g.* "[v]ery quickly all of you. One-word answer.").[298] Because the IR is the only participant who has a real knowledge of the impending time limit, he/she communicates this information to the IE in order to achieve a coordinated exit within that time limit. The IE is asked to collaborate in its accomplishment within the broadcasting schedule by compressing the response to the last elicitation. Contrary to Clayman's (1987) findings, however, no instances of interruption for closing purposes were recorded in our political interviews. Nonetheless, this does not rule out the possibility that IRs might need to resort to this method. In this more extreme situation, IE collaboration could entail an abandonment of the response in process altogether.

This section has shown the organisation of the closing section in political interviews, focusing on the similarities and differences with respect to news interviews and to everyday conversations. It was established that political interviews and news interviews bear important resemblances that demonstrate their institutionalised form of interaction. The specific tasks and constraints of these interview events bear on their corresponding closing sections making them stand in marked opposition to the same section in ordinary conversations.

5.3. Talk show interview closings

A glance at closings in talk show interviews is enough to tell what constitutes the most striking difference with respect to this phase in political interviews, namely their complexity. As the explanation will demonstrate, this feature derives from the marked conversational character of the genre and from the status of the audience.

Superficially, the terminal component of talk show interviews appears to be similar to that of political interviews, namely a 'thank you' uttered by the IR and followed by the full name of the guest. But a closer examination shows that the terminal component of talk show interviews not only functions differently but is also organised into a more complex structure.

[298] From the multi-IE interview. Programme: *A Week in Politics*.

The terminal component commonly consists of two acts on the part of the IR: first, the thanksgiving act, which may be accompanied by a handshake; and second, an applause-eliciting act. After the thanksgiving act, the guest's full name acts as an applause-eliciting device. The fact that the name is uttered as a single tone unit with a falling intonation pattern signals that it is an order or instruction.[299] The function of soliciting applause is generally reinforced in a prosodic manner by means of extra loudness on the name. The pursuance of this goal may be, and in fact very often is, further strengthened with a kinesic device, consisting in the host's gesture of extending an arm towards the guest in an attempt to focus the audience's attention on the addressee of the invited applause. That the issuance of the name of the guest is audience-oriented is explicitly evinced in those few cases where the command for action includes the formal audience address form 'ladies and gentlemen' either preceding or following the guest's name. At the very end of the interview, then, the audience is acknowledged as the third participant to the encounter, and (in)directly ordered to shift from their silent role of eavesdroppers on a private conversation to an active participating role, by showing gratitude to the guest for his/her presence on the show with a round of applause. The round of applause is interpreted as a thanksgiving act, as the explicit command "[w]ill you thank + JEFF GOLDBLUM ladies and gentlemen."[300] indicates.[301]

As for the guest, though a response from him/her is not compulsory, in about 63 per cent of our interviews the IE returned the thanksgiving to the IR. This response is overwhelmingly verbal, optionally reinforced in a kinesic way with a nod. A further, but by far less frequent, optional reaction on the part of the guest is to display a gesture of gratitude towards the audience, which may be a nod or a hand movement in salutation with or without a verbal 'thanks'.

[299] *Vid*. Brazil (1997) for the use of the falling contour as the prototypical intonation pattern for commands.

[300] From the interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O' Connor Show*.

[301] Overt orders for applause seldom occurred in our database.

For the argument in favour of considering the construction "[w]ill you thank..." a command and not a request *vid*. fn. 185. Similarly, the simple issuance of the name of the guest also constitutes a directive, though of a much more indirect kind.

Taking into account the four different acts accomplished at the end of the interview, it is possible to characterise the terminal component of a talk show interview closing as consisting of two exchanges, each one structured into an adjacency pair. The first corresponds to the thanksgiving exchange between IR and guest, a structure which resembles the typical farewell exchange of ordinary conversations. And the second exchange is identifiable as an adjacency pair structure whose first pair part constitutes a command for action, and its second pair part the non-linguistic performance of the illocutionary intent of the directive.[302] Schematically, the structure of the terminal component looks as follows:

Table [18]: The terminal component of talk show interview closings

	1st adj. pair: thanks – thanks exchange[303]	2nd adj. pair: command – compliance exchange
IR:	Thank you.	NAME OF GUEST[304]
IE:	Thank you.	
AUD:		(*applause*)

As in political interview closings, the closing section in talk show interviews very rarely comprises the terminal component only. Usually, the final component is preceded by prefacing element,[305] which in its simplest form may be a single boundary marker separating off the main body of the interview, thereby signalling a change in focus, as in:

[144] [Interview with Tony Benn. Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back*. Appendix 3, ll. 308-316.]

1. **IR:** Now. + An item on the video, you mention that uh + the Labour Party stopped

[302] On initiating and responding speech acts *cf*. Edmondson, (1981), Levinson (1983), or Tsui (1994) among others.

[303] While the vertical axis of the table represents speech acts that constitute adjacency pairs, the horizontal axis represents turns. Thus, the table represents the IR as producing two speech acts in one single turn, each act initiating a different exchange.

[304] Capital letters in transcripts signal extra loudness.

[305] The format consisting of preface followed by terminal component occurred in 60 per cent of our talk show interviews. By contrast, a closing projection preceded the terminal component only in 20 per cent of the interviews.

2. being a socialist party. When- when did it stop being a socialist party.
3. **TB:** Never was a socialist party.=
4. **IR:** =Oh⌈right.
5. **TB:** ⌊It always had socialists in it. + Just as there's some Christians in the
6. churches, [*AUD applause*] [(*IR and AUD laughing*) (AND THAT'S SOMETHING
7. (*INAUD.*)) IT'S REALLY SO SIMPLE.
8. →**IR:** <OKAY. WELL. (STAY THERE). + (*turns to AUD*) THANK YOU VERY
9. MUCH. (*hand mov. towards TB*) TONY BENN MP. + (*INAUD.*)>]

Although the marker used in this example is 'well',[306] it is neither the only one recorded nor the most common one. The most recurrent boundary marker is a pause filled with laughter from the guest and/or the host and/or the audience. Laughter ensues as the non-verbal reaction to a humorous comment by one of the co-interactants or to a whole witty sequence. The use of this kind of boundary marker is a natural consequence of the observed tendency to end the main body of the talk show interview with a note of humour. Closely following the filled pause as a boundary marker in frequency of occurrence is the use of the items 'well', 'okay', or 'right'.

The relatively high rate of boundary markers (about 55%)[307] detected constitutes one of the outstanding differences with respect to political interviews, where their use, as mentioned above, amounts to a mere 15 per cent.[308]

But the boundary marker does not normally appear as the sole pre-closing device. As announced at the beginning of this section, if there is a feature that differentiates the closing section of talk show interviews from their political interview counterparts, it is definitely the complexity of the former. Consequently, the pre-closing section may, and frequently does, include further elements, such as well-wishes, invitations to future shows, interpersonal tokens related to the interaction, references to prior talk, and even brief re-openings of talk commonly related to some aspect mentioned in the main body of the

[306] 'Okay' does not belong to the initiation of the pre-closing section. It is an acknowledgement token functioning as a follow-up move within the previous three-part exchange sequence.

[307] This percentage corresponds to 10 out of 18 cases.

[308] This percentage corresponds to 2 out of 13 instances.

interview. Accordingly, the IE produces a response in return, which, for example, in the case of a well-wish or an invitation is usually a thanksgiving act. These elements have extensively been documented as features characterising closings of ordinary conversations, specially telephone conversations (*vid*. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Davidson, 1978; Levinson, 1983).

As for re-openings, it was found that they may appear not only in the pre-closing component but also after the terminal element. It was also observed that those occurring in the pre-closing section were initiated by the guest, whereas those taking place after the thanksgiving exchange were introduced by the IR. With regard to the former, consider:

[145] [Interview with Frank Bruno. Programme: *Pebble Mill.*]

1. **IR:** Um what do you think- what do you think your chances [of winning the Boxing
2. World Title] are.
3. **FB:** My chances are very very high. (...) So I fancy my chances very very strongly +
4. Against him [=present World Title holder]. You know what I mean?
5. **IR:** Yeah.
6. **FB:** Very⌈very strongly.⌉
7. **IR:** ⌊Yeah. So well. We'll hope you win.
8. **FB:** Thank you very much Mr. Titch⌈march. (*shaking hands*) (It was nice speaking to=
9. **IR:** ⌊And I hope
10. **FB:** =you.
11. **IR:** If you- if⌈you
12. **→FB:** ⌊I love that suit.
13. **IR:** If you
14. **FB:** And [*AUD laughing*] [that tie.) + You⌈know.]
15. **IR:** ⌊But not half as much as I love yours. Son
16. Mr. Wong in Hong Kong?
17. **FB:** Yeah. No. It's Sam in Hong Kong.⌈He just likes Mr. Wong cos he thinks Sam is=
18. **IR:** ⌊Sam in Hong Kong.
19. **FB:** =a- + not a Hong Kong sort of name.
20. **IR:** I believe it. (*AUD laughing*) (+) Great to talk to you.
21. **FB:** It's true.
22. **IR:** (*turns to AUD*) Ladies and gentlemen, (*extending arm towards FB*) (FRANK
23. BRUNO.)
24. **AUD:** (*applause starts*)
25. **FB:** (*raising hand towards IR*) ((*inaud.*)) Thanks. (*raising hand towards AUD*) Thank
26. you.

At l. 7 an act of well-wish starts to which the IR appears to want to add another one, as l. 9 suggests. But he is interrupted not only by the guest's thanksgiving act in return to the well-

wish, but most importantly by the IE's production of a re-opening sequence at l. 12. "I love that suit." (l. 12) and "[a]nd that tie." (l. 14) re-initiate a humorous line of talk about the clothing which the IR had jokingly introduced at the very beginning of the encounter in reaction to the colour of FB's suit. (*Vid*. extract [49].) At that moment, FB had mentioned that it was an off-the-peg suit from a Hong Kong mate called Mr. Wong. That initial sequence of turns has now triggered off a re-opening sequence which extends as far as l. 20, where the IR produces a follow-up move, acknowledging the guest's statement (ll. 17, 19), prior to the retake of the pre-closing. The closing is prefaced by a pause filled with laughter and a token of appreciation implicitly announcing the end (l. 20). Notice that once the pre-closing is again under way, FB still produces a follow-up turn (l. 21) in response to the IR's prior follow-up move (l. 20).

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As to re-openings initiated by the IR after the terminal component, consider the following extract:

[146] [Interview with Garth Brooks. Programme: *Des O' Connor Show*.]

1. **IR:** When are we gonna see you in- in the UK?
2. **GB:** In April.
3. **IR:** ↑April?↑
4. **GB:** Yes.
5. **IR:** (*turns to AUD*) (*inaud*.) Tell them where you're gonna be.
6. **GB:** (*responds*)
7. **IR:** Thanks for dropping in here for a minute.
8. **GB:** My pleasure Sir. Thank you for your invitation.
9. **IR:** Yeah. When you come to England, come to see us again.
10. →And ⌈you're gonna do another song now.
11. **GB:** ⌊Yeah.
12. **GB:** (Uh that song we can deal.)
13. **IR:** What's- what's the song.
14. **GB:** The song's called "Ain't go now till the sun comes up".
15. **IR:** Ain't go now ⌈when the sun goes what.
16. **GB:** ⌊Yeah.
17. **GB:** (*smiling*) Till the sun comes (*raising thumb*) up.
18. **IR:** (*smiling*) Ah. (*AUD laughing*) (*turns to AUD*) I loved how it sounded like.
19. (*raising index*) ↑Yeah hu.↑ (*laughs; AUD applause starts*;
20. *handshake*; *GB moves towards band while IR points at him with extended arm*)
21. GARTH BROOKS. +++
22. AIN'T GO NOW TILL THE SUN COMES UP. (*applauds*)

By contrast to extract [145], the re-opening sequence (ll. 10-19) is, in this case, not connected with some line of talk from the interview proper, but relates to the next point on the programme's agenda, which is nevertheless related to the present guest. At l. 10 the IR produces an elicitation for confirmation aimed at informing the audience about what is to come next. As the type of utterance demonstrates, the IR, by virtue of his role of manager of the programme, knows perfectly well that the guest will round off his 'performance' on the show with a further song. The re-opening sequence, then, serves to introduce the next performance in a collaborative, instead of unilateral, fashion. Structurally, the sequence occurs after an invitation (l. 9), which in turn comes immediately after the thanksgiving exchange between host and guest (ll. 7-8).[309] The terminal component is not, however, complete when the re-opening sequence starts. Notice that the handshake (l. 20), which constitutes a parting signal and therefore pertains to the closing proper, takes place after the end of the re-opening sequence. Also after this sequence, the second terminal exchange between host and audience takes place, initiated by the IR with a verbal and kinesic signal, as in example [145].

On the basis of these observations, it might be tentatively postulated that, though re-opening sequences are allowed in the closing section, it appears that only the IR is entitled to initiate them after the terminal thanksgiving exchange. This postulation can easily be warranted by virtue of the authority attached to the IR role. After the manager of the encounter has decided to put an end to the interaction, the guest knows that he/she must not initiate a further line of talk. However, as in ordinary conversations, the guest may do so in the pre-closing section, which is the slot provided to mention unmentionables. Then, despite the flexibility conceded to the structure of the closing section in talk show interviews, which makes these sections akin to their counterparts in everyday conversations and distinct from their political interview counterparts, talk show interview closings are

[309] The attempt of the IR to maintain an informal style comes to the fore in the thanksgiving exchange by contrast to the formal style chosen by the guest in response. The choice of the whole informal utterance "[t]hanks for dropping in here for a minute." (l. 3) suggests a relation of intimacy between co-interactants one of whom has decided to pay a short visit to the other. This utterance clashes with the guest's formal and polite "[m]y pleasure Sir. Thank you for your invitation.", which is typical of non-intimate relations, as the address form "Sir" indicates.

nevertheless subject to specific constraints that this particular broadcast genre imposes on the chat.

Overt announcements of the nearing end of the interview, either as part of the preface or as a closing projection preceding the IR's last elicitation, were rather infrequent. Comparing the frequency of occurrence of these announcements in this genre with their rate in political interviews, it was found that in political interviews it is notably higher (about 46% *vs.* 22%, altogether).[310] As to the other closing-projection technique observed in political interviews, namely to signal lastness through the content of the last elicitation of the main body of the interview, it was also found that talk show interviews appear to resort far less often to it than political interviews. In our database, the rates vary between, approximately, 69 per cent of occasions in political interviews and a mere 16 per cent in talk show interviews.[311] Typically, the impending closings of talk show interviews are projected by means of a reference to future meetings (*e.g.* "[w]e look forward to seeing you um at the Swan Theatre. Near ICM. Then as Brutus in Julius Caesar."),[312] or the issuance of an invitation for the guest to a future show (*e.g.* "UM + NEXT TIME YOU'RE IN THE UK, will you come over and see us?")[313] or to do some performance after the interview (*e.g.* "[w]ill you sing for us a little bit later on?").[314]

As a representative example of an extensive closing section of a talk show interview consider extract [147], which contains most of the characteristic elements explained above. It must be noted, however, that the example, which contains both a closing projection and a

[310] These percentages correspond, respectively, to 6 out of 13 cases and to 4 out of 18.

[311] The first rate corresponds to 9 instances out of 13, whereas the second corresponds to 3 occasions out of 18.

[312] From the interview with John Nettles. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.

[313] From the interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O'Connor Show*.

[314] From the interview with Marian Montgomery. Programme: *Pebble Mill*.

preface prior to the terminal component, cannot be considered a common instance of talk show interview closings, since this format occurred in only 20 per cent of our interviews.

[147] [Interview with Jeff Goldblum. Programme: *Des O' Connor Show*.]

	1	**IR:** (...) and ↑I have the feeling↑ that ++ you know, + you
	2	would like to be a stand-up comic. Is that something that +
	3	you nurse here? + Here?
	4	**JG:** Uhm + >not <u>real</u>ly.< Not. (*laughs*)
	5	**IR:** Wrong again? [+]
	6	**JG:** No. <Not- not really, but- but kind of right cos when I was> a
	7	<u>kid</u>, (...) I used to tell my parents the jokes, you know that I'd
	8	heard that afternoon. (...) acting's challenging enough ⌈for me.
	9	**IR:** ⌊I don't
	10	think people laugh at good-looking guys though actually.
	11	(*turns to AUD*) (It's been my problem all my life.)
(a) Pre-closing component		
Boundary marker →	12	(*AUD + JG laughing*) (+++)
Closing projection →	13	UM + NEXT TIME YOU'RE IN THE UK, will you come
→	14	over and see us?
	15	**JG:** Yes. I will. I'd be flattered.
Boundary marker →	16	**IR:** Well.
Covert announcem. →	17	We're very glad you popped in.
→	18	(*turning to AUD*) (Look at the ladies. They're all looking
	19	glassy-eyed there.
Overt announcement→	20	But I have to let him go.
(b) Terminal component		
→	21	Will you thank +) JEFF GOLDBLUM ladies and gentlemen.
→	22	**AUD:** (*applause starts*)
→	22	**IR:** (*shaking hands*) Thank you.
→	23	**JG:** It's been very nice. Thanks. (*raising hand to AUD*) Thanks.

As can be observed, the initiation of the pre-closing component is separated off from the main body of the interview through a very long pause filled with laughter from the audience and the guest. Here laughter is the response to the host's humorous assertion that it had been a problem all his life that people do not laugh at good-looking guys (ll. 9-11).[315] The first verbal element of the pre-closing section, projecting the nearing end of the interaction, consists in an IR invitation to the guest to come to a future show. The invitation

[315] Humour results from the pun based on the amusing use of a sentence which has two meanings: (a) people do not laugh at him because he is a good-looking man. But the sentence immediately generates a reaction from the audience that stresses the other meaning, (b) that he is not handsome since people in fact laugh at him.

is proffered in a fairly informal way through a request for action adopting the form of an interrogative introduced by 'will'.[316] This format conveys the impression that the interactants know each other quite well, thereby contributing to the illusion of a private chat between friends. In response to the invitation the guest produces a preferred response. The exaggeration (l. 15: "I'd be flattered.") with which the acceptance is reinforced has face implications. It becomes a marker of "positive politeness" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:2) inasmuch as the speaker expresses similarity between his wants and the host's.

The beginning of the preface is again signalled with a (verbal) boundary marker. Next come a series of ritual acts (ll. 17-19) aimed at maintaining sociability and functioning as a covert announcement of the closure. L. 17 expresses appreciation in the name both of the audience and the host, as the inclusive pronoun 'we' indicates. Again, the degree of informality comes to the fore, here in the lexical choice of the verb ('popped in'). In ll. 18-19 the inclusion of the audience as one active party to the encounter is made more explicit in that the ladies are mentioned with regard to the pain of parting. In a metonymic allusion, the IR refers to the act of leave-taking by making a joke about the glassy eyes of the ladies in the audience. This calls for the overt closing announcement in l. 20, which is executed immediately afterwards. As explained earlier, the terminal component is divided into two exchanges: first, the overt IR instruction to the audience to thank the guest, upon which the audience responds with applause; and second, the thanksgiving exchange between host and guest which is accompanied by a handshake functioning as a gesture of farewell. Besides, in this particular interview, the host also responds to the audience applause with a thanksgiving act.

[316] The request for action through an interrogative is not the only format into which an invitation can be put. The invitation contained in extract [146] above, l. 9, takes the form of a directive realised in its unmarked form, that is, the imperative. (*Vid*. Tsui, 1994 on the characterisation of invitations.) Though the pressure put on the addressee of the utterance to accept the invitation is strongest in the case of the imperative, and intrinsically most face-threatening, since it infringes on his freedom to refuse the invitation, nevertheless the format has positive face considerations. By making it virtually impossible for the guest to refuse it, the host is showing his sincerity in having the guest accept. "[T]he firmer the invitation, the more polite it is" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:99).

It is worth noting that the guest precedes the thanksgiving act with a polite remark regarding the quality of the encounter, thus establishing a connection between politeness and the activity of talking for the sake of sociability. Following Cheepen & Monaghan (1990), this type of interactional token serves to reinforce the interpersonal framework of an encounter. The pre-determined status differential that characterises broadcast interviews in general is mitigated in the case of talk show interviews. The pretence of a chat between equals justifies the presence of this type of token in the closing phase. Thereby, the similarity with ordinary conversations, where these tokens are a routine, is brought to the fore. In line with his/her role of host and controller of the speech event, it is most often the IR who utters these remarks. By contrast, their lack in political interviews stresses the unequal status balance between the participants.[317] By virtue of the IR's superior internal status, it is the IR's duty to close the encounter. There is no need, therefore, for mitigating the power with which the role is endowed, and producing more acts than are strictly necessary to put an end to the interview. The result is a bare closing section.

In sum, the organisation of the closing section in talk show interviews is greatly determined by the specific entertaining goal of the interaction. Thus, the elements conforming the pre-closing component evince the conversational and humorous character of the interview. The role of the audience in the structure of the terminal component also bears on the general entertaining purpose of the genre. Despite the flexibility of the closing structure, it was observed that its occurrence is constrained by the tasks assigned to the participants to the interview event.

5.4. Debate closings

Debates share the closing components that are akin to both political interviews and talk show interviews. Nevertheless, the status of the audience as an active participant in the speech event determines the existence of further closing elements that are specific to this genre.

[317] *Cf.* Cheepen & Monaghan (1990) for a similar finding in job interviews.

Consider the following extract, which exemplifies one of the most complete closing sections of debates found in our database.

[148] [Programme: *Question Time*.]

1. **IR:** Briefly. Let me just take one or two people in the audience. (...)
(*turns omitted*)
2. **IR:** Ah well
3. I'm- I'm- we're gonna have to stop.
4. I'd better put on my spectacles on (*pretending to put on glasses*) (for the end of this
5. one. Perhaps people-) ++ perhaps people with glasses would- would have been
6. wiped out by now. There would be just those of us who didn't need them. +
7. Thank you very much.
8. I'm sorry to those of you I wasn't able to bring in. + The programme lasts an hour
9. and I can't make it go on any longer. I know that many of you had many other
10. things to say +
11. but that ends Question Time tonight.
12. And next week we're gonna be in London + and round the table next week will be
13. the Minister in charge for Social Security Peter Lilly, + Labour MP Ken
14. Livingstone, + Liberal Democrat Lord Jenkins of Hillhead + and Kamlesh Bahl who
15. chairs the Equal Opportunities Commission. +
16. One other point. If you want to join the audience + in Belfast where we're going
17. there soon would you please + telephone + this number in Northern Ireland or from
18. Northern Ireland 071, + 284, + 4000. + If you do that we're gonna send you a form
19. to fill in + and we'll make up our + audience as the usual cross-section of British
20. public for that programme + from Belfast.
21. So please + call us. +
22. And until + next Thursday + 10:30 + BBC1. I hope you'll join us again as
23. everybody here in Maidstone. Good night.
24. **AUD:** (*applause*)

As the extract indicates, debate closings share the following elements with the closing sections of the other two genres analysed:

(a) A closing projection (l. 1). The impending closure is here anticipated in the reference to the time constraint contained in the instruction for brevity "[b]riefly." As to the rate of occurrence of this element in debates (12.5%) compared with its frequency in the other genres, the results show that it is closer to talk show interviews, where the percentage is 10.5, than to political interviews, where the rate is considerably higher, namely about 43 per cent.

(b) A boundary marker (l. 2). The rate of occurrence of this element as part of the pre-closing preface in debates is again similar to that recorded in talk show interviews: 50 per cent of the cases in the former genre and approximately 55 per cent in the latter. By contrast, the figure in our political interview data is as low as 15 per cent.

(c) An overt closing announcement (l. 3). This further prefacing element occurred in 75 per cent of our debates.[318] This result suggests that overt closing announcements appear to be very common in this genre. Recall that this element was not found a single time in our political interviews, and was minimal in our talk show interviews (10.5%).

(d) A re-invocation of material talked about earlier, which serves as a smooth bridge between the main body of the debate and the closing (ll. 4-6). In this particular case the host makes a comment about the people who wear glasses, thereby establishing a link with what the last audience member had said about glasses being a positive example of the advance in scientific research. Often, however, this element adopts the form of a report of the results of an opinion poll carried out during the programme in order to find out the view of the general public on the topic of the day's programme. This specific feature of audience participation programmes contributes to the remarkably higher rate of occurrence of this prefacing element in debates (62.5%)[319] than in either political interviews or talk show interviews, where the frequency was 15 per cent and 31.5 per cent, respectively.

(e) A thanksgiving act, which in debates is addressed at the members of the audience.

The remaining interactional elements of the closing section pertain exclusively to audience participation programmes. From ll. 8-10, due to time constraints, the host apologises for failing to bring into the debate all the audience members that would have liked to speak. In this sense, the host proceeds to topicalise the pre-established duration of

[318] This percentage corresponds to 6 out of 8 instances.

[319] This percentage corresponds to 5 out of 8 programmes.

the speech event. Immediately following comes a "performative" (Austin, 1962:24) act that declares the programme closed (l. 11).[320]

A shift of addressee takes place from l. 12 onwards. The subsequent elements acknowledge the presence of an overhearing home audience. The host announces the next programme, mentioning the guests that will compose the panel (ll. 12-15). Next come the instructions that the viewers have to follow if they wish to form part of the studio audience (ll. 16-20). L. 21 constitutes a request for the viewers to follow those instructions.[321] Finally, ll. 22-24 form the leave-taking element, which includes an explicit reference to the continuation of the relationship in a future encounter. This reference adopts the form of a reminder of the day, time, and channel on which the programme is broadcast, as well as a desire for the viewers to join the studio audience. The interactional content thus reflects the interpersonal dimension of the speech event. At the end, the leave-taking or parting element is responded to by the studio audience with a round of applause.

However, debate closings do not have to contain all the elements outlined above, as the following, briefer, closing section demonstrates. An overt prefacing announcement (l. 8) and a terminal element (l. 10), which in this example is a parting signal, appear nevertheless to be compulsory. As to the overt announcement of the closure, this example shows that it may be produced with interruption of the current speaker, thus taking precedence over the current speaker's right to finish his/her message. This points to the rigid time constraints which these programmes are subject to.

[149] [Programme: *Kilroy*. Appendix 5, ll. 918-928.]

1. **AUD6:** And those who- those who are sceptical <u>want</u> a referendum. Because they
2. know they have the <u>pop</u>ular support <u>in</u> the country.
3. **IR:** And it's also because the- the already established political side of it tends to be
4. + united. They might differ on the margins, but the Labour: Liberal Democrat
5. Conservative Party are all in ↑favour.↑
6. **AUD6:** No I think- no I think in fact + Tony Blair- I think Tony Blair yesterday

[320] On performative speech acts and verbs *vid*. Austin (1962), Searle (1969), and Levinson (1983) among others.

[321] For the distinction between requests for action and invitations introduced by 'please' *cf*. Tsui (1994).

7. e:ffectively⌈°(*inaud.*)°
8. **→IR:** ⌊<I'm going to have to stop you there.>
9. **AUD6:** Right.
10. **→IR:** (*to camera*) Take care of yourselves. + See you in the morning.
11. **AUD:** (*applause*)

Thanking the audience, announcing the guests and/or topic of the next programme, reminding the time of broadcast, inviting the home viewers to join the studio audience and giving instructions of how to do so, and a goodbye or leave-taking element are typical components not only of debates but also of political interview programmes where audience participation is an integral part, such as the *Jonathan Dimbleby* programmes. As extract [150] demonstrates, in these programme closings the thanksgiving act to the IE (l. 1) precedes the thanksgiving act to the audience (l. 2), after which the rest of the elements follow.

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[150] [Interview with Tony Blair. Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby*.]

1. **IR:** (*palm raised towards AUD during some applause*) (Mr. Blair, thank you.
2. THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH.)
3. NEXT SUNDAY, in the last of our three leader interviews, I will be asking John Major
4. why he thinks + the Tories deserve an unprecedented + fifth term in office. That's next
5. Sunday + at a slightly earlier time. Remember it. 11:20 in the morning. 11:20. + Join us
6. then. Till then. Good afternoon.
7. **AUD:** (*applause*)

5.5. Genre-specific imprints on closings

In this chapter I have approached the characterisation of the closing section in the three broadcast genres that constitute the object of the present study. Drawing on the description of the three closing formats, I shall first suggest the features that develop from the restrictions imposed by the institutional context on all three genres. Then I shall proceed to explain the genre-specific factors that determine the particular characteristics of each format.

5.5.1. Generic similarities

As part of the organised process of a communicative event taking place within the institutional setting of television broadcasting, the closing phase of the three media products investigated display the following similarities:

(a) IR/host initiation of the closing phase is a characteristic that derives from the pre-established turn-taking system assigned to these institutional events. The same factor accounts for the unilateral management of the section in both political interviews and debates. The transgression of this type of management in talk show interviews can be interpreted as a consequence of the precedence that the goal of the encounter takes over the formal interviewing principles.

(b) The terminal thanksgiving or parting act is almost invariably preceded by some pre-closing work, even if minimal. This feature is mostly due to the time constraint to which the events are restricted. As I shall propose in section 5.5.2, the various types and structures of pre-closing work of each genre, however, seem to depend largely on the degree of face work which, in turn, is ultimately influenced by the goal of the event.

(c) All three genres are subject to the rigid time constraint of broadcasting, although this limitation is manifested to different degrees in the three genres. Overt manifestation takes place primarily in political interviews and debates. In talk show interviews it is expressed far less frequently and in a more subtle way. As I shall suggest in the next section, the strongly interpersonal character of talk show interviews resulting from the goal of the event seems to be a likely candidate for explaining this conduct.

Time constraints also account for both the unilateral management of the closing section and consequent lack of passing turns in political interviews and debates.

5.5.2. Generic differences

The differences encountered in the three types of closing sections warrant their belonging to three distinct genres. The specific goal pursued in each particular type of communicative event, as well as the relationship between the participants, shapes the structure of the closing, and influences its content and style.

The goal of the political interview is to inform the public of the IE's actions and views on an issue of political interest. The goal of this message-oriented encounter together with the unequal relationship between the participants determines the brief, formal, and matter-of-fact closing section of political interviews. Once the "transactional" (Brown & Yule, 1983:1ff; Cheepen & Monaghan, 1990:3ff) purpose has been achieved, the IR produces only the necessary talk to inform that an exit is due. By virtue of his/her internal status of superiority, the IR does not need to produce any talk that mitigates the decision of putting an end to the encounter. This too determines the lack of any talk aimed at establishing interpersonal bonds between the parties. In a vicious circle, this lack contributes but to stress the unequal status balance between them. For the IE's part, his/her inferior internal status to the encounter is manifested in the lack of active collaboration to the accomplishment of the closing event other than, in many cases, a response to the IR's thanksgiving act for the sake of politeness. Nevertheless, the IR counts on the IE's 'passive collaboration' for the unilateral management, a conduct that derives from the IE's orientation to the pre-defined turn-type assignment. By virtue of the turn-taking system, the IE has to refrain from producing acts that might not be interpreted as responses to elicitations. Consequently, a verbal contribution to the accomplishment of the closing section falls outside the IE's tasks.

In the case of talk show interviews, however, the transactional goal of seeking information is approached from within the format of a chat, which highlights the entertainment-seeking purpose of the event. Due to the pretence of an informal conversation between equals, the closing section participates in the characteristics defining those sections in everyday conversation. This pretence justifies the complexity of the

closing structure in talk show interviews, as well as its informal style and mostly interpersonal content. The elements contributing to the expansion of the section, such as re-openings, well-wishes, invitations, and other interpersonal tokens referring to the quality of the encounter, are typical conversational elements that are produced to avoid an over-hasty exit that could lead to unwelcome conclusions about the social relationship between the interactants. Most of these elements, then, attend to the interpersonal framework of the encounter in that they are aimed at maintaining sociability.

As any interactant in an ordinary conversation, the IE contributes actively to the achievement of the closing in that he/she commonly responds to the various elements produced by the IR, transforming the section into a sequence of bilateral exchanges of acts. Also oriented at the interpersonal aspect of the event is the common use of a handshake, a gesture that reinforces the terminal component of the closing, yielding it the character of a real parting between people.

The goal of the event influences the degree of face work, which is manifested in the content. In general, the closure appears to be more frequently announced through metatalk in political interviews than in talk show interviews. In the latter genre it is typically projected by content that orients to enhancing the social relationship with the interlocutor, such as references to future meetings or invitations. Avoidance of metaconversational closing projections indicates an attention to positive face wants, inasmuch as it avoids unwelcome inferences about the IR's wish to put an end to the conversation. The fuller attention at positive politeness in talk show interviews is reflected also in the greater use of boundary markers, for they mitigate an abrupt closure. In this sense, political interview closings, it appears, are produced in a more "bald-on-record manner" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:60). The content, then, is influenced by the transactional *vs*. interactional goal differentiation of speech events.

In debates, the relatively low rate of closing projections, on the one hand, but, on the other, the common presence of overt closing announcements in prefaces, might find an

explanation in the turn-taking system of the genre. Since turn order in debates not only depends on the host's management but also on the development of the argument and the contribution of the participants, it might be more difficult for the host to insert an early warning of the impending end as used in political interviews. Producing these warnings would probably entail interrupting the current speaker.[322] In order to avoid this face-threatening act, the host allows the debate to develop until there is no more time left than to announce its closure immediately before the thanksgiving act and home viewer address. The potential impression of abruptness resulting from this structure is frequently bridged with a re-invocation of material talked about earlier.

The remarkably lower frequency of this latter structural element in political interviews may be warranted on two grounds: first, as explained in section 5.4, observation of the data suggests that reference to prior talk is often related to the active audience participation. The second reason is likely to be the bald-on-record strategies used, which ultimately result from the transactional goal of the encounter. For their part, talk show interviews resort less often than debates to references to prior talk as a closing prefacing element, but more often than political interviews. These results point towards a comparatively lower attention of political interviews to positive face. The lower rate of this strategy with respect to debates might be due to the fact that talk show interviews resort to other face-implicative closing devices as well.

Within the institutional speech events investigated, the audience plays an important role in the structure of the closing. As the description has demonstrated, the status of the audience in each kind of speech event determines (a) the presence of specific closing elements, and at times (b) the distinct function of the same closing element. Thus, the presence of a studio audience in talk show interviews determines the existence of a second exchange within the terminal component. The audience, who is acknowledged as a third, eavesdropping party to the event, is instructed by the IR to abandon the passive role for an

[322] It must be remembered that the only case of interruption for closing purposes encountered in our database pertained to the debate genre.

active participating one by thanking the guest. By contrast, the audience's status of active participant in debates accounts for the fact that the thanksgiving act is addressed at them, and also for the existence of further closing elements like announcements of future programmes and/or instructions to the home viewers of how to join the audience. This content reflects the interpersonal dimension of the speech event. No such elements are present in political interview closings, since the absent audience is only tacitly acknowledged as an overhearing audience. The different status of the audience in talk show interviews and in political interviews was also shown to be what motivates the distinct function that the IE's name acquires when uttered after the thanksgiving act: as an applause-eliciting device and as a reminder of the IE's identity, respectively.

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RESUMEN

This dissertation has explored the interactional organisation of three televised genres: the political interview, the talk show interview, and the audience debate. This chapter summarises the major topics discussed in the study and provides an outline of the conclusions that have been reached in the course of it.

The investigation centred on the interactional processes that embody the three broadcast events, establishing generic similarities and differences. Because each type of speech event is primarily constituted through the management of turn taking, the study focused on this structuring device. A contrast was established between the ways by which the characteristic features of the organisation of talk in each type of event are implicated in the recognition of the institutional behaviour of each genre. The study sought to demonstrate that the turn-taking system constitutes a mechanism for dealing with the main tasks, goals, and constraints of each of the three genres.

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The reasons why I chose to study the three genres selected can be reduced to two. First, though studies on televised interaction have proliferated, they deal mostly with the interactional organisation of news interviews, and the few contrastive investigations that exist have always been between news interviews and another genre. When talk show interviews have been contrasted with news interviews the contrast was limited to a brief summary of the most outstanding differences. To my knowledge, proper contrastive studies of different broadcast interview genres are virtually non-existent. The second reason for the choice of the three genres was the general assumption that this dissertation tried to determine, namely that each of the three types of events, which have an interviewing component common to them all, is organised through a distinctive turn-taking system to which participants adhere, and that the constraints imposed by each genre bring about different turn-taking procedures and, as a consequence, a different interactional behaviour of the participants to the events.

The blurred borderlines between interview genres required an initial delimitation of the three types of communicative events, which was provided in the introductory chapter.

For this purpose, the notion of genre was previously reviewed and finally defined as in Swales (1990), that is, both as an ongoing process where social roles, goals, and organisational preferences are negotiated, and as a highly structured and conventionalised product. Even though the notion was understood both as a sociological and linguistic entity, the study emphasised the sociological dimension. On the basis of the notion of genre adopted, the political interview was delimited to a, generally in-depth, formal interview with major political representatives, taking place either in the studio or in an official room, and frequently constituting a programme on its own. Consequently, news interviews were excluded from the notion for questions of duration and context. In the face-to-face encounter, journalist and politician play, respectively, the discourse roles of interviewer and interviewee, the goal of the event being public accountability of political actions. Whereas the interviewee tries to appear in a favourable light *vis-à-vis* the public, the interviewer attempts to expose the negative side of political affairs. This goal of sharpening differences of opinion leads very often to moments of great tension during the event.

The talk show interview was defined in a restricted sense as a personality-type interview pursuing the double goal of information and entertainment. The entertainment component is structurally revealed in the transgression of traditional interviewing conventions. And finally, the debate genre was characterised as a controversial discussion about a social or political matter between an audience made up of ordinary people and experts, and controlled by a host.

As the study was to investigate language in a social context, the introductory chapter also offered an overall survey of the various approaches to that kind of study. For this purpose, a classification of disciplines based on Bühler's (1934) linguistic functions was provided. Two groups of disciplines were distinguished as pertaining to the domain of the combined expressive and appellative function, that is, the domain investigating language in use: one group focusing on linguistic resources influenced by contextual factors, including thematic and informative functions as well as cohesion; the other group concentrating on the behaviour and attitudes of co-participants engaged in a communicative process. Within

the latter group were included Textlinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, the Sociology of Language, Social Psychology, and Pragmatics. The delimitation of the boundaries of these disciplines was based on their objects of study. The study of each co-ordinate integrated in the complex environment in which language is produced was established as the particular domain of investigation of each of these fields.

It was particularly difficult to draw the boundaries between Textlinguistics and Discourse Analysis due to the confusion between the notions of text and discourse. An overview of the various meanings that have been attached to the two terms showed that they have sometimes been used as notional equivalents, generally by scholars working within the same theoretical framework. This was shown to occur within cognitive models as well as within a communicative-pragmatic framework. Beside a relation of equivalence, it was also possible to identify a part-whole relation between the notion of text as conceived within a linguistic framework and the notion of text or discourse as understood within a communicative-pragmatic, a systemic-functional and a tagmemic approach. Terminological confusion was argued to be not only reduced to the text-discourse dichotomy, but also increased with the (near-)synonymous use of the term 'discourse' and other labels such as 'conversation', 'speech' and 'spoken discourse'. This notional confusion called for a clear definition of what was to be understood as discourse and what as text in this dissertation. Thus, discourse was defined as a process of human interaction occurring in a specific situational context in which language, either spoken or written, plays a central role since it constitutes the means towards the achievement of the intended goal. It was maintained that the concept of discourse as a structured event with a specific organisation derives from this processual character. For its part, text was used to refer to one of the content elements of the entire communicative event, the other component being the context of situation. Text referred to the product resulting from the syntactic and phonological encoding of the transmitted message. In other words, it was viewed as either corresponding to a chain of sentences in written language or to the physical execution of utterances in spoken language. In either mode, text was defined as a whole characterised by its coherence. Due to the

communicative-pragmatic approach adopted in this study the term that was used was discourse, since text out of context has no relevance in a communicative situation.

In view of the gradual expansion of the notion of text documented, the field of Textlinguistics was shown to encompass four major categories of text models, each one interested in one specific aspect of text: sentence-based, predication-based, cognitive, and interactional models. Two approaches were distinguished within the latter category: a formal communicative and a speech act or properly interactional. Only the former was viewed as pertaining to the discipline of Textlinguistics, the latter corresponding to the field of British origin known as Discourse Analysis which was identified as DA1 in order to differentiate it from Discourse Analysis (DA) understood as the communicative multidiscipline investigating language in the form of discourse. This multidiscipline was conceived as integrating DA1 as well as Linguistic Anthropology, Sociolinguistics, the Sociology of Language, Social Psychology, and Pragmatics. Exclusion of the semiological area of investigation known as Mass Communication Research from the multidiscipline was justified on the basis of its dubious status as a discipline. The term interdiscipline was discarded to refer to these language-related disciplines, because these fields approach language in use from their own particular theoretical basis and do not provide a metatheory as should be expected from an integrated approach of an interdiscipline. Finally, the label 'Discourse Studies' was proposed as a cover term for both Textlinguistics and the multidiscipline DA. Once the different disciplines integrated in DA had been identified, the introductory chapter offered a review of the contributions of each discipline to the study of discourse. The chapter finished with a definition of the notion of context.

Chapter 2 provided a fairly extensive discussion of the methodology applied to the interactional study. As Conversation Analysis (CA) was to be the main framework from which the study of discourse was going to be approached, the chapter started with a survey of its origins and methods. For this purpose, section 2.1.1 concentrated on the following four characteristics that were discussed as defining the conversation analytical approach, the first three attributable to its ethnomethodological heritage: (a) interest in the

methodology used by individuals to deal with organisational problems of talk; (b) emphasis on context; (c) distrust of *a priori* generalisations in favour of information gathered from a detailed analysis of tape-recorded material from naturally occurring everyday interaction; and (d) interaction viewed as being organised into a structure. Section 2.1.2 offered a description of the turn-taking system as proposed by Sacks *et al*. (1974) to account for the management of talk in everyday conversation. Section 2.1.3 was devoted to the units of conversational structure used by conversation analysts. The adjacency pair was presented as the minimal structural unit of a conversation. The question was then whether the unit could account for complexity in conversation. Despite the two apparent limitations of the unit, namely the condition of adjacent of one pair part with respect to another, born out by cases of side sequences and insertion sequences, and that of limited second pair parts, it was argued that a non-restrictive reading of the unit based on the notions of conditional relevance and of preference organisation could solve the problem.

Because the descriptive units used by conversation analysts, *i.e*. turn, adjacency pair and sequence, became insufficient to render a fairly complete description of the interactional organisation of the genres, resort to the hierarchical analysis proposed by the Birmingham School into the units act, move, exchange, and transaction was necessary. A definition of these units was offered in section 2.2.

The focus of section 2.3 lay on a review of the management of turn taking in the most fully described broadcast interview genre in literature to date: the news interview. The description revolved around three main points: the roles of interviewer and interviewee; the turn types restricted to the aforementioned roles; and the institutional features of the broadcasting machinery manifested in the turn taking system via the role of the audience and the constraint of objective reporting required from the interviewer.

Because the turn-taking system was to be investigated from the perspective of the interruption process, section 2.4 provided an extensive discussion of the notion of interruption, proposed a definition of the notion, and offered a typology of interruptions. A

review of the literature on turn-taking, and more specifically on interruptions, revealed that there has been no agreement on what counts as an interruption. Lack of agreement was shown to be traceable to two main reasons: the individuals' different interpretation of the same conversational behaviour, so that habits which some view as interruptive are not considered intrusive by others, and the context-specific constraints on the speech event. Yet a further reason was proposed, namely the divergence over what constitutes a turn and a transition relevance place (TRP).

In the light of the confusion over the concept of interruption, a definition was provided. The concept of interruption was viewed as depending on the notions of turn and TRP. The notion of turn was used in a restricted sense, as consisting only of the utterance(s) that contain(s) both a functional and referential message. As a consequence, backchannel utterances were excluded from this sense of the term. The end of an utterance commonly constitutes a legitimate point of speaker switch or TRP. An interruption was considered to take place when a listener starts speaking at a point that is not a TRP. Such a place was primarily identified on the basis of the co-occurrence of the following three criteria: the end of a syntactically complete structure, terminal intonation pattern, and end of a semantic-pragmatically complete stretch of talk. The signalling value of these possible turn-yielding features were considered to be reinforced with other cues such as a silent pause, decrease in loudness, drawl on the final syllable or on the stressed syllable of a terminal clause, a sociocentric sequence, the termination of any hand gesticulation, and eye gaze. With the sole exception of hand gesticulation, these secondary cues alone were, nevertheless, disregarded as indicating a possible completion point. Following Duncan (1972), hand gesticulation was considered to override all the other features and to suppress any attempt at speakership.

Though speaker changes occurring at a non-TRP were considered interruptive, a mere linear analysis was not viewed as completely reliable to identify an interruption. It was judged that identification of an intrusive speaker switch is also determined by the restrictions imposed by the speech encounter in which the speaker change occurs, and by

the speaker's particular interpretation of his/her speaking rights. Consequently, evaluation of a turn exchange was determined on the basis of overt participants' reactions.

After establishing the criteria that would govern the identification of an interruption, I classified speaker changes as follows. First, I distinguished between non-interruptive and interruptive speaker switches. The term 'non-interruptive' referred to a smooth turn shift in which no simultaneous speech takes place, whereas the term 'interruptive' was used to refer to any verbal action that obstructs the development of a speaker's ongoing talk. The obstruction was classified as successful if the current speaker's utterance is broken and the interrupter manages to finish his/her turn, and as unsuccessful if the current speaker finishes his/her turn or the interrupter does not finish his/hers.

In a second stage of the categorisation, I distinguished between single, complex, compound, and successive interruptions. The first two labels distinguished interruptive processes in which the interrupter intrudes, respectively, one and several times into the current speaker's ongoing turn. The term 'compound' identified an interruption produced simultaneously by more than one interrupter. Finally, the term 'successive' designated a sequence of intrusions produced by different interlocutors into the same ongoing turn.

In a third stage, single interruptions were sub-classified into Ferguson's (1977) categories: simple interruption, overlap, butting-in interruption, and silent interruption. In all four cases the willing next speaker starts speaking at a non-TRP. In the case of a simple interruption, the interrupter produces simultaneous talk leaving the current speaker's utterance incomplete. An overlap differs from the simple interruption in that the interrupter's simultaneous talk does not break the continuity of the ongoing speaker's utterance and in that the interrupter takes the floor at the end of the overlap. A butting-in interruption consists in producing an incomplete utterance simultaneously with the ongoing speaker's talk. Finally, in the case of a silent interruption no simultaneous speech is produced but the current speaker's utterance is left incomplete.

Because Ferguson's categories were insufficient to account for all possible patterns of single interruptions, I adopted four further categories. From Oreström (1983) I adopted simultaneous start 1, simultaneous start 2 and parallel, and from Roger *et al*. (1988) the category interrupted interruption. Finally, I created three more categories: non-interrupted interruption, simultaneous start 3, and simultaneous start 4. Simultaneous start 1 referred to simultaneous talk starting at a TRP and where the interrupter finishes his/her turn whereas the interruptee leaves his/her turn unfinished. Simultaneous start 2 differs from simultaneous start 1 in that it is the interruptee that carries his/her turn off. A parallel is similar to an overlap except that it is the current speaker who keeps the floor. An interrupted interruption takes place when the interrupter prevents the current speaker from finishing his/her turn but fails to complete his/her own because the interrupter's interruption is in turn aborted by the interruptee. In the case of a non-interrupted interruption, by contrast, the interrupter does not fail to complete his/her turn, whereas the interruptee may or may not succeed in finishing his/hers. Simultaneous start 3 resembles an overlap or a parallel starting at a TRP. And, simultaneous start 4 refers to a simultaneous start between two next speakers after a third party's talk.

In chapter 2 I also surveyed the Cooperative Principle, the notion of face, and politeness strategies, that is, those parameters that would be necessary to account for the interactional habits from a pragmatic point of view. Then, I proceeded to explain how CA methodology would be applied to the data selected, and finally I described how the data was collected and transcribed, and how the interruption database was designed.

The corpus of data analysed for this dissertation consisted of a sample of 13 political interviews, 18 talk show interviews, and 6 audience debates videotaped from British TV. However, due to time restrictions, the study of the interruption process was reduced to a sample of 12 speech events selected among the entire corpus. For the purpose of the contrastive study of the interruption process, a specially designed database was created where each seeming interruptive pattern that had been located in the data was registered and characterised along all the interactional dimensions that are involved in an interruption

process: the persons participating in the process, identifying the interrupter, interruptee and addressee, and distinguishing between frontal, lateral, special frontal and special lateral interruptions depending on the discourse roles of the parties involved in the process; the degree of complexity of the interruptive instance, distinguishing between single, complex, compound, and successive interruptions; the participants' interpretation of the turn-taking behaviour, differentiating between interruption, non-interruption, 'disinterruptionalisation' and 'interruptionalisation'; the position of the interruption, initial or non-initial, and occurring at a TRP or at a non-TRP; the participants' reactions towards the violative turn shift, either of acceptance or of non-acceptance; IR intervention, including the strategies used in mediation; the strategies used to restore the interrupted turn, namely abandonment, rectification, continuation, and repetition; the thematic motivation for the interruption, that is, whether the interruption was produced to change or keep the topic, and whether it created conflict or not; and finally, the informative perspective of the violation, on the one hand, distinguishing between relevant, irrelevant, relevance-triggering and irrelevance-triggering interruptions and, on the other hand, classifying relevant interruptions according to their motivation into those that provide new information, ask for new or complementary information, complete information provided by another speaker or by oneself earlier, correct information, or confirm interferences in the communicative channel.

An interesting fact about the database is that it could make provisions for turn-taking patterns that should turn out not to be interruptive on closer examination. Thus, of the 546 seeming interruptive patterns located only 256 were finally classified as properly interruptive. Only these constituted the sample on which the contrastive generic study of the interruption process was based. The rest of the patterns were excluded from the analysis for one of the following three reasons: (a) because after closer inspection the patterns were finally considered non-interruptive; (b) because the patterns were borderline cases between interruptions and non-interruptions; or (c) because they contained pieces of inaudible talk that made the patterns unanalisable. Among the most common cases of non-interruptive patterns were instances of simultaneous speech where one of the participants withdraws immediately in attendance to the interlocutor's speaking rights, and instances of

collaborative simultaneous talk. As borderline cases counted speaker switches which were interruptive only from a sequential perspective but not from a moral point of view, because they occurred next to a predictable TRP. Further instances of borderline patterns were cases of misprojecting a TRP by one or two syllables, and cases of appended phrases produced simultaneously with part of the next speaker's utterance. The most important point about the group of borderline patterns is that it was conceived as a continuum between shifts that were closest to non-interruptions and those that were closest to interruptions. As a consequence, the degree of interruptiveness/non-interruptiveness of the patterns included therein was variable.

In chapter 3 the management of the opening phase was examined in the three genres. Analysis of political interview openings revealed that they are routinely organised into three structural components: headline, story, and IE introduction. The headline introduces the topic; the story provides relevant background information about the topic; and the IE introduction component introduces the individual selected to talk on the subject matter. It was observed that only the necessary details are provided for the audience to grasp the connection between the IE and the topic. The most interesting point revealed by the analysis of the data is that the opening section is basically the same in political interviews and in news interviews. Nevertheless, the following three sub-genre differences were discovered. (1) The order of components may be more flexible in political interviews. (2) The number of IE alignments towards the topic is lower in political interviews than in news interviews. (3) The range of optional components is higher in political interviews than in news interviews, and depend partly on the way the interviews are inserted into the programme in which they occur and partly on the role of the audience.

Examination of talk show interviews showed that they are organised into two components: IE introduction and greeting. It was seen that the former adopts the format of a riddle, whereby the host initiates a guessing game with the studio audience. The latter is organised into a command-compliance exchange between host and audience, and a greeting

exchange between host and guest that contributes to the illusion of an informal chat between equals.

The structure of debate openings was observed to fuse characteristics that are typical of political interviews, as well as of talk show interviews. The type of opening components and their organisation resemble political interview openings, whereas the statuses of the audience and of the host are partly closer to their talk show counterparts. As for the opening components, the headline appeared to be the only obligatory component. Among the group of optional components were greetings, pre-headlines, stories, and invitations of public participation. As for panel introductions in panel debates, these were argued to pertain to the group of obligatory components for a similar reason to IE introductions in political interviews.

The strongly institutionalised nature of the genres was shown to leave imprints on the opening sequence through the marked audience-oriented function of the phase. It was concluded that orientation to the audience is visible through the following characteristics: address of opening section either to camera or to studio audience; topic introduction; interviewee introduction; unilateral management; role of audience; and status of IR/host.

In all three genres, it was clear that the opening section is aimed at the audience, either at the home viewers, as in political interviews and debates, or at the studio audience, as in talk show interviews. Though orientation to the absent audience in political interviews was observed to be marked through address to the camera, the data showed that in free-standing political interviews the IR tends to address that section directly to the IE. Despite this behaviour, the audience-oriented function of the phase was not questioned. Variation in the address of the opening section was also observed in debates containing a panel, for in those events the panel introduction component demonstrated address to the studio audience instead of to the home audience. As for talk show interviews, the entertainment goal of the genre was seen to determine that the studio audience address lasts only the first part of the

opening phase, the second part of it being substituted by direct IE address once the chat between IR and IE starts.

The topic of discussion was demonstrated to be explicitly announced in advance in political interviews and debates, but not in talk show interviews. It was shown that though the topic is pre-established in all three genres, it is announced to the viewers in only the first two genres *via* the headline component. Beside announcing the subject matter, this component also delimits the design of the upcoming talk, either as an informational or debate interview in the political interview genre, and as a discussion between two groups holding opposite views on the topic in the debate genre. In political interviews, this design was shown to be reinforced by the formulation of the story component. By contrast, talk show interviews lack a specific topic introduction component. In this genre, the introduction of the topic was claimed to be only latent in the IE introduction component. In this component, the IE is introduced as the protagonist of his/her professional life, a fact that implicitly marks the guest as the topic of the subsequent interaction. This lack of explicitness in the introduction of the topic of discussion in talk show interviews was attributed to their pretence of spontaneous conversation where, in principle, any topic may be raised. It can be concluded that the generic difference with respect to topic introduction between, on the one hand, political interviews and debates and, on the other, talk show interviews can be traced to the entertainment goal of the latter genre.

A further opening component of political interviews and talk show interviews specifically produced for the benefit of the audience was shown to be the IE introduction. IEs were observed to be introduced through a description. This process of identification, which was established to be markedly different from most ordinary face-to-face conversations, was justified on the basis of the audience's need to be fully informed about the identity of the IE. As for the format of the component, differences were attested between the two genres and traced to the goal of the communicative events. Thus, the strongly information-oriented purpose of political interviews was argued to warrant the observation that IEs are aligned towards the topic and that alignments are related to the IE's

public accountability. By contrast, the formulation of IE introductions as a riddle in talk show interviews was maintained to be a manifestation of the important entertainment purpose of the event. Another remarkable difference between the two genres lies in the fact that the IE introduction component in talk show interviews not only introduces the guest but, as already mentioned, acts implicitly as topic introduction. This fact warranted the difference in the number of alignments observed in the two genres.

In marked contrast to the previous two genres, debates were found to lack an explicit participant introduction component. Nevertheless, the active participatory role of the entire studio audience was found to be often acknowledged in a different opening component, the pre-headline, where reference is made to one group of the studio audience for holding a provocative position towards the topic of the debate. This reference was interpreted as implying an advocacy type of alignment of the studio audience towards the topic of discussion.

With respect to the management of the opening section, political interviews and debates exhibited an important similarity: both are managed unilaterally by the IR or host, a remarkable difference with respect to the co-operative entry into ordinary conversations. The task of opening the speech event was argued to be exclusive of the IR's or host's managerial role. Again, the marked transactional nature of the encounter was suggested to cause lack of interpersonal bonds as manifested in a greeting exchange. By contrast, talk show interview openings are managed unilaterally by the host only during the first part of the opening. The second part of the opening displayed interpersonal actions characteristic of ordinary conversations, such as movement toward each other, exchange of greetings and handshakes, and an offer-acceptance exchange of a seat. I took these findings as further evidence of the imprints of the goals of the events on the structural organisation.

The main points of difference between the communicative events with respect to the opening section were found to be determined by the role of the audience and the status of the IR or host. Organisation of the opening structure displayed the role that the audience

plays in each genre. Three different roles were distinguished: passive, semi-active, and active. In political interviews, the audience's role of passive and absent participant, defined as overhearer, was argued to justify the IR's direct address to the camera during the opening section, as well as the announcement of the agenda of the interview and the introduction of the IE. This behaviour suggested that the ultimate recipient of the IE's talk is not the IR but the audience. In talk shows, the role of the studio audience was defined as that of a present, semi-active participant. The state of semi-activity was defined on the basis of the shift observed during the opening phase from an active, non-verbal interaction with the host during the game-like introduction of the guest to the more passive role of eavesdropper on the IR-IE conversation. Though the term 'eavesdropper' was adopted from Greatbatch (1988) to define the role of the audience in talk shows, the accuracy of the term was questioned, because the humorous comments sometimes addressed to the audience by the host demonstrated that the audience was recognised as a present, though basically mute, recipient. This complicity is not assumed to be contained in the definition of the term.

The role of studio audiences in debates was defined as fully active. In contrast to talk shows, that role is not invariably demonstrated in the opening section, for the only explicit reference to the studio audience was shown to be contained in an optional component, the pre-headline. A further point of difference between talk show interview openings and debate openings was shown to be the clear studio audience-home audience separation in debates as opposed to the indistinguishable status of studio audience and home audience in talk show interviews. The host's behaviour in debates, directly addressing the camera, as well as the similar structural organisation of the opening components to that of political interviews, establishes the viewers as ultimate recipients or overhearers to the upcoming debate, distinguishing consequently between home audience and studio audience. On occasions, however, this overhearing role was observed to shift for active participation at the end of the debate through a phone poll, in which case the role shift was acknowledged in a specific opening component. It was argued that in talk show interviews the home audience-studio audience distinction is only manifested in pre-

announcements occurring prior to commercial breaks, for their function is clearly oriented at home viewers only.

As regards the shift of status of the audience, analysis of the data revealed one common feature to all three genres, namely that the IR or host combines verbal markers with body movements towards the IE, guest, or studio audience to signal that the audience addressed at the very beginning has been ousted from its role of immediate addressee of the subsequent talk.

Finally, as for the status of IR or host, it was necessary to distinguish between his/her internal and external status. The managerial function attached to the IR role grants the IR or host a superior internal status with respect to the rest of the parties to the events. The unilateral management of part of or of the entire opening sequence of the events is a consequence of the institutional role of IR or host. It was suggested that the IR's or host's external status was manifested through different interactional conducts. Thus, the distant relationship towards the IE manifested in the use of vocatives in the transition to the interview proper suggested a socially inferior status of IRs relative to IEs in political interviews. Also displaying the lower external status of the IR was the absence in the opening phase of an explicit IR introduction, IRs being identified by a visual label.

In marked contrast, talk show and debate programmes appeared to depict the host as having a superior external status relative to the studio audience. In talk shows, the host's star-like entry onstage was mentioned as reinforcing that status. Nevertheless, due to the pretence of a chat on equal terms that status was observed to be downgraded through humorous comments on the appearance of the guest. The IR's superior internal status was also somewhat disguised. Similarly, in debates, the host's movement toward the studio audience after the opening phase suggested de-emphasis of his/her superior external status relative to the home audience. By contrast, however, in debates the host's control of the event evinced that he/she continues to display his/her superior internal status.

In chapter 4 the turn-taking system was examined from the perspective of the violations of the system. For this purpose, the material was analysed along the following dimensions: categories, participants, degree of complexity, position, floor-security, reaction of participants, IR intervention, turn-resumption techniques, insertion of interrupter's message into interruptee's turn, thematic motivation of interruptions, their degree of relevance and the type of relevant information provided. The analysis tried to show the extent to which interruptive behaviour is determined by factors shaping the specific genre in which the interruption takes place. The factors considered were communicative goals, relations contracted between participants, and degree of formality of the speech event. The main generalisation that emerged from the analysis is that interruptions display certain features that can be viewed as specific manifestations of the distinct generic properties of each communicative encounter. And that, despite the genre-specific properties of interruptions, the interruption process displays characteristics that are common to all three broadcast genres because they derive from the similarities between the interactive events.

The analysis of the interruption database revealed that the interruption process in all three genres displays the following common turn-taking features. (1) Overwhelmingly interrupters produce single interruptions. (2) With respect to the current speaker's turn, interruptions largely occur at a non-initial position, and at a point that constitutes no TRP nor is close to what can be considered the predictable end of the ongoing speaker's message. (3) Almost always interruptions contain information that is relevant to the immediate context. (4) Participants resort to techniques displaying non-acceptance of the interruptive behaviour largely in cases of conflictive exchanges. (5) Non-acceptance of an interruptive conduct is more frequently signalled by rejection on the part of the interruptee than by insistence on the part of the interrupter. (6) Interrupters win the floor more through imposition than through persuasion.

Though showing minor differences from genre to genre, the following common characteristics were also revealed. (7) Interruptions in dyadic political interviews and talk show interviews are frontal as corresponds to the relation taking place between two

different discourse roles, IR and IE. Though frontal interruptions also dominate in debates, the range of interruption types is wider than in the other two genres due to the diversity of communicative relations established during the speech event owing to the high number of participants and to their different statuses. (8) Interruptions intended to change the topical line appear to be always initiated by the IR. This finding was attributed to the IR's function of topic controller. By contrast, the data suggest that interrupting with the purpose of delaying the introduction of a proposed new topic is typical of IEs intending to save their public image from a prior face-threatening act. Nevertheless, observation of interruptions in talk shows suggest that the conflict manifested by these interruptions in this genre is put to the service of humour, and consequently to the entertainment purpose of the event. (9) The data suggest that 'relevance-triggering' interruptions are only produced by IRs but with a different purpose depending on the genre: to enhance face in talk show interviews, but to stress face threat in debates.

A summary of genre-specific properties of the interruption process follows here. The analysis showed that the goals of the events have an effect primarily on the linear character of the interruption, on the degree of interruptiveness of the participants, on the reaction that the interruption provokes, and on its thematic-informative motivation. In political interviews, the challenging task performed by the IR in demand for political accountability generates face-threatening moments in which the IR sharpens differences of opinion about political affairs as managed by the party or Government represented by the IE. The IR's goal clashes with the IE's intention of transmitting to the viewers a favourable image of his/her party or of the Government. These opposite goals generate occasions of disagreement over the matter of discussion which impinge on the turn-taking behaviour. It was seen that the IR's conduct displays a high degree of interruptiveness and that the IR often resorts to complex interruptions. These findings were attributed to the IR's challenging task. The type of obstructive category produced evinced the conflict reached during the controversial interview. Most interruptions entailed simultaneous speech resulting from the interruptee's unwillingness to leave the floor free to the interrupter without finishing the message. Continuing one's argument at the point at which the

intrusion occurs until it is finished constitutes a means of imposing one's argument during the controversial fight. Resuming the interrupted turn through confirmation appears to achieve the same purpose. This turn-taking conduct suggests that fighting for the floor becomes a signal of argumentative opposition through which both IR and IE manifest their respective goals.

The analysis revealed the IR's tendency to interrupt for face-threatening purposes, whereas the IE's interruptive intention was observed to be of a face-saving sort, trying to counter the threats posed to his/her public image through interruptions whose motivation were to make corrections. The IE's resource to insertion of (part of) the IR's message into his/her resumed turn seems to be in keeping with this face-saving intention. As for the IR's behaviour, the data indicated that the challenging task pursued is constrained by the pre-established turn type assigned to the IR role. Challenging obstructions were observed to be formatted as elicitations for information, lending the interview the character of a cross-examination. Moreover, the format of some eliciting interruptions was seen to be face-threatening as well, since they were structured so as to restrict the response choice to the IE. Constraints of IR turn type also appear to justify a lack of IR interruptions expressing direct disagreement. In the light of these findings, it can be maintained that turn type determines features of turn-order violations.

The inherently conflictive character of political interviews was readily demonstrated by the individuals' reaction of non-acceptance to turn obstructions. Examination of the data revealed that the use of non-acceptance techniques in this genre appears to be an indicator that a challenging interruption is under way, and that challenging interruptions are primarily manifested through those reactive mechanisms. The data showed that it is the politician enacting the discourse role of IE that is mostly interrupted. As a consequence, it was also the IE that most often displayed a rejective attitude, resorting to sanctioning formulae when violation of his/her speaking rights coincided with moments of climactic tension.

The entertainment goal of talk show interviews strongly determines the degree of informality of the event, as well as the interpersonal relation between the participants. The degree of informality derives from the pretended symmetrical interpersonal relation between IR and IE. As informality is partly based on the procedures used for turn taking, the goal of the event can be considered to be organised through it and manifested primarily in the interruption process.

The data showed that the turn-taking process of talk show interviews transgresses the protocols of formal interviewing to adapt as far as possible to ordinary conversation, which is the type of communicative encounter created for the purpose of entertainment. In talk show interviews information about the public and private life of a personality is sought from within a casual conversation. The following finding underlines the resemblance of the talk show interview to a casual conversation and confirms this generalisation. A considerable number of IR interruptions were formatted as turns that provide new information instead of as turns that elicit information, as is expected from the pre-established questioning turn type assigned to the IR role. The rate of occurrence of these interruptions was similar to that of IE interruptions formatted as the pre-established information-giving or answering turn type. As a consequence, the comment-response adjacency pair frequently substituted the traditional question-answer pair throughout the interaction.

The equal rate of interruptive behaviour produced by the parties, as well as of acceptance and non-acceptance techniques used was considered to be likely to derive from the pretended lack of social distance between IR and IE. These features ultimately evince the similarity between a talk show interview and a casual conversation.

Interest in the life of the guest orients the interaction primarily towards the narration of personal episodes, so that the chat displays a low degree of inherent conflict. This purpose was manifested in the interruption process through the IR's production of obstructions aimed at eliciting information that emphasises the IE's self-image as opposed

to threatening it. Further evidence of the inherently low degree of confrontation of the event was provided by the individuals' reactions towards floor intrusions. The interruptee was observed to be quite willing to yield the floor to the interrupter, abandoning his/her thread of talk in favour of a response to the interrupter's talk. This conduct was attributed to the fact that interruptions are not primarily threatening acts. This reason appears to explain the predominance of acceptance mechanisms observed, as well as the frequent rate of cutting-off categories and of the abandonment technique on turn resumption. All these features of turn-taking conduct suggest a high degree of tolerance towards interruptions in this genre. The fact that interruptions did not commonly express either direct agreement or direct disagreement also appears to be in keeping with the narrative –and therefore non-argumentative– nature of the genre.

The controversial conversation and argument sought in debates between groups supporting opposite views on a subject matter determines the conflictive nature of the genre and, consequently, of interruptions. Similarly to what was observed in political interviews, the data showed that this function can account for the following features of the interruption process. (1) Obstructions mostly contained simultaneous speech as corresponds to participants trying to finish their arguments during a moment of strong disagreement. (2) Interruptions intended to correct some prior piece of information were produced by IEs in conflictive exchanges with the ultimate purpose of saving face. (3) The tendency to resume the interrupted turn through continuation and confirmation appears to indicate that these techniques constitute a means of imposing one's view over that of the opponent during an argumentative interruption. (4) The resource to insertion of the interrupter's message seems to constitute a method of indirect face-saving work. (5) Non-acceptance techniques appeared to be a marker of conflict.

Despite the similarities between debates and political interviews regarding the interruption process, marked turn-taking differences were observed which evince an altogether different generic structure. Decisive for these differences is the role of the audience in the communicative encounter. Apart from the factor of strong confrontation,

competition for floor space between several individuals becomes a common turn-taking problem in debates due to the active participation of the audience. The occurrence of compound, successive, and floor securing interruptions in this genre was a clear evidence. Interruptive interventions produced by the IR to signal interference(s) in the communicative channel and to decide who is to keep or take the floor in an attempt to restore turn-taking order further demonstrate the problem of competition for the floor existing in this genre. These types of interruptions are barred from occurring in traditional political interviews. Only special political interview programmes counting on an audience to put questions to the politician are candidates for similar interruption processes.

The active role of the audience in the debate event also accounts for the observation that it was audience members (or panel members in case of a panel debate) that mostly generated a turn obstruction in order to express direct disagreement. The considerably low degree of IR interruptiveness was attributed to the IR's mere managing function, specially when a Secondary IR takes over the eliciting function.

It was proposed that the genres investigated differ in degree of tolerance towards the interruption process which, in turn, was claimed to depend on the degree of confrontation of the speech event in question: the lowest degree of confrontation corresponding to the highest level of interruption tolerance, marked by reactions of acceptance towards floor obstructions; and vice versa, the highest degree of confrontation corresponding to the lowest degree of tolerance, signalled by reactions of non-acceptance. Following this line, it was maintained that talk show interviews display the highest grade of tolerance and political interviews the lowest. The intermediate tolerance attitude displayed in debates was considered to be mainly due to the fact that in this genre conflictive exchanges were more readily accepted than in political interviews.

Finally, a word about the conflict hypothesis. The hypothesis that conflict determines the nature of the interruptive process is borne out by the pieces of evidence provided. It was demonstrated that situations of challenge or confrontation influence the

turn-taking behaviour of participants. In this respect, political interviews and debates exhibited an important number of common turn-taking features that can be accounted for in terms of the inherently conflictive nature of the speech encounters. Nevertheless, the interruption process suggested a lower degree of conflict for debates which is based on a correspondingly lower degree of imposition during confrontation. This suggestion emerged from the smaller rate of interruptions displaying simultaneous speech as opposed to a cut-off. In contrast to what was observed in political interviews and debates, the entertainment goal of talk show interviews can account for a noticeably different turn-taking behaviour based on an emphasis on the interpersonal dimension of spoken interaction.

One important turn-taking feature of talk show interviews run counter to my expectations. In line with the conflict hypothesis, talk shows were not expected to produce more corrective interruptions than political interviews or debates. Corrections in this genre have to be interpreted as mostly of a non-face-repairing quality, and in any case as a product of the lack of a neat distinction between what counts as an actual face-threat and what does not due to the humorous transgression of all interviewing protocols.

Chapter 5 examined the accomplishment of the closing sections in the three broadcast genres. The following similarities observed in the closing phases of the three speech events can be accounted for in terms of the institutional setting of television broadcasting in which the events take place. (1) The data showed that the closing phase is initiated by the IR/host. This characteristic derives from the pre-established turn-taking system assigned to these institutional events. The unilateral management of the section in both political interviews and debates can be accounted for on the same grounds. The transgression of this type of management in talk show interviews can be interpreted as a consequence of the precedence that the goal of the encounter takes over the formal interviewing principles. (2) The terminal thanksgiving or parting act was seen to be almost invariably preceded by some pre-closing work, even if minimal. This feature is mostly due to the time constraint to which the events are restricted. The various types and structures of pre-closing work of each genre, however, seem to depend largely on the degree of face

work which, in turn, is ultimately influenced by the goal of the event. (3) All three genres are subject to the rigid time constraint of broadcasting, although this limitation is manifested to different degrees in the three genres. The data indicated that overt manifestation takes place primarily in political interviews and debates, whereas in talk show interviews it is expressed far less frequently and in a more subtle way.

The differences encountered in the three types of closing sections warrant their belonging to three distinct genres. As demonstrated with regard to the interruption process and the management of the opening section, the specific goal pursued in each particular type of communicative event, as well as the relationship between the participants, shapes the structure of the closing.

The data showed that the closing section of political interviews is brief, formal, and matter-of-fact. This characteristic was attributed to the information goal of the political interview, as well as to the unequal relationship between the participants to the event. By virtue of his/her superior internal status, the IR does not need to produce any talk that mitigates the decision of putting an end to the encounter. This too determines the lack of any talk aimed at establishing interpersonal bonds between the parties. This lack contributes but to stress the status imbalance between them. The same status imbalance accounts for the IE's lack of active collaboration to the accomplishment of the closing event other than, in many cases, a response to the IR's thanksgiving act for the sake of politeness. By refraining from producing acts that might not be interpreted as responses to elicitations the IE is orienting to the pre-defined turn-type assignment.

The entertaining goal of talk show interviews, manifested in the pretence of an informal conversation between equals, justifies the characteristics that the closing section shares with the same section in everyday conversation. This pretence justifies the complexity of the closing structure in talk show interviews, as well as its informal style and mostly interpersonal content. Typically conversational elements such as re-openings, well-wishes, invitations, and other interpersonal tokens referring to the quality of the encounter

show attendance to the interpersonal relation between the interactants inasmuch as they are aimed at maintaining sociability.

As any interactant in an ordinary conversation, the IE contributes actively to the achievement of the closing in that he/she commonly responds to the various elements produced by the IR, transforming the section into a sequence of bilateral exchanges of acts. Also oriented at the interpersonal aspect of the event was the common use of a handshake, a gesture that reinforces the terminal component of the closing yielding it the character of a real parting between people.

The goal of the event was seen to influences the degree of face work, which is manifested in the content. In general, the closure appears to be more frequently announced through metatalk in political interviews than in talk show interviews. In the latter genre it is typically projected by content that orients to enhancing the social relationship with the interlocutor, such as references to future meetings or invitations. Avoidance of metaconversational closing projections indicates an attention to positive face wants, inasmuch as it avoids unwelcome inferences about the IR's wish to put an end to the conversation. The fuller attention at positive politeness in talk show interviews was also reflected in the greater use of boundary markers, for they mitigate an abrupt closure. In this sense, political interview closings, it appears, are produced in a more direct manner. The content, then, is influenced by the transactional *vs*. interactional goal differentiation of speech events.

In debates, the relatively low rate of closing projections detected, on the one hand, but, on the other, the common presence of overt closing announcements in prefaces might find an explanation in the turn-taking system of the genre. Since turn order in debates not only depends on the host's management but also on the development of the argument and the contribution of the participants, it might be more difficult for the host to insert an early warning of the impending end as used in political interviews. Producing these warnings would probably entail interrupting the current speaker. In order to avoid this face-

threatening act, the host allows the debate to develop until there is no more time left than to announce its closure immediately before the thanksgiving act and home viewer address. The potential impression of abruptness resulting from this structure is frequently bridged with a re-invocation of material talked about earlier.

The remarkably lower frequency of this latter structural element in political interviews may be warranted on two grounds: first, observation of the data suggested that reference to prior talk is often related to the active audience participation. The second reason is likely to be the bald-on-record strategies used, which ultimately results from the transactional goal of the encounter. For their part, talk show interviews resort less often than debates to references to prior talk as a closing prefacing element, but more often than political interviews. These results point towards a comparatively lower attention of political interviews to positive face. The lower rate of this strategy with respect to debates might be due to the fact that talk show interviews resort to other face-implicative closing devices as well.

Within the institutional speech events investigated, the audience plays an important role in the structure of the closing. As the description demonstrated, the status of the audience in each kind of speech event determines (a) the presence of specific closing elements, and at times (b) the distinct function of the same closing element. Thus, the presence of a studio audience in talk show interviews determines the existence of a second exchange within the terminal component. The audience, who is acknowledged as a third, eavesdropping party to the event, is instructed by the IR to abandon the passive role for an active participating one by thanking the guest. By contrast, the audience's status of active participant in debates accounts for the fact that the thanksgiving act is addressed at them, and also for the existence of further closing elements like announcements of future programmes and/or instructions to the home viewers of how to join the audience. This content reflects the interpersonal dimension of the speech event. No such elements are present in political interview closings, since the absent audience is only tacitly acknowledged as an overhearing audience. The different status of the audience in talk show

interviews and in political interviews was also shown to be what motivates the distinct function that the IE's name acquires when uttered after the thanksgiving act: as applause-eliciting device and as reminder of the IE's identity, respectively.

The conclusions that have been drawn were based on the examination of a relatively limited corpus of data. It would be necessary to analyse a larger body of speech events in order to verify that the interactional conduct observed is not specific of the programmes selected for this dissertation.

BIBLIOTECA VIRTUAL MIGUEL DE CERVANTES

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE ENTIRE CORPUS OF DATA

Political interviews (total time: 7 hours 30 sec.)

Programme: *A Week in Politics* (1991).
Interviewer: Vincent Hanna.
Interviewee: George Robertson, MP (Front-bench Spokesman on European Affairs for the Labour Party).
Topic: Europe and the single currency.
Duration: 6 min.

Programme: *On the Record* (1991).
Interviewer: Jonathan Dimbleby.
Interviewee: Norman Lamont (Chancellor of the Exchequer).
Setting: Official room.
Topic: Europe and the single currency.
Duration: 50 min.

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Programme: *On the Record* (1991).
Interviewer: Jonathan Dimbleby.
Interviewee: Douglas Hurd (Foreign Secretary).
Setting: Official room.
Topic: Europe's crisis in Yugoslavia; Britain's European destiny.
Duration: 56 min.

Programme: *Walden* (1991).
Interviewer: Brian Walden.
Interviewee: Eddie George (Governor of the Bank of England).
Topic: An independent Bank?
Duration: 32 min.

Programme: Free-standing interview (1991).
Interviewer: Michael Brunson.
Interviewee: Margaret Thatcher (Ex-Prime Minister and member of the Conservative Party).
Setting: Official room.
Topic: Mrs. Thatcher's resignation.
Duration: 23 min.

Programme: *A Week in Politics* (January 1994).
Interviewer: Andrew Rawnsley.
Interviewees: Michael Stern (Conservative MP, Bristol North West); David Amess (Conservative MP, Basildon); and Hugh Dykes (Conservative MP, Harrow East).
Topic: Crisis in John Major's Government.
Duration: 10 min.

Programme: *Granada on Sunday* (January 1994).
Interviewers: Angela Ewart and Jim Hancock.
Interviewee: Tony Benn (Labour MP, Chesterfield).
Topic: Publication of Mr. Benn's speeches on video.
Duration: 3 min. 30 sec.

Programme: *Walden* (January 1994).
Interviewer: Brian Walden.
Interviewee: William Waldegrave (Minister for Public Service).
Topic: Charges of scandal against John Major's Government.
Duration: 53 min.

Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Jonathan Dimbleby.
Interviewee: Robin Cook (Labour MP).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: The single currency.
Duration: 40 min.

Programme: *On the Record* (1995).
Interviewer: John Humphreys.
Interviewee: Stephen Dorell, MP (National Heritage Secretary).
Topic: Local government elections: Tories are loosing seats.
Duration: 17 min.

Programme: Free-standing interview (November 1995).
Interviewer: Martin Bashir.
Interviewee: Princess Diana of Wales.
Setting: Official room.
Topic: Her marriage into the Royal Family.
Duration: 50 min.

Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby* (February 1996).
Host/Interviewer: Jonathan Dimbleby.
Interviewee: Ian Lang (President of the Board of Trade and Secretary of State).
AUD: Members of the audience.
Topic: The Scott's Report: The Government's policy towards the sale of defence equipment to Iraq.
Duration: 40 min.

Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby* (April 1997).
Host/Interviewer: Jonathan Dimbleby.
Interviewee: Tony Blair (Candidate in the 1997 elections).
Topic: Labour policy.
Duration: 40 min.

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Talk shows (total time: 3 hours 54 min.)

Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back* (December 1993).
Host/Interviewer: Clive Anderson.
Guests: Julian Clairie (comedian); Tony Benn (Labour MP, Chesterfield); and Helen Mirron (actress).
Duration: 30 min.

Programme: *This Morning* (December 1993).
Hosts/Interviewers: Richard Madeley and Judy Madeley.
Guests: Frank Carson (comedian); Paul Stallow (fashion designer); Samantha Fox (singer) and Barry McGuigan (boxing coach); East 17 (pop band); Robin Cousins (Olympic ice-skater); and Susan Brooks (cook).
Duration: 1 hour 35 min.

Programme: *Des O'Connor Show* (1994).
Host/Interviewer: Des O'Connor.
Guests: Gregg Rogell (comedian); Jeff Goldblum (actor); and Garth Brooks (singer).
Duration: 30 min.

Programme: *Pebble Mill* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Alan Cookhart.
Guests: Marian Montgomery (singer); James Nockty (presenter of Radio 4's *Today* programme); John Nettles (actor); and Frank Bruno (boxer).
Duration: 38 min.

Programme: *The Late Late Show* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: David Dimbleby.
Guests: John B. Keane (writer and actor); and Jackie Healy Rae (farmer, publican and councillor from Kincardine).
AUD: Members of audience
Duration: 41 min.

Debates (total time: 3 hours 33 min.)

Programme: *Kilroy* (March 1994).
Host/Interviewer: Robert Kilroy-Silk.
Guests: Tony Marlow (Conservative MP, Northampton North); John Wilkinson (Conservative MP, Ruislip Northwood); Robert Hicks (Conservative MP, Cornwall South East); Nicholas Wood (Chief political correspondent, *The Times*); Michael Welsh (Action Centre for Europe); Burkhard Birke (Deutschland Radio); Peter Shore (Labour MP, Secretary of State for Trade 1974-76); Norris McWhirter (author: *Treason at Maastricht*); David; Moira; Nicky; Seline; and Rosemary.
AUD: Members of audience.

Topic: Division on Europe.
Duration: 50 min.

Programme: *Question Time* (1994).
Host/Interviewer: David Dimbleby.
Guests: Virginia Bottomley; and Steve Jones.
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Genetic research.
Duration: 4 min.

Programme: *Esther* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Esther Rantzen.
Guests: Maria Edward (claims to have been a victim of abduction); a policeman (claims to have seen an UFO); Dr. James Thompson (clinical psychologist); Harry Harris (alien abduction investigator); Mel Grant (hypnotherapist); Dr. Arthur C. Clarke (scientist; specialist in alien encounters); Christopher Perry (Aetherius Society); and Anne Baring (psychoanalyst).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Alien abduction.
Duration: 28 min.

Programme: *Kilroy* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Robert Kilroy-Silk.
Guests: Father Michael; Dr. Michael Howitt-Wilson (GP & medico-chiropractor); Dr. Simon Cohen (consultant physician, University College London Hospital Trust); Prof. Andrew Grubb (Director, Centre of Medical Law & Ethics, King's College London); Claire Rayner (writer and broadcaster); Kate Diesfeld (lecturer in Mental Health Law, University of Kent); Alan; Jane; Debbie.
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Removing treatment to ill people.
Duration: 46 min.

Programme: *Sport in Question* (1995).
Hosts/Interviewers: Ian Saint John and Jimmy Greaves.
Panel guests: Raymond Illingworth (Chairman of England's cricket selectors); Alex Ferguson (manager of Manchester United); and Gary Newbond (Central TV's head of sport).
Other guests: Prince Naseem Hamed (boxer); Dr. Fleur Fisher (Head of Ethics and Science at the BMA); and Thomas Gordon and Keith Scott (coaches of Hollington Boys Amateur Team).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topics: Should boxing be banned?; Is football in the gutter?; and Who should coach the English cricket team?
Duration: 50 min.

Programme: *The Time, The Place* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Steve Chalke.
Guests: Rachel (believes boxing should be banned); Jane (mother of John; believes boxing should be banned); John (crippled ex-boxer; now children's boxing coach); Betty (believes boxing should not be banned; her son, 19, boxes since the age of 6); Trish (boxing should not be banned; her son, 10, is going to start the boxing career); Alex Cameron (sports columnist); Jim Watt (former World Champion); Dr. Kathleen Long (doctor); Dorothy Grace Elder (columnist); and Frank and Peter Moore (involved with amateur boxing).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Should boxing be banned?
Duration: 35 min.

Miscellaneous (total time: 2 hours 51 min.)

Programme: *Pursuit of Power* (1991).
Interviewer: Adam Raphael (Executive editor, *The Observer*).
Interviewee: Michael Heseltine (elected MP since 1966).
Topic: The person behind the politician.
Duration: 20 min.

Programme: *Jonathan Ross* (1994).
Interviewer: Jonathan Ross.
Interviewee: Meat Loaf (rock'n roll singer).
Duration: 28 min.

Programme: *Esther* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Esther Rantzen.
Guests: Lin Pearman; Jenny Morrison; Sir Rhodes Boyson MP (former Headmaster); Dr. Sheila Rosan (behavioural psychiatrist); Chief Supt Caroline Nicholl; Eithni Wallace (Deputy Chief Probation Officer, Inner London).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Why do so many teenagers turn to crime, drugs and prostitution?
Duration: 28 min.

Programme: *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Oprah Winfrey.
Guests: Debbie Kiley (survived 5 days at sea); Ruthie Bolton (abandoned and abused as a child); Sharon Kawai (falsely diagnosed as retarded); Lucy Grealy (ridiculed for being disfigured); and Jeremy Nagel (paralysed since he was shot).
Topic: Resilience.
Duration: 39 min.

Programme: *The Time, The Place* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Steve Chalke.
Guests: Debra Waterhouse (author: *Why Women Need Chocolate*); Dr. Robert LeFever.

AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Craving chocolate.
Duration: 30 min.

Programme: *Vanessa* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Vanessa Feltz.
Guests: Karen (would love to make love 24 hours a day); Cathryn (says she'd rather clean the kitchen floor than have sex); Rachael (upset when her husband suggested she have a fling); Peter (says he lusts after girls in the street); Yvonne (can't keep up with hubbie's constant demands); Karl (says he's always got sex on his mind).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Sex drives.
Duration: 26 min.

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APPENDIX 2: SPEECH EVENTS SELECTED FOR THE STUDY OF THE INTERRUPTION PROCESS

Political interviews (total time: 1 hour 46 min. 30 sec.)

Programme: *A Week in Politics* (January 1994).
Interviewer: Andrew Rawnsley.
Interviewees: Michael Stern (Conservative MP, Bristol North West); David Ames (Conservative MP, Basildon); and Hugh Dykes (Conservative MP, Harrow East).
Topic: Crisis in John Major's Government.
Duration: 10 min.

Programme: *Granada on Sunday* (January 1994).
Interviewers: Angela Ewart and Jim Hancock.
Interviewee: Tony Benn (Labour MP, Chesterfield).
Topic: Publication of Mr. Benn's speeches on video.
Duration: 3 min. 30 sec.

Programme: *Walden* (January 1994).
Interviewer: Brian Walden.
Interviewee: William Waldegrave (Minister for Public Service).
Topic: Charges of scandal against John Major's Government.
Duration: 53 min.

Programme: *Jonathan Dimbleby* (April 1997).
Host/Interviewer: Jonathan Dimbleby.
Interviewee: Tony Blair (Candidate in the 1997 elections).
Topic: Labour policy.
Duration: 40 min.

Talk show interviews (total time: 49 minutes)

Programme: *Clive Anderson Talks Back* (December 1993).
Host/Interviewer: Clive Anderson.
Guest: Tony Benn (Labour MP, Chesterfield).
Topic: Publication of Mr. Benn's speeches on video.
Duration: 9 min.

Programme: *This Morning* (December 1993).
Hosts/Interviewers: Richard Madeley and Judy Madeley.
(1) Guests: Samantha Fox (singer) and Barry McGuigan (boxing coach).
Topic: Fighting fit.
Duration: 8 min.
(2) Guest: Robin Cousins (Olympic ice-skater).
Topic: Ice-skating.

Duration: 9 min.

Programme: *Des O'Connor Show* (1994).
Host/Interviewer: Des O'Connor.
Guest: Jeff Goldblum (actor).
Topic: Acting.
Duration: 7 min.

Programme: *Pebble Mill* (1995).
Host/Interviewer: Alan Cookhart.
(1) Guest: John Nettles (actor).
Topic: Acting.
Duration: 9 min.
(2) Guest: Frank Bruno (boxer).
Topic: Boxing.
Duration: 7 min.

Debates (total time: 1 hour 40 min.)

Programme: *Kilroy* (March 1994).
Host/Interviewer: Robert Kilroy-Silk.
Guests: Tony Marlow (Conservative MP, Northampton North); John Wilkinson (Conservative MP, Ruislip Northwood); Robert Hicks (Conservative MP, Cornwall South East); Nicholas Wood (Chief political correspondent, *The Times*); Michael Welsh (Action Centre for Europe); Burkhard Birke (Deutschland Radio); Peter Shore (Labour MP, Secretary of State for Trade 1974-76); Norris McWhirter (author: *Treason at Maastricht*); David; Moira; Nicky; Seline; and Rosemary.
AUD: Members of audience.
Topic: Division on Europe.
Duration: 50 min.

Programme: *Sport in Question*. (1995).
Hosts/Interviewers: Ian Saint John and Jimmy Greaves.
Panel guests: Raymond Illingworth (Chairman of England's cricket selectors); Alex Ferguson (manager of Manchester United); and Gary Newbond (Central TV's head of sport).
Other guests: Prince Naseem Hamed (boxer); Dr. Fleur Fisher (Head of Ethics and Science at the BMA); and Thomas Gordon and Keith Scott (coaches of Hollington Boys Amateur Team).
AUD: Members of audience.
Topics: Should boxing be banned?; Is football in the gutter?; and Who should coach the English cricket team?
Duration: 50 min.

APPENDIX 3: A COMPLETE TALK SHOW INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT PROGRAMME: *CLIVE ANDERSON TALKS BACK* (DECEMBER 1993) INTERVIEW WITH TONY BENN MP

IR: Clive Anderson
TB: Tony Benn
AUD: Audience

IR: Now. My next guest ha:s been in the House of Commons longer ++ than anyone except <Sir Edward Heath> and the sta:tue o:f William Gladstone. Please welcome the MP for Chesterfield ++ TONy BENN MP.
AUD: (*applause; cheers and boos*)
IR: °Please take a seat. (6.1) (*TB takes a seat*) That's right. + Now.° (4.2) That's right. Now. Apart from being a distinguished member of the House of Commons you have got the- + the video out. + Your- ++ your speeches, + is that right? ++ Is that it there? (*shows a wrong video cassette*) [+]
TB: No.
IR: Oh no. I'm sorry. Well, ++ (*showing another tape*) that's it there. That's I think we'll plump for that. + And these uh- these uh- a video of your speech uh a non-usual event to be able to publish + speech though.
TB: Well it's the first one the House of Commons ⌈has
IR: Yeah.
TB: ever allowed to be +
IR: Yes.
TB: uh published. + You see I argued for the televising of Parliament in 1957.
IR: Ye:s. [+]
TB: Took to 1989 to do it. ⌈And even
IR: So were you against ITV in those days. + So you've had + Parliament on air, ⌈but
TB: Well, I was in favour of people hearing, + what was said, + ⌈in the House of Commons + by the people they'd elected, in⌈stead of having
IR: Yes. Yes.
TB: (*counting on fingers*) (Jeremy Paxman, ++ uh Peter Snow, John Snow,
IR: Yeah,
TB: Brian Redhad,) I mean there is practically no + coverage of politics. ++ And so ⌈this
IR: NOT ENOUGH POLITICS d'you think?
TB: There's no coverage of what is ⌈said. ++ I mean (*hand mov. rotating hands*)
IR: Yeah.
TB: (it's commentators talking to other commentators what other commentators think about what might be the magic.) + But you never actually ↑hear↑ anybody [+]
IR: No,

35. **TB:** arguing⌈their case.
36. **IR:** Fair point. + PERHAPS THERE SHOULD BE JUST ONE CHANNEL
37. ON SKY- you know. Just⌈uh + on POLITICS.
38. **TB:** Well- I know, but it's a bit more than that. Isn't it. Because
39. + the problems facing Britain now, in my opinion, are the most challenging, +
40. difficult, + and important. + How do you get everybody back to work. + What about
41. your relations with Europe. How do you get uh a new world order. + And the level of
42. political coverage, +
43. **IR:** Hm.
44. **TB:** is about + rock bottom. It's abuse, and uh + personalised, and shallow. + So I
45. think if people could hear an argument, +
46. **IR:** Hm.
47. **TB:** it might be quite an idea.
48. **IR:** So you <think people uh- + it'll be a big seller do you think go out
49. ⌈and get your- + your speeches.>
50. **TB:** Well I don't kno:w. I mean it wouldn't be on the scale. Have- you have 15
51. million watching this show. Or whatever, (*IR and AUD laughing*) (but it wouldn't be
52. quite that number).
53. **IR:** <Wouldn't that we did. + But⌈(*inaud.*) I'm going- the JUNGLE, THE JUNGLE=
54. **TB:** (*inaud.*) There are SOME- + but=
55. **IR:** =BOOKS BEING A BIG SELLER, DO YOU THINK IT'LL RIVAL THAT?>
56. **TB:** =there are SOME- [++]
57. **IR:**⌈They see you as + Ghir Khan or (*AUD laughing*) (somebody uh else?
58. **TB:**⌊There are SOME
59. **TB:** We:ll,) + you make fun of it. But the fact is you elect people to Parliament, we
60. call it a democracy, and you're never allowed to hear what they ↑say↑. + And I
61. think one of the reasons people are cynical about Parliament, which they are, +
62. **IR:** Yes.
63. **TB:** is because they're never allowed to hear, the arguments that are put forward.
64. And + people h- who are in Parliament, have got experience, they've got co-
65. contributions to make, + and is totally blotted out. [+]
66. **IR:** Mm. [+]
67. **TB:** By the coverage, which is very very⌈shallow. That's the point
68. **IR:** ⌊Mm.
69. **TB:**⌈I'm trying to make.
70. **IR:** ⌊Mm I know. But you say you can't or <the politicians can't get your views
71. across,> but + your views <in particular> are a- available in every possible form.
72. Aren't they.⌈Because you've
73. **TB:** ⌊Yeah, but it's by interview. + Now you imagine Moses + coming down
74. from Mount Sinai and being interviewed. [+]
75. **IR:** Yeah.
76. **TB:** And instead of giving the ten command(ments), + what do you think of a

77. (*inaud*.) Moses. (*IR + AUD laughing*) (I mean, + isn't that a coded⌈(*inaud*.)=
78. **IR:** ⌊Yeah.
79. **TB:** =Abraham?) <You imagine to get⌈(*inaud*.) + Do you think President Lincoln>
80. **IR:** ⌊Yeah,
81. **TB:**⌈your speech⌉will long be remembered?
82. **IR:**⌊Yeah, yeah,
83. **IR:** Yeah,
84. **TB:** Uh uhm + <Churchill in the war>, do you think that in many wars,=
85. **IR:** =Yeah,=
86. **TB:** =so many of those=
87. **IR:** =Yeah,=
88. **TB:** =owed so much to so=
89. **IR:** =Yeah,=
90. **TB:**=few? I mean, + nobody's ever allowed to say anything. You've got to be
91. interviewed.=
92. **IR:** =↑Well are- you say that. But you can get-⌈you-⌉↑
93. **TB:** ⌊Well no.=
94. **IR:** =No listen. + Let ↑<u>me</u> (*AUD laughing*) (ask↑ you something.)
95. **TB:** Yes alright. + Well you began it with me, and I'm getting my own back.
96. **IR:** Okay. But- but- but you've got- + we want to hear- ++ we wanna hear what you
97. (*IR laughing; applause from audience; IR awaits end of applause*) have to say, and
98. we do, + uh apart from appearing on these uh + mere + interview shows like this, +
99. you've got your video out, + there's the-
100. **TB:** Well that is the new fa- factor.=
101. **IR:** =Yeah.=
102. **TB:** =Nobody's ever heard-⌈I've been there⌈42 years and never heard a=
103. **IR:** ⌊Yeah, ⌊<Yes- yes- yes- yes I know that.>=
104. **TB:** =↑speech.↑
105. **IR:** =But on the radio we can listen to your tape diaries. Your diaries are available +
106. every day as well.=
107. **TB:** =You're missing the point Clive. I mean, take the- +⌈take the⌉
108. **IR:** ⌊No I'm putting [+]
109. **TB:** You <u>are</u> missing the point. [+]
110. **IR:** ⌈<I'm putting the point, and you're not dealing with it.>⌉
111. **TB:** ⌊No, no, no. You're missing the point. An interview, is
112. about what somebody is- + uh + the interviewer wants to talk about.
113. **IR:** Yes.
114. **TB:** But if⌈you want⌉
115. **IR:** ⌊Well it usually is.
116. **TB:** (*IR and AUD laughing*) (Well,- + well I try to reverse the thing as you know,)
117. when we did it last time.
118. **IR:** Yeah,=

TB: =But the fact is, that + uh during for example the p- the- the miners' strike, +
EVERYBODY on the television + said there'd been a riot at (*inaud*.). [+]
IR: Yes,
TB: Arthur Scargill said there hadn't. When he went to court, + the miners were
acquitted, + and the police paid compensation.=
IR: =Right.
TB: Two years or three or four years ago when Sadaam Hussein + used chemical
weapons + against the: uh- + uh the Kurds, uh Labour MP Jeremy Corbin, + went to
the minister, and said you must stop trading with + Iraq. + ↑Oh no! They said it's
too important.↑ So you've got to listen to some dissident voices, +⌈sometimes.
IR: ⌊Yeah,
TB: And very- look at Chris ↑Murrey,↑ + he said the Birmingham six were
↑innocent,↑ so they accused him of being a friend of ↑terrorism.↑ He was right. +
(*changing position in chair*) (So + the first time I ever went) to Parlia (*IR laughing*)
(ment, 1937,) +
⌈I actually chose to be + (*inaud*.) I'm making a very important point.⌉
IR: ⌊ (*inaud*.) <Wait a minute. Wait a minute before we go on. This is not- this is
not> a party political broadcast. (*AUD laughing*)⌈In fact
TB: ⌊No it isn't. I was just about to
SAY CHURCHILL WAS RIGHT. But he was in the wilderness.=
IR: =YES.=
TB: =So that's not exactly a party political⌈broadcast.
IR: ⌊No. No. I think you ('ve loved to
be in) a party political broadcast for some time haven't you.
TB: ↑No. I'm not-, I'm- I think actually it's more than that. It's hearing↑, the
argument.⌈Now. Mrs. Thatcher was a great teacher. That's why she was so
IR: ⌊Yeah.
TB: powerful.
IR: Yeah.
TB: She + acted. And taught. + Now where: is the counterveiling argument coming
from. [+]
IR: <What. From the Labour Party you mean.>=
TB: =↑Well, no. Well, it's- I mean I think it's a bit of a vacuum.↑=
IR: =Yeah.=
TB: =And I think the reason people have been cynical, + is they say they all agree,
so they're abusing each other. + Isn't there s- isn't that of some resonance with
you?=
IR: =Oh certainly! I've got- the thing I've noticed most about, especially senior
politicians, you're all + quite + complimentary about + your opponents, like
Norman Tebbit. + Wrote quite a- a warm piece about you when you lost your seat
on the + NEC.
TB: (*nodding*) Yes.=

161. **IR:** =Whereas Roy Hattersly, who's in your party, + basically said "oh good
162. riddance", and ⌈I mean⌉ <"I've been fed up with working with him> for↑ages".↑
163. **TB:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
164. **TB:** Well I know.⌈But + uh⌉yeah. But isn't that helpful. + When (*laughing*)=
165. **IR:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
166. **TB:** =(people) are⌈homeless, + or unemployed, + and I don't think- I think-
167. **IR:** (*IR and AUD laughing*)⌊No!
168. **TB:**⌈and I think (*inaud.*) the⌉insults
169. **IR:** ⌊Not to you. It's not.
170. **IR:** Ye:s.=
171. **TB:** =<↑How (are) you going to get everybody> a <u>house</u>.↑[+]
172. **IR:** Yeah.
173. **TB:** <↑How (are) you going to get> everybody a <u>job</u> .+ How are you going to see
174. that everybody has <u>health</u> care.↑ Now <u>these</u> are substantial arguments.
175. **IR:** Yes.
176. **TB:** Which + I tell you I listened to the BBC during the budget. + And at the end of
177. the Chancellor's speech the BBC said, if you wish to listen, + to the leader of the
178. opposition, + switch to ↑long wave.↑ + (*rotating fists*) Because the BB↑C wanted
179. to do all the commenting.↑
180. **IR:** Yes.
181. **TB:** On the budget. They didn't want to hear John Smith speak. + And I think this is
182. + very shallow. + That's all I'm saying.
183. **IR:** Yes.=
184. **TB:** =Now if you uhh=
185. **IR:** =But the point you were making about getting your: views across uhh- <the
186. point I was trying to put back to you, was that> + that your <u>di</u>aries you record
187. ↑<u>ev</u>ery day,↑⌈and then occupy- was it something like <u>sev</u>en: <u>sheds</u> worth of + space
188. **IE:** ⌊I do.
189. **IR:** in your:?=
190. **TB:** =(*shaking head*) No, it's only- it's only 12 million words.
191. **IR:** ↑12 million words.↑⌈(But <u>how</u> many-⌉+ <u>how</u> many sheds worth is that=
192. **TB:** ⌊ (*inaud.*)
193. **IR:** =°do you⌈think.°
194. **TB:** ⌊Well, there are lot of sheds.=
195. **IR:** =A lot of sheds. (*laugh*)
196. **TB:**⌈Yes (*inaud.*) ⌉
197. **IR:**⌊(*laughing*) (Well, <u>here's</u> a way to) (*IR and AUD laughing*) + help the
198. homeless. We could get rid of some of your diaries.
199. **TB:** (*smiling*) (Well, that's a fair point. Yes. ++ But they're all) (*IR and AUD*
200. *laughing; applause*) full of (*inaud.*). I'd be glad to get the homeless homes. You
201. ⌈see.
202. **IR:**⌊Yes. <You always seem to have + difficulty with the leadership of the Labour

203. Party whoever it is. + Uh you've ⌈got
204. **TB:** ⌊Well I had a bit of difficulty with Ramsey
205. McDONALD, ⌈but he did leave the Labour Party and join the Tories.
206. **IR:** ⌊Yeah,
207. **IR:** (*laughing*) And and=
208. **TB:** =<Had a bit of difficulty with> George BROWN , [+]
209. **IR:** Yeah.
210. **TB:** who was deputy but he left the La⌈bour Party,⌉
211. **IR:** ⌊ Harold Wilson.
212. **TB:** had a bit of difficulty with Ro- Ro- with- what's his name. Roy Jenkins.
213. **IR:** Yes.=
214. **TB:** =He was deputy. He joined another par⌈ty. +
215. **IR:** ⌊Yeah.
216. **TB:** So actually ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
217. **IR:** ⌊↑And Harold Wilson. And ⌈Neil⌉ Kinnock.↑
218. **TB:** ⌊Well,
219. **TB:** ↑Not really,↑ Harold put me in his ↑Cabinet↑ for eleven years.=
220. **IR:** =Yeah.=
221. **TB:** ↑What difficulty was that.↑=
222. **IR:** =Well, he said that he: found that you immatured with age. ⌈He was
223. **TB:** ⌊Well I know, but
224. Harold- uhh + but- uhh you know- ++ you have to learn.
225. **IR:** (*IR and AUD laughing*) Ye:s.=
226. **TB:** =And I don't know that Harold did. Although he did start the Open University.
227. (*IR laughing*) (++ And he) won four elections, which is more than some recent
228. leaders ⌈have⌉ done.[+]
229. **IR:** ⌊Yeah.
230. **IR:** It was certainly more than any other Labour leaders ⌈have done. ⌉
231. **TB:** ⌊Yes indeed. Yes, yes
232. indeed.=
233. **IR:** =But a lot of them seem to blame you + for the:- uhh the + uhh uhh defeats of
234. the Labour par⌈ty. Sort of frightening⌉ the electorate. (*in* ⌈*aud*.) ⌉
235. **TB:** ⌊Yes, but you see ⌊I know but take- + take
236. another man. Not myself. Take Scargill. + He was treated as if he was Gadaffi,
237. Castro, + uh Sadaam rolled to⌈gether. And, + he is more popular than the Prime
238. **IR:** ⌊Ye:s.
239. **TB:** Minister. + Not that that's difficult as you know. + (*IR and AUD laughing*)
240. (But he is,) because + he spoke the truth. ++ And the truth isn't most popular when
241. ⌈you say
242. **IR:** ⌊<But I'm asking about you and you're ⌈referring to Mr. Scargill.>
243. **TB:** ⌊When- I'm only talking about people
244. who've been hammered into the ground,

IR: Ye:s,
TB: and that's why I mentioned ↑Churchill.↑ When I first heard him at 37, + he was + in the back benches, + he was marginalised, and he was warning us against Hitler. [+]
IR: Yeah,
TB: And people said + "oh Churchill, he's finished." You see, I think you have to listen, to ⌈voices, + that may not be popular at the time.
IR: ⌊Yes,
IR: Yeah,
TB: < I mean, even you might be popular one day, (*in⌈aud.*)⌉
IR: (*laughing*)⌊((*inaud.*)) 15 million viewers (*inaud.*), if I get to that stage. + Uh now were- were you uhm uh + happy, annoyed, to- to lose your place on the NEC? ⌈Is that
TB: ⌊No. + I've been on + 34 years. + I've been on + half my life. <I was 34 when I got on, 68 when I- no. As a matter of fact at my age, you don't want anything really, (*counting on fingers*) I don't want a peerage, I don't need cash, and I don't want office.> [+]
IR: Mm,
TB: So I- I- I'm serious + now. I think that at a certain age, + your function is to be a student, and a teacher. + To try to listen, and understand what people say, + and then help them to understand the situation they're in. + And I- I- + when you're 69 ++ uh uh or 68, + (*AUD laughing*) (I think life + becomes ⌈very ⌉)
IR: | (*inaud.*)|
TB: ⌊Well, I don't know. (*moving position in chair*) ⌈((*inaud.*)) ⌉'cos your wig looks quite good. But=
IR: ⌊You don't look a day over 65.
TB: =uh + as a matter of fact, [+]
IR: 15 million and a wig, I think you're giving me more than most people ⌈give me.
TB: ⌊Well, I think lots of people have got away with more (*inaud.*) than that. + Now what (*AUD laughing*) (I'm saying is I think like anything in life) + life becomes much more interesting. [+]
IR: Ye:s.
TB: And I wouldn't go back + a year. + <I wouldn't go back on the National Executive because like the Birmingham six,> I've been released. I've been proved innocent. + I never did it. You see what I mean.=
IR: Right. + (*AUD laughing*) (I think I see what you mean yeah.) (*IR laughs*) <But looking at- looking at the speeches on your-> your video, + uhm you're + <to a certain extent- you're railing against the:- the world going against you. You- obviously you're against [+]
TB: Ordination of women?
IR: Uh well I=

TB: =We won that.=
IR: =With the exception + <maybe of ordination of women, maybe hunting is going to come round your way again even⌈tually.> ++ But you're against + going into
TB: ⌊Yes.
IR: Europe, you're against moder⌈nisation,
TB: ⌊<No no. I'm not against- I'm against being> run from Brussels,
IR: Yeah,=
TB: =by people we don't elect, and can't remove. Be⌈↑careful↑ you see.=
IR: ⌊Yeah,
IR: =Yes.
TB: I mean, that's a- that's a + comment you read in The Sun obviously, or (*AUD laughing*) The Daily Mail, + or the- the (*applause*) (Daily Express. I think that's your problem.
IR: Well, + I'm- + I'm- + I'm uh [+])
TB: Perhaps you write in it. + Do you write in it?
IR: I don't write in The Sun. No.=
TB: =You don't.=
IR: =Sadly and
TB: That's a re⌈lief⌉ anyway. [+]
IR: ⌊Yes.
IR: Now. + An item on the video, you mention that uh + the Labour Party stopped being a socialist party. When- when did it stop being a socialist party.
TB: Never was a socialist party.=
IR: =Oh ⌈right.
TB: ⌊It always had socialists in it. + Just as there's some Christians in the churches, [*AUD applause*] [(*IR and AUD laughing*) (AND THAT'S SOMETHING (*INAUD.*)) IT'S REALLY SO SIMPLE.
IR: <OKAY. WELL. (STAY THERE.) + (*turns to AUD*) THANK YOU VERY MUCH. (*hand movement towards TB*) TONY BENN MP. + (*turning to camera*) And we'll take a break. See you. Bye bye.>]

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Figure [5]: Clive Anderson interviewing Tony Benn MP

APPENDIX 4: A COMPLETE POLITICAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT PROGRAMME: *WALDEN* (JANUARY 1994)
INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM WALDEGRAVE (MINISTER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE)

IR: Brian Walden
WW: William Waldegrave

IR: INCOMPETENT, + DIVIDED, + DIRECTIONLESS, ++ DISHONEST, + SELF-SERVING, ++ HIPOCRITICAL, ++ OUT-OF-TOUCH, ++ these are just SOME + of the charges + now being levelled against John Major's Government.++ After the CATalogue of SCANdal and diSASter, + of the past fortnight, + are the Tories any longer + fit to ↑rule?↑ ++ William Waldegrave, + the minister for Public Service, + is here with me in Bristol.
(*cover of programme*)
Mr. Waldegrave: uh ++ your Government, + this weekend, ++ is being accused of uh dishonesty, ++ incompetence, ++ being out of touch, ++ and much else. ++ Do you admit the truth of any of these charges?
WW: The Government said some + rough things. And no + Government would ever be wise + to say that it hasn't made mistakes. + However, + let us look at the other + side of the balance. ++ Here, + we in Britain, + are: living in + the one big economy + in Western Europe, + which is now expanding, + where unemployment is falling, + we have + gone through a period where very difficult readjustments after the end of the Cold War to our defence capacity have been skilfully and effectively handled, + where we've hammered out after intense debate + our position on Europe, which I think unites + mo- the majority of the British people.++ And the big things + are right. And getting + better.+ Now I'm not going to say that we haven't had some + difficult things + to handle, some of them not really to do with Government individual + behaviour + that it would be much better if it hadn't happened, ++ but I believe the Government's + long-term position is strong, and that we are representing + the things which the British people in the long term + want us to represent.
IR: Ye:s. Yet you said the Government has made some mistakes. + What in your view were those mistakes. [+]
WW: Any Government, ++ from time to time, + can look back at things and say + uhhh + you know, + that could've been done better. I can think of plenty of things I've done in thir- + thirteen years I've been a + minister. + Which I could have done better. And I- I believe that- + that- that people looking at this programme would think I was + pretty crazy, if I said + the oppo- if I said anything different. + However, I'm not going to make uh- John Smith is a formidable enough leader of an opposition, + for me not to make his life easier, ++ by cataloguing a lot of things that he can then say <"well that minister said that was all wrong."> + Uh + there's a there's a narrow line here. + Disreilly said + "never complain and never explain." + You should never complain. + Uh but sometimes + explaining + the things that is the

job of the opposition to + point to is + perhaps not best done by ministers.
IR: Ah! Well now, if you're gonna tell me that you're going to + take the credit for being a modest chap who admits a few mistakes, + but you aren't gonna tell me what they are:,
WW: (*laughter*)
IR: you aren't go nna explain anything about them, + I think that's a bit rough.
WW: ⌊Well,
WW: Alright, ⌈I'll tell you about them. I'll tell you them.+ I'll tell you- I'll tell you⌉=
IR: ⌊Come on.WHAT ARE THESE MISTAKES.
WW: =one that I was involved with. ⌈Which was an honourable mistake,
IR: ⌊Yep.
IR: Yep. [+]
WW: but it was a mistake. + It was the poll tax. + Uh it was an honourable mistake. + Because it was a re:al + thoroughgoing + attempt + to try to produce a painful local tax + that was going + to restore: + the capacity of central Government, + to leave autonomy to local Government. A high ideal. ++ But it uhh- it didn't work. + A:nd uh John Major was right + to repeal ⌈the legislation. Though (*hand pointing at IR*)
IR: ⌊.hh
WW: (I .hh s)till hanker after the (*closing fist*) (original target. .hh) + uhh we haven't got the relationship right. (*hand pointing at IR*) (< Here's something) I'll say that I think we still haven't got right. + We still haven't> + finally got right the relations between central and local Government. + And John Grummer I think + said that last year. + We need to reconstitute that relationship to get + all the parts of the public sector in Britain working + in better harmony.
IR: ↑Important of course↑ though the whole issue of local Government is and all that,+ ↑is there anything a little bit↑ more contemporary? (*laughter*) ↑Anything that's been happening perhaps in the last few weeks,↑ where you think the- a mistake might have been made. [+]
WW: I don't think there's been mistakes made by Government. + In all this + uh schamozzle ++ around uhm personal + morality and so forth. + As a matter of fact, + uh the criticisms against John Major, ++ uh for not being more + ruthless in relation to Mr. Yale, I think + is + simply another + way of recognising the fact that the Prime Minister, + has all through said that we- ++ I- Government ministers + are not in the business of moral arbitration about + uh private behaviour. That is for the individual conscience. And if you look back at his speeches, ++ the word ++ tolerance and the o:ld British + capacity to say + that people must find their own way to salvation, is very close to his heart. As it is I think + to most people in this country.
IR: Sure. Well you must be cheering him up at the moment, + because when we- + when push comes to shove Mr. Waldegrave despite the poll tax and all the rest of it, + dishonesty, + hypocrisy, + out-of-touch, + incompetence, + you are fundamentally de↑nying↑ those charges aren't ⌈you.
WW: ⌊I (*nodding*) (am) fundamentally de⌈nying them.=
IR: ⌊Ahh! There we=

WW: =The- + the- there's plenty of knockabout in politics. John Smith as I say he's=
IR: =are.
WW: =the-+ he's paid to be the vulture circling. But this animal still has lots of life in it. [+]
IR: ↑.hh why do you think↑ (*horizontal hand mov.*) (<you deny (it.>))++ (*pointing with index finger at WW*) (↑Why do you think↑) they are made, + and are so current, + and there were so many of them. [+]
WW: I think there are two things. ++ I think there is the + general ++ uh (*hand mov.*) (difficulty which Douglas Hurd + uh + spoke eloquently) about yesterday or the day before, ++ that the- + (*vertical hand mov.*) (the pressure that has been on ++ all Governments + around the + democratic world, + ah in the + last period) + there have been (*horizontal hand mov.*) (two elements to that.) I think (*vertical hand mov.*) (one) + that we've all been through very tough economic times. + And great expectations were (*vertical hand mov. at underlined syllables*) (disappointed. And many) people have been hurt. + Also, I think there is a genuine rather deeper + sense of + (*right hand extended with palm down*) (<confusion and direction after the ending of the Cold War. There was a sort of simpler> + view. + There was + a standing up to the + bad guys.) ++ And if you go to France, + if you go to Germany, + (*moving right hand towards IR*) (let alone Italy,) + go to the United States, + (*moving right hand towards IR*) (go to Japan,) + where I was the- + the other day, + (*vertical hand mov.*) (you'll find these same debates going on.) And you'll find (*vertical hand mov.*) (gov)ernments + (*vertical hand mov.*) (ver)y unpopular and you'll find Governments being (*vertical hand mov.*) (tossed) back. + I think that's ++ (*horizontal hand mov.*) (part of it.) And uh + it's no excuse for not getting- + you know for not + (*opening both hands and moving arms forward*) (↑dominating↑ everything) in a way which would make us all + more cheerful. + But it does mean that there is nothing happening here which hasn't happen- been happening with knobs on + in other countries. [+]
IR: .hh + well, + <now let's just (*pointing with index finger at WW*) (take ↑that.↑) + (*vertical hand position*) (Because you are going to give me a second reason aren't you.) But (*pointing at WW*) (we'll take that one first.> + See, + it's no great consolation for British people, + to know that in (*leaning forward*) (↑your↑) opinion, though (*shaking head slightly*) (it wouldn't be) the opinion of ↑others,↑+ the same thing is happening else↑where. ↑+ And your evidence to that is that [*moving hand sideways*] (*leaning forward*)[(Douglas) says it is.]⌈Well,⌉
WW: (*moving hand forward*)⌊(No. My evidence for that view is that- well actually in one of the) Sunday newspapers today goes into ++ uh the- the- (*laugh*) the rather puny + nature + of the troubles that we've been having here [*right palm up*] [compared with those for example in Japan, + for example in (*vertical hand mov.*) (Italy,) + and there are some + very- you know in Germany, + the + unemployment is going (*vertical hand mov.*) (up.+ And up. + And up.)] + In (*vertical hand mov.*) (West) Germany (*moving hand sideways*) (as well as in East Germany.) + (*vertical hand mov.*) (Now the strains in

that society are beginning to show.) + (*moving closed fist up and down*) (We in Britain) + (*moving fist sideways and shaking head*) (↑we've↑got our problems. Of course we have.) But we are going in the (*vertical hand mov. with palm up*) (right + direction.)

IR: But then you see ↑that's what makes it all the more interesting.↑ Was-⌈what I
WW: ⌊Mhm.
IR: was going to ↑say to you.↑
WW: Mhm. [+]
IR: Your claim is that we are coming out of this recession, that things are improving etcetera. <That's certainly the case in some of these other countries.> + And YET + YOU ARE FACING A TORRENT + of criticism about DISHONESTY. + LYING. + OUT-OF-TOUCHNESS.+ ARROGANCE. + INCOMPETENCE. + ↑You're not really↑ telling me that this is because of a world-wide phenomena.⌈Are you Mr. Waldegrave?=
WW: ⌊I
WW: =I=
IR: =It must have something to do with what's happening ↑here,↑ + in Britain.
WW: I am telling you that that phenomenon + is exactly replicated + in the other countries + uh around the world which have been through this recession. Nowhere, + in the world, + are politicians + the flavour of the month. + Are national institutions, + the flavour of the month. + There is questioning + everywhere.=
IR: =Mm. [+]
WW:⌈And against that background, + things that in calmer times, ++ would
IR: ⌊.hh
WW: perhaps be + halfway down page three, + are banner headlines + on page one. + I am saying that. And I believe that to be true. And you could easily + demonstrate it. By looking + at uhh what has been happening for example in Italy or Japan.
IR: .hh yeah, you see, + <I find something very odd about this.> (*swallows*) It turns out, that the reason all these charges are made against you is it's the people's fault.=
WW: =No.
IR: NOW ↑LUCKILY, + <NOT ON⌈LY THE ENGLISH PEOPLE,↑> the=
WW: ⌊No.
IR: =Germans as well. + >There's Hans in Hamburg. + And there's Fred in Bristol. + Ah and there's Joe in Pittsburgh. + And these dreadful types just don't understand what wonderful Governments⌈they've got.<⌉ + <And e↑specially↑ the chap in
WW: ⌊(*laughing*)
IR: Bristol.>
WW: Hm.
IR: HE SHOULD REALICE HOW WELL OFF HE IS, + BUT⌈IN FACT, + HE
WW: ⌊Hm.
IR: KEEPS MOANING ABOUT ARROGANCE. + AND OUT-OF-TOUCHNESS.

164. + AND DISHONESTY. + AND LYING. + It's really + his fault though. + Not the
165. Government's.
166. **WW:** Nonsense. + That's a wonderful caricature of the argument I'm trying to put.
167. ++ The argument I'm trying to put is this. + That the + uh- that the- + the troubles +
168. that we've all been through economically, and + you know, there are people in my
169. constituency, who've had a very very tough time in this recession. + Thank
170. goodness, out of which we are now coming + faster. + Perhaps because we went in
171. earlier, but we are coming out + faster + than other European countries. + An:d +
172. it's + I- I don't think the British + Government ++ is uh- is + uh ++ in any way +
173. uhh + subject + to those deep moral + accusations that have been made against it
174. any more or less than the <Conservative Governments, ↑or indeed Labour
175. Governments,↑> + ⌈have before, +⌉ <but against that background of pain and=
176. **IR:** ⌊ But (*inaud.*)
177. **WW:** =grief,>+ then + people want someone to blame. + Now, ⌈I- + yeah.⌉
178. **IR:** ⌊Ah well you see now,
179. ↑there it is.↑ + That's why <I'm putting it to you.↑You are blaming the people.↑ +
180. You say they had a rough time, it's been very unfortunate, and therefore it's put
181. them in a very sour mood, and therefore they're blaming us, + and it's their fault for
182. blaming ⌈us, 'cos actually we're ↑fine.↑>=
183. **WW:** ⌊No.
184. **WW:** =It seems to me entirely natural. + I think what they are doing, + or what not,
185. then actually- remember it's not ↑they↑ + who're doing it, + it's- it's um- it's + the
186. way in which + things are presented to them. + The ⌈thing
187. **IR:** ⌊By whom.
188. **WW:** BY + YOU. AND BY ME. AND BY THE NEWSPAPERS. BY ALL OF US
189. who are opinion formers, ++ some things that + would on- on other circumstances
190. be halfway down page three, are now + very very big indeed.
191. **IR:** Ahh! [+]
192. **WW:** And I do believe-, + I do believe, um that + some of the stories you- + you
193. and I've + been reading in the last few weeks, are really not that big. + There are- +
194. there are some- + there are some which are very important. ++ For example, + if
195. there is serious ++ corruption in the local authority, + that is a very serious matter
196. which must be + pursued.
197. **IR:** You ⌈mean the Westminster Tories.
198. **WW:** ⌊There are
199. **WW:** I mean + the Westminster Tories. On that occasion though, + it would be
200. unwise of + any political party to try and claim + a uh + uh uh- + a- a unique
201. monopoly of those type of pro⌈blems. There have been + equal problems or worse
202. **IR:** ⌊Sure.
203. **WW:** + alleged, and proven in some cases in Labour authorities in the past. + And
204. THOSE are allegations remember they need to be proven. + There are big issues +
205. a- a- + around. + Which need to be properly and carefully dealt with. And I think
206. are being properly and carefully dealt with in the Scott Inquiry, + going back over a

number of years. + Those- + those uh + are real issues of public policy. + Whether
or not + a particular + colleague- what his relationship was with his doctor, in a +
hotel in northern France, + doesn't seem to me to be + quite commensurate with
the + hu:ge + uh coverage + ↑not just in tabloid↑ newspapers, but in + broadsheet
newspapers as well. [+]
IR: (*click*) Well now you see:, we: started off + by your + thinking that perhaps the
public, + might have something to do with the- + these problems, 'cos they've
been through a rough ti:me. And therefore all ⌈unreasonably are blaming you. +
WW: ⌊No.
IR: With a shaded into + the usual criminals,=
WW: =Mm.=
IR: =the wicked media, ⌈↓most of it Tory-owned by the way.↓
WW: ⌊Well
IR: The wicked media + that were putting the wrong sort of message across. ↑Let
me put to you↑ Mr. Waldegrave + why I don't believe either of those explanations.
WW: Mm. Please.
IR: Because your OWN + TORY + MPS are saying these things. ++ Ever + such +
a lot of them + are saying + ARrogant, + OUT-of-touch, + diRECtionless, + uh +
therefore + it ↑can't be the case + can it?↑
WW: Well ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
IR: ⌊That this is some external phenomenon. + ↑How do you explain your
own + chaps and chapesses,↑ + don't not liking what you're doing.
WW: Which ones + are you talking about?
IR: Well, Edwina Curry,
WW: (*in⌈aud.*)⌉
IR: ⌊uh former Prime Minister Edward Higgier, former ⌈minister, + uh
WW: ⌊Mm.
IR: Edwina Curry, + former Prime Minister Edward Heath, + former minister
Edward Leigh, + prominent member of the 1922 committee David Evans, + I could
go on. + ⌈There's⌉ a ↑list of them.↑ You know there are.
WW: ⌊Well,
WW: That's four. The + chairman of the 22 yesterday said + rather different things.
+ Ted was a cri⌈tic.
IR: ⌊He would. + Wouldn't he.
WW: Ted- + Ted was a critic. + Of the back-to-basics + policy. And has been. +
But the uh + the position you put there, as if all the MPs + are endorsing those
adjectives + with which you introduced the programme, + is bunkum. + And if you
went to the 1922 committee, + uh and put it + to the 1922 committee, as a mass, +
the collection of Tory backbench MPs, + that all those things were true, + they
would say bunkum. <They've got criticism. They want> a sense + of clear + uh +
uh uh- of- of clear + leadership. And they are getting it. + And I think + that as the
economy is- steadily improves, and the big things on which I + began to talk earlier

249. + uh + come more to the fore, + they will see that they're getting their leadership.
250. **IR:** Mmm. (*click*) Well you see, Edwina Curry, + says that she's quite staggered +
251. by the arrogance, + and out-of-touchness, + of the Government. + Ah now these are
252. the sort of charges that I've put to you uhh at the outset. + Well she's a former
253. minister. What are you going to say about that.
254. **WW:** Uh well I- I + going to say about that ++ ministers, and MPs, should + and do
255. + work very hard, + in their constituencies and everywhere else. To make sure that
256. the + inevitable + seduction of bureaucracy and ministerial cars, and all the rest of
257. it, doesn't get to them. + Every + minister can suffer from ministerialitis, + it's a
258. dangerous disease, + and we should watch out for it.
259. **IR:** Well=
260. **WW:** =So she's right + to warn + ministers who've been in power for a long time
261. ⌈a- about that, ++ but I don't believe it's a + a charge + uh well + founded. +
262. **IR:** ⌊Yes.
263. **WW:** There was one of the- one of the leaders in the + uh newspapers today, said
264. that as a matter of fact they thought- I think it was + Tory Telegraph- Sunday
265. Telegraph who've been a great critic of us + s recently. + Said that as a matter of
266. fact the- + the thing about the Cabinet is that they're rather- + that they're perhaps
267. too modest. There are not enough flamboyant + people. There are not enough- +
268. sort of + uh uh showmen. + Apart from the great Michael Heseltine. + <Perhaps we
269. should get out and be a bit more like that. Though it's not agreeable for us all to be
270. like Michael Heseltine.> + So that I think there is a countercharge. + Which is + uh
271. the complete opposite one. + Which is of course what happens. + In these kind of
272. situations. <Not that we're completely out of touch, but that we're a bit too
273. ordinary.>
274. **IR:** Well, + now you've given me a whole series of explanations. ↑Not
275. contradictory.↑ + I'm not saying that they are. + But all kinds of things have been
276. cited, and all kinds of groups have been cited, I put⌈to you the Tory MPs, you've
277. **WW:** ⌊Mm.
278. **IR:** tried to explain ↑that away.↑
279. **WW:** Mm.
280. **IR:** Let me put to you + the real reason why Tory MPs say these things. + Because
281. they're true. [++]
282. **WW:** No. + I'm not saying that when you're 20 points behind in the polls, your- +
283. your backbenches are going to be + uh + singing and dancing in the aisles. They're
284. not. + They're anxious. Of course they are. Our supporters in the country + are
285. anxious. ++ But there's nothing here that we haven't been through before. + Um +
286. we've been 20 points behind in the polls + two years before an election. + And won
287. elections. + As long as the big things are right, and as long as we're listening to the
288. people + about the things that + really matter, I believe to my constituency. Your
289. former constituency. + Uh uh uh first and foremost. Which actually is more
290. important than the- ++ than- than whether some + poor uh MP turns out or not to
291. have fathered an illegitimate child 20 years ago. + What really matters to people is-

is the Government + beginning + to deliver more effectively than the- + they appear to have been doing over the last year or two + the + economic prosperity of the country. ++ Are we + responding to people in- in the complaints they've made about + education? + And there have been complaints. You know you go to the schools and + you hear + both ways. + Teachers saying + uh uh we support the testing, we support the reforms, we haven't got it quite right. John Patten has cha:nged + in- in response to that. + Now if we can get those big things right, there is + uh uh- but it's by + staying close to the people and listening to them, + there is nothing + irredeemable + about the difficult situation that we've been in the last week or two.

IR: Alright. + Big things.

WW: Mhm.

IR: Let me tell you + the thing + that your Prime Minister, +

WW: Mhm.

IR: and the rest of you,

WW: Mhm.

IR: ↑say is the biggest of all↑ + back-to-basics.

WW: (*nodding*) Mhm.

IR: >Doesn't + the whole + sorry + saga + of how you handle + back-to-basics + demonstrate in the clearest + possible form + the validity of the charges< that've been made against you? [+]

WW: No. + I don't think it does. And for the following reason. ++ It is- it is dangerous and difficult territory + for politicians, + to respo:nd + to what is a real + public mood. And it is a real public mood. + That they want more + more + leadership in that nexus of issues to do with morality and behaviour. Now, + I say it's dangerous. Because + you + would know having been in the House, + and I certainly know + being in the House, + and if you look at the history of British parliamentarians from + Bolingbrook to Lloyd George, from Disrielly to + goodness knows who, + we are not + saints. + And never have been in the House of Commons. We are not the natural + moral leaders of the country. We are people who are supposed to be selected + to do various public policy things + against a moral background of course. + And uhh + behaving properly if possible. + But we are not the- + we are not the archbishop of temples. We are not the people who create the moral climate. Usually, well + you know, Gladstone may be an exception. + But there is a- + a- a mood out there + I believe. + Talking to people in my constituency here in Bristol, + and in many other places, + that they feel + that there is a need + for a greater + moral + clarity. Now we tried + to get into this territory. And we stirred up the debate. + It has + created + the + inevitable + and dangerous + backlash of people saying "<well you're not saints yourselves. How dare you talk about this.>" + But if we didn't talk about it at all, + wouldn't we be failing? + Now what has happened out of all this is a great + big + national + debate on all these issues. + Which may be + the beginning + of something + far more important than anything that one party in politics does. Which is the beginning of a new national

sort of feeling about all this.
IR: Alright. + Now, ah + let me put to you- it's the longest question I'm actually
(going to ask you.) + Let me put to you a completely + different + version.
WW: (*smiling*) Mhm.
IR: And I think much more + accurate version + of why: back-to-basics
demonstrates the charges being made against you. ++ In the first place + it
was only cooked up + to paper over the split in the Tory Party which it
⌈(*inaud.*) +⌉because of + Maastricht. +⌈We:ll, + let me carry on. ++ Then=
WW: ⌊I do not accept that. ⌊No.
IR: =having been put out in a confusing form by the Prime Minister, + it was then
hijacked. ++ Uh by a certain group in the Cabinet, + who thought it was a
↑WONderful opportunity,↑ + ah for them to criticise the beHAVIour of certain
groups that they DIDN'T LIKE. + THEY WERE ALLOWED TO DO THIS ↑BY
THE WAY + FOR MONTHS.↑ ++ Then it turned out + that the conduct + of some
members of the Government didn't entirely ↑square↑ in the public's mind. + With
this high moral tone that was being taken, <and therefore something got to be done
about that.> + And it was then decided, + to RIP OUT EN↑TIRELY↑ ++ uh the
WHOLE MORAL CRUSADING PART OF IT. + Which was ↑RATHER↑
UNFORTUNATE, + BECAUSE IT'S LEFT WHAT'S LEFT + CONFUSING. +
AND ALMOST MEANINGLESS. ++ NOW ISN'T THIS REALLY AN
EXTRAORDINARY STORY + OF INCOMPETENCE, + DISHONESTY, +
HYPOCRISY. + Doesn't it in fact justify the charges that are made?
WW: No. + It doesn't. + For the- + let me try and put the countercase to that which
you eloquently put. + There is + a mood in the country that people want to debate
some of the issues + of + public + behaviour. + Public behaviour. + Private
behaviour. ++ There is a mood in the country I think that says + people are worried.
+ That they feel that for example rising crime + must have some + underlying +
background of change in community values that + is- + that is worrying. ++ Now, +
they've + MPs who are much more like the sort of national jury than they are like
some elite + supermen. Let alone saints. ++ Have responded to that. + And people
have listened to their constituents. And have started to raise these issues. + Now of
course + ah this is + dangerous territory for politicians. For the very reason you
↑give.↑ + That we are not + saints. Plaster. Or otherwise. And haven't been selected
for such. ++ We are much more like a- a pretty random selection of the- the
population at w- + uhh at large. ++ But how are- are we to say that MPs and +
ministers + can never + raise these issues. ↑Now (*inaud.*) to raise them + are fully.↑
++ And + I made a widely unreported speech + last year. ++ Um which if I'd issued
this weekend I'd have done better really. + Raising some of these issues but
containing a + phrase that I think is- + is worth + well reminding people that- + that
somebody once said that when politicians start + talking about morality, quite a lot
of people start + counting their + spoons. So you have to + think about these +
issues + in a- + in a- + in a way in which you raise the issues without setting
yourself up as moral + as- + as a great and immoral authority. But there is moral

378. dimension to all action, and to all political action, + and + you can't say to a- a
379. Secretary of State for Education, + you- + you're precluded from raising issues
380. about + what should be in the curriculum about moral relativities. + You can't say
381. to the + Secretary of State for Health ++ you- you can't involve yourself in issues to
382. do with uhh adoption and what kind of people + should- should adopt uh + uhh
383. children. + We have to wrestle with these things. But we have to have the sense to
384. say + "look. + We are not setting ourselves up anymore than + you are, or the editor
385. of the Daily Mail is, as the moral authority." +"Go to the- ++ to the bishop" said
386. Mr. Neville. And for that- and the bishops have been paying a proper part in all this.
387. **IR:** Yes. + Now that is a:ll very well. +⌈Uhhh but (*IE laughing*) (I'm) well- I'm=
388. **WW:** ⌊Thank you.
389. **IR:** =slightly outraged you know Mr. Waldegrave, slightly. + Despite our mutual
390. respect, come off it. ++ Are you really telling me that this back-to-basics policy +
391. has been clear. ++ And consistent. + And meaningful. + And has always been the
392. ↑same, ++ and that the Government's actions and statements with regard to it have
393. been consistent? + You're really trying to get that one past me?↑
394. **WW:** (*click*) The Prime Minister has been consistent. + Throughout. + And if you
395. read=
396. **IR:** =↑No he hasn't.↑
397. **WW:** Oh I think yes. If you read- + read again his party conference speech, + um a
398. lot of things + uh are alleged that he said in that speech which he didn't. + As a
399. matter of fact, + quite a lot of myths have grown up round other spee⌈ches. If you
400. **IR:** ⌊Hm.
401. **WW:** read Mr. McKilly's speech, + at the party conference,
402. **IR:** Mm.
403. **WW:** he was hh + very very careful, + for example, to say that he knew perfectly
404. well, from his own experience and departmental experience, + his own experience
405. in the constituency, + that many people- + many um women or some men bringing
406. up children alone + were doing heroic + work. ++ He then goes in- has to go in as
407. Secretary of State + for Social Services,⌈into difficult territory of saying, + but
408. **IR:** ⌊Yeah.
409. **WW:** what should be the State's attitude, should there be an incentive? There
410. should be try- trying to make it easier for people to have- + to be lone parents?
411. Should be trying to support families? +⌈And yeah
412. **IR:** ⌊Sure. Let's- let's- let's come back to the
413. organ-grinder, rather⌈than the monkey. +⌈Take the Prime Minister. He + (*inaud.*)⌉
414. **WW:** ⌊Yeah. ⌊ Oh how can you refer to my +
415. distinguished colleague as a monkey! (*laughter*)
416. **IR:** And a very nice chap too. <But he isn't the man who runs it. He's the man who
417. invented it.> + It was all cooked up in ↑Downing Street↑ of course. + To unite the
418. ↑Tory Party. + And↑ the Prime Minister can't even- ↓you say absolutely be
419. consistent.↓ + He ↑can't↑ even seem to make his ↑mind up↑ + WHETHER IT

420. HAS A VERY HIGH MORAL CONTENT, + OR A RATHER LOW MORAL
421. CONTENT, + OR NO MORAL CONTENT AT ALL, + OR THAT IT'S JUST
422. CONSERVATIVE COMMON SENSE, + ↑DON'T TELL ME↑ THAT THE
423. PRIME MINISTER HAS SENT A CONSISTENT SIGNAL OUT, + BECAUSE IF
424. HE HAD, + YOUR RIGHT-WING COLLEAGUES WOULD NEVER'VE BEEN
425. ABLE TO HAVE HIJACKED IT FOR THE MORAL GROUND ↑ANYWAY↑
426. WOULD THEY.
427. **WW:** I believe he sent out a perfectly consistent signal, + and I do not believe + uh
428. his + hijacking story + either. + Now, + um + let us look at the latest alleged +
429. hijacking + story. Which is Mr. Portillo's
430. **IR**: Hm,
431. **WW:** speech of yesterday. + Uhh uh absolutely- I hope he won't misunderstand me
432. if I say this. + Standard + high Tory + speech of the kind that Douglas Hurd + and I
433. have been making + for years. + And suddenly, because Mr. Portillo makes it, it's
434. said to be a great attack on- + on uh somebody. + Probably on ↑me.↑ Though I
435. made almost the identical speech. And the great sections of it that come straight +
436. uh in Portillo's + slightly different language out of the Prime Minister's party
437. conference speech. In this atmosphere, + people are gonna try and put wedges and
438. divisions between people all the⌈time.⌉
439. **IR:** ⌊↑Mm. Mm.↑=
440. **WW:** =The Conservative⌈Party- well the Conservative Party⌉
441. **IR:** ⌊Mr. Porti- Mr Portillo is one of the + BASTARDS that
442. the Prime Minister says he has to TOLerate in his ↑Government. + Nobody has to
443. put wedges and divisions there.↑ + THEY ↑ARE↑THERE. AREN'T THEY.
444. **WW:** ↑Well,↑ <Mr. Portillo is there, because the Prime Minister put him there.>
445. **IR:** Hm.
446. **WW:** And uh he⌈remains there. + And he remains there.⌉
447. **IR:** ⌊AS A BASTARD. BECAUSE HE PREFERS HIM THERE,
448. RATHER THAN OUTSIDE. +⌈THAT'S WHAT HE CALLS HIM.⌉
449. **WW:** ⌊ (*inaud.*) because he is an >extremely
450. able Chief Secretary.<⌈And the Prime Minister⌈paid him- + paid- + paid- + paid⌉=
451. **IR:** ⌊Mm. ⌊Justifies my point though doesn't it.
452. **WW:** =tribute to him as a-+ a formidable and valuable + colleague. The
453. Conservative Party contains ++ like any party that wins elections, + a broad +
454. spectrum. We contain the successors to the old + high Tories. We contain the
455. successors to the Old Manchester Liberals in a powerful alliance + of people who
456. respect + institutions and history. + With those who respect + economic freedom. +
457. That is the basic alliance which remains very very⌈close.
458. **IR:** ⌊Alright. Mr. Waldegrave, if it's
459. all + so + clear,++ ↑why did-↑ and it's been <GOING ON> for four months. +
460. ↑Why did last Thursday↑ the Cabinet have to have a special half-hour chat about it?
461. + And ↑on Friday,↑ lo and behold ++ ↑six + senior + members + of the Cabinet +

including GOD SAVE THE MARK THE FOREIGN SECRETARY + DOUGLAS HURD↑ + HAVE TO GO ON THE SPOT + to explain what it means, + and what it doesn't mean, + and where it applies, + and where it doesn't apply, + ISN'T THIS THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE INDICATION OF MUDDLE AND LACK OF CLARITY? [+]

WW: Uh it is + very + clear + indication that we all believe, + that the chord we have struck + by uhh + raising these issues, + is an extremely powerful one. And it's ultimately going to be at a- a winner for us. We are not going to back off + this territory. + I'm not saying that + every modulation of every speech has been perfect. + Mine + uh certainly- + mine haven't been. And uh you know, I expect I could find bits + in others + that haven't been. + But the basic themes we are touching on, ++ are:- we are articulating some anxieties + uh in the general population which are very real. + And we're not going to surrender + this debate. ++ Uh we are not going to + uh any more than any other politician + uh would be. + So we are precluded + from talking about the issues of how + uhh the- + the values you need in a society, + should be reflected uh in different aspects of- + of uh + the national life, + because we've got amongst our + selves + um + you know, the usual proportion + of mildly + uhh black + uh sheep that any flock + has. You- you can't drive a great political party out of this debate. And we- we you know, + this- this is- + and we've + stirred it up. And I think + it'll turn out to have been a wise + thing + to have done, + and I think you're perfectly right to say, + uh that + uh we- we should now make it absolutely clear. Perhaps clearer than- + than it has been.

IR: Ahh!

WW: Perhaps the- I- I- I al- always watch out for that- for that ⌈uh noise you make.

IR: ⌊Mm.

WW: But + ⌈uh it's

IR: ⌊It's an acknowledgement ⌈that there ↑has↑ been a muddle isn't it.=

WW: ⌊It's

WW: =It's an acknowledgement that ++ against the + uh- the um + huge- uh the huge + weight of public policy over the last few months, + that we didn't + I think follow through the party conference closely enough to develop + the themes uh more widely and more clearly. + And it's difficult + uh to get + ministers to lift their heads up. I've + consciously felt this the whole time. Out- out of their departmental + briefs + to say "look we've gotta- + we've gotta make the coherent + philosophy which links us as members of the same party + more explicit. + Uh uh you need to do that. Now particularly when you've been in ++ power for quite a long time. + You need to explicitly go back to your roots. + And explicitly re-affirm the things that link you. + That is what back-to-basics is all about. + And it is doing good. + It is really + raising up the political agenda. A whole lot of issues which should be higher up the political agenda.

IR: Mm (*click*) + Mr. Waldegrave, you conce:de that there have been things that have gone wrong with back-to-basics. >I think it's far worse than you ↑say.↑ + I want to come to another i⌈ssue.<

505. **WW:** ⌊<I didn't concede that⌈there are things that have=
506. **IR:** ⌊ That justifies
507. **WW:** =gone wrong- + gone wrong with back-to-basics. But it would be foolish of
508. me against the-> + the uhh + uh uh business in the press over the last + three or four
509. months, to say + that we couldn't have done better. We could- surely could have
510. done better.⌈Surely. We're on the right theme.=
511. **IR:** ⌊But that-
512. **IR:** =That=
513. **WW:** =<And we're gonna- and we're gonna press on. + And we're going to get
514. better at it. Because it's a real theme.>
515. **IR:** That's a concession. + But I think it's worse than that. And I want to bring up
516. another issue. Which I think illustrates the nature of the charges made against you
517. and their validity. + But first, ++ we must take a break.
518. (*commercial break*)
519. **IR:** Mr. Waldegrave, I put it to you: uh in the first part, + that back-to-basics + <and
520. a number of other things> + justify + some of the charges that have been made +
521. against the Government.+ Now let me take a completely different matter. [+]
522. **WW:** Let me just⌈say that I hope I refuted that.=
523. **IR:** ⌊Let us
524. **IR:** =Well,=
525. **WW:** =I try to do my best to refute it.⌈I do believe it's fact.
526. **IR:** ⌊Well,
527. **IR:** The viewers will judge.
528. **WW:** Quite.
529. **IR:** Let me take a completely different matter. + The Scott Inquiry.
530. **WW:** Mhm. [+]
531. **IR:** Uh very contemporary because tomorrow + the Prime Minister goes to it + to
532. give evidence.
533. **WW:** Mhm.
534. **IR:** Now isn't it the case, ++ that the proceedings of the Scott Inquiry + have
535. demonstrated ↑quite clearly↑ + that the Government consistently lied + about its
536. arms policy towards Iraq. [+]
537. **WW:** No. ++ But I'm not going to + repeat ++ the careful + cross-examination +
538. that I received from + Lord Justice Scott and his uh + uh QC + uh on this
539. programme. + Uh I + believe + very very firm⌈ly
540. **IR:** ⌊Why not by the way.
541. **WW:** Well because we've set up uh an inquiry under a very distinguished man. +
542. And it's far better to let him- + uh nobody doubts uh to let him + do his report. And
543. not + rush to judgement before. ++ Nobody doubts I think his independence. +
544. Nobody doubts the care + with which he's looking into it. + So + I think it fairer +
545. to all concerned, + uh but I will say this. +⌈I'm absolutely certain⌉
546. **IR:** ⌊Mr. Waldegrave hang on. Hang on. + I

547. can't let you get a⌈way with that.=
548. **WW:** ⌊Yeah.
549. **WW:** =Alright.
550. **IR:** You set the inquiry up in this particular form
551. **WW:** Correct.
552. **IR:** not as a tribunal, + ↑and you gave it as your VERY REASON.↑ ++ SO THAT
553. PEOPLE COULD GO ON DISCUSSING THE I⌈SSUES WHILE THE INQUIRY=
554. **WW:** ⌊ No.
555. **IR:** =SAT. + HERE YOU ARE: A MINISTER WHO⌈IS INVOLVED IN THIS.
556. **WW:** ⌊Mhm.
557. **WW:** Mhm.
558. **IR**: YOU'VE TESTIFIED IN FRONT OF ME. + NOW JUSTIFY THE PM'S
559. CLAIM THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT SORT OF TRIBUNAL. + IT ISN'T A
560. TRIBUNAL ACTUALLY. THE ⌈RIGHT SORT OF INQUIRY + BY ↑TALKING
561. **WW:** ⌊Mm.
562. **IR:** ABOUT + a perfectly reasonable question that I put to you↑
563. **WW:** Yeah.
564. **IR:** that the proceedings have demonstrated that you lied about arms to Iraq.
565. **WW:** Well, we did not. ++ A:nd the proceedings have not demonstrated that. ++
566. Um there is + close analysis going on. + Of whether what Sir Geoffrey Howe + uh-
567. Lord Howe now + described in his evidence as the + shifting Norse + uh within
568. policy + should or should not have been + announced to Parliament. + And uh + I
569. believe that we were entirely justified at the time + in not announcing that + uh
570. shift, that uh + Norse, + as Sir Geoffrey + described it. + Uhh and of course the
571. opposition takes + a different view, + uh + but uh that is what- + one of the + many
572. things that um + Sir Richard Scott is- is now looking at.
573. **IR:** (*click*) Well now hang on you see. Uh since you denied it, I + must put it to you.
574. + You see, + th- this isn't the story that anybody else apart from ↑you,↑ ++
575. including some of your own ↑colleagues,↑ + like ↑Alan Clarke, + for the moment
576. accept.↑ ++ Uh they think that what has come out of the proceedings, ++ is that +
577. five years ago, + you changed the guidelines, + and you did it in an utterly +
578. surreptitious way, + and that subsequently + the present Prime Minister + and other
579. ministers ++ ↑deny↑ to Parliament. + That the policy had been changed. + Lied + to
580. Parliament.
581. **WW:** Well, that is + uh completely wrong. + And the evidence that I gave, + and
582. that various officials gave, + and Alan Clarke + didn't say he lied to Parliament. +
583. Um he uh- ++ he + argued I think + when he appeared before Scott, + uh that he
584. thought there should've been + more openness. That + was not a- + as far as I
585. remember, what he was arguing at the time. But + th- that is what Scott has +
586. looked at. + Looked at a:ll the papers, a:ll the +⌈big issues,⌉ + and- and- and I +
587. **IR:** ⌊Yeah, well that's
588. **WW:** refute now + and + will + firmly refute + any suggestion + whatsoever ++ um

that ministers at the time, + or that the Prime Minister since, + has + lied + to Parliament.
IR: Alright. But look at least the policy ↑changed↑ + didn't it. We'll come to the lying in a moment. But the- but firmly refute ↑this.↑ + Isn't it true, + that you, + and Alan Clarke, + and Lord Trefton, + had a meeting in December 1988, ++ where you decided, + to change, + the policy.
WW: You see, the trouble is + with this + uh + way- + this uh + way + of performing the + uh discussion, + is that it took + I think + about + three quarters of a day + of careful + examination,+ ↓by Sir Richard Scott and Presley Baxledale↓ + um + to + establish properly the relationships between that meetings, + between subsequent meetings, + uh between things + uh that were said. And I'm- I'm not + willing + um to compress + even for even- for the- + for such an important programme as + this, + uh a:ll that evidence + into a few + sentences + now. + I gave my evidence, and others who are + ah at least as important- perhaps more important than + I was in all this have given theirs, + Sir Richard + will + make his independent report. + And that is where for now, + I'm going to leave it.
IR: Yeah, and I will tell you why Mr. Waldegrave, and it isn't the reason you keep giving. But it would take three quarters of a day to get to the truth of this matter. + It's that you know perfectly ↑well↑ the truth of this matter. + You know there ↑was↑ that meeting. + You know you did change the guidelines. + You know you wrote a ↑letter↑ + to Alan ↑Clarke.↑ A ↑memo.↑ + Saying that it would be much better if the thing ↑wasn't made public.↑ + And that ministers subsequently de↑nie:d↑ that there'd been a change. + The reason you don't wanna talk about it, + is that the proceedings + have demonstrated + that the Government + lied.=
WW: =No. + The proceedings have not demonstrated that. ++ And if we had + uh + felt,- + if I had felt,- + if the Government had felt, + that there was something so dishonourable as that involved, why on earth would they have set up such a powerful, + independent, + open, + inquiry. I don't believe there's ever been + such an open inquiry. + Certainly not in Britain. + A:nd + let- let alone in France or Germany. + Uh dealing with such + uh sensitive + matters + as these. + And I am- I am- ++ you know, + even- even to your pressure + Brian, + not willing + to uh + break the rule that I've set for myself, that we have - + a professional- ++ a real- a really independent + high powered judge looking at this. + And that it's best to leave these things which is ↑not fairly much longer now↑ + for the results of this inqui⌈ry.
IR: ⌊Alright, but now let me just ask you perhaps one last thing on it. You keep challenging you see, that you got up to all these larks. + That we both know you did.
WW: I do⌈ not acce- I do not accept that.=
IR: ⌊Let me
IR: =But all=
WW: =I do not accept that.
IR: Alright. Well let⌈ me⌉ read out⌈ what you⌉ wrote to Alan ↑Clarke.↑=
WW: ⌊No. You- ⌊No. You-

632. **WW:** =You=
633. **IR:** =Uh + this was in April, + 1989. ++ That the- <the rules were gonna be
634. changed.> + And it was preferable + <u>not</u> to have to announce + publicly + any
635. change in them.
636. **WW:** Yes. And as I explained to Sir Richard Scott + <u>that</u> meant + that there were
637. constraints ++ upon + uh the change that could be made + without + uh + needing +
638. uh um + an announcement. That is + if you- + if you work within the limits of the
639. flexibility of the policy, + you don't + have to + announce things to Parliament. + If
640. you had gone further, + so that you uh had actually changed the policy, + you
641. would've had to announce it to Parliament. The- + at the moment it would've been
642. far too dangerous + to send uh the dangerous reverberations around the Middle
643. East. + And elsewhere. + Uh that we were changing this policy. So therefore we
644. couldn't change the policy. + And we had to work with the flexibility that was <u>on</u>ly
645. allowable + ah within the policy. And the policy did not change. And + that is what
646. Sir Geo⌈ffrey Howe + ⌉said on + Thursday, and he was after all the Foreign
647. **IR:** ⌊ (*noise*)
648. **WW:** Secretary.
649. **IR:** Extraordinary circular argument.=
650. **WW:** =No it's not.
651. **IR:** But- but we'll⌈prove this.⌉
652. **WW:** ⌊It isn't. + No. +⌈You- + you
653. **IR:** ⌊The proof that you couldn't have changed the
654. policy, is that if you had changed the policy, you've had⌈to tell the truth about=
655. **WW:** ⌊No.
656. **IR:** =⌈it.
657. **WW:**⌊That's not the argument.⌈No.
658. **IR:** ⌊I don't accept that for a moment.=
659. **WW:** =No. That's not the main idea. Because you misunderstood the argument.
660. Unusually,
661. **IR:** No I⌈didn't.⌉ <I didn't misunderstand the argument.>
662. **WW:** ⌊Unusually,
663. **WW:** Unusually, you misunder⌈stood.
664. **IR:** ⌊YOU ARE SAYING THAT THERE⌈COULD'VE=
665. **WW:** ⌊Unusually,
666. **IR:** =BEEN A <u>MIN</u>OR ⌈MODIFICATION UNDER⌉WHAT YOU DID. BUT FOR=
667. **WW:** ⌊Unusually, you misunderstood.
668. **IR:** =A <u>MAJ</u>OR MODIFICATION⌈YOU HAD TO PUBLICALLY ANNOUNCE=
669. **WW:** ⌊You would've to announce it to Parliament. + =
670. **IR:** =IT.+⌉Well alright. You say the Scott inquiry will be out very soon.
671. **WW:** =That's right.
672. **WW:** Mhm.

673. **IR:** ↑What if the Scott inquiry takes my view.↑
674. **WW:** Mhm.
675. **IR:** And not yours.
676. **WW:** Mhm.
677. **IR:** Suppose it holds you to have misconducted yourself. ++ Will you resign ? [+]
678. **WW:** That is the question that's put to everyone. + Perfectly properly. + And uh +
679. if ++ uh + any minister + was uh + proven + to have behaved improperly, and
680. improperly is a word with + powerful connotations. ++ Um then he would have to
681. resign. There is no question of that. + Now, + uh there are degrees of + criticism
682. that we all get from time to time, <which are short of resignation.> + I will wait +
683. uh to see what Scott says. And <I will say this to you Brian, and to anybody else, +
684. and many other people who've been following this quite rightly,> + I am certain in
685. my own mind + that I did not behave in a dishonourable way, + nor did ah Lord
686. Howe, + nor did Mrs. Thatcher. + In these matters. + And I believe that the inquiry
687. will show that. Though there will be criticisms + doubtless to me, + of a number of
688. things + that happened.
689. **IR:** (*click*) So you won't even go as far, + as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, +
690. Kenneth Clarke, + who gave an unvarnished answer to ⌈that.
691. **WW:** ⌊Well he- he's got one issue.
692. + And he said-, + uh what he said on the programme, and Michael Heseltine said
693. the same, + was that if he'd been shown, + to improperly use, + the legal power of +
694. public immunity, + then he would resign. + Improperly. + And uh clearly + there is
695. some level of uh- + of criticism, + you know, + of proof of uh misdemeanour
696. against me, or against anybody else involved in public life, + which would + cause
697. one + to resign.
698. **IR:** (*click*) Alright. So you won't give the pledge.
699. **WW:** Uh ⌈what- + ⌈what pledge may I ask you.
700. **IR:** ⌊.hh ⌊That
701. **IR:** That to resi:gn + if the inquiry criticises your conduct.
702. **WW:** <Well. It depends how- + how se- + se⌈rious the criticism is.
703. **IR:** ⌊Alright.
704. **IR:** That's=
705. **WW:** =If- if they say> + Mr. Waldegrave + could well have taken account of this or
706. that. + Or uh- is that a resigning matter?
707. **IR:** Mm. Alright. I'll leave it.
708. **WW:** Well is ⌈that not a fair point I mean.
709. **IR:** ⌊Just
710. **IR:** No. I don't think it is really, + ⌈you could give an unvarnished pledge, that if-⌉=
711. **WW:** ⌊Will any criticism- any crit- any criticism
712. **IR:** =if there was substantial criticism, you used the word ⌈yourself. + Of⌉
713. **WW:** ⌊Ah you've introduced another- +
714. you've introduced another ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉

715. **IR**: ⌊You would resign. [+]
716. **WW:** If I am shown to have behaved improperly, I've used exactly the same words
717. + that⌈came now.
718. **IR**: ⌊If you're shown to behave improperly you will resign, + but you're not at all
719. sure as to- + you've got to weigh + the degree of impropriety that Lord Justice Scott
720. assigns to you. [+]
721. **WW:** I think that is + fair. + And sensible. If Lord Justice Scott were to say, + there
722. are elements of criticism here but the policy was + uh broadly carried out properly,
723. + uh that would be one thing, + if he was to say, + this fellow, or that fellow, or this
724. department, or that department, + behaved + in a serious manner and improperly
725. that is quite different.
726. **IR:** Well, you see, that enables me to relate- I'll leave Scott now. + It enables me to
727. relate what you have said there + to something that is very widely said about this
728. Government, + and its ministers, + and ex-ministers, ++ and that they never ever +
729. if they can possibly dodge it, + will take the blame + for any fault + either morally,
730. + or they- in what they do, + <that they might ever have got up to.> That they
731. CLING to office + till the moment that they HAVE to be shoved out because it
732. becomes intolerable to stay in any longer. + That they WILL not in fact + accept
733. responsibility for their actions. + Quick to blame others. ++ Very very slow + to see
734. that + their honourable duty lies in accepting the responsibility. ++⌈Now. That's=
735. **WW:** ⌊Well
736. **IR**: =said as you know widely. + In the pubs and in the clubs. + Isn't there a lot of
737. truth in it? + And doesn't your own attitude in part + tend to reinforce that view?
738. **WW:** No. + I will certainly + take um- + all- all I'm trying to uh uh avoid is the
739. famous + Walden + trap. And you're famous for + getting people + into a position +
740. where they're then trapped. + But the trap here is, + to say that any criticism means
741. you have to resign. + That would be a ludicrous position. + If I'm criticised at the
742. level + which would be appropriate for resignation, + I will + resign. That is + the
743. same + thing that Mr. Clarke has⌈said, and Mr. Heseltine has said.⌉
744. **IR**: ⌊What is the level of- for resignation. With ↑your
745. lot it has to be a pretty high hurdle.⌈Hasn't it.↑ +⌉Mr. Yoe hung about a long=
746. **WW:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
747. **IR:** =time.=
748. **WW:** =Well. Let- + let us
749. **IR**: And Mr. Mellor.
750. **WW:** Hm. Let us look at- + at it⌈in turn.
751. **IR**: ⌊Not to mention Mr. Lamont.
752. **WW:** Mm. Let us look at those. Are you saying, + that in every case, +
753. automatically, + where: a minister has been to bed with someone who isn't his wife,
754. + and is caught, he should resign?
755. **IR:** Well, now you see, + one can't help thinking that a:ll of this really is the
756. prelude, +
757. **WW:** Mm.

758. **IR**: to your eventu⌈ally telling me the u- + u- + the usual⌉ministerial story,
759. **WW:** ⌊No. <I just wanted to know if you were going to answer + that.>
760. **WW:** Mm.
761. **IR**: that now having⌈weighed it all up, + you'll fight- ↑it's what the Prime Minister
762. **WW:** ⌊Mm.
763. **IR**: said about Yoe.↑
764. **WW:** Mm.
765. **IR**: That for this petty indiscretion, didn't matter much. + Uh of course he wouldn't
766. have to resign. ↑You'll end up telling that story. Won't you.↑ And the Prime
767. Minister will ↑back you up. + Won't he.↑
768. **WW:** Mm. Well. Let us see + what + emerges. <We got so many hypotheticals
769. there, I'm not quite sure what + exactly we're talking about. I was- I asked you> +
770. do you think it fair, + uh that in every case, + where somebody is unfaithful to their
771. wife, they should resign ministerial office. It seems to me, + that + traditionally in
772. this country, and in any liberal society, we've tried to look + at the individual case
773. and say is there real hurt here? Is there real dishonour here?⌈Have people behaved=
774. **IR**: ⌊Mr. Waldegrave
775. **WW:** =really badly⌈here? And then- + and=
776. **IR:** ⌊Mr. Waldegrave I won't-
777. **WW:** =⌈then you
778. **IR:** ⌊I won't answer questions. Because I don't answer questions.
779. **WW:** (*laughs*)
780. **IR**: I put questions.=
781. **WW:** =I⌈know.
782. **IR**: ⌊I would suggest this to you.
783. **WW:** Yeah.
784. **IR**: YOU YOURSELF TOLD ME,
785. **WW:** Mm.
786. **IR**: THAT BACK-TO-BASICS was a brand new venture. + It isn't a question of
787. having a mistress. + It isn't a question of fathering a- + a child out of wedlock. + It's
788. a question of DOING THAT. + WHILE YOU'VE BEEN ON MORALISING +
789. BACK-TO-BASICS GOVERNMENT + TELLING EVERYBODY
790. **WW:** Mm.
791. **IR**: ELSE HOW TO⌈BEHAVE. + THAT'S THE TROUBLE WITH IT.⌉
792. **WW:** ⌊Back-to-basics is- + back-to-basics is not a- + a new uh
793. venture. Back-to-basics is the + reformulation of the essence + of + conservatism as
794. a creed. And indeed of common sense. + As a doctrine. + And the kind of things
795. that the Prime Minister has been saying, about the kind of society that we as
796. conservatives, + and many people who are not conservatives, + want to see in this
797. country, + are fundamental. They want to see a tolerant, + fair society where their-
798. + where they are + uh treated properly, + where they are not bossed about by uh
799. public services <that don't pay attention to them,> + where the doctrines that they

800. are + dealing with in terms of + schools, and law, and everything else, + are:
801. reasonable ones, + and where the behaviour, of people, in office, is + good.
802. **IR**: (*click*) Al⌈right.
803. **WW:** ⌊But as long as you don't uh- + as long as you don't concentrate only
804. on the idea + that uh back-to-basics is about uh poking around in people's bedrooms
805. to see what uh- + what they're up to, then I'm with you.
806. **IR:** You mentioned it. I didn't. But thank you very⌈much indeed⌉Mr. Waldegrave.
807. **WW:** ⌊Thank you.
808. **WW:** Thank you.

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Figure [6]: Brian Walden interviewing William Waldegrave

APPENDIX 5: A COMPLETE DEBATE TRANSCRIPT
PROGRAMME: *KILROY* (MARCH 1994)
TOPIC: DIVISION ON EUROPE

IR: Kilroy
TM: Tony Marlow, Conservative MP
JW: John Wilkinson, Conservative MP
RH: Robert Hicks, Conservative MP
NW: Nicholas Wood, Chief political correspondent, *The Times*
MW: Michael Welsh, Action Centre for Europe
BB: Burkhard Birke, Deutschland Radio
PS: Peter Shore, Labour MP, Secretary of State for Trade (1974-76)
NMc: Norris McWhirter, Author: *Treason at Maastricht*
D: David
R: Rosemary
S: Seline
M: Moira
N: Nicky
AUD1,2,3...: anonymous audience members
AUD: audience as a whole
AUD?: unidentified audience member
?: unidentified speaker

1. **IR:** Hello. Good morning. + Well, the Government surVIVed by the SKIN <of its
2. teeth. Last night.>When it defeated Labour's motion + condemning its European
3. policy. ++ But has the Prime Minister <u>fin</u>ally managed to unite his party on Europe?
4. + or are both the Tories + <u>and</u> the public, + just as divided as ever. + hh Do you think
5. it's still a divided party, a + divided Government David?
6. **D:** Yeah. Of course it's a + divided party (...) in the same way that these + people
7. down here (*inaud.*)
8. **IR:** ⌊What do you mean these people down⌈here.
9. **D:** ⌊Well, I mean, I'm reluctant to
10. call them Conservative MPs⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
11. **IR:** ⌊Who are you talking about. To- Tony⌈Marlow⌉
12. **D:** ⌊Tony Marlow.
13. **IR:** John⌈Wilkinson,⌉
14. **D:** ⌊John Wil kinson. You know that ilk. (...) And actually got them elected.=
15. **IR:** =Tony.
16. **AUD:** (*murmur from one member*)
17. **IR:** Tony. Ton- Tony.
18. **TM:** Yeah, well, hhh I think that's a little bit off the wall, I don't think we want
19. ⌈to fight.
20. **D?:** ⌊Off the wall?

TM: Yes I don't think we wanna fight (...) John Major doesn't want a single currency.
IR: Why don't you ⌈vote for him then. Why did ya
TM: ⌊The PARty- the PARty- the PARty (*inaud.*)
IR: <If that's the case, you're saying- you are saying Tony- you're sounding ALL> + eminently reasonable now. <Why didn't you go in the Commons and support your Government and your Prime Minister last night ⌈then.>
TM: ⌊Because- + because we've got a long way to go. (...) The people have too much of Europe. They've (*putting hand horizontally on throat*) (got Europe up to there.) We've got a- we've got to retrieve. We've gotta get back.
IR: Right.
R: (*self-selecting*) But=
IR: =Right.=
R: =then- then we've had a little lesson here if we had less people like ↑you↑. I ↑don't actually↑ think + that the way you behave, is because you really believe in what you're doing. I think you do it because you've got the drift of publi(city. +) (*TM laughing*) and it'll go on so long as you continue to ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
TM: ⌊Walk- ⌊walk around and ask=
IR: ⌊Shhhh.
TM: =people what they think about Europe. I think you'll find you are ⌈(*inaud.*).
R: ⌊<↑Of course ↑ I walk around and ask ⌈people what they think about Europe.>⌉ They just don't=
TM: ⌊ (*inaud.*)
R: =want + to have the Conservative Party divided by people like ↑you.↑ (...) and you're + a very small minority.
TM: <Go round the constituency associations, ⌈speak to Conservative voters,
AUD: ⌊Yeah. (*murmur*)
TM: ⌈speak to Conservative ⌈supporters, + ⌉the VAST MAJORITY of the=
AUD: ⌊Yeah. ⌊ (*murmur*)
R: ⌊Of ↑course I do that.↑
TM: =Conservative Party feels we've GONE too far on Europe, + or we've got to regain more control over our own country. We're a patriotic party. + We've LOST our sovereignty. We've got to get some back.>
R: We have not=
IR: (*moving to the next speaker*) =Is that right to go round the country saying talk to the party, + it's not divided, not betrayed?
AUD1: Mister Marlow is obviously not going around the country (...) and those councils are going to have far more power ++ to actually affect the rise of the people,
IR: You're out of touch with the rank-and-file John.
JW: No. I think that is utterly utterly wrong. (...) We've been overwhelmed=
AUD1: =If you

63. **IR:** Shhh.
64. **JW:** ⌈We- we- we- we- ⌉we have been overwhelmed by the expressions of support.
65. **AUD1:** ⌊°I just want to make one point.°
66. **AUD1:** No.=
67. **JW:** =People say thank God.=
68. **AUD**?: =No.=
69. **JW:** =At last.=
70. **AUD1:** =No no.
71. **JW:** People are speaking- are- with clarity. +⌈About one of the most⌉important=
72. **AUD1:** ⌊You have been overwhelmed
73. **JW:** =issues to confront the British people. + Whether our nation will retain its
74. independence, + its sovereignty, + whether our own Parliament- Government will
75. have the ultimate say over our own affairs, or whether the will of the people, can find
76. expression + to our Parliament and Government. That's what's at issue.=
77. **AUD1:** =You- + you have been overwhelmed + by + uhm a short span of publicity
78. ⌈(*inaud.*)⌉people + people still living in the past and running=
79. **JW:** (*shaking head*)⌊No. It's not. No. It's not.
80. **AUD1:** =through arguments and discussions, which we had before the referendum,
81. deciding whether we are ⌈in or out of Europe,⌉
82. **JW:** ⌊IT'S ABOUT THE FUTURE, + NOT THE PAST. ++
83. IT'S ABOUT THE FUTURE AND THE DESTINY⌈ OF OUR COUNTRY,=
84. **AUD1:** ⌊Well you are talking about=
85. **JW:** =(*shaking head*) IT'S NOT ABOUT THE PAST.⌉
86. **AUD1:** =the future with respect.
87. **IR:** (*selecting next speaker*) If the party is still divid- I hesi- I- I hesitate to ask that
88. question + patently, it is divided.
89. **AUD2:** (*nodding*) It is divid=
90. **IR:** =It is still divided.=
91. **AUD2:** = It is still divided.=
92. **IR:** =Even after the sticky parts they⌈were⌉supposed to be⌈put on last night.⌉
93. **AUD2:** ⌊ S: ⌊Still divid- the problem
94. ++ (...) + and then one of (*pointing at them*) (these) comes along in a thirty-second
95. sound by, and=
96. **IR:** =It's destroyed.=
97. **AUD2:** =all that work is gone.
98. **?:** (*inaud.*)
99. **IR:** Tony.
100. **TM:** Their interest in all sorts of details and aspects of policy (...) WE'VE GOT TO
101. REGAIN CONTROL OVER OUR OWN AFFAIRS.=
102. **IR:** =Robert. + Are you a divided party? You're sitting very quiet there. These two
103. + being accused of betraying the party, + deflecting you from⌈the⌉main issues,=
104. **RH:** ⌊Of

105. **RH:** =Of course there=
106. **IR:** =spoiling your attempts on the doorstep to canvas support for the local and the
107. general election when it comes.
108. **RH:** Of course there's no⌈denying,⌉
109. **IR:** ⌊Why did n't the Prime Minister succeed last night.
110. **RH:** Of course there's no denying, that there's a section of the + Conservative
111. Party, who are opposed to our uh membership of the Community (...). Government
112. itself hasn't given a sufficiently positive lead over the last 18 months.=
113. **IR:** =Government.=
114. **RH:** =That means⌈Government- I am talking about⌉the Prime Minister, I am=
115. **IR:** ⌊Wait a moment. You mean John Major.
116. **RH:** =talking about the Cabinet, + the Government as a whole,
117. **IR:** What,⌈so even⌉the loyalists are critical are they. +⌈Even the⌉ loyalists are=
118. **RH:** ⌊HAVEN'T GIVEN ⌊HAVEN'T GIVEN
119. **IR:** =critical.=
120. **RH:** =HAVEN'T GIVEN A SUFFICIENTLY FIRM LEAD. (...) THAT'S WHY
121. WE'RE IN THE DILEMMA AT THE MOMENT. [+]
122. **AUD3:** (*self-selecting*) I couldn't disagree more. (...) They do not want a⌈single⌉=
123. **AUD?:** ⌊°We're in.°
124. **AUD3:** =currency.
125. **AUD?:** But we're in.
126. **AUD3:** They want ↑free trade↑. They ↑don't want anything else.↑
127. **AUD?:** But we're in.
128. **AUD3:** ↑That's what they want.↑
129. **AUD:** (*murmur*)
130. **IR:** But, + still, + and we're talking about- we're talking about substantive issues
131. that many people have raised, but before we do that Nick, + the Prime Minister
132. (*laughing*) (clearly didn't. I'm not going to ask you what the position is now with
133. the party.) It's + how fundamental is the division now. Has⌈it made it WORSE=
134. **NW:** ⌊I
135. **IR:** =last night or better.
136. **NW:** I⌈think
137. **IR:** ⌊Norman LaMONT'S + defection, I suppose has given + it (*smiling*) a new
138. twist now hasn't it.
139. **NW:** Well, without Norman Lamont it would've made it mildly better I think. I
140. mean, after all four people did come back on sight, Mister Major's=
141. **IR:** =But two others abstained Nicholas.
142. **NW:** Yes. 319 votes for the Government, (...) there are divisions inside the
143. Conservative Party.
144. **IR:** So the divisions are deeper now would you estimate + than they were before.
145. ⌈ <Is this going to make it any worse?>
146. **NW:** ⌊ I don't think- I don't think that they're any deeper. (...) Michael Portillo's

147. view of a single currency could <u>not</u> be more opposed.
148. **IR:** (*pointing with finger at the next speaker*) (Is that the major issue that's
149. dividing them?
150. **NW:** That's ⌈the
151. **IR:** ⌊The issue of a single currency.)
152. **NW:** The single currency is the most <u>live</u> issue at the moment, even if it is + two,
153. three, four years away.
154. **IR:** (*moving to the next speaker*) (Do we want a single currency then? ↑Let's talk
155. about a single currency.↑ Do we want to be-) ++ do we want one?
156. **AUD4:** Definitely not. Uhm certainly not at the moment.(...) We either need a
157. strong leadership, + <u>or</u> we need a referendum.
158. **AUD5:** (*self-selecting*) I- I think the problem is, you're talking as if Europe is + is
159. an option, but it isn't. It's just across the Channel. And the single currency is good
160. for the European continent, because it allows to compete with the rising
161. economies of Asia far better.=
162. **IR:** =Hang on. Hang on.=
163. **AUD5:** =It's particu⌈larly
164. **IR:** ⌊We're talking about what's good for Britain.=
165. **AUD5:** =It's-⌈particularly
166. **IR:** ⌊WE'RE ASKING WHAT'S- WHAT'S GOOD FOR BRI⌈TAIN,=
167. **AUD5:** ⌊It's-
168. **IR:** =NOT WHAT'S GOOD FOR THE CONTINENT.=
169. **AUD5:** =It's particularly good for Britain for several reasons. + First it'll bring us
170. a lower inflation, + which is⌈something we have + <u>never</u>⌉managed to counter,
171. **AUD:** ⌊(*murmur*)
172. **AUD4:** That's- that certainly isn't⌈my experience. + That's certainly isn't my=
173. **AUD5:** ⌊it will stop-
174. **AUD4:** =experience of- uhm + of- of the possibility of- of- + of the financial
175. union in Europe. Had we stated in the ERM, when Mister Lamont hoicked the
176. interest rates to 15 per cent, we were talking about thousands of people in this
177. country who'd not been able to pay their + mortgages, they would've <u>lost</u> their
178. homes. It would have been a disaster. Now (*AUD5 shaking head*) (that's an example)
179. + of what the ERM is all about. They either have got to fundamentally (*AUD5*
180. *shaking head*) (look at it.). And get it sorted out before you can (*inaud*.).
181. **AUD5:** But- but that's a mythical distortion of the fact.⌈WHAT ACTUALLY=
182. **AUD:** ⌊(*murmur; protesting*)
183. **AUD5:** =HAPPENED-⌉+ WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED is that <Germany
184. put up its interest rates because of> + reunification. <British interest rates always
185. have to follow German interest rates.>=
186. **AUD4:** =Why.
187. **AUD5:** And what it⌈has⌉done- + and- + well, because if Britain + cuts its=
188. **AUD:** ⌊Why.

189. **AUD5:** =interest rates and + investors fear the pound will devalue, the (*inaud.*)
190. pound, which happened ever since the war, and we then have to devalue and we
191. become a high inflation⌈country again.⌉
192. **IR:** ⌊Moira. + Moira Moira.
193. **M:** I wanted to say, ++ I think you'll find that the majority of people actually want
194. the single currency. (*AUD laughing*) (Because it will make- + it will make the
195. single market) more efficient. (*swallows*) However, how are we going to
196. create + the conditions + where we can survive + er in Europe. [++]
197. **IR:** What are⌈you tal⌉king about. A single currency.
198. **M:** ⌊After that.
199. **M:** (*nodding*) Yes.=
200. **IR:** =Answer that Michael. Here's a question.
201. **MW:** I think the question is this. (...) and that is where I criticise the sceptics.
202. They are so ABSOLUTELY RIGID IN THEIR VIEWS, THAT THEY ARE
203. ABSOLUTELY UNPREPARED TO LISTEN TO ANY LOGIC BUT THEIR
204. OWN, +
205. **AUD:** Yeah.
206. **MW:** AND THEY WANT TO TAKE DECISIONS FOR THE REST OF US
207. THAT WE ARE FRANKLY + NOT YET READY⌈TO TAKE.
208. **IR:** ⌊On a single currency? On a=
209. **AUD:** ⌊(*murmur*)
210. **IR:** =single currency?=
211. **AUD6:** =(*self-selecting*) I think- <I think it is interesting that the call for a single
212. currency in the main is coming> + from politicians. + And not from businessmen
213. and economists.
214. **AUD:** (*applause*)
215. **AUD6:** (...) We've experimented with being in- part of the ERM, and it was a total
216. disaster. As has (*pointing with finger over shoulder*) already been mentioned
217. behind me,=
218. **IR:** =(Rosemary.)=
219. **AUD6:** =it led to 15% interest rates.=
220. **IR:** (Rose)=
221. **R:** =Well, I read the Economist, and I suppose I look at things through my
222. handbag, and through my housekeeping.
223. **IR:** Well that's the best-⌈that's the BETTER- that's the BEST ECONOMIST +=
224. **R:** ⌊Of ↑course↑ it is. Well ↑that's what Margaret Thatcher=
225. **IR:** =THAT'S A PRACTICAL⌉ECONOMIST. [+]
226. **R:** =did.↑
227. **R:** ↑Oh↑=
228. **IR:** =I thought she hit people with her handbag.=
229. **R:** =Well I will. (...) (*AUD laughing*) my handbag's there. (*laughter*)
230. **IR:** (*laughing*) (Leave it there.) ++ No no no.=

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R: =↑I think- I think from the point of view of an ordinary person travelling across Europe,↑ and I get absolutely fed up with having to cha:nge money every five minutes, it costs me money, (...) I can see no reason why we shouldn't have + a single currency.
BB: (*self-selecting*) Me neither. ⌈Being a German,⌉ I am absolutely startled that=
?: ⌊ (*inaud.*)
BB: =the + reaction and the discussion (...). They don't wanna accept it. They wanna be outside. And they wanna suffer the effects of a strong ⌈dominating Germany.=
R: (*putting hands on chest*) ⌊↑Not me. + Not me.↑
JW: =Can I come back on- ⌈can I just come back on⌉
IR: ⌊What are you saying. Are you- are you going to give up the Mark? [++]
BB: Of course. I mean, there (*AUD laughing*) (is a strong sentiment). + ⌈Well I- I=
IR: ⌊What do=
BB: =must
IR: =you mean of course. You don't ↑ask↑ people in Germany. You just ↑tell↑ them.=
BB: =Well, because we have POLI↑TI↑CIANS + who are capable of saying, (*AUD murmur*) (we have a vision, we stand for it, there are ELECTIONS, THAT IS OUR REFERENDUM, YOU DON'T ACCEPT THIS VISION,) AND THEN + DON'T ELECT US.=
JW: =Can I- can I=
BB: =THIS IS THE VISION.=
IR: =John. ⌈John.
JW: ⌊Can I reply to our German friend? + The point is, we do not want + a Central Bank in Frankfurt + to have contro:l over our money supply, (...) We want our- our OWN taxation, our OWN Parliament, and our OWN Government to control our economy. ⌈IN THAT WAY⌉ OUR PEOPLE + CAN=
BB: ⌊(*inaud.*)
JW: =DEMOCRATICALLY ELECT POLITICIANS WHO'LL MAKE THE DECISIONS WHICH THEY WANT. THAT'S THE POINT.
BB: But isn't the- the monetary policy being shaped by the Bundesbank right now?
JW: [*noise from AUD*] [(*applause*) (It has) an influence.
IR: Aha] Peter.
PS: (*addressing BB*) The- the- the heart of the matter from the German point of view, is of course that Germany has the strongest economy, and the strongest currency in Europe. (...) It's a great self-interest we have in this matter.
BB: But, I mean, we are + clear about one thing. (...)↑Why don't the British want such a strong currency.↑
PS: Because- ⌈because our only-⌉ because- because we have many different=

273. **BB:** ⌊↑Stronger than the pound.↑
274. **PS:** =objectives to uh achieve, in economic policy, other than + price stability, (...)
275. AND TO ABANDON ALL THOSE, TO A CENTRAL BANK, which is really the
276. + Bundesbank uh uh in disguise, is not for me.
277. **IR:** (*moving to another place but not towards NMc*) So we're worried about
278. sovereignty then Norris.
279. **NMc:** Indeed⌈we are.⌉
280. **IR:** ⌊(*inaud.*) is that- is that part of the problem?
281. **NMc:** Yes.⌈You see
282. **IR:** ⌊You're worried about that sovereignty?
283. **NMc:** We've been talking about single currency. And now I hope we are going to
284. talk about sovereignty. (...) What we are having now, is being ruled, by Supreme
285. Court, + uhhh + hardly many of us⌈rely on it⌉
286. **IR:** ⌊The European Supreme=
287. **NMc:** =The European Su- uh Court, which can + pass judgements⌈down upon us⌉
288. **IR:** ⌊Which is im
289. plying a European + Constitution, a European Convention⌈on human rights, and
290. **NMc:** ⌊Exactly.
291. **IR:** other matters.
292. **NMc:** Yes. An unelected commission of 20 + uh Eurocrats + and the European
293. Parliament (...) We're ↑paying↑ to have it ↑taken away.↑ [+++]
294. **AUD:** (*applause*)
295. **AUD7:** (*selected by IR*) I- + I- I fundamentally disagree with you- + with you
296. Norris. (...) The European co-operation symbolised, + by + European Community,
297. is putting an end to that. It's⌈taking⌉us away from that.⌈(*inaud.*)⌉=
298. **NMc:** ⌊It'll- it'll | |
299. **AUD8:** (*out of focus*) ⌊(*inaud.*)
300. **NMc:** =It'll build up more enmities.
301. **AUD7:** Which- which we⌈should- which we should⌉
302. **NMc:** ⌊If we haven't got control.
303. **IR:** Norris, yes.
304. **NMc:** What happens is + this idea + that a superstate + will be free of conflict, +
305. is the e↑xact ↑opposite of the ↑truth.↑⌈It will be full⌉of enmities.=
306. **AUD7:** (*out of focus*) ⌊It is not.
307. **AUD7:** =It is⌈not. You have for the first time⌉
308. **NMc:** ⌊Because you have lost control + over your own⌈country.
309. **AUD7:** ⌊For the first time
310. you have FRANCE AND GERMANY WORKING TOGETHER. + THAT IN
311. ITSELF SHOULD- + UH⌈SHOULD ENSURE, THAT THERE ISN'T-=
312. **NMc:** ⌊Well that's fine.
313. **AUD7:** =⌈ANOTHER EUROPEAN WAR BECOMES A WORLD WAR.=
314. **NMc:** ⌊That's fine.

315. **NMc:** =Well, fine.⌈Let them work together.⌉
316. **AUD7:** ⌊CAN I- CAN I MAKE + ANOTHER⌈can I- can I can I=
317. **IR:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
318. **AUD7:** =make another important point? + Wh- what- what really irritates me is,
319. uh uh there are people like yourself <and it may not apply particularly to you> but
320. I- I suspect the people like you who <bang on about sovereignty are so concerned
321. about Britain's sovereignty,> are- are- are quite happy + with + a country with
322. high unemployment, +⌈with⌉a two-tier education system, [+]
323. **NMc:** (*shaking head*) ⌊No.
324. **NMc:** IT WAS THE ERM THAT⌈DROVE US UP THAT ROAD.⌉
325. **AUD7:** ⌊with a- with a- with an IMMACULATE
326. HEALTH SERVICE . LET'S GET PASSIONATE ABOUT THAT. AND NOT I-
327. I'M PREPARED TO GIVE UP SOME SOVEREIGNTY + FOR THE- FOR THE
328. CAUSE OF=
329. **S:** =I'm=
330. **AUD7:** =EUROPEAN PEACE.=
331. **IR:** =Seline. Seline.
332. **S:** Uhm I don't know. It seems here + quite a few people, + it's almost like crying
333. over spilt milk. I mean, we've already gone down + the path perhaps too far into
334. Europe to be saying + we don't want to lose our sovereignty. We don't want a
335. single currency. + I mean, (*putting hand on chest*) my generation, think it's
336. absolutely great. + The job oppor-⌈op
337. **IR:** ⌊What's absolutely great. What's great.=
338. **S:** =Because the ↑job opportunities↑, you can ↑move⌈around Europe=.↑
339. **IR:** ⌊What job opportunities=.
340. **S:** =You can ↑work.↑⌉
341. **IR:** =There's 2 million people unemployed. [+]
342. **S:** <Yes. Yes. But it's not just in ↑England.↑> You don't have to stay in
343. ↑England.↑ You can go to ↑France.↑ You can go to ↑Germany.↑ You can
344. **AUD8:** (*out of focus*) Oh ⌈come on. Come on.⌉
345. **IR:** ⌊So now- so now here, what do you think.
346. ⌈Seline.⌉+ Seline.
347. **AUD9: (***selected by IR***)** ⌊You can't have
348. **AUD9:** Robert. Robert.⌈You can't⌉have + the state in the market. + You can't=
349. **IR:** ⌊You're talking to Seline.
350. **AUD9:** =have both. And what you're for- getting about is community. A
351. community- I'm a European person. In a European community. And the economic
352. market is God. + And (*pointing at gentleman*) (that gentleman over there said=)
353. **IR:** =Are you in favour of it or?=
354. **AUD9:** =(*shaking head*) I'm not. No. And I am a socialist. (...) and emigrants-
355. uhh + emigrants uhh + not being allowed to come in, and they're feeling under
356. seige, be↑cause↑ + the ↑mark↑et + is ↑God↑. [+]

IR: Seline.
S: Is it not a bit too late to be saying + you know we should step backwards from Europe? (*murmur from AUD*) (++ To say you know + that with withdrawal we don't want to be)
IR: So you're quite- you're quite happy. + Norris was talking about + you know 1000 years of British history, and sovereignty, and where we've got this ability, + to determine our own affairs, + and the people who make the decisions, are clearly recognisable, responsible, and accountable, + and when we don't like what they do, + in his terms we can sack them. You're quite happy as a young person, in a new Europe, to give all that + away + .hhh to a greater European union, + because of the + other potential benefits=
S: =Yes.=
IR: =that you might deri=
S: =Exactly.=
IR: =What are the⌈benefits you think are- what are the⌉benefits you are gonna=
?: (*out of focus*) ⌊ (*inaud.*)
IR: =derive.=
AUD10: =(*out of focus*) °You can't⌈vote.°⌉
IR: ⌊What are the benefits. [+]
S: Well, I feel- I don't know. You- + you have a- + a larger body. You have a body of Europe. +⌈Market-wise.⌉+ (*turning head towards AUD*) ⌈Market forces- you=
AUD?: ⌊ (*inaud.*) |
AUD: ⌊ (*murmur*)
S: = + are more +⌈com⌉petitive + with the other larger⌉market forces.⌈Of course=
IR: ⌊Shhh. | |
AUD: (*murmur*) ⌊(*murmur*)=
S: =they're (*inaud.*)⌉
AUD: =(*murmur*)
IR: (*asking PS, who is sitting next to Seline, to answer her; pointing with finger at PS's addressee*)⌈Please. John. John. Peter. Peter.⌉
AUD: ⌊ (*murmur*)
PS: (*putting hand behind Seline's back*)⌈Surely- surely there's⌉=
AUD: ⌊ (*murmur*)
IR: =Shh. Please, please,=
PS: =(*hand mov.*) (You say you want to be part of- of Europe. Or you want to co-operate with (*inaud.*). Contribute with them. We've got that al<u>ready</u>. We've ↑got that in the Rome <u>Treaty</u>,↑ + and which we joined. <u>That's</u> not an issue.) + (*looking back; hand mov. in the direction from which this idea was proposed*) (Nor is the issue about having good relationship and stopping war) in the future. +
⌈Al⌉though I think NATO⌈have⌉done more about that=
IR?: ⌊Why. | |
S: ⌊Why-

399. **PS:** ⌈=than even the European Community.⌉
400. **S:** ⌊Why not step further into the single currency.
401. **PS:** Be- + exact- (*vertical hand mov.*) (it's a ↑treaty too far↑ + it + substitutes
402. for co-operation and friendliness.) + ↑RULED↑ + BY ↑OTHERS. ↑ + (*hand*
403. *mov. with palm upward*) YOU'LL ↑LOSE↑ YOUR BASIC BIRTHRIGHT.
404. YOU'VE + YOU'VE INHERITED A DEMOCRACY.
405. **S:** But=
406. **PS:** =THE RIGHT TO GET RID OF YOUR OWN GOVERN⌈MENT. IF=
407. **S:** ⌊But we're just not=
408. **PS:** =YOU'RE FED UP WITH THEM.
409. **S:** =worried too much about⌈our heritage you know
410. **PS:** ⌊THAN TO BE⌈MANIPULATED IN YOUR OWN=
411. **IR:** ⌊Just listen to her. Listen- listen to her. =
412. **PS:** =COUNTRY ⌉
413. **IR:** =To what she- listen to what she says.
414. **S:** Isn't it we're just more concerned about our heritage that we feel we'll lose our
415. i⌈den⌉tity. We're not actually realising=
416. **PS:** ⌊↑No.↑ =It's your de↑mocracy. + It's what- +
417. (*vertical hand mov.*) (what people fought for. To give you.↑)=
418. **S:** =(*turning to AUD11 who is sitting behind her and also arguing against PS*)
419. ⌈It's your⌉
420. **AUD11:** (*self-selecting*)⌊<So you're not a European citizen. You're a British
421. citizen.>
422. **S:** Yes.
423. **AUD11:** <It's not a question of + it's not a question⌈of one or the other.>⌉
424. **S:** (*addressing AUD11*) ⌊Europe- and Europe would
425. be a democracy.=
426. **IR:** =(*stumbles*) I'm sorry. Go⌈on.⌉
427. **PS:** ⌊The institution is not democratic. [+]
428. **AUD11:** <Yeah, but⌈yeah that's a problem of⌉systems of government.
429. **AUD12:** (*sitting next to AUD11*)⌊That's the reason,
430. **AUD11:** That's saying we should (...) I'm very pro-European, but I'm very much
431. in favour of reforming +⌈institutions.>
432. **PS:** ⌊Well it's mm + that's (*vertical hand mov. starting from*
433. *forehead*) (a mile + away) from any serious democracy. And do you really want
434. to be part of + a United States of Europe? That's⌈really what's the
435. **AUD11**: ⌊Yes.
436. **PS:** ⌈issue. + ⌈You want the United States of Europe?=
437. **AUD?:** (*out of focus*) ⌊No. No.⌊No.
438. **AUD11:** =(*nodding*) Yes.=
439. **PS:** =Like the USA? [+]
440. **AUD11:** Yes. Yes. Just⌈like the USA.⌉

441. **PS:** ⌊Like the US co mmunity?=
442. **AUD11:**=A Federal European State ruled by a European Parliament. Which-
443. which uh <elects a government in the same way as ⌈it does at present.>=
444. **AUD13:** (*out of focus*) ⌊(*inaud.*)
445. **AUD11:** =(*nodding*) Yes.=
446. **AUD12:** =(*sitting next to AUD11*) Can I just say something? Economic success is
447. about free trade. (...) They are proper + happy + neighbours + and very successful.
448. + That's what we want + with our European part⌈ners.⌉
449. **PS:** ⌊You've got it absolutely right.=
450. **AUD13:** =(*self-selecting; sitting next to AUD11 and behind PS*) Let's- this- this-
451. this whole idea about national state, national sovereignty, the way the arrogants
452. speak,=
453. **PS:** =Democracy.=
454. **AUD13:** =the reason I want ⌈to
455. **AUD12:** ⌊Democracy.=
456. **AUD13:** =The reason I want to be part of a United European State, + and the reason
457. I don't care (...) I DON'T JUST WANNA VOTE IN THE ↑U.K..↑ I WANNA
458. VOTE + OVER THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET, + AND A SINGLE
459. EUROPEAN STATE, + IN WHICH I CAN WORK AND ↑LIVE.↑ [++]
460. **AUD14:** (*self-selecting*) Isn't it- isn't it right that uh- + that if we can get + a
461. single Europe- a single Europe, + all in one, + we won't have all this infight that
462. we have in- in this country, + it'll be a national debate. We're not + we don't. It's
463. not a case of- + of- we- we- we + sort of giving up. Let's negotiate. + Let's go into
464. it on ⌈(*inaud.*) on uh our terms.⌉
465. **AUD12:** (*out of focus*) ⌊(*inaud.*)
466. **IR:** Mm. + (*addressing AUD15*) Uh + talk to him [=*AUD14*].
467. **AUD15:** I- I- I've been a supporter of the + EEC, the Common Market, since
468. 1958. It is essential + as a trading nation, that we stay: i:n Europe as a trading
469. nation. + But=
470. **AUD?:** =We're in Europe=.
471. **AUD15:** =I- I spen:d as much time (...) and therefore the single currency itself=
472. **IR:** =You speak as a farmer.=
473. **AUD15:** =I speak as a farmer, I speak as uh as a politician, as a councillor, + (...)
474. as a farmer you're completely + disgusted. + With uhh some of the things that are
475. being said + uh about ↑farming↑ for ⌈instance.⌉
476. **IR:** ⌊Robert .
477. **RH:** Why are we so defeated about this. + Every time a country + joins an interna-
478. + na- signs an international agreement, there is automatically a loss of sovereignty.
479. That in reverse means,=
480. **AUD16:** =(*out of focus*) (*inaud.*)=
481. **RH:** =that there are fourteen partners, within the European Union, have also lost
482. sovereignty,⌈WE ARE PALLING A SOVEREIGNTY,⌉AND WHY ARE we=

483. **AUD16:** (*out of focus*)⌊ (*inaud.*)
484. **RH:** =therefore SO self-conscious, that ↑WE ARE LOSING MORE↑ +
485. ⌈THAN THE FOURTEEN OTHER ⌉+ MEMBER=
486. **AUD16:** (*out of focus*)⌊ (*inaud.*)
487. **RH:** =STATES. + ⌈WITH OTHER MEM⌉⌈BER STATES⌉+
488. **AUD17:** (*out of focus*)⌊ (*inaud.*) | |
489. **IR:** ⌊ Psshhhh.
490. **RH:** QUEUEING UP + TO JOIN + THIS + union. + ↑Isn't that significant?↑
491. **AUD15:** But it's- it's the-
492. **IR:** (*pointing at RH, but addressing AUD15*) You're talking to Robert.
493. **AUD15:** The- the sovereignty issue is a very major one, within this country. (...)
494. and our lives <are gonna be run> by UNE↑LEC↑TED. And this is the problem at
495. the moment. Be⌈cause ⌉ ⌈une↑lected + bureaucratic + commission↑⌉
496. **S:** ⌊↑No.↑ | |
497. **AUD11:** (*out of focus*) ⌊ It's an elected European ↑Government.↑ =
498. **S:** =Yeah.=
499. **AUD11:** =That's⌈a ⌉↑European Government.↑
500. **S:** ⌊Yeah.
501. **AUD11:**⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
502. **AUD15:**⌊(*inaud.*)⌊
503. **RH:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
504. **IR:** Ssh. <One at a time. + I can't get you all in.>=
505. **AUD15:** =We- we- in effect + the Council of Ministers is supposed to have
506. control over the co⌈mmission,⌉=
507. **RH:** (*nodding*) ⌊It does.
508. **AUD15:** =but it has ↑no control↑ whatsoever.
509. **IR:** (*moving towards another member of the audience sitting at the back*)
510. ⌈Do you worry ⌉⌈about it a lot? + I mean- this word⌉sovereignty, is it=
511. **AUD15:**⌊ (*inaud.*) | |
512. **AUD:** ⌊ (*murmur*)
513. **IR:** =just a word, + or is it important? Do you worry about what- + what Peter
514. says? + Peter Shore puts the one side of the argument saying, + "well we're giving
515. away our ability to- + to deal with things, <our power over our own lives, over our
516. own destiny,> and yet (*pointing at them*) (there are two young people, Seline
517. sitting alongside him and the + gentleman behind him) who say- + and they're
518. speaking perhaps for their generation, + saying we wanna be part of a- a- a union
519. that em- embraces + all the different nations of Europe. + Where- is this
520. ⌈a problem?
521. **AUD16:**⌊Well, I entirely agree with the young people. (...) I don't think they're
522. giving ↑near↑ly enough support to John Major, who is an ex↑tremely↑ good
523. negotiator, (*JW moving his index finger from one side to the other, saying no*)
524. (and showed that) at Maastricht.=

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IR: =John.=
AUD16: =And we should ↑trust ↑ him.=
JW: =I⌈think⌉
AUD16: ⌊And we should su↑pport ↑ him. + And- and let him ↑go in.↑ And get
the very (*sbdy clapping*) (best we can for Europe.). Which I believe John Major
can do.
JW: ⌈It was⌉
IR: ⌊John. John. John.=
JW: =It was suggested that all young people-, that was the influence- were in
favour + of our membership to the European U⌈nion⌉
IR: ⌊No. Just the two ⌈down here.⌉
AUD?: (*out of focus*) | (*inaud.*) |
JW: ⌊ It was notable
certainly in my area, that (...) therefore we will⌈lose jobs, and we will⌉lose=
AUD16: ⌊ (*inaud.*)
JW: =opportunities rather than gain⌈them.
IR: ⌊Hold on John. Hold on. + (*addressing
AUD16) Go on.
AUD16: I think the Eurosceptics like John Wilkinson have had far too bigger say.
[+]
JW: Why.=
AUD16: =And- and
AUD?: (*out of focus*) Are you supporting⌈(*inaud.*)⌉
AUD16: ⌊You're- ⌈you're
IR: ⌊(Denise,) come on! You
know you can't do⌈that!
AUD16: ⌊You're having +⌈the whole say, ⌉+ and you're giving the=
IR: ⌊ (*inaud.*)
AUD16: =impression + that everybody supports you. And I don't find that is true
+ on the door⌈step.⌉
IR: ⌊Okay.
JW: Well NOT [*some applause*] [EVERYBODY, BUT + A LOT.=
IR: =(*moving to AUD18*) (WELL, ↑WHAT ABOUT A REFERENDUM] THEN.
+ IS THAT THE [*sbdy clapping*] [ANSWER? + SHOULD WE-)] SHOULD WE
BE HAVING A REFERENDUM + to decide all this? (*sitting down next to
AUD18) We decide.↑
AUD18: Well, + coming from Southern Ireland we've got a referendum if you
sneeze in the country basically.
AUD: (*laughter*)
AUD18: Which can become a bit of a pain. But I think it's such an important issue
right now, + I think the people should decide. +⌈(*inaud.*)⌉+ You know, and
AUD?: (*clapping*) ⌊Yeah.

AUD18: we- + we should have (the right) to decide for ourselves + wherever we want to go. I think everybody says should we join, should we not, + none of us of + of the normal people + understands + exactly ++ what it's all about.+ At the end of the day,
AUD?: (°*inaud.*°)=
AUD18: =I mean, [+]
IR: (*the IR wants her to continue with the argument*) No go on.⌈Go on.
AUD18: ⌊You're probably dead right⌈yes.
IR: ⌊At the end of the day, (*asking her to continue with what she was saying before being interrupted*)
AUD18: At the end of the day, you know, somebody (should) actually + spell it out + just for us + to understand it completely and then for us to vote + whether we want to go in or not.⌈I mean,⌉+=
AUD19: (*sitting next to AUD18*)⌊(*inaud.*)
AUD18: =(*putting hand on chest*) (where⌈I work + where I work)⌉+=
AUD19: ⌊ (*inaud.*)
AUD18: =(*raising palm up as if asking sbdy to stop*) (sorry) for that. Where I work- I'm an insurance (director). + And I uhm + insure (holidays).
AUD19: Mhm.
AUD18: Now, we had this- <we had all these directors from the EEC that we had to change their policies to do xy and z.> I don't see them changing anything. Also, our certificates are now + European certificates. + But they are not recognised on the ↑borders↑. + Our (*inaud.*) have been found <when they are going to the borders that they haven't got the ↑green card>. Fine.↑ + We're supposed to- to have this agreement a long time ago, + and it's not ↑there.↑ + It's not in place.
IR: But you are- you are in favour of your argument that + it's our decision, + we should ⌈decide, + we should have the issues clearly spelt out to us and then we
AUD18: ⌊Yes.
IR: should decide the issue of principle.
AUD18: (*nodding*) Yes.=
IR: =Of what we want to do in the future. [+]
AUD19: But now it's not the time to actually have that referendum,
⌈becau:se
AUD20: (*out of focus*)⌊Oh my God!⌈Oh my God! (*laughter*)
AUD: ⌊ (*murmur*)
AUD19: ⌈be- + because⌉+ we actually have + a representative Parliament. + Not=
AUD: ⌊ (*murmur; laughter from 2 members of AUD.*)
AUD19: =a delegate Parliament. + (*hand mov.; TM raising hand for turn*) (...) we would obtain control by marrying them. + Now,
AUD: (*laughter*)
IR: And TEACHING IN OUR SCHOOLS.

AUD19: Exactly. (...) (*laughter*) Then we go to the people and say "these are the options. + Do you support them."
AUD18: Do you honestly think we've got ++ politicians in Parliament at the moment that would be able to represent us? I mean against the Germans and the French politicians? (*shaking head*) I don't think so.
IR: You mean the calibre isn't good (*members of audience clapping*) (enough?
AUD18: Yes.
IR: Oh! + Referendum)
AUD20: (*selected by IR*) I be⌈lieve
IR: ⌊ Do we want a referendum?
AUD20: I be⌈lieve
IR: ⌊If so, what's the question and when.
AUD20: I believe a referendum is unnecessary at this stage, and it should be treated as a last-resort measure. We should really rely on the Parliament to decide + in which direction we go. +⌈After all they were elected for purpose. [+]
AUD18: ⌊They- they haven't done
AUD18: They haven't done very well at the moment. <Everything they set up-
⌈everything they do,>
AUD20: ⌊I
AUD20: No.⌈I + think this descen-
AUD18: ⌊is pressure. + It's costing us money.=
AUD20: =I think this descension is completely misrepresented by + either the media, the TV, or whatever. The descension probably represents + 3% of the ++ Conservative Parliament.
IR: Mmm.
AUD21: (*self-selecting*)⌈Now the democracy-⌉democracy⌈is not a question of=
AUD22: (*out of focus*) ⌊ (*inaud.*) |
IR: (*raising hand and palm*) ⌊Stop please.
AUD21: =the power of Parliament, democracy is a question of the power of the people. (...) (*IR goes and sits down beside him*) The first referendum we need is about 1972. Because we were⌈lied
IR: ⌊YOU WANNA GO TO THE PAST.
AUD21: For ↑sure.↑ + Because THAT'S⌈WHERE
IR: ⌊YOU WANNA OPEN THE ↑WHOLE ISSUE.↑
AUD21: Well, THAT'S WHERE the (bombs) were⌈planted
IR: ⌊But we had a referendum in- when was it. Nineteen seventy:?
AUD+AUD21: FIVE.
IR: ↑Seventy ⌈five.↑⌉ We had a referendum.=
AUD+AUD21: ⌊FIVE.
AUD21: =Yes. That's right. Well=

651. **IR:** =Didn't you vote then?
652. **AUD21:** Well, I- at the time I lived in Germany, and I elected to a
653. **IR:** BUT⌈WE ↑HAD A REFERENDUM.↑
654. **AUD21:** ⌊large
655. **AUD21:** a large- a large=
656. **IR:** =SO WE ↑DEALT WITH (*moving hand to one side as if referring to what is*
657. *gone*) THE PAST.↑
658. **AUD21:** No, no we ↑didn't.↑ + Because we were lied to at the time, about the
659. nature of what we were approving. (...) as the European Court + brings more and
660. more + of our + sovereign decisions + within the eeges + of that 72 + act.
661. **AUD23:** (*self-selecting*; *addressing AUD21*) Right. Ah, + my + view really on the
662. sovereignty is + that + it is essentially the sovereignty of politicians + to rule us, +
663. and this brings⌈me really⌉to my + view on a single currency which is=
664. **AUD21:** ⌊No. (*inaud.*)
665. **IR:** =<But we're not talking about a single currency.⌈We're talking
666. **AUD23:** ⌊No. We're talking about
667. the referendum.=
668. **IR:** =We're asking whether we- you and I and the rest of us should decide, or we
669. should let (*pointing at them*) (these> + divided people here) decide. Whether it's
670. Peter Shore, + and John Wilkinson, and Tony Marlow, or Robert Hicks, and their
671. ilk decide for us, or whether we decide. Should we decide?
672. **AUD23:** Well,=
673. **IR:** =Should we have a referendum?
674. **AUD23:** ⌈No. We shouldn't have a referendum. Because the-
675. **AUD?:** (*out of focus*)⌊Ye:s.
676. **AUD23:** the- the problems are too complex (*AUD laughter*) (for a simple + yes
677. or no answer.
678. **IR:** ⌈Oh I see. + Oh I see. So + you're telling (*pointing at himself*) (me), ⌉=
679. **AUD:**⌊ (*murmur*)
680. **AUD23:** =⌈I'm an economist,⌉and I know how complex they are. [+]
681. **AUD:** ⌊ (*murmur*)
682. **IR:** Oh I see. + Well, I'm an economist too. And you're telling me that I'm too
683. stupid + to decide my future?
684. **AUD23:** No.⌈I'm
685. **IR:** ⌊↑YOU'RE TELLING ME THAT I'M TOO⌈STUPID? YOU'RE=
686. **AUD23:** ⌊No. I
687. **IR:** =TELLING EVERYBODY IN THIS ROOM, + EVERYBODY WHO'S
688. WATCHING THEY'RE STUPID?
689. **AUD23:** Not stupid.=
690. **IR:** =WELL OF COURSE YOU ARE.↑
691. **AUD23:** I did not say stupid. I said + the- the subjects are + too complex. I mean
692. there are many things I don't⌈understand.

693. **IR:** ⌊<WHAT D'YOU MEAN WE CAN'T
694. UNDERSTAND. WE ↑CAN UNDERSTAND.↑
695. **AUD23:** No.=
696. **IR:** =WE CAN FIGHT FOUR OUR COUNTRY, DIE FOR OUR COUNTRY,
697. ELECT GOVERNMENTS,⌈↑WHY CAN'T WE MAKE DECISIONS=
698. **AUD23:** (*out of focus*) ⌊Certainly.
699. **IR:** =⌈ABOUT ITS future.↑
700. **AUD23:** ⌊Uhhhhh
701. **AUD23:** Of course you can make decisions about our future, but only th- we can
702. only make sensible decisions, in the light of fully understanding the implications
703. of the de⌈cisions we make.
704. **AUD:** ⌊ (*murmur*)
705. **IR:** So Tony Marlow, + so Tony Marlow, +⌉↑what that means is,↑ you + who
706. **AUD:** (*murmur*)
707. **IR:** are clearly much more intelligent than me and everybody (*AUD laughter*)
708. (else here, +)
709. **TM:** O- only you Robert. Nobody else.=
710. **IR:** =(*smiling*)⌈(O- o- only me. + Only me)⌉. Alright but you're much more
711. **AUD:** ⌊ (*laughter*)
712. **IR:** intelligent than Rosemary,
713. **R:** Thank⌈you very much.
714. **IR:** ⌊and- and Seline, + and everybody else. I know you don't believe
715. that. But you + I mean, ↑is that the argument,↑ that- it's ↑so complex that we have
716. to leave it to the experts in Parliament to decide?↑
717. **TM:** I think that's totally wrong. (...) (*AUD applause*) (We ought to have a
718. referendum. NOW. ++ TO DECIDE + HOW WE'RE GOING TO DO IT IN THE
719. FUTURE,=
720. **IR:** =(*moves towards another member of AUD signalling to TM that he should*
721. *stop*) (*inaud.*)=
722. **TM:** =WHETHER WE WANT TO GO TO A) UNION- UNIFIED EUROPEAN
723. STATE, + OR WHETHER WE WANT TO STICK + WITH A ST-) with a trading
724. ⌈block we've got at the moment.
725. **AUD24:** (*selected by IR*)⌊(*inaud.*) it doesn't matter if we're in or out. We're in
726. there now.=
727. **TM:** =↑No.↑=
728. **AUD24:** =And I think we've gotta let- <ALRIGHT,⌈IF WE'RE GONNA HAVE=
729. **TM:** ⌊IT'S WHERE WE GO=
730. **AUD24:** =A REFERENDUM,⌉WHERE for everything. If you ask people on the
731. **TM:** =FROM HERE.
732. **AUD24:** doorstep about⌈referendums,>
733. **IR:** ⌊Now you're worried about- + I don't understand-
734. (*AUD24 smiling*) (I never understa:nd) + the members of the public + who- <I can

735. understand the politicians saying they don't want a referendum because they're
736. worried (*hand mov*.) (about exceeding power,>) + but I can never understand + a
737. citizen + saying "no I don't wanna be asked. + No I don't wanna be able to
738. decide". + Unless they are fearful + that they are gonna lose the arguments.
739. **AUD24:** ↑No. No.↑ Because I think people wanna get on with their lives, and
740. wanna get on with their⌈business, ⌈AND- AND WE ELECT POLITICIANS- WE=
741. **AUD:** | ⌊ (*murmur*)
742. **IR:** ⌊Well the referendum
743. **AUD24:** =ELECT POLITICIANS,⌉(...) They are paid, they are elected, and
744. **AUD:** (*murmur*)
745. **AUD24:**⌈it's their business to get on. And=
746. **PS:** ⌊There's a very
747. **IR:** =⌈Peter.
748. **PS:** =⌊(*pointing with index finger up and down*) There's a very special reason
749. why we ↑do↑ need a referendum.What we've got in Britain, is an unwritten
750. constitution.
751. **AUD:** Yeah.
752. **PS:** And we're no safeguards + against any + change. We can ABOLISH
753. PARLIAMENT+ by a majority of one. ++ Now, + (*hand mov. with palm*
754. *upward*) (that's unique to Britain + and we ought to have + a weighted
755. constitutional + safeguard which required + two-thirds of the votes for example, to
756. make a major change. (*shaking head*) (We haven't got it.) +⌈(*inaud*.)⌉
757. **IR:** |Michael.| Michael.⌉=
758. **AUD25:** (*out of focus*) ⌊ (*inaud*.)
759. **IR:** =Michael.
760. **MW:** I think it's a great pity, we actually can't trust our elected Paliament.
761. (*looking in the direction of TM, who is opposite him. TM is in focus*) (...) LET'S
762. HAVE IT AS THE PRIME MINISTER'S SUGGESTED, + ON THE ACTUAL +
763. FACTS + OF THE CASE + WHEN NEGOTIATED, SO IT'S ON THE TABLE.
764. **R:** (*self-selecting*) So you do want it⌈ (*inaud*.) ⌉=
765. **IR:** (*pointing at Rosemary*) ⌊Rosemary. Rosemary Rosemary.
766. **R:** =⌈(*inaud*.)⌉
767. **MW:**⌊(*inaud*.) No.+ Not what.
768. **IR:** (*moving towards Rosemary*) What's the reality- what's the reality of whether
769. we are we likely to get a referendum or⌈not. The politics of it at
770. **NW:** ⌊I think we're almost certain to get- + get
771. a referendum at some point.=
772. **IR:** =When.=
773. **NW:** =I think=
774. **IR:** =When's the likely indication.
775. **NW:** Well, I just- I just think it's likely to come after the IGC, and it's more likely
776. ⌈to come

777. **IR:** ⌊That's in 90. That'd be after ninety-⌈96-97
778. **NW:** ⌊96-97. + And it's more likely to come <u>on</u>
779. the crunch issue of the single currency. I think the- the discussion⌈here has=
780. **IR:** ⌊So what would
781. **NW:** =shown that.=
782. **IR:** =What would the question be.
783. **NW:** Do you think Britain should join a single currency? [+]
784. **IR:** Just as simple as that?=
785. **NW:** =(*nodding*) Yeah.
786. **IR:** Yeah + ya don't- ya do- you're going- + and you're in the Government. Let's
787. assume that this time Mr. Shore, [+]
788. **PS:** Don't try. And- and- and-⌈and phrase a question now. It's too difficult.
789. **IR:** ⌊Would you be
790. **AUD:** (*laughter*)
791. **IR:** (*AUD6 raising hand*)⌈(But a Lab- a Labour Party- a Labour Party- a Labour
792. **AUD:** ⌊ (*murmur*)
793. **IR:** Government)⌉+ will it be taking a different attitude to the present one? + Will
794. **AUD:**
795. **IR:** it be less divided than the Government is now? [+]
796. **PS:** It's a very- it's very doubtful frankly, because (...) that's a- + that's a frankly-
797. a even more favourable stance to<u>wards</u> a single currency, + than that of John
798. Major him↑self.↑=
799. **IR:** =So you're gonna⌈be more virulent in opposing (*hand mov. to left side*)=
800. **PS:** ⌊And
801. **IR:** =(him) + than the Mar⌈lows and⌈the Wilkinsons and⌈tal
802. **PS:** ⌊I ⌊I- I ⌊I shall oppose it
803. al⌈though I'm a good party + politician, + I do + try to put the national interest=
804. **IR:** ⌊You <u>shall</u> oppose.
805. **PS:** =first.
806. **AUD:** Yeah. Yeah.
807. **AUD26:** (*out of focus*) That's why we⌈(*inaud.*)
808. **IR:** ⌊So the Labour- + a Labour Government is
809. gonna be as divided (*moving towards another speaker*) if Peter is to be believed?
810. **AUD27:** I don't think that's the case at all actually.=
811. **IR:** =Peter.=
812. **AUD27:** =I- I have a lot of respect for Peter. (...⌈.....⌉...⌈.....⌉....⌈.....⌉...)=
813. **AUD28:** (*out of focus*) ⌊What. | | | |
814. **AUD29:** (*out of focus*) ⌊(*inaud.*) | |
815. **IR:** ⌊Psshh.
816. **AUD27:** =We should be having a general election now. Never mind (about) a
817. referendum.=
818. **PS:** =Yes. + But (*inaud.*) a referendum. + It's (*sbdy clapping*) (very important.)

[+]
IR: (*moving towards another speaker but addressing PS*) But you're- he's saying,
+ that what we forgot at the beginning, + much as he respects you, you're the
voice of the past in the Labour Party.
PS: We:ll, I think I'm + probably the voice of the past <u>and</u> of the future. + (...) the
genuinely (*AUD11 and AUD13 shaking heads*) younger generation, <u>share</u> the kind
of concerns + that I have expressed. [+]
IR: They've⌈got more⌉to lose.=
AUD28: ⌊No. No.
AUD28: =(*to IR*) That's not true at all. The younger people already said
that they are pro-European, and they <u>need</u> Europe.
IR: ⌈To Peter. To Peter. To- to- to- to Peter (*in⌈aud.*) ⌉
AUD: ⌊ (*murmur*) | |
AUD28: ⌊Well, + I- I've got seven
children, and we- all my children are <u>pro</u>-Europe because they recognise the
advan⌈tage of
IR: ⌊(*inaud.*)
AUD28: (*AUD laughter*) (No. Unfortunately not. Not yet. But I will.) (...) We
need stability + of currency. + And the strength of a LAR:GE currency round us. +
Otherwise we'll get into all sorts of difficulties.
IR: (*moving to the back*) Have you- <oh you're reasonably young-looking. I need
somebody young here as we've been talking about the young people.> Particularly
of ladies.⌈Women.
AUD29: ⌊Ha. Ha. Ha. I recognise the benefits of going into Europe (...) <The large
businesses are actually <u>de</u>-centralizing, 'cos they're realising they can't control.
.hh From a central union to which we should learn this from .hh political um + um
things for Europe.>
IR: So what-⌈so what-
AUD29: ⌊A single currency is⌈like⌉where's the end after that.=
IR: ⌊So-
IR: =So what are you saying. Are you generally predisposed toward being a <u>part</u> of
Europe? Or you're concerned and anxious about it.
AUD29: Uhhm, just- I don't see how uhh a centre unit can + can make legislations
for + individual countries.
IR: The Government at the moment, + the policy used to be at the heart of Europe.
It might have little (*pointing in their direction*) (local difficulties in dealing with
the likes of Tony, and John,) and making kind of concessions or a slight
compromise, <but the clear drift,> is towards integrating further in Europe.
<Whether we like it or not. We're probably gonna get sucked in anyway.> The
Labour Party, seems very similarly in↑clined.↑ Do you have any greater faith that
what you believe in, will be delivered by a Labour Government, than it is- than the
peren- the present Conservative Government? [+]

AUD29: Uhm, ++ I think + nobody really- well general public to me don't seem to really understand what any Government is sort of going for. They're all divided. + Uh the Labours sort of + appears to be uh- + well tries to give us the impression that it's more united, but nobody rules + a red fine line.
IR: (*moving towards next speaker; then sits down*) (<Nicky do you have any greater faith for what you want. The scepticism that you've been exhibiting here this morning,> will in fact be: articulated by a future Labour Government? <Or are they gonna be + no different, or even more federalist than the present Government.>
N: I think- well uh I think they'll certainly be more federalist. But I think the real problem is all three parties, are brought again in the same direction.
IR: Mhm.
N: And therefore, you must trust the people.
IR: (*inaud.*)
N: They have- (*shaking head*) (No.) You can't do that. To people of this country. It is MUCH + MUCH too serious an issue. It's not a party issue. It's a national issue. And you MUST- if you have NO party, no single party, + STRONGLY leading + the sceptical course, then you MUST TRUST the people to decide. It's their future.
AUD30: (*self-selecting*) Well, if I can be the exception that breaks the rule, I'm a young person. And I'm- + I'm (*AUD laughter*) (frightened actually)=
IR: =How old are you.
AUD30: Well I'm 31.
IR: [*AUD laughter*] [Oh! Right.
AUD30: (*putting hand on IR's shoulder*) I'm younger than you are.
IR: I'm ↑YOUNG TOO. ++ WE'RE ALL YOUNG.↑] [++]
AUD30: There's this impression that all young people in favour of European uh + federalism is not actually true. (...) it's suppressing a national identity. And that will happen. If we have a superstate.
AUD?: Yeah.
AUD30: A centralised bureaucratic
AUD?: Yeah.
AUD30: superstate.
IR: (*sbdy clapping*) Is Labour gonna be any different Nick?
NW: I think the most important speech made yesterday wasn't made by the Prime Minister. It was made by Tony Blair. (...) The younger Labour MPs, do tend to be very Euro-friendly.=
IR: =(*inaud.*) Peter. [+]
PS: Well,
IR: Are you gonna (*inaud.*) very loudly? [+]
PS: Look. When we had the third reading of the + Maastricht Treaty bill, >68 Labour MPs ↓voted against.↓< Now we're not hea- we're not headline (*noise from audience*) (news, because we're not the Government. But I do⌈assure⌉you)=

904. **?:** ⌊(*inaud.*)
905. **PS:** =there's a very strong movement in the Labour Party.
906. **AUD30:** What did you say what's happened to these 56 people who rebelled
907. against⌈Maas
908. **N:** ⌊68.=
909. **AUD30:** =68. Sorry.=
910. **PS:** =Still ↑there.↑
911. **AUD30:** And- and we ever hear from them?
912. **PS:** Yes indeed. And they voted again on that uh bill on- on that motion for- for a
913. referendum which the Liberals put forward. + Over forty voted. [++]
914. **AUD6:** (*self-selecting; IR goes towards him*) I think the: interesting thing w- we
915. heard today, is that the Euro-federalists are opposed to a referendum.That's of
916. course because they know they haven't got the support of the nation.
917. **AUD:** No. No. (*a few people clap*)
918. **AUD6:** And those who- those who are sceptical want a referendum. Because they
919. know they have the popular support in the country.
920. **IR:** And it's also because the- the already established political side of it tends to
921. be + united. They might differ on the margins, but the Labour: Liberal Democrat
922. Conservative Party are all in ↑favour.↑
923. **AUD6:** No I think- no I think in fact + Tony Blair- I think Tony Blair yesterday
924. e:ffectively⌈(°*inaud.*°)
925. **IR:** ⌊<I'm going to have to stop you there.>
926. **AUD6:** Right.
927. **IR:** (*to camera*) Take care of yourselves. + See you in the morning.
928. **AUD:** (*applause*)

BIBLIOTECA VIRTUAL MIGUEL DE CERVANTES

Figure [7]: Robert Kilroy-Silk discussing with audience members about the division on Europe

BIBLIOTECA VIRTUAL
MIGUEL DE CERVANTES

GLOSSARY

Abandonment
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) that refers to a turn-resumption technique consisting in the interruptee abandoning formally and/or semantically the interrupted turn.

Act
The minimal unit in discourse defined in terms of the function it performs in interaction. It signals the communicative intention of the speaker. Acts can be classified into *primary acts*, *secondary acts*, and *complementary acts* (*vid*. Stenström, 1994). Only the former can realise moves on their own.

Acceptance/non-acceptance techniques
Devices used by the interruptee and interrupter to signal their positive or negative reactions towards the interruptive turn exchange. The most common acceptance technique is the interruptee's immediate action of abandoning talk. Non-acceptance may be signalled by the interruptee and/or the interrupter. The former does it through devices manifesting rejection like neutralisation or sanctioning formulae. The latter manifests it *via* insistence devices like downtoners or intensifiers.

Addressee of interruption
Recipient of an interruptive utterance.

Adjacency pair
A concept introduced by Schegloff & Sacks (1973) and consisting of a sequence of two adjacent utterances produced by different speakers and ordered as a first part that requires a particular second part (for example, question-answer, offer-acceptance/refusal, greeting-greeting).

Advocate
An IE alignment to the topic of a news interview (*cf*. Clayman 1987, 1991) and of a political interview. Politicians may be selected to talk on a subject matter as a representative of a specific position on the subject matter of the interview. Similarly, the audience to a debate is also aligned as advocates to confronting perspectives on the topic in hand. ,

Agenda projection
One of the obligatory opening components together with the *background information* and the *IE introduction* identified by Clayman (1987) for news interviews. In Clayman (1991) the agenda projection is defined as one of two alternative formats that the news interview *headline* may adopt. An agenda projection portrays the news item as the topic for discussion in the upcoming interview.

Audience introduction
An optional opening component of political interview programmes that occurs after the topic and IE introductions and the story components. This component is exclusive to those programmes that devote part of the programme to the audience questioning the politician.

Backchannel
A term first used by Yngve (1970) to refer to talk that contains only feedback. Following Oreström (1983), backchannel talk comprises here supports, exclamations, exclamatory questions and sentence completions. They do not constitute a turn from a functional and referential perspective due to their low informational content.

Background information
One of the obligatory opening components together with the *agenda projection* and the *IE introduction* identified by Clayman (1987) for news interviews. In Clayman (1991) this component is called *story*.

Butting-in interruption
An interruptive category borrowed from Ferguson (1977). The interrupter produces an incomplete utterance simultaneously with the ongoing talk at a point that does not constitute a TRP. In this case the current speaker continues to develop the floor.

Closing
The structural section that terminates a speech encounter. Depending on the type of speech event it may be brought about unilaterally or collaboratively, and consists of a terminal component preceded or not by a pre-closing component.

Closing preface
A pre-closing element immediately preceding the *terminal component* and consisting in its simplest form only of a boundary marker. Alternatively, it may consist of an overt closing announcement or of a response to the IE's prior turn, thereby establishing a link between the main body of the event and the closing phase.

Closing projection
A pre-closing element which announces the end of the speech event in a more or less direct fashion in the IR's turn prior to the initiation of the *terminal component*. The end may be overtly signalled through an explicit announcement or only covertly evinced through the content of the IR's last elicitation preceding the terminal component.

Collaborative interruption
It is not properly speaking an interruption, because it does not purport to obstruct the ongoing speaker's talk but supports it.

Competitive interruption
A speaker switch that is intended as an obstruction of the ongoing speaker's talk for reasons of floor space.

Complex interruption
A term borrowed from Roger *et al*. (1988) to refer to any single interruption preceded by one or more attempts at gaining a turn at talk. It is opposed to *single interruption*.

Compound interruption
An interruption produced when two or more participants interrupt the current speaker simultaneously.

Conflictive interruption
An interruption that produces or reacts towards some kind of face threat.

Continuation
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) which denotes a turn-resumption technique consisting in the interruptee continuing exactly at the same point where he/she had stopped talking prior to an interruption.

Cooperative overlapping
A term introduced by Tannen (1994) to refer to overlaps that are not intended to obstruct the current speaker's talk but to support it, showing understanding, participation, and solidarity.

Co-reference
A term used by Quirk *et al*. (1985) and Meyer (1992) to refer to a semantic relation holding between two appositive units that refer to the same extralinguistic entity. Most IE introductions in political interviews were formatted as simple appositions, and non-restrictive ones pertained mostly to this semantic relation.

Debate
A broadcast genre defined in a restricted sense as one of the genres on which audience discussion programmes or issue-type talk shows draw, and which is characterised by a controversial discussion about a social or political issue between audience members formed by ordinary people and experts, and managed by a host.

Debate-type interview
A term borrowed from Clayman (1991) to refer to political interviews that are aimed at bringing to the fore divergent viewpoints on the topical issue in hand.

Description
The structural element following the *preface* in IE introductions in talk show interviews. The description is mostly structured as a characterisation of the guest in terms of attributes (*e.g.* "my final guest is a distinguished theatre and film actress"). Two less common descriptive formats are *identification* and *story*.

Descriptive introduction
A term that identifies IE introductions formatted as a full name immediately preceded or followed by a description of the official position held by the individual being introduced.

Designation
A term used by Quirk *et al*. (1985) to refer to a semantic class of apposition where one appositive element designates the person referred to in the other appositive unit. Most IE introductions in political interviews were formatted as simple appositions pertaining to this semantic class.

Disinterruptionalisation
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) to refer to the occasion when an interruption is not interpreted as such by one participant to the speech exchange (*partial disinterruptionalisation*) or by both (*complete disinterruptionalisation*). It is the opposite of *interruptionalisation*.

Displaced interview
An interview conducted in a setting different from the television studio.

Dyadic interaction
An interaction occurring between two parties.

Eavesdropper
A term borrowed from Greatbatch (1988) to identify the passive role assigned to the audience in talk shows during the interview proper taking place between host and guest.

Exchange
The smallest interactive unit consisting, minimally, of two moves each one produced by a different speaker.

External status
A term used by Cheepen & Monaghan (1990) to define the fixed or long-term social or socio-economic position of an individual in the world *vis-à-vis* others. *Vid*. the notion of *internal status* for a further type of status relation.

Face
The notion was first defined by Goffman (1967) as the public self-image an individual claims for himself/herself, delineated in terms of approved social attributes. Brown & Levinson (1987) would later distinguish two components of the notion: *negative face* or the individual's wish that his/her actions be unimpeded by others, and *positive face* or the individual's wish that his wants be desirable to others.

Face-threatening act
An 'incident' that threatens the public self-image of an individual and may bring about a loss of face.

Floor
A term used by Edelsky (1981) in opposition to 'turn' to differentiate between the activity that is going on while an individual is speaking and the utterance(s) that a speaker produces

while somebody else is in possession of the floor. Often the person holding the turn is also in possession of the floor, in which case floor and turn overlap.

Floor-securing interruptions
Interruptive metaconversational acts of the type "can I just say something?" that announce one's wish for the floor thereby securing speaking space in situations of competence between several would-be next speakers.

Frame
An act that serves to mark a boundary in the discourse. It can introduce a topic change or a new stage within the speaker's turn. At the level of form, frames form a limited set of discourse markers, such as 'well', 'all right', 'okay', or 'now'.

Free-standing interview
An exclusive interview that is broadcast on a special occasion and is not inserted into any scheduled programme.

Frontal interruption
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) to refer to an obstructive speaker switch occurring between participants with a different communicative function. It is opposed to *lateral interruption.*

Genre
The notion is understood as in Swales (1990), that is, as a class of communicative events occurring in a functional setting and recognisable by a set of shared communicative goals, features of structure, style, content and intended audience.

Greeting
A routine opening component of talk show interviews which is structured into two adjacency pairs: a command-compliance pair consisting of an applause elicitation on the part of the IR followed by the audience's requested-for round of applause, and a greeting-greeting pair between host and guest.

A greeting component also tends to be part of debate openings.

Headline
The first obligatory news interview opening component identified by Clayman (1991). It introduces the topic of the interview and may be formatted as a *news announcement* or as an *agenda projection*. The term has been adopted to refer to one of the customary opening components of our political interviews and debates.

Identification
A format that the descriptive element of the IE introduction component of talk show interviews may adopt. Identification corresponds to a copulative structure where the descriptive item occurring in complement position is definite (*e.g.* "my first guest is the most glamorous").

IE introduction
One of the obligatory opening components identified by Jucker (1986) and Clayman (1987) for news interviews. In Clayman (1991) this component is further decomposed into a *pre-introduction* and an *introduction*. The term has been adopted to refer to one of the customary opening components of our political interviews and talk show interviews.

Informational-type interview
A term borrowed from Clayman (1991) to refer to political interviews that focus on the attainment of background information about the topical issue in hand.

Initial interruption
An interruption occurring within the first four syllables of the current speaker's ongoing speech. An initial interruption may be produced with or without a simultaneous start.

Interactional
A term introduced by Brown & Levinson (1983) and borrowed by Cheepen and Monaghan (1990) to refer to a type of goal that is internal to a speech encounter, that is, that refers to the social relations and personal attitudes operating between speaker and listener in a particular encounter. *Vid*. the term *transactional* for a different type of goal.

Internal status
A term used by Cheepen & Monaghan (1990) to define the temporal status adopted by participants during a particular speech encounter. *Vid*. the notion of *external status* for a further type of status relation.

Interrupted interruption
A category borrowed from Roger *et al*. (1988) that denotes the instance when the interrupter prevents the current speaker from finishing his/her turn but fails to complete his/her own because the interrupter's interruption is in turn aborted by the interruptee.

Interruptee
Ongoing speaker whose talk is obstructed.

Interrupter
Agent who produces an interruptive utterance.

Interruptionalisation
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) to refer to the occasion when an instance of a non-interruptive turn exchange is interpreted as interruptive by one participant to the speech exchange (*partial interruptionalisation*) or by both (*complete interruptionalisation*). It is the opposite of *disinterruptionalisation*.

Interruptive
The term refers in a broad sense to any verbal (or exceptionally nonverbal) action that obstructs the development of a current speaker's ongoing turn. More specifically, any attempt by a listener to start speaking at a point that is not a legitimate point of speaker switch counts as interruptive. Interruptive obstructions may be *successful* or *unsuccessful*.

Interview proper
The main body of the interview event taking place between the opening section and the closing phase. This phase begins with the IR's first elicitation.

Introduction of the programme
An optional opening component of a single-item programme consisting of the identification of the relevant political programme.

Introduction of the setting
An optional opening component of a single-item programme identifying the setting of the political interview whenever it is to take place outside the usual television studio.

Invitation for public participation
An optional opening component of debates in which home viewers are invited to have their say on the topic of discussion through a phone poll. The invitation is accompanied by relevant instructions of how to proceed.

Irrelevance-triggering interruption
A term proposed for Bañón-Hernández's (1997:85) "interrupción impertinentizadora". It identifies an interruptive turn exchange intended to criticise the alleged value, interest or timeliness of the interruptee's ongoing speech.

Irrelevant interruption
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) signifying that the information contained in an interruptive utterance does not provide new information, nor gives any enlightenment on the message.

Lateral interruption
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) to refer to an obstructive speaker switch occurring between participants holding the same communicative function. It is opposed to *frontal interruption*.

Metaconversational interruption
This category refers in a wide sense to any interruption whose purpose is either to comment on the talk itself or to topicalise aspects of the regulation of the interactional behaviour. It comprises actions dealing with the conversational behaviour such as resolving turn-order or turn-type violations, regulating topic control, or selecting next speaker. These interruptions have to be distinguished from interruptive metaconversational secondary acts introducing other primary acts.

Move
A unit of discourse consisting of at least one act that develops the conversation forward towards its intended outcome.

Multi-IE interaction
A spoken interaction in which more than one individual is being interviewed.

Multi-IR interaction
A spoken interaction in which the interviewer function is carried out by more than one individual.

Negative politeness
A notion introduced by Brown & Levinson (1987) to identify a set of politeness strategies oriented at satisfying the hearer's negative face by interfering as little as possible with his/her freedom of action.

News announcement
One of two alternative formats identified by Clayman (1991) into which the news interview *headline* may be structured. It consists of a straightforward report of a news item.

Non-conflictive interruption
An interruption that does not entail or respond to a threat to the interlocutor's public self-image but rather enhances it.

Non-descriptive introduction
A term that identifies IE introductions containing no personal descriptive items of the individual being introduced. In political interviews they adopt the format either of a title of respect, a title followed by the personal name in apposition, or solely the full name.

Non-initial interruption
An interruption occurring beyond the first four syllables of the current speaker's ongoing speech.

Non-interrupted interruption
A category created to identify those cases in which the interrupter does not fail to complete his/her turn because the floor-keeping interruption(s) produced by the interruptee do not manage to abort the interrupter's talk. Independently from the failure to truncate the interrupter's talk, the interruptee may or may not succeed in finishing his/her own utterance.

Opening
The first distinguishable structural section of a speech encounter aimed at negotiating the entry into the interaction.

Overhearer
A term used by Heritage (1985) to define the passive and absent role that the audience plays in news interviews. The audience participates only inasmuch as it is the ultimate recipient of the information elicited during the interview event. The same role is adopted by the audience of political interviews.

Overlap
An interruptive category borrowed from Ferguson (1977). At a point that does not constitute a TRP, the interrupter produces simultaneous talk which does not break the continuity of the current speaker's utterance. The interrupter takes over at the end of the overlap.

Panel introduction
A routine opening component of panel debates in which the identities of the expert speakers are revealed to the audience. Panel introductions are governed by the same principles of topical relevance and recipient design as are IE introductions in political interviews.

Parallel
An interruptive category borrowed from Oreström (1983). It shares the characteristics of an *overlap* except that it is the current speaker, not the interrupter, who keeps the floor.

Participant
An IE alignment to the topic of the political interview. Politicians may be selected to talk on a subject matter due to his/her direct participation in the events or processes that constitute the focal issue of the interview. The same kind of alignment was also observed by Clayman (1987, 1991) in news interviews.

Point of immediate abandonment
A term used in relation to the duration of simultaneous speech at a turn-unit boundary. It refers to a point within four syllables or two consecutive words of a turn-unit boundary.

Political interview
A broadcast genre consisting of a formal face-to-face encounter between a journalist and a politician who deal in great detail with political affairs.

Positive politeness
A notion introduced by Brown & Levinson (1987) to identify a set of politeness strategies oriented at the hearer's positive face, thus showing common wants with him/her.

Possible turn-yielding signals
A term that refers to a set of primary and secondary cues that the current speaker displays to indicate that he/she intends to relinquish the floor to a next speaker. As primary cues count a syntactically complete structure, a terminal intonation pattern, and the completion of a semantic-pragmatically complete stretch of talk. The group of secondary cues comprises a silent pause, decrease in loudness, drawl on the final syllable or on the stressed

syllable of a terminal clause, the termination of a hand gesticulation, and a sociocentric sequence.

The term was proposed by Oreström (1983) as a substitute for the common expression 'turn-yielding signals'. The latter term appeared inaccurate since one never knows for certain if the ongoing speaker actually intends to relinquish the floor when displaying those features.

Pre-closing component

A structural component that signals the wish or need to close a speech encounter. In political interviews it may adopt the form of either a *closing preface* or a *closing projection*. In talk show interviews this component is more complex and frequently includes other elements such as well-wishes, invitations to future shows, interpersonal tokens related to the interaction, references to prior talk and/or brief re-openings.

Predictable turn end

A non-TRP position prior to the entire delivery of the current speaker's talk where the missing end of the turn can be projected. Predictability is judged on semantic-pragmatic terms.

Preface

In talk show interviews it identifies a relatively fixed element within the IE introduction component that serves to focus the audience's attention on the upcoming description of the guest. It may also refer to an organising element that serves to select the topic that will constitute the following issue of discussion whenever an interview event is planned to deal with more than one topic. *Vid*. the term *closing preface* for a different kind of preface.

Pre-headline

An optional news interview opening component identified by Clayman (1991) and consisting of a preliminary item leading to the headline and formatted as a puzzle. The term has been adopted to refer to the optional opening component of our political interviews and debates that serves to capture the viewers' attention and prepares them for the upcoming headline.

Pre-introduction

An optional news interview opening component identified by Clayman (1991) and consisting minimally of a preface preceding the actual IE introduction.

The term is here used to refer to the IE introductions that occur either in the opening phase of talk show interview programmes or prior to a commercial break. In the former case pre-introductions function as headlines of the programme; in the latter they serve as 'catch-phrases' to induce viewers not to tune away to another channel. The IE introduction is renewed each time a guest is called onstage.

Principle of noteworthiness
This principle governs the selection of IE descriptions in talk show interviews. All descriptions invariably highlight, directly or indirectly, some feature(s) or action(s) that has/have contributed to the guest's fame.

Principle of recipient design
First used by Schegloff (1972b), this principle of social conduct determines that an individual's behaviour is affected by the person interactionally addressed. This principle governs the IE's alignment to the topic of the political interview as well as of the news interview (*cf.* Clayman 1987, 1991).

Programme opening
The initial section of a programme where the different items on the agenda are introduced. If the programme contains one single interview or one single item for debate, then the programme opening overlaps with the interview or debate opening.

Rectification
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) which identifies a turn-resumption technique consisting in the interruptee rectifying formally and/or semantically what he/she was saying prior to an interruption.

Relevance-triggering interruption
A term proposed for Bañón-Hernández's (1997:85) "interrupción pertinentizadora". It identifies an interruptive turn exchange whose aim is to highlight the novelty or the semantic-textual interest of the information transmitted by the interruptee.

Relevant interruption
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) to identify an interruptive turn exchange which provides new or complementary information necessary for an appropriate understanding of the message.

Re-opening
A section that delays the termination of the encounter. In talk show interviews it may be initiated by the IE in the pre-closing component or by the IR after the terminal component.

Repetition
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) which identifies a turn-resumption technique consisting of the interruptee's repetition of the end of his/her turn prior to an interruption.

Report
An optional opening component of political interviews that provides supplementary information about the subject matter in a pre-taped format. This component was also observed by Clayman (1991) in news interviews.

Secondary interviewer
A participant to the interview event who holds a role of interviewer or presenter alongside another interviewer or presenter with a superior *internal status*.

Self-interruption
A term borrowed from Bañón-Hernández (1997) to refer to an utterance that the current speaker leaves unfinished because he/she decides to stop talking for some reason.

Self-introduction
An optional opening component of debate programmes in which the host reveals his/her own identity.

Self-selector
A term that denotes the individual who starts speaking without having previously been selected to do so.

Sequence
A unit made up of more than one turn that come one after another in a fixed order.

Silent interruption
An interruptive category borrowed from Ferguson (1977). Without producing simultaneous speech, the interrupter takes the floor at a point that does not constitute a TRP, thereby occasioning the leaving of the current speaker's utterance incomplete.

Simple interruption
An interruptive category borrowed from Ferguson (1977). The interrupter produces simultaneous talk at a point that does not constitute a TRP thereby leaving the current speaker's utterance incomplete. The interrupter takes the floor.

Simultaneous start 1
An interruptive category borrowed from Oreström (1983) which refers to an instance of simultaneous talk that starts at a TRP and where the current speaker leaves his/her turn unfinished while the new speaker carries his/her turn off.

Simultaneous start 2
An interruptive category borrowed from Oreström (1983) which refers to an instance of simultaneous talk that starts at a TRP and where the current speaker carries his/her turn off while the interrupter produces an incomplete turn.

Simultaneous start 3
An interruptive category created to name a turn-taking behaviour similar to an *overlap* or a *parallel* but where simultaneous talk starts at a TRP.

Simultaneous start 4
An interruptive category created to denote competition for the floor between two next speakers at a TRP produced after a third participant's talk.

Single interruption
A term borrowed from Roger *et al*. (1988) to refer to an obstruction consisting of a single attempt at interrupting. It is opposed to *complex interruption*.

Single-item programme
A term proposed to refer to programmes containing one single interview.

Special frontal interruption
A term proposed to signify a frontal interruption where one of the two parties has an internal status which is lower than that of a third participant with the same discourse role (*e.g.* IE-Secondary IR relation).

Special lateral interruption
A term proposed to identify an interruptive behaviour which entails participants with equal communicative roles but unequal internal status relationship (*e.g.* IR-Secondary IR relation).

Story
An obligatory news interview opening component identified by Clayman (1991) and consisting of relevant background information concerning the news item introduced in the preceding headlining component. The term has been adopted to refer to one of the customary opening components of our political interviews and to one of the optional components of debate openings.

On a different level, the term may also refer to an IE alignment to the topic of the political interview. Politicians may be selected to talk on a subject matter because they themselves constitute the core of the event or process that warranted the interview. This kind of alignment was defined as one of "equivalence" in Clayman (1987:138). IEs in talk show interviews are intrinsically aligned as the story itself.

Also, the term may refer to one of the formats that the descriptive element of the IE introduction component of talk show interviews may adopt. In this case the structural slot of the description is occupied by a very brief story of (part of) the guest's life.

Straightforward (complex) interruption
An interruptive category that consists in a *simple interruption* preceded by one or more attempts at interrupting.

Successful interruption
A term borrowed from Roger *et al*. (1988) to refer to an obstruction that causes the continuity of the current speaker's utterance to be broken whereas the interrupter manages to finish his/her turn.

Successive interruption
The current speaker's turn is interrupted by different interlocutors in sequence.

Talk show interview
A broadcast genre consisting in a personality-type interview between a famous person and a host, which adopts the format of an informal conversation where transgression of the formal interviewing conventions is allowed.

Terminal component
A structural component that puts an end to the speech encounter. In political interviews it commonly consists of a simple thanksgiving act on the part of the IR. In talk show interviews the terminal component is generally organised as a sequence of two exchanges: a thanks-thanks exchange between the IR and the IE and a command-compliance exchange between the IR and the AUD. This final exchange consists of an applause-eliciting act addressed to the audience followed by a round of applause. In debates the terminal component consists not only of the host's thanksgiving act to the audience but also of other elements such as the announcement of the next programme with the relevant instructions for the home viewers to join the audience.

Topical relevance principle
First used by Schegloff (1972b), this principle which operates selecting those components of the IE's self that are relevant to the upcoming topic governs the selection of descriptive items of IE introductions in political interviews as well as in news interviews (*cf*. Clayman, 1987, 1991).

Topic introduction
One of the two obligatory opening components identified by Jucker (1986) for news interviews. The other obligatory component is *IE introduction*.

Transaction
The highest unit of discourse dealing with one topic and commonly consisting of a combination of exchanges.

Transactional
A term introduced by Brown & Levinson (1983) and borrowed by Cheepen and Monaghan (1990) to refer to a type of goal that is external to a speech encounter; in other words, it seeks to change the world in some way. *Vid*. the term *interactional* for a different type of goal.

Transition relevance place (TRP)
A term introduced by Sacks *et al*. (1974) to refer to a point of possible turn completion and consequently of potential speaker switch. Following Oreström (1983), a TRP corresponds here to a point where the end of a syntactically complete structure, terminal intonation pattern, and end of a semantic-pragmatically complete stretch co-occur.

Turn
A term used in a restricted sense, as in Edelsky (1981), to signify the utterance(s) produced by a speaker during a communicative event which contain both a functional and referential message and are bounded by two speaker changes.

Unsuccessful interruption
A term borrowed from Roger *et al*. (1988) to refer to an obstruction which either does not prevent the current speaker from finishing his/her turn or where the interrupter does not finish his/her own.

Utterance
Following Levinson (1983:18), the term is used to refer to the production of "a sentence, a sentence-analogue, or sentence fragment, in an actual context".

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