

R.F. 32773



**TELLING IT ALL: A GENRE-BASED APPROACH TO  
THE ANALYSIS OF THE AMERICAN TABLOID  
TALKSHOW.**



**Tesis Doctoral presentada por:**

**Carmen Gregori Signes**

**Directores:**

**Prof. Francisco Fernández Fernández**

**y**

**Prof. Michael J. McCarthy**

**Departament de Filologia Anglesa i**

**Alemanya**

**Universitat de València**

**Valencia, junio 1998**

UMI Number: U603012

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U603012

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



Q. 742709  
X. 742723

*To Inma Marqués*



I. INTRODUCTION.....	iii
II. THE ANALYSIS OF SPOKEN DISCOURSE .....	1
2.1. Spoken and written discourse .....	3
2.2. Discourse analysis.....	4
2.3. Sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking.....	9
2.4. Pragmatics .....	12
2.5. Conversation Analysis .....	19
2.6. The concept of genre.....	31
III. DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS	
3.1. Nature and function of the data.....	43
3.2. Corpus B.....	43
3.3. Corpus A .....	46
IV. TALKSHOWS IN US TELEVISION	
4.1. Talk on television.....	57
4.2. The origin of talkshows .....	62
4.3. Tabloid talkshows and programming.....	62
4.4. Topics and audience .....	65
4.5. Tabloid talkshows as a social phenomenon .....	68
4.6. Research on Tabloid Talkshows.....	75
V. TURN TAKING PROCEDURES	
5.1. The turn-taking system and spoken language.....	87
5.2. The mechanism of turn-taking.....	90
5.3. Turn Constructional Unit.....	93

5.4. The concept of floor.....	97
5.5. The nonverbal component.....	104
5.6. Unsmooth speaker-switch.....	107
5.7. Backchannelling.....	127
5.8. The normative character of the interaction .....	134

## VI. CONVERSATION vs. INSTITUTIONAL TALK

6.1. The television medium.....	143
6.2. Transactional vs. interactional talk in Tabloid Talkshows.....	147
6.3. Ordinary Conversation and Tabloid Talkshows .....	151
6.4. Tabloid Talkshows and institutional talk.....	162

## VII. ELEMENTS OF THE STRUCTURE TABLOID TALKSHOW

7.1. The concept of activity types.....	171
7.2. Goal .....	174
7.3. Status.....	178
7.4. Participation frameworks.....	186
7.5. Generic elements in Tabloid Talkshows.....	209

## VIII. PRE-ALLOCATION OF TURN IN TABLOID TALKSHOWS

8.1. The overall structure of the Tabloid Talkshows.....	222
8.2. Turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows and in conversation .....	234
8.3. The interactional management of talk, questions and answers.....	243

## IX. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

9.1. Role of the analyst.....	267
9.2. Description of the extracts under study.....	268
9.3. Establishing the framework for the analysis.....	269
9.4. Hypotheses .....	271
9.5. Transcription conventions.....	272
9.6. Method of analysis .....	275
9.7. Statistical procedure .....	290

## X. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

10.1 Analysis .....	295
10.2. Results of the analysis.....	419

## XI. CONCLUSIONS.....501

## XIII. BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES .....545

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A great many people have encouraged me to write this doctoral thesis and many have contributed to this project, as friends, critics, family, sometimes all at once. I would like to express my gratitude to those who, in one way or another, have played important roles and contributed to the thinking that has resulted in this thesis. I would like to thank my supervisors Prof. Francisco Fernández Fernández and Prof. Michael J. McCarthy who through all stages of this work have provided thorough criticism and good advice. In addition, they have always given me encouragement, friendship and great moral support. Thank you both.

I am more than grateful to Dr. Peter Vickers for his never falling patience in reading several versions of the draft as carefully as one could possibly do, and for making valuable comments sharing his working experience and wisdom with me. His friendship is a valuable treasure for me. My thanks also go to Dr. Paul Derrick and to Susan Alexander Young for proof-reading parts of the draft of this thesis and for giving me very helpful comments.

All the corpus included in the present doctoral thesis was recorded in Iowa City. Thanks are more specially due to my friends Dr. Javier Coy and Dr. David Hamilton who encouraged me to apply for a grant that allowed me to spend a whole academic year in the University of Iowa. In addition, I thank Dr. David Hamilton and Dr. Rebecca Clouse for inviting me to stay with them for several weeks, during which time I recorded much of the corpus. Since a video recorder was not enough, my dearest friend Amanda Saldias also let me use her house for the same purpose. I am indebted to them and to Almudena Lorenzo, who also did some recording for me after I had left Iowa, and so did my friends George and Pamela Glenn, in 1997. I thank Almudena and Amanda for their unfailing friendship, generosity and support.

I would like to thank Prof. Bruce E. Gronbeck, from University of Iowa, Department of Communication Studies. It was with Bruce that I first discussed the original ideas which motivated the present study. Thanks Bruce, for dedicating so much of your personal time to discuss this project. From the same department I also want to thank Dr. Rick Altman, for his friendship and support. I am especially grateful to Dr. Judy Liskin-Gasparro from the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Iowa, for her reassuring words, her help and continual encouragement and to Raúl Curto, Chair and Head of the Spanish Department at the time, for his kindness and help. During my research period in the University of Iowa I made a lot of friends who were always supportive. I thank you all.

I am indebted to Antonia Sánchez for asking me to participate in two research projects which have allowed me to learn from her experience and to develop my own analytical skills. I want to thank her for the many kinds of support she has given me all these years. I thank Barry Pennock for his daily encouragement and support, for his comments, counsel and reassuring words. I also wish to say a special thanks to Dr. Mar Martí Viaño who has been extremely generous with her time and has undertaken many of my tasks. To her I am most grateful.

I would also like to thank Dr. Patricia Bou and Dr. Rosana Dolón. Both offered me access to their personal bibliographic resources and gave me valuable advice. I am grateful to Rosana for proof-reading part of the present thesis and providing helpful and constructive criticism. To Patricia for sharing with me her knowledge and experience and for serving on my committee. To both of them for their friendship and advice. I am also indebted to Maria Dolores Garcia Pastor, Jenny Cooley, Sisco González, Jordi Tordera and Anna Sánchez for finding and posting me some articles that I needed for my research and to which I did not have access.

A special thank-you is due to Dr. Miguel Fuster. Head of the Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana for being my friend, for listening to me and for guiding me through every detail of the tedious bureaucracies. I thank him for his generosity and commitment. In this sense, I also thank Dr. Tina Suau, the secretary of the department and a good friend. To Jaime Salas, Jose Fernández, Miriam Izquierdo, Pilar Tortajada and Julio Palomares I want to also thank for being always kind and helpful.



I am also grateful to those who have given me advice on academic matters. I have certainly benefited from discussions with Prof. Michael Hoey from the University of Liverpool, and with Dr. Prof. Malcom Coulthard from the University of Birmingham. I am also very grateful to Toni Merelles, Universitat de València, whom I consulted regarding the manner of presentation of the quantitative results. I am grateful, now as always, to my teachers at the University of Nottingham (1988-89): Margaret Berry, Michael McCarthy, Chris Butler, Joanna Channell and Stephanie Markman who gave me a rich environment for studying linguistics.

The termination of this dissertation would have not been possible without the support of my colleagues from the Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Alemana: Dr. Pepe Santemilia, Lluïsa Gea and Elena Ortells; Dr. Juan José Calvo, Dr. Vicente Andreu y Toni Forés. They all urged me to finish and encouraged me to do so.

Thanks to all my relatives and friends for believing in me. I want to thank specially my aunt Mother Josefina Signes (who at ninety years old still gives a tremendous sense of continuity and perspective to it all) for including me in her prayers. And my aunts: Pepita, Amparo, Rosa y Consuelo. Also the support of all my cousins and their continual encouragement was uplifting. I am grateful for the words of comfort of my parents-in-law Eva Martín and Ricardo Palomo. And to Amparo Ferrairó who always remembered to urge me to finish this thesis.

The greatest thanks are all due to my family. There is nothing I can say to show my gratitude to my parents, Carmen and Alfredo and my precious sister Yolanda, to whom I owe more than words can say. I am grateful for their loving support and for believing in me.

Finally, my beloved husband Ricardo Palomo has provided me with so much patience, tolerance and understanding that is sometimes a wonder to me that he has managed to pursue his own work. Thank you for all your love and encouragement.

In spite of all assistance which I have received, there still remain many faults in the thesis. For these I am, of course, solely responsible.

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beloved friend Inma Marqués Marqués, with whom I took the first steps in academic research. I deeply regret that Inma is no longer with us.

## NOTATION CONVENTIONS

Here we include a list of the notation conventions used in the text.

<b>A1</b>	answer to a question by H
<b>A2</b>	answer to a question by G
<b>A3</b>	answer to a question by audience
<b>AG</b>	A gives turn to G
<b>AG</b>	(A to G) G has the turn because A allocated it to him/her.
<b>AU</b>	individual members of the audience (category).
<b>AZ</b>	audience-group (category). This refers to the studio audience present in the interaction .
<b>BC</b>	backchannel
<b>BC1</b>	BC by the host
<b>BC2</b>	BC by guest
<b>BC3</b>	BC by audience
<b>BT1</b>	butting-in interruption by H
<b>BT2</b>	butting-in interruption by G
<b>BT3</b>	butting-in interruption by AU or AZ
<b>CA</b>	conversation analysis
<b>EXT</b>	EXT 1,2,3,4...12 This is used to refer to the different extracts analyzed and transcribed for the present study.
<b>F2</b>	F2-segments/ F2-turns; stretches and/or turns part of highly confrontational talk in which several participants occupy the floor at the same time: speakers are all talking at the same time, they interrupt each other, there are long overlaps, fights for the floor, parallel remarks, etc. all interwoven together.
<b>G/s</b>	guest/s
<b>GA</b>	(G to A/ AZ); A has the turn because G has given it to him/them
<b>GG</b>	(G to G); G has the turn because another G allocated it to him/her.
<b>GH</b>	(G to H); H has the turn because G allocated it to him/her
<b>H/s</b>	host/s
<b>HA</b>	(H to A); A has the turn because H allocated it to him/her.
<b>HG</b>	(H to G); G has the turn because H allocated it to him/her
<b>ITV</b>	Unsmooth exchanges or intervened turns (i.e., exchanges involving simultaneous speech and incompleteness)
<b>K1</b>	silent interruption by H.
<b>K2</b>	silent interruption by G.
<b>K3</b>	silent interruption by AU or AZ.

<b>MGQ</b>	machine-gun question
<b>NV</b>	non-verbal language
<b>OVL</b>	overlap
<b>OVL1</b>	overlap initiated by H
<b>OVL2</b>	overlap initiated by G
<b>OVL3</b>	overlap initiated by AU or AZ
<b>P1</b>	simple interruption by H
<b>P2</b>	simple interruption by G
<b>P3</b>	simple interruption by AU or AZ
<b>PR1</b>	parenthetical remarks by H
<b>PR2</b>	parenthetical remarks by G
<b>PR3</b>	parenthetical remarks by A or AZ
<b>Q1</b>	question asked by H
<b>Q2</b>	question asked by G
<b>Q3</b>	question asked by audience
<b>QA</b>	question-answer
<b>SE</b>	Smooth exchange of speakers; smooth speaker-switch
<b>SS</b>	self-selection: speaker contributes without having been asked to do so. This is mainly to account for Gs turns that are not allocated by H.
<b>SS1</b>	H self-selects him/herself for next turn
<b>SS2</b>	G self-selects him/herself for next turn
<b>SS3</b>	audience self-selects him/herself for next turn
<b>TH</b>	(H to external) the host allows recordings, videos, etc. to be played.
<b>TTS-DU</b>	Tabloid Talkshow discourse unit
<b>TTS/s</b>	tabloid talk show/s
<b>Z</b>	Comments: other types of contributions that at local level are not part of the adjacency pair question-answer.
<b>Z1</b>	H produces something other than a question or an answer
<b>Z2</b>	G produces something other than a question or an answer
<b>Z3</b>	audience produce something other than a question or an answer

**CHAPTER 1.**  
**INTRODUCTION**

Talk is at the heart of everyday existence. It is pervasive and central to human history, in every setting of human affairs, at all levels of society, in virtually every social context.

Zimmerman and Boden (1991: 3)

Fairclough (1995:3) affirms that the analysis of media language should be recognised as an important element within the research into the contemporary process of social and cultural change. The evolution of mass media runs parallel to that of language, it clearly influences its evolution and it is probably the cause of many changes and innovations that happen in language at both written and spoken level. Marc (1992: 44) believes in the influence and power of the mass media, especially on the power of TV and remembers that in the 1950s television was a medium that put severe limits on subject matter and language; this, I believe, has not changed much nowadays. Along the same lines, Livingstone and Lunt state that:

no-one knows how much conversation is implicitly or explicitly triggered by television viewing... but we know that television sets the agenda for people's concerns, that it is the major source of information for facts which are new or unavailable from the immediate environment, and that television dominates most people's leisure hours.

Livingstone and Lunt (1996: 6)

Television is of course a principal medium of mass communication, and talk is one of its most powerful tools. The present study is about how talk is conducted in a particular type of social setting, Tabloid Talkshows on US television. I would like to start the present study by explaining why, of the many types of talkshows that one may find on US television, Tabloid Talkshows (henceforth TTSSs) deserve study.

My first contact with TTSs was in 1995 when I first went to the US. In the US television has an important impact and is one of the first places to look into if one wants to get an overview of what is going on. The importance of talkshows is outlined by Fogel who claims that:

...to read America, then, we need first to learn how to read talk shows, which are the controlling contemporary form of public discourse... for American television, the talk show is not trivial but definitive.

(Fogel 1986: 150)

US television covers a large international market, and their programmes are exported throughout the world, so most of the genres included in the programming I was familiar with, except for one: TTSs.

The first time I encountered TTSs, it was a kind of cultural shock for me, specially because in Spain I had not seen such open displays of intimacy and feelings, of *telling it all*. My first reaction was perplexity and dislike towards a genre which merged the private and the public (cf. Lakoff 1990). I could not understand, and I still do not, why someone would want to go on television to discuss their most intimate problems in front of millions of spectators (shouldn't that be a private conversation with a doctor, counsellor, psychiatrist, etc.? ). A quotation from Deane (1996: 190) provides a description of what goes on in TTSs:

Andre and Eric are best friends. Or are they? Andre slept with Eric's fiancée, Monique. Eric found this out after he had an affair with Monique's mother, Mary. Wait, there's more. Monique is pregnant but is afraid to tell Eric because she's not sure who the father is. (By the way, Monique also has a 2-year-old daughter, but the state has custody of her until Monique completes her parenting classes.)

Hold your horses, there's even more: Andre wants to talk about his problems. Not to a therapist or a minister. He wants to discuss them on a nationally syndicated talk show. So he tells everything. So does Eric. So does Monique. So does Monique's mother, Mary.

No shame. No regrets. They weren't coerced. They weren't paid. They appeared willingly. They weren't alone, either. An increasing number of African-Americans are appearing on talk shows and telling all.

The TTS is a cheap daytime television genre which deals with sensationalist topics and whose guests are mainly ordinary citizens. TTSs share television space with soap operas and other programmes not included in prime-time, and are very cheap to produce compared to other programmes. The high number of TTSs proves their widespread popularity: "in the 70s there were three, now there are 20 and counting. They have surpassed soap operas as the number one draw of daytime TV" (Fischhoff, 1995: 41). Hence, my interest was initially aroused by the number of TTS that existed on US television, by what, at that time, appeared to me as something crazy, daring and totally out of control.

TTSs are audience-participation programmes in a studio filled with ordinary citizens, (an) expert/s and a host (cf. Livingstone and Lunt, 1994). All of them are syndicated<sup>1</sup> and their existence depends on their ability to make money (Coe 1996, Pratt 1995). TTSs were initially oriented to women, "to help them to deal with ordinary and, more often, interpersonal problems" Munson (1993: 8). Although nowadays TTSs have already expanded and sought a bigger set of consumers, Fischhoff (1995: 41) claims that "they still owe their popularity primarily to women. They constitute over 70 percent of the viewing audiences."

The TTS centres its discussion on a topic (cf. Livingstone and Lunt, 1994; Hutchby 1996); the discussion is based on the stories told by the guests who come to the programme with the purpose of revealing themselves to the public. The topics are personal, intimate, and highly controversial, a fact that leads to polarised

---

<sup>1</sup> Network programmes are aired on only one network. Syndicated programmes can be aired on any station that buys that particular programme.

opinions between those who are in favour and those who are against. Those who are against claim that TTSs result in "a parade that plays to class-and-race-based stereotypes- [and] helps fuel the reactionary fire" (Gillispie, 1996:1). This situation, they claim, contributes to the degradation of the human condition. Others, however, would claim that TTSs reflect the ideological struggle that exists in the US and incorporate topics and issues that had been outside the boundaries of television for a long time. In this sense, they argue, TTSs are an asset to society.

The reason why such controversy exists is because TTSs surpass the boundaries of the studio set and become a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces: they deal with polemical and sensational topics and try to influence the lives of ordinary citizens. The controversy raised by TTSs comes and goes. It is usually when they trespass the limits of that which is morally or legally acceptable (a host being beaten up live on television by one of the guests; a murder whose origins were found in the TTS; appearances in court of hosts, guests, etc.) , when politicians and moral groups, media critics and lay people feel obliged to turn their attention to talk shows and TV trash and to take sides in this controversy; they try to find out the real influence of TTSs in US society and the potential role of these types of programmes who are proud of being polemical, controversial and conflictive.

When I first undertook the recording of TTS and consequently this study, I was sure that a genre like this, as many of the other formats copied and imported from US television, would be soon reaching Spanish television; in fact I was very surprised it had not done so yet. Spain had been, for many years now, progressively increasing the number of channels available and this put pressure on the producers who were consciously looking for sensationalist programmes to attract larger audiences. It was obvious to me that a genre as polemical as TTS



would soon be firmly established in a television in which change and novelty occupied an important niche.

To my surprise, in 1995 when I came back to Spain I realised that, although it had taken them more than 20 years, TTS had finally reached Spain. Spanish television had started to create its own TTSs. It was summer 1995 when I discovered that, in a local television (Tele Madrid) network the first Spanish TTS, at least to my knowledge <sup>2</sup>, had been in existence for some time: *El programa de Ana*. However, it was not until a national network (Tele 5) broadcast it nationwide that the process started: the rest of the networks started to create their own TTS. Soon, Canal 9 produced *En primera persona* and in a few months, by January 97, almost every private network was producing their own TTS. It is at this time when TTS could be classified as an emergent genre broadcasting nationwide from different channels. This fact encouraged my study and gave it a new dimension which was to provide an insight into a genre that was emerging on Spanish television. If the study of TTSs is one in which one can explore the relationship between talk and social structure and if American TTSs had evolved into what many considered as trash TV, it might be a good idea to know why and prevent it from happening. Thus, I randomly recorded TTSs hosted by different hosts and ended up with a corpus of over forty TTSs which comprise the principal database for this work, although only 12 extracts which add up to around 23.000 words have been subject to statistical analysis.

---

<sup>2</sup> Except for one in TV3, *L'hora de Mari Pau Huget* which is not exactly the same but deals sometimes with personal and intimate topics.

Three initial reasons prompted me to start this study:

1. The first reason was to find out the means by which language is used to manipulate people as well as ideology and social structure: the TTS, because of its topics and the participants that take part in it, can be said to be a conflictive scenerio which brings out ideologies that are not socially acceptable.

2. The second reason was more related to TTS as a mass communication and socio-cultural phenomenon and concerned the task of showing the inside of a genre that may grow in popularity in Spain. Hence, with hindsight it would be interesting to analyse an evaluate its evolution as compared with TTSs in the US. As Fairclough (1989/94: 1) claims "consciousness is the first step towards emancipation."

3. The third reason was that talkshows, in general, are social processes that unfold linguistically as texts (cf. Ventola, 1987:3), and as such they could well be used to teach language, social phenomena, culture and media studies; that is, aspects that have to be dealt with in the teaching of a second language.

Those aspects that I have been referring to are more related to the social consequences that talk produced in TTSs may have. Although they highly motivated the present study, they are very different from the kind of questions addressed here. I am interested in looking at the way talk is organised in the TTS genre, and how participants in TTSs "talk an institution into being" (Heritage 1984: 290). My intention here is to provide a description of the way talk is organised and distributed among the different categories participating in TTS.

Talk on TTS has been approached before from different perspectives that tend to come mainly from media studies (see section 4.6), with the exception of Hutchby's study whose main interest is in *talk* itself and whose analytical approach is also taken from the perspective of conversation analysis. Hutchby's work on talk radio, the several papers on news interviews (Clayman 1988/89, Downs et al. 1990, Gelles 1974, Greatbatch 1986/88, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991; Jucker, 1986; Livingstone and Lunt's 1994) and studies that deal with other types of institutional talk (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Zimmerman and Boden, 199) were a good source for comparison in the present study, especially Heritage and Greatbatch's (1991) study of turn-taking in news interviews.

In the final stage of this doctoral thesis, I came across Penz's (1996) study of four talkshows with hosts coinciding with four of the twelve shows chosen for the present thesis (though not based on the same editions of those shows). Penz (1996:182), although acknowledging that the size of her corpus may impose limitations on her study, does produce findings which support some of the hypotheses and conclusions reached here. Penz (1996:19) adopts "the social constructivist viewpoint of Berger and Luckman (1976) who characterize language as social practice and claim that language is a major mechanism in the process of social construction"; and divides her study into several parts, one of which deals with turn-taking, and emphasises the figure of the host and the key role that this figure has in the TTS interaction. In these respects her work parallels the present thesis.

However, there are crucial aspects in which the present thesis differs from Penz's book. Firstly, Penz's study is fundamentally a qualitative study, with minimal quantitative support (see the simple numerical lists on pp. 191-192). The present thesis also presents qualitative conclusions, but the plausibility of the

analysis is underscored by detailed statistics. This represents a different approach, combining the localised, sequential-based analysis of conversation-analytical methods with a leaning towards the more global investigations of corpus-based studies. Such an approach to analysis is strongly advocated by McCarthy (in press, Chapters 1-2), who argues convincingly for the importance of this middle ground between discourse- and conversation-analysis and corpus linguistics. Secondly, while Penz's corpus is by no means inconsiderable in size, the present thesis uses a much wider range of data. Penz does not provide a full transcript of her data; the present thesis does this and is fully comprehensive, dealing with every turn in the discourse segments transcribed.

Additionally, conclusions on the overall structure and aspects concerning status and role are based in a wider corpus which has been observed and contrasted with the analysed sequences. Finally, the present study uses its statistics to investigate questions of possible gender differences in discourse styles; Penz's work does not address the question of gender. All in all, although Penz's work is undoubtedly a significant contribution to the study of talk shows, and although there is some overlap with the present thesis, they take different paths and offer distinct, but complementary, perspectives.

The analytical approach taken in the present study departs from a dynamic view of genre already expressed by Hymes (1972). Hymes (1972), as stated by McCarthy (in press, chapter 2: 34), "stresses the dynamic characteristic of genres (see section 2.6), and separates them from the speech event itself: a genre may coincide with a speech event, but genres can also occur within speech events, and the same genre can show variation in different speech events." McCarthy argues in favour of such a view of spoken genres and states that "genre is a useful concept that captures the recurrent, differing social compacts (i.e. co-operative sets

of behaviour) that participants enter upon in unfolding discourse processes, whether in speaking or writing." In order to analyze the TTS genre, we adopt the principles of the perspective of conversation analysis (henceforth CA), as a discipline which combines a concern with the contextual sensitivity of language use with a focus on talk as a vehicle for social action (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 16). In the tradition of CA, we follow some methodological aspects outlined in studies which analyse institutional interaction and which seek to describe the institutional tasks and relevances that inform conduct in a variety of work settings (cf. Boden and Zimmerman 1991; Clayman 1988; Drew and Heritage, 1992; 1985; Heritage 1985; Greatbatch, 1985 /88, to mention but some)

White (1985) points out the difficulty of the analysis of genre on television and introduces the question of what elements are necessary and sufficient to constitute and delimit a genre (cf. Altman 1984). It seems that there are many programmes on television that undermine this norm of generic unity (cf. Vande Berg, 1991) and, as a result, conventional categories have become blurred, or even disappeared. The consequences, White (1985) claims, are that in this process the traditional designations lose force both as a standard of coherence with respect to individual programmes and as a principle of differentiation among programmes. White (1985) notes the capacity of television to be able to produce an apparent change by borrowing from existing and presumably popular forms and combining them in a new configuration (cf. Vande Berg, 1991; White, 1987).

We argue that the TTS genre is a social speech event whose rules of interaction become recognisable to a community/ies that share or has/have knowledge of those rules. The genre has a social function and is never static but subjected to changes which are linked and interdependent on socio-cultural features. The flexible and permeable nature of the TTS lead us inevitably towards a

view of genre that is dynamic and emergent. As McCarthy<sup>3</sup> argues, generic categories must, by definition, always be in a state of change. To capture such dynamism, however, requires examination of the features of context which potentially generated it. These are principally the setting, the participants, their goals and their relations.

The main hypothesis of this study is that the TTS is a quasi-conversational or non-formal (Drew and Heritage 1991) television genre which can be identified by a series generic features, which combine characteristics of both conversational and institutional genres. The TTS hybridness is constructed progressively along the interaction, and it establishes a role-relationship between the participants that is local in nature and can be transformable at any moment. In order to provide a description of TTSs, as McCarthy ( chapter 2: 36, in press) claims, the genre analyst will look at a variety of evidence so, the analysis will focus on the *generic activity*, an inherently dynamic notion rather than static one.

The hybrid nature of TTS suggests adopting a comparative perspective as one of the most adequate procedures to show how interaction takes place in such context. Drew and Heritage (1992: 16ff.) outline four major features of CA, which have a particular relevance for the analysis of talk in institutional settings and which are summarised here to justify the adequacy of the research tradition CA for the analysis of TTSs.

1. CA's focus is on the particular actions that occur in some context, their underlying social organisation and the alternative means by which these actions and the activities they compose can be realised.

---

<sup>3</sup> Personal communication.

2. CA treats utterances as interactive products of what was projected by previous turn or turns and what the speaker actually does.

3. CA treats context as inherently locally produced, incrementally developed and, by extension, as transformable at any moment.

4. Finally, and most important, CA has been inspired by the realisation that ordinary conversation is the predominant medium of interaction in the social world, a benchmark against which other more formal or institutional types of interaction are recognised and experienced.

Hence, the analysis of TTSs will be carried out by looking at the actions that occur in such context and by analysing utterances produced by the different participants; not as isolated instances of talk, but as interactive products of what was projected by previous turn or turns and what the speaker actually does. The TTS context is, however, not taken for granted, since the abandonment of the "bucket" concept of context in favour of a more dynamic "context renewing" is generic to CA approaches to the analysis of social interaction (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 19). Drew and Heritage claim that:

analysts who wish to depict the distinctly institutional character of some stretch of talk cannot be satisfied by showing that institutional talk exhibit aggregates and/or distributions of actions that are distinctive from ordinary conversation. They must rather demonstrate that participants construct their conduct turn by responsive turn so as progressively to constitute and collaboratively realise the occasion of their talk

(Drew and Heritage, 1992: 21),

They admit that there is no single "royal road" to do so and report on the several studies included in their book. In outlining the methodological and analytical framework represented in their approach, Drew and Heritage (1992)

point out that all the works included in their book depart from the perspective expressed by Schegloff (1992: 101ff) concerning the interrelationship of interaction and social organisation, of talk and social structure, and underscore the importance of the comparative perspective. Both principles are adopted in the present study.

The works included in Drew and Heritage's collection are different from previous studies in that they try to gain access to institutional processes and the outlooks that inform them by analysing audio and video records of specific occupational interactions. It is a central belief of CA that "underlying reports on social organisation need not be reconstructed from field notes or members' reports on social happenings, as in traditional ethnography. Rather, it is available to observation in the details of naturally occurring interactions, which can be recorded using audio or video equipment" (Hutchby, 1996: 3). Accordingly, throughout the present study, we base our analysis on recorded actual broadcast of TTSs. Transcripts are reproduced (chapter 10) not as illustrations but as part of the analysis .

Drew and Heritage (1992: 36) outline five major dimensions of interactional conduct that they consider constitute foci of research into institutional talk at present; a) lexical choice; b) turn design; c) sequence organisation; d) overall structure; e) social epistemology and social relations. The present study focuses mainly on the sequential organisation. However, the dimension of overall structure is approached with a description of the TTS setting and of the macrostructure and subdivision of TTSs in phases. Turn design is also analysed for closing and opening sequential turns (i.e. turns within particular sequences) and in question-answer sequences.



Turn-taking organisation and restrictions of participants within a question answer framework are the starting point for a consideration of the sequential organisations that are particular to various forms of institutional talk. The importance of turn-taking in determining the nature of institutional genres is stated by Drew and Heritage (1992: 40). They argue that in institutional turn-taking systems:

a) turn-taking organisations, whether for conversation or institutional context are a fundamental and generic aspect of the organisation of interaction (Sacks et al. 1974). They are organisations whose features are implemented recurrently over the course of interactional events (Drew and Heritage 1992: 25);

b) participants' talk is conducted within the constraints of a specialised turn-taking system, and systematic differences from ordinary conversation such as *reductions* of the range of options; *specialisations* and *respecifications* tend to emerge. As examples, Drew and Heritage (1992) claim how, following Sacks et al. (1974) initiative, studies of interactions in courtroom (Atkinson and Drew 1979), classrooms (McHoul 1978), and news interview (Greatbatch 1988) have been shown to exhibit systematically distinctive forms of turn taking which powerfully structure many aspects of conduct in these settings.

Several published studies have dealt with data in which "the institutional character of the interaction is embodied first and foremost in its *form* -most notably in turn-taking systems which depart substantially from the way in which turn-taking is managed in conversation and which are perceivably "formal" in character" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991: 95). The analysis of turn-taking in TTSS will show how the participants "construct their conduct over the course of talk, turn by responsive turn, so as progressively to constitute and hence jointly and

collaboratively to realise the occasion of their talk, together with their own social roles in it, as having some distinctly institutional character" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 21). Comparative sequence analysis, by which genres can be outlined by an explicit or tacit comparison between basic conversational organisation and institutional talk (Drew and Heritage , 1992: 39), is hence valuable as a means of investigating the identifying characteristics of the activities associated with different institutional settings, hence, for the analysis of TTSs as a non-formal genre. We believe that the quasi-conversational nature argued for TTSs will be better understood in a comparative context.

In view of the exposed above, we will approach the analysis of TTS with two objectives in mind: describe the TTS genre and provide statistical support to our arguments. As we argued above, the present study is a sequential based analysis which tries to combine conversation-analytical methods and corpus-based studies (in line with McCarthy's approach, 1998: chapter 1, in press) . On the one hand, we will consider the whole corpus in order to draw conclusions by comparing Corpus B with findings from two main sources: linguistic and media studies (from chapter 4 to 7 and chapter 8). In doing so, we will look at a variety of types of evidence, some more imminently linguistic than other (in press, McCarthy, chapter 2: 36) such as the origins of TTSs, the topics TTSs deal with, the social role of TTSs, the place of TTSs on TV, the generic elements of TTSs (participants, setting, etc.), the goals of TTSs and the overall organisation structure of the genre itself, as well as a preliminary characterization of turn-taking and question-answer sequences in TTSs. This, we hope, will allow understanding of the genre itself as well as illustrate the character of the talk.

However, as McCarthy argues (in press, chapter 2:36), "the texts are not the genres in themselves, they are simply patterned traces of social activities. It is a

series of textual extracts of recurrent events which are the genre analyst's hard evidence." McCarthy adds that it is the task of the genre analyst "to construct the bridge between texts and socially constituted activity so that texts become meaningful and can yield clues (probably no more) to their original, real time processes of unfolding." For our analysis, we have selected 12 extracts (corpus A) of TTSs, as the hard evidence to look at.

Following the line of many previous studies in CA, we will deal with turn-taking and question answer sequences. The importance that turn-taking has in determining the nature of a genre, and how question-answer processes are the dominant form within which interaction proceeds in many institutional settings have been already outlined above. However, we want to emphasise that our intention here is mainly to look at the form, not the content, and to prove its contribution to the construction and reproduction of the generic activity "doing a TTS": with the statistical analysis of the extracts we hope to prove that generic activity has a real basis in turn-taking. We will now briefly outline the content of the present study.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the contributions of some disciplines to the analysis of spoken language. We will pay particular attention to those aspects that are relevant to conversation and language in use. The adequacy of CA for the study of TTS will be established (as argued above), as it is a discipline used in linguistics as well as in communication studies. As argued by Schegloff (1992: 104), CA is at a point where linguistics and sociology (and several other disciplines, anthropology and psychology among them) meet; for the target of its inquiries stands where talk amounts to action, where action projects consequences in a structure and texture of interaction which the talk is itself progressively embodying and realising, and where the particulars of the talk inform what actions

are being done and what sort of social scene is being constituted. The adequacy of the methods used by CA to analyse talk will be claimed to match the purposes of this study, especially the comparative perspective by which genres can be outlined by an explicit or tacit comparison between basic conversational organisation and institutional talk (Drew and Heritage , 1992: 39).

In chapter 3, we will describe the database for the present study: corpus A and corpus B. The corpus of data studied is based on the video-tape recording and transcription of TTSs from US television. The programmes were randomly recorded during February-June 1995 and August 1996. Corpus B is a reference corpus and it includes the whole list of TTSs recorded by the analyst and to which we refer to exemplify different features characteristic of TTSs. This corpus, however, has not been totally transcribed and is not included in the present work. Corpus A are the extracts that were subjected to statistical analysis. The total number of extracts is 12 and together they add up to around 23.000 words. These excerpts were carefully transcribed, paying attention to interruptions, overlaps, stuttering, repetitions, etc. The final transcription was presented in such a way that it would facilitate the comprehension of the reader (cf. Cook, 1990; Stubbs, 1983: 212) and did not include more details than those required (Stubbs 1979/ 1983; Stainton, 1983). Since we believe that the process of transcription has to be selective and include only those aspects that are relevant for the analysis, we avoided, for example, to providing explanationsof non-verbal language unless it was strictly necessary.

In chapter 4, we will comment upon the role of talk on television, and in particular of the talkshow as the representative genre, par excellence, of talk. Talkshows, as its name indicates, are programmes which provide both talk and entertainment for the audience or, what amounts to the same thing, entertainment

through talk (cf. Livingstone and Lunt, 1994). In this chapter, we will focus the discussion on the role of TTSs as a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces by presenting an overview of the role of TTSs as a television genre. The purpose of this chapter is to differentiate between the TTS and other types of talkshows and establish a niche for the TTS genre itself. We review the origins of TTSs (Munson 1983) and discuss the role that these have today in the programming scenario of US television and in US society. This introduction to the TTS as a social setting is completed with a review on previous research on TTSs and the implications for the present study.

As stated by Greatbatch (1988: 426), turn-taking is important because the organisations through which various interactional activities are managed in institutional contexts are influenced in important ways by the character of the turn-taking systems that are being used. Due to the central role of turn-taking in the present study, we believe it is necessary to include a review of some relevant concepts that come linked in the literature to turn-taking. In chapter 5, we therefore review only those aspects that are thought to be relevant for the analysis of TTSs.

The concept of turn-taking, turn-taking mechanism and turn-unit will be reviewed. Consequently, we use the term *turn* is used at the same time to refer to the right to speak and to the 'utterance produced during speaking' (Power and Martello (1986: 30). We believe that the context clearly distinguishes the meaning. The same happens with the term *turn-taking* which, appears in expressions such as turn-taking organisation, system, procedures/mechanisms. These expressions refer alternatively to the turn-taking system operating in the organisation of any social activity and to discourse procedures used in order to take the turn.

We understand a turn as any stretch of continuous talk uttered by the same speaker. In the present study, the concept of turn coincides with that given by Sacks et al. (1974) and Oreström (1983). A *turn* will include the complete utterance of words of a speaker until he/she stops talking. As stated by Stainton:

[.. ]the turn (as opposed to floor) will be identified as talk which is bounded by the utterance of another speaker, unless it is turn-initial or turn-final in the interaction. Simultaneous speech is assigned to the appropriate speaker as part of his turn. In addition, the message which constitutes the turn should have both propositional and functional context.

(1987: 75):

We will review the concept of floor and turn Edelsky's (1981) differentiates between two types of floor: F1 (one-at-a time-type of floor) and F2 (where two or more people either take part in an apparent free-for-all or a jointly built idea, operating on the same wavelength). She argues that both floors seem to interact in conversations and are relevant for consideration in the study of multiparty conversations. We adopt Edelsky's (1981) definition of floor as a point of departure to classify and explain how turn-taking takes place. In the present study, turn-taking procedures such as interruptions, overlaps, parenthetical remarks, etc. are differentiated, in our analysis, according to, for example, whether speakers share the floor (overlaps) or give it up immediately (interruptions) or contribute without taking the floor (parenthetical remarks).

In addition, Edelsky's concept of floor is given a new dimension in the present thesis since, not only do we use the two types of floors to differentiate between different types of turn, but adopt the category F2 as one of the key generic features of TTSs. We will introduce what we call *F2-segments/ F2-turns* and define those as highly confrontational moments characterised by floor-sharing

and perceived by the listener as verbal duel matches. The occurrence of F2-segments is one of the generic features of TTSs.

In view of the notions of floor and turn, the concept of backchannel is redefined (cf. Bou and Gregori, in press) and its role considered in relation to determining the institutional character of the interaction. As argued by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 110) "such response tokens, in overtly passing on the opportunity to speak, also identify their producers as the primary addressees of the prior talk... The systematic withholding of these objects... decline the role of primary addressee ... in favour of the audience." We will analyse if any of the participants uses backchannels and to what purpose.

More attention is paid to central features of turn-taking such as interruptions and overlaps as compared to smooth exchange of speakers. Essential to the present study is the way in which speaker change occurs, and one element to look at are unsmooth exchanges and how they are produced. We will argue that the uses overlaps and the different types of interruptions reveal the attitude of both the turn-holder and the one who intervenes his/her turn. Hence, for example the fact that an overlap occurs is so much an incursive action from the turn-holder, who resists that intervention in his current talk, as it is from the incomer, who persists in his/her intention to grab the floor. The examples that illustrate overlaps, and the different types of interruptions are taken from the database of the present study.

In chapter 6, we point out that television has altered our relations to one another and has also introduced a wide variety of dialectic relationships available to the audience in instant and almost overlapping and interrupting sequences (cf. Fiske and Hartley, 1994). We will argue in favour of those who claim that the

product of television has been widely criticised because it has not been studied with the right tools, but has often been compared with genres whose origins, goals, etc. are totally different, such as literature (Gronbeck 1979). Consequently, we will adopt Fiske and Hartley's (1994:16) viewpoint for the present analysis. These authors approach television talk as an extension of spoken language, subject to many rules that have been shown to apply to language.

As stated above, the comparative dimension is essential in this study. And thus, TTSs are compared with some general characteristics of conversation (Oreström, 1983) and of institutional talk (Drew and Heritage 1992) in order to find out to which of them talk in TTSs is more similar. The discussion in chapter 6 will show that TTSs offer a specialised form of talk, talk about personal stories and opinions, which is jointly produced by several individuals present in the institutional space and being listened to by an audience of millions. This type of talk is conflictive in nature because it participates of the private and the public. We will argue that its uniqueness lies in its capacity to shift from the conversational to the quasi-conversational as well as to the formal. The TTS will therefore emerge as a dynamic hybrid genre by nature which is able to embed a wide variety of inferential frameworks.

In chapter 7 we look at the features of the TTS context in order to capture the dynamism of the TTS genre and the institutional character of the interaction., we describe the characteristics outlined by Levinson (1992) in relation to *activity types*. First, we will outline the importance of agenda setting (both official and hidden) and the need to raise confrontation as two key elements that determine the structure of TTSs since they dictate topic development and turn-taking organisation. Hidden agenda (Drew and Heritage 1992) or *private agendas* may result in behaviour that stretches the norms in some way, the cumulative effects of



which, over longer periods of time, result in generic shift (McCarthy, chapter 2: 37, in press). Confrontation arises because it is in the institutional agenda and will be therefore fostered by the participants themselves.

A further level at which the institutionality of an interaction may manifest itself is in the existence of "standard shape or order of phases" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 43). It will be argued that TTSs present an order of 3 phases that are linearly interdependent and that all together they conform the TTS itself. Each of these three phases can be either private (never gets to the audience) or public (i.e. broadcast or in the presence of an audience) or both. The three phases are: a) the pre-interview phase: it is usually private and it involves the selection of guests and the discussion of their case; b) the broadcast phase: it is public and is recorded live and broadcast afterwards with very little editing; c) the post-show phase is both, private and public. Special attention will be paid to the broadcast phase which is the object of the present study.

As argued earlier in the introduction, the aspects that CA focuses on regarding sequential organization are turn-taking and the distribution of talk in question-answer sequences. In chapter 8, for a preliminary characterisation of the turn-taking in TTSs, we will introduce an initial comparison between turn-taking in TTSs and in conversation, taking as a point of departure the model introduced by Sacks et al. (1974) and introducing some of the criticisms to such model (e.g. Power and Martello). We will also discuss the role of non-verbal language and of backchannels in relation to turn-taking in TTSs.

The sequential organisation implies the study of the way in which the participants organise their interaction turn by turn over its course. It will be observed that the interaction in TTS overwhelmingly proceeds as sequences of

question-answer that, together with some characteristic features of turn management, constitute massive evidence for the existence of a question-answer pre-allocated turn-taking system for the TTS that is distinctive from conversation and from other genres (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). We will illustrate how the question-answer process is a dominant form within which the interaction proceeds.

In chapter 9, we describe the method of analysis of corpus A. The analysis will be carried out in two parts. First, each of the extracts will be analysed individually, and in each extract each turn will be classified in its own according to six criteria represented by the different columns in which we divide the table. These are the criteria: a) Column 1 (N°T): number of turns according to order of appearance; b) Column 2 (SP): speaker category (host, guest, audience-individual, audience-group) and a number which serves to localise the speaker and the extract in which s/he takes part; the number is assigned to each speaker for statistical purposes; c) Column 3 (TT): next-speaker selection technique: self-selection or non-self-selection or allocated turn. If it is the latter, then we specify who allocated the turn (e.g. HG is a turn allocated by the host to a guest); d) Column 4 (TE): the way in which the speaker shift occurs, that is in relation to the previous turn. This can be through SE (smooth exchange) or ITV (intervened exchange). If it is the latter, we directly specify which type it is (overlap (OVL), simple interruption (P), silent interruption (K) or parenthetical remarks (PR)); e) Column 5 (BC): registers the number of backchannels in that turn; f) Column 6 (Q/A): each turn is classified in terms of question (Q) answer (A) and/or comment (Z); Column 7, includes the transcript.

Chapter 10 includes the analysis and the results. First we will present a detailed analysis of turns based on each of the transcripts. Each turn will be analysed individually according to the criteria introduced in the methodology. The

second part of the analysis will use statistics to give account of the results of the analysis. The statistical analysis is carried out by cross-comparing the data obtained in the five columns that classify each turn. We will provide a detailed description of those results as well as a graphic illustration of the most relevant aspects of the analysis.

Finally in chapter 11, the conclusions, we discuss the results obtained from the analysis and interpret those in relation to the main hypothesis of the present study, outlined above, as well as in relation to the other hypotheses, all of them introduced in section 9.4.

The intention underlying this study of TTSs is to provide a description of TTSs. The TTSs is a genre which occurs within a particular cultural and social context, US, but reaches a larger audience (e.g. in UK and in South America, Russia, etc.). At the same time, the format of the genre itself is being imported into other countries, who are copying and reproducing the generic features of the TTSs in different cultures (e.g. Spain, South America, Russia, UK). We believe that any genre deserves study, since getting to know different genres can tell us a lot about how human communication really works. As Christie (1985: 22) argues "learning the genres of one's culture is both part of entering into it with understanding, and part of developing the necessary ability to change it." Now, with the advances in communication, there are no boundaries and one does not only to get to know his/her own culture but others. Television is one place where cultural boundaries mix and, often, in order to understand television one has to know the conventions of the genres.

Although we do not believe that the present study will provide an exhaustive account of all aspects related to TTSs, it does provide an insight into

the TTS genre with special emphasis in showing the quasi-conversational character of the interaction which can be observed in the turn-taking procedures. Close examination of the turn-taking organisation will reveal the importance of turn-taking in the characterization of the TTSgenre.

## **CHAPTER 2. THE ANALYSIS OF SPOKEN DISCOURSE**

## **2.1. Spoken and written discourse**

The analysis of spoken discourse has long been an issue of primary importance in linguistics and in many other areas. Van Dijk (1990: 5ff.) when talking about the growth of discourse analysis points out the fact that, after an age-old tradition of classical rhetoric, the study of text and dialogue were the object of analysis in such diverse disciplines as anthropology, semiotics, literary studies, linguistics, sociology, psychology, and the various branches of the study of communication; and that, already in 1964, more attention was being paid to the study of language in use and the complexities of everyday conversation. Since then, as van Dijk reports, conversation analysis has spread to linguistics and to other disciplines of the humanities and social sciences and has become one of the dominant directions of research within the broader field of discourse analysis.

Linguistics had been for a long time a discipline devoted to form and aspects such as meaning, context and situation were considered almost irrelevant by approaches such as structuralism. Bloomfield (1933), for example, was primarily concerned with the study of form and refused any approach which considered meaning. For him, linguistics was the study of the phonological lexical and syntactic features of utterances. The relation utterance-function-situation was not relevant to understand language.

Along the same lines, Chomsky (1957) argued for the centrality of syntax but, like the structuralists, he still regarded meaning as altogether too messy for serious contemplation (Leech, 1983:1). Chomsky (1957) argued that linguistics had to study the structure of the sentence, its grammaticality. To him, the

fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language was to be able to distinguish *grammatical* sequences from *ungrammatical* sequences, and to study the structure of those that were grammatically correct. But already in the earlier 1960s, as Coulthard (1977:3) reports: "the view of language began to change, and concepts such as meaning and context adopted a more active role in linguistics. Contributions such as G. Lakoff's, Ross and McCawley's, who began arguing that one cannot describe grammar in isolation from meaning, were definitive in the understanding and recognition of the importance of context for linguistics." Thus, the results of empirical investigation forced many transformational linguists to recognise the importance of context and to join a series of disciplines converging on the study of situated speech (Coulthard, 1977: 3).

For the purposes of the present work, we do not pretend to review exhaustively all the different theories that deal with spoken language but only those aspects that may be relevant for the study of American daytime television talkshows.

## **2.2. Discourse analysis: the school of Birmingham**

Schiffrin (1991: 3) points out that the term *discourse* has been defined in two different ways: as a unit of language that is larger than a sentence, and as the use of language. The first definition focuses on linguistic aspects, while the second definition focuses mainly on the social and cultural functions underlying ways of speaking. Discourse analysts tend to combine the two. That is, they analyse how the linguistic regularities found in ways of speaking are constrained not only by the structures and patterns inherent in the language, but also by the social and cultural meanings which frame the production and interpretation of messages. This

dual focus upon both language and its contexts is often found in the work of those who analyse conversation (Schiffrin, 1991: 4).

The term *discourse analysis* has come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities. It is used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics and computational linguistics (Brown and Yule, 1983: viii). As van Dijk (1990: 5ff) affirms, with the importance that was given between 1964-1974 to the analysis of text and talk by many different disciplines, discourse analysis soon became a major method or even a specialised sub-area of many of the disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. Thereby enabling the study of relations with similar shared fields or problems in other disciplines.

As early as 1952, Harris (1952:1) proclaimed that the method he used to analyse connected speech or writing, which he called *discourse analysis*, went beyond the limits presented by descriptive linguistics. He claimed that "we may not know just WHAT a text is saying, but we can discover HOW it is saying, what are the patterns of recurrence of its chief morphemes," and affirmed that descriptive linguistics had no equipment for taking the social situation into account.

Harris was interested in the relationship between connected speech and the situational context: he claimed that language always occurs in a particular situation and that there is a concurrence between situation and discourse which can only be understood if such formal correlations do indeed exist. He tried to show that the discourses of a particular person, social group, style, or subject matter exhibited not only particular meanings but also characteristic formal features. The results presented in Harris's work (1952) show, however, that he focused exclusively on the formal aspects of language without considering



meaning, and that his approach is very different from what is nowadays considered of interest to discourse analysis.

As reported by Stalpers (1988), it is noteworthy that this paper, along with another by Mitchell (1957) in which he studies the language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica, is still regarded as the starting point of discourse analysis. Those two articles, Stalpers argues, represent two different approaches: invented vs. natural connected speech and morpheme vs. stages of interaction. What is nowadays called discourse analysis is interested in both aspects, if language occurs and how it occurs; and it certainly regards meaning as much an important aspect to be taken into consideration as the environment in which a certain element appears.

Discourse analysis calls on insights of many different areas, but as Brown and Yule (1983) affirm, its primary interest is in the traditional concern of the descriptive linguist, that is, it accounts for how forms of language are used in communication. As McCarthy (1991:3,10) affirms, "discourse analysis is fundamentally concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used." Along the same lines, Brown and Yule state that "the analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs" (Brown and Yule, 1983: ix). Edmondson (1981) summarises as follows the differences between discourse analysis and other disciplines:

Sentence grammars ( - suprasentential, - use)  
Text grammars (+ suprasentential, - use)  
Speech act theory ( - suprasentential, + use)  
Discourse analysis (+ suprasentential, + use)

Discourse analysis is therefore characterised by its devotion to the study of language in use where language and situation are inseparable; it is more concerned

with the study of 'parole' rather than 'langue' (in Saussure's terms) and goes beyond the level of sentence; it is suprasentential (Stubbs, 1987).

The influence of other disciplines in the development of discourse analysis is evident. Discourse analysis shares with pragmatics an approach to the study of language which is concerned with the use of language in context, by a speaker or writer. They are both concerned with the relationship between the utterance and the speaker and with the description of what speakers and hearers are doing when they perform an utterance<sup>1</sup>. By doing so, discourse analysis differs from disciplines such as speech act theory which interprets sentences isolated from the context.

Nowadays, two main trends seem to prevail in discourse analysis: the American and the British approach. American discourse analysis follows mainly an ethnomethodological, and therefore a social approach, to discourse. British discourse analysis is more linguistically focused and is mainly represented by the work done by the Birmingham English Language Research group whose point of departure was classroom and medical interaction (Coulthard, 1977; Coulthard and Ashby, 1975; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Stubbs 1987;

Although they depart from speech act theory, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) propose to approach discourse at a higher level than grammar at the same time as they display a rank scale similar to those presented, up to then, by phonology and syntax. Their work focuses on discourse coherence in spoken discourse. They analyse classroom interaction as an example of the fact that several participants could jointly produce coherent texts. In 1966 Sinclair had already suggested that only by examining the context, the presuppositions behind

---

<sup>1</sup> See Fries (1951) for earlier definitions of these concepts.

the utterance, the intention of the speaker and respondent, and the evidence available to a decoder, could one really understand the meaning of an utterance (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:2). In the description of classroom interaction, Sinclair and Coulthard elaborate a framework, hierarchically organised, consisting of acts, moves, exchanges and transactions, where each rank above the lowest could be expressed in terms of the units next below, with the exchange as the minimal unit:

interactional coherence is most extensively treated at the level of the exchange structures, the most cited of which is the initiation-response-feedback (I-R-F) exchange. The Birmingham studies represented a move towards a more dialogic analysis of language in institutional settings.

(Drew and Heritage, 1992: 13)

There have been many critiques of the work done by Sinclair and Coulthard, most of them deriving from the difficulties that the framework (in terms of the analysis I-R-F) presented if it was to be applied to data other than teacher-pupil interaction or medical discourse (cf. Hoey, 1991; Maynard, 1992): in other social contexts where the participants had more opportunities, the model presented multiple problems (cf. Burton, 1980). This was not ignored by Sinclair and Coulthard. The authors justify their choice of classroom discourse arguing that "desultory conversation was perhaps the most sophisticated and least overtly rule-governed form of spoken discourse and therefore almost certainly not the best place to begin" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 4). Despite criticism, their contribution set the bases for the development of discourse analysis and of the analysis of institutional discourse. Since then there have been many other works which follow the principles of discourse analysis (Brown and Yule, 1983; Burton, 1980,198; Coulthard, 1977; McCarthy, 1991;Stubbs, 1987, among others) and which have further developed the initial approach given by Sinclair and Coulthard in 1975.

### **2.3. Sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking**

Sociolinguistics, as affirmed by Gumperz (1982: 9), investigates the language usage of particular human groups and relies on data sources and analytical paradigms quite distinct from those employed by linguistics.

this movement has come to be called *sociolinguistics*, especially when it focuses attention upon language proper in relation to sociological categories, or *ethnography of communication* where there is focus upon verbal art, native taxonomy of speech types and functions and other features more typically studied by anthropologists.

(Hymes, 1967: 11)

However, as admitted by many, the two disciplines have very much in common and make use of concepts that are equally relevant for both fields. Hymes (1967: 11) pointed out the need for "a general theory and body of knowledge within which code-switching and diversity of code repertoire could find a natural place." According to Hymes, sociologists, in their beginnings, were not asking the right questions and a linguistic insight was to be included. Furthermore, Hymes specified that this use of the term *sociolinguistics* was such that it referred to an area "mediating among disciplines" and that could become redundant "if linguistics comes to accept the sociocultural dimensions of its subject-matter and its theoretical bases" (Hymes, 1967: 11).

With the developing acknowledgement of naturally occurring talk as appropriate data for linguistic analysis (Labov, 1972), it became apparent that sociolinguistic concepts had to be modified (Drew and Heritage, 1992:7). The work by Goffman (1964) already showed a change in the conceptions of sociolinguistic context that was modified in favour of a new approach where

attributes such as age, class, ethnicity, gender, geographical region, cultural cognitive assumptions, among others, together with the social situation, were considered to determine speech behaviour. Goffman (1964) points out an important implication of this fact, which is:

that social situations do not have properties and structure of their own, but merely mark, as it were, the geometric intersection of actors making talk and actors bearing particular social attributes.

Goffman (1964: 65)

Gumperz (1982) introduced the concept of *contextualization cues*, i.e. aspects which are relevant in interpreting what a speaker means. Along the same lines, Goffman (1974/81) outlined the theory of *frames* and *footing* which contributed a dynamic perspective to the concept of context. Both works related specific linguistic options to the social activity for which language is being engaged (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 9).

Anthropological linguistics also tried to connect linguistic structure with social context. The *ethnography of speaking* (Hymes 1964) enhanced this perspective by clarifying the relationship between language and the sociocultural order, and the role of the latter in the understanding of language use, of utterances and events. The notion of *speech community*, for example, as introduced by Hymes (1964), stresses the description in social rather than linguistic terms. Hence, it is argued that one starts with a social group and looks within it at the codes present. Hymes (1967: 18) defines a speech community "as a community sharing both the rules for the conduct and the interpretation of acts of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one common linguistic code." However, he finally adopts the term *linguistic community*, introduced by Gumperz (1968), which amounts to any intercommunicative group, and reserves *speech community* for the social unit

most specifically characterised for a person by common locality and primary interaction ( Hymes, 1967:19).

Gumperz's emphasis is on the cultural background rather than on the linguistic aspects of the speech community, an aspect that is fully developed later on by Swales (1990:21ff). Swales arguments in favour of differentiating between *speech community* and *discourse community*. Three reasons justify, for Swales, the task of defining *discourse community*. The first is concerned with the medium, i.e., Swales claims that it is literacy and the written medium what may cause reactions on the part of members of a community: "literacy takes away locality and parochiality.... members are more likely to communicate with other members of distant places, and are more likely to react and respond to writings rather than speech from the past." The second reason emphasises that it is necessary to distinguish a *sociolinguistic* grouping from a *sociorhetorical* one, the primary determinants of the latter being functional and prior to those of socialisation and solidarity. Conversely, in a discourse community, Swales argues, "the communicative needs of the *goals* tend to predominate in the development and maintenance of its discorsal characteristics" (1990: 24). Finally, speech communities are centripetal and discourse communities are centrifugal, that is, they tend to separate people into occupational or speciality-interest groups. Swales notices that one is a member of a speech community by birth, accident or adoption while "a discourse community recruits its members by persuasion, training or relevant qualification.... a *Specific Interest Group*". (1990: 24)

We adopt the term *discourse community* here to refer to the group of people in US society that may have developed a relationship with TTSs and are therefore able to recognise, follow and reproduce the type of interaction going on in TTSs. One of the assumptions here is that the *TTS discourse community*, which

many media researchers claim exists, is a social reality in US society. This discourse community emerges exclusively from this genre, and the individuals use a code appropriate to that social setting (cf. Grizzutti, 1992).

## **2.4. Pragmatics**

Leech (1983: 5) pointed out that generative grammar had lost its position as the dominant paradigm of linguistics and that it was undermined by the growth of new approaches to language such as sociolinguistics, text linguistics, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis and conversational analysis which:

... do not yet add up to an integrated paradigm for research, but they have had the effect collectively of undermining the paradigm of Chomsky... and have led to a remarkable shift of direction within linguistics away from 'competence' and towards 'performance'[...] A unified account of what language is has, I believe, been lost.

(Leech, 1983: 5)

Since a paradigm to substitute the one provided by generative grammar had not yet been found, Leech (1983) argued in favour of a new paradigm: pragmatics. Leech defines pragmatics as a 'formal-functional' paradigm, as the study of how utterances have meanings in situations, and how language is used in communication. He affirms that the strongest influences on those developing a pragmatic paradigm have been the formulation of a view of meaning in terms of illocutionary force by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), and a view of meaning in terms of conversational implicature by Grice (1975). In his work Leech (1983) tries to show how grammar (the abstract formal system of language) and pragmatics (the principles of language use) are complementary domains within linguistics. Pragmatics offers a philosophical contribution to the study of language based on speech act theory and on the work by Grice (1975) who argued that general

maxims of co-operation provide inferential routes to what a speaker means while communicating (Cf. Schiffrin, 1990: 4).

### *Speech Act Theory*

The philosophical approach to the analysis of language that started with speech act theory has had a great influence on the development of pragmatics. Speech act theory combines language and social organisation. Austin (1962) was the first to introduce the concept of speech act based on the fact that language was used to perform actions. So a sentence such as 'I promise to do some work' was performing the act of 'promising'. His work was continued by Searle (1969) who developed Austin's theory and proposed a taxonomy of speech acts and described speech acts in terms of inferencing and felicity conditions. Searle affirms that speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behaviour and that to learn and master a language is to learn and master these rules. Speaking a language is performing speech acts and these acts are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements. Speech acts, Searle states, are the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication. The study of the meaning of sentences is for Searle equivalent to the study of speech acts because "every meaningful sentence in virtue of its meaning can be used to perform a particular speech act (or range of speech acts), and every possible speech act can in principle be given an exact formulation in a sentence or sentences (assuming an appropriate context of utterance)" (Searle, 1969: 18). What Searle is therefore affirming is that the minimal unit for analysis is the sentence.

Speech act theory offers, as Schiffrin (1990:6) states, "the possibility of uniting structural and functional approaches simply because the constituents of structures are themselves functionally defined as actions." Speech-act theory was



nevertheless not designed for the study of discourse but was mainly concerned with the study of meaning of isolated utterances and concentrated on meaning in sentences. Speech act theorists recognise that language performs actions. They show a functional orientation towards the analysis of language occurrences but do not make attempts to analyse generic structures or even show interest in the patterns that emerge from similar behaviour that individuals have in similar situations. Dealing with real language is a different matter, as stated by Levinson (1983: 279), who argues that "in this way, speech act theory is being currently undermined from the outside by the growth of disciplines concerned with the empirical study of natural language use" such as the ethnography of speaking, Conversational Analysis (CA), discourse analysis, etc.

Labov and Fanshel's (1977) work tried to apply speech-act theory to therapeutic discourse but it was very difficult for them to explain how a particular utterance was actually to be interpreted in terms of speech-acts since several possibilities seemed to be equally plausible. The difficulties also arose from the fact that speech act theory is based upon the study of idealised utterances, a fact that renders this method as inadequate when dealing with naturally occurring discourse. Finally the fact that for speech act theory meaning emerges from the utterance itself makes this approach totally inadequate since context has been widely proved to have a say in language use. As Drew and Heritage affirm:

the lesson that should properly be taken from Labov and Fanshel's study is that, rather than starting from sentence meanings, analysis should begin from the study of sequences of actions and the way in which context forms resource their interpretation. Any other approach is liable to misconstrue what is at stake in the analysis of situated social interaction.

(Drew and Heritage, 1992: 13)

The analysis of talkshows contemplates: a) units which go beyond the sentence b) analysis of utterances, never as isolated phenomena but immediately

related to the context in which they take place; and c) the analysis tries to give an account of the function and meaning of any utterance in relation to the context and as part of a wider situation which would include the rest of the text. Speech act theory is therefore not the most appropriate framework to study TTSs; however, we do agree with Searle in that language is used to perform actions and that "a speaker may mean more than what he actually says, but it is always in principle possible for him to say exactly what he means" (Searle, 1969: 18).

### *Grice's conversational maxims*

The term 'implicature' is used by Grice (1975) to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says (Brown and Yule, 1983: 31). Grice (1975: 44 ff.) affirms that there are two kinds of implicatures: *conventional implicatures* and *conversational implicatures*. Conventional implicatures will be agreed upon by the conventional meaning of the word: "in some cases the conventional meaning of the words used will determine what is implicated besides helping to determine what is said." While the presence of a *conversational implicature* derives from a general principle, which he calls the *cooperative principle*, and four *categories* which generate *maxims* and *submaxims*. Grice (1975: 45) assumes that all participants obey this general principle which he defines as follows: "make your conversational contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. One might label this the cooperative principle."

He then distinguishes four maxims, and elaborates submaxims for most of them.

#### Quantity:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than required.

Quality:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant

Manner:

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

Grice affirms that if a speaker fails to fulfil a maxim, he will be conveying a meaning other than the conventional, generating, therefore, a conversational implicature. Grice's maxims and the concept of implicature are used in discourse analysis and pragmatics in order to interpret discourse. But as Brown and Yule (1983) affirm:

since the analyst has only limited access to what a speaker intended, or how sincerely he was behaving, in the production of a discourse fragment, any claims regarding the implicatures identified will have the status of interpretations.

(Brown and Yule, 1983: 33)

Brown and Yule identify the role of the analyst with that of the hearer in the sense that they both have interpretations of the discourse which do or do not make sense. If the participants in a conversation followed Grice's rules, we surely would not have any problem in understanding discourse. But, as we all know, it is not that simple.

Notwithstanding, Grice's contribution is an extremely valuable basis for analysing conversation. It is because we violate the maxims that implicatures arise, and by realising that they exist, that we are accepting the fact that everyday language is complex, that we have to go beyond the conventional meaning of

words if we want to find the 'real' meaning: i.e. that which results from combining words with the participant's intentions in a particular situation.

In describing an activity type such as TTSs, Grice's principles, although not applying to empirical facts about the way talk is organised, have to be considered. Two steps are suggested by Levinson (1992: 78) to reconcile the conflict between Grice's general principles of conversation and the particular expectations of specific activities:

1. To seek for a more sophisticated statement of Grice's principles that will allow differing degrees of application of each maxim and the corresponding adjustment of implicatures.
2. To accept Grice's maxims as specifications of some basic *unmarked* communication context, deviations from which, however common, are seen as *marked*.

And he concludes by saying that "there are various observations that suggest that the notion of basic unmarked communication context may be essential to pragmatics." (Levinson, 1992:78-79).

Levinson (1983), when trying to provide a definition for the term *pragmatics*, affirms that is 'by no means easy to provide'. He admits the diversity of problems that can be treated within the sphere of pragmatics and the lack of clear boundaries for such a discipline. Levinson (1983) and Leech (1983) both point out the philosophical influence in pragmatics; but, as Levinson summarises, he is in favour of moving towards a more empirical approach to the analysis of conversation where "conceptual analysis using introspective data would then be

replaced by careful inductive work based on observation" (1983: 285). Levinson defines pragmatics as:

a) *The study of language in usage.* He admits that this definition is without doubt too broad to handle, because it does not indicate exactly what practitioners do. But as he says, "to find out, as in any disciplines, one must go and take a look."

b) *The study of language from a functional perspective.* That is, an attempt to explain facets of linguistic structure by reference to non-linguistic pressures and causes. Levinson is aware of the fact that this definition would make it almost impossible to distinguish between linguistic pragmatics and other disciplines that are also interested in a functional approach to language including psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics and argues that with this definition the *motives* would be confused with the *goals* for studying pragmatics.

The problem raised by this definition is whether *pragmatics* should be concerned with linguistic structures as well as with language use. Levinson affirms that with this we come to what he calls "the heart of the definition" and argues that the term *pragmatics* covers both context-dependent and non-context dependent aspects of language usage and understanding that have nothing or little to do with linguistic structures" (1983: 9). He affirms that pragmatists are interested in the inter-relation of language structure and principles of language use.

Levinson points out that it is in conversation that we should look for pragmatic phenomena, "for conversation is clearly the prototypical kind of language usage, the form in which we are all first exposed to language, the matrix for language acquisition" (1983: 284). For Levinson the ethnomethodological

approach is the best to analyse conversation. He classifies Conversation Analysis as "the outstanding empirical tradition in pragmatics" (1983: 285).

The pragmatic approach provides us with a valuable insight into the analysis of spoken language since pragmatists emphasise aspects of language which are not considered in a formal linguistic description of syntax and semantics, such as the context of situation, the functionality of language and the role of the participants in the interaction. Additionally, and as argued by Levinson (1983: 374), pragmatics has much "to contribute to sociolinguistics; for in trying to understand the significance of patterns of language usage, it is essential to understand the underlying structural properties and processes that constrain verbal interaction." The present work considers the principles of pragmatics essential to analyse any kind of language in use and, by extension, to analyse TTSs.

## **2.5. Conversation Analysis**

Ethnomethodology developed in American sociology in the early 1970s and led to the development of Conversation Analysis (henceforth CA). The contributions of CA have provided us with many substantial insights into the mechanisms of spoken language. The ethnomethodological approach constitutes a sociological-empirical approach to language and is mainly represented by the work done by Goffman (1962) Garfinkel (1967), Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974-94); and Heritage (1984), among many others. The contributions of the ethnomethodological approach are very valuable for understanding the mechanics of conversational organisation, and their emphasis on the social rather than on the linguistic aspect of conversational structure is a change from the sociological research carried out until then. Before CA, mainly deductive and quantitative

techniques had been used and "anything related with intuition and 'unmotivated theoretical constructs' [was] avoided" (Levinson, 1983: 290).

Ethnomethodology differs from many other branches of sociology; rather than analysing social order *per se*, it seeks to discover the methods by which members (of a society) produce a sense of social order (Schiffrin, 1991: 7). To the ethnomethodologists conversation occupies a central position among the speech exchange systems. They study samples of real conversation and prove that conversation is systematically structured. For the ethnomethodologists the orderliness of conversation is the result of local rules whose interactive management creates both the structures of talk and the participant's sense of such structures and their sense of each other as certain types of social beings, including the sense of each other as rational (Schiffrin, 1987: 11).

CA, as Goodwin and Heritage argue, (1990: 283) aims "to describe the underlying social organisation, conceived as institutionalised substratum of rules, procedures and conventions, through which orderly and intelligible interaction is made possible." CA studies talk in many different contexts and "develops analytic tools for the study of talk-in-context" (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 17). CA analyses transcripts of naturally occurring conversation and looks at aspects such as how speakers change topics, ask questions, interrupt, maintain the conversational flow, how the turn-taking organisation works, etc. Schegloff (1992: 104) claims that CA is at a point where linguistics and sociology (and several other disciplines, anthropology and psychology among them) meet. For the target of its inquiries stands where talk amounts to action, where action projects consequences in a structure and texture of interaction which the talk is itself progressively embodying and realising, and where the particulars of the talk inform what actions are being done and what sort of social scene is being constituted . Along the same

lines, Levinson (1983: 319) argues that CA has two basic methods: "to locate some particular conversational organisation, and to isolate its systematic features, by demonstrating participants' orientation to it." The second would deal with the problems solved and raised by this organisation and its further implications.

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) article *A Simplest Systematics for the Organisation of Turn Taking for Conversation* is an example of this approach and one of the pioneers of CA. The article presents a systematic description of one of the basic problems in conversation, the turn-taking system that rules conversation, using for their studies tape-recorded data and transcripts of spoken language. They try to find recurring patterns that occur in conversation by analysing real data. Their focus is on the local organisation of talk. Other representative works focus on other aspects of the organisation of talk such as the study adjacency pairs (Adams 198; Sacks et al. 1974 ); repairs and self-corrections (Larrue and Trognon 1993; Schegloff et al, 1977; Shimanoff and Brunak 1977; Schegloff 1987); opening and closing sequences, (Button and Lee 1987; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1991; Jefferson 1973; Schegloff 1968; Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Schiffrin 1987) agreement and contiguity (Sacks 1987), to mention some. Their main concern is therefore with the mechanics and organisation of conversational interaction and how the speakers themselves give account of this interaction, how they make sense of it.

Schiffrin (1991: 9-10) summarises as follows some general principles of CA:

1. The analysis of the discourse is empirical.
  - a. Data come from speech communities; data are about people using language, not linguists thinking about how people use language.



- b. Analyses are accountable to the data: they try to explain the data both sequentially and distributionally.
2. Discourse is not just a sequence of linguistic units; its coherence cannot be understood if attention is limited just to linguistic form and meaning.
3. Resources for coherence jointly contribute to participant achievement and understanding of what is said, meant, and done through everyday talk. Linguistic forms and meaning mutually contextualize one another and work together with social meanings and interpretative schemata to create discourse.
4. The structures, meanings and actions of everyday spoken discourse are interactively negotiated and achieved.
5. What is said, meant, and done is sequentially situated; i.e., utterances are produced and interpreted in the local contexts of other utterances.
6. How something is said, meant and done (speaker's selection among different linguistic devices as alternative ways of speaking) is guided by six related constraints:
  - a. speaker intentions;
  - b. conventionalised strategies for making intentions recognisable;
  - c. the meanings and functions of linguistic forms within their emerging context;
  - d. the sequential context of other utterances;
  - e. properties of the discourse mode, e.g. narration, description, exposition;
  - f. the social context, e.g., participant identities and relationships, structure of the situation, the setting.

CA, however, goes beyond the scope of ordinary conversation; in fact it has never been focused exclusively on ordinary conversation but has developed a wide range of data from speech exchanges other than casual conversation (e.g. doctor-patient interaction, academic talk, news interviews, etc.). One of the applications of CA that started over thirty years ago but is still receiving a lot of

attention, is the dimension that includes the study of talk-in-interaction in institutional settings and in relation to social structures.

Heritage (1985: 96) already pointed out that "the development of conversation analysis had made available powerful new techniques that permit... systematic comparison with natural conversation and other forms of institutional talk... demonstrating a mass of detailed differences that are specific to each setting and that differentiate institutional talk in general from natural conversation." The work edited by Drew and Heritage (1992), *Talk at Work*, presents a selection of articles that use the methodological approach of CA to deal with studies of talk in various institutional domains.

Additionally, Drew and Heritage (1992: 17-19) point out four major features of the CA perspective: 1) *the activity focus on the conversation analysis*; 2) *sequential analysis: an interactional approach to the units of discourse*; 3) *the conception of context*; 4) *comparative analysis*; which have particular relevance for the analysis of talk in institutional settings and that can be summarised as follows:

1) *The activity focus on the conversation analysis*. In contrast to perspectives that begin, at one pole of the analytic enterprise (culture and social identity), or to those which depart from linguistic variables (phonological variation, word selection, syntax), CA begins from a consideration of *interactional accomplishment of particular social activities*. That is, CA focuses on particular actions that occur in some context, their underlying social organisation and the alternative means by which these actions and the activities they compose can be realised.

2) *Sequential analysis: an interactional approach to the units of discourse*. CA developed through detailed qualitative analysis of naturally occurring data. Its analysis rapidly led to the conclusion that the sense of an utterance *as an action* is an interactive product of what was projected by a previous turn or turns at talk and what the speaker actually does.

This analytic integration of the "illocutionary" dimension of a current utterance with the "perlocutionary" dimension of its prior has been a hallmark of CA data analysis from its inception. It represents a wholesale departure from the analytic outlook of speech-act analysis as presently practised and it further requires a focus on units that were larger than the individual sentence or utterance. These units were conceived as *sequences* of activity and their component unit turns as turns-within-sequences.

The talk in TTSs can be said to consist mainly of question-answer sequences (see section 8.3). The notion of adjacency pair (Schegloff and Sacks 1973), a basic concept for ethnomethodology and CA, is therefore relevant to characterise the organisation of talk in TTSs. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) define adjacency pairs as it follows:

adjacency pairs consist of sequences which properly have the following features: (1) two utterance length, (2) adjacent positioning of component utterances, (3) different speakers producing each utterance...(4) relative ordering of parts, (5) discriminative relations. The typology operates into two ways: ... it affiliates a first pair part and a second pair part to form a 'pair type.'

(Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: 295)

Hence, an adjacency pair is a sequentially constrained pair of turns at talk in which the occurrence of a first pair part creates a slot for the occurrence of a second pair part (a conditional relevance), such that the non-occurrence of that

second-pair part is heard as an omission. Examples of adjacency pairs are question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance/refusal, etc.

In TTSs, the fulfilment of the expectations of the speaker in relation to the first or second part of an adjacency pair serve to clarify relationships among speakers and their compliance with the identities, internal status and the rules applying in such institutional framework. That is, if a question presupposes an answer, the second speaker may chose, for example, to initiate new sequences therefore ignoring, evading, bending, or violating the constraints established by the current sequential environment of their talk (Zimmerman and Boden 1991: 10).

### 3) *Context in CA*

The concept of *context of situation*, first introduced by the anthropologist Malinowski (1923), is essential in the CA approach to language. Malinowski studied the culture of the inhabitants of a group of islands of the South Pacific known as the Trobian Islands. The inhabitants of these islands lived mainly by fishing, hunting and gardening and their language is known as 'Kiriwian'. When Malinowski had to transmit the results of his work he found that it was difficult for English speakers to understand his translations unless he accompanied the text with a detailed explanation. He found that it was necessary to include descriptions of their customs and traditions, that is to say, *cultural background*, because they also give an account of the context of situation (cf. Halliday, 1985: 6-7). In that sense, an utterance becomes comprehensive only when we interpret it by its context of situation (Malinowski, 1923).

The kind of language analysed by Malinowski was *language in action*. By realising this Malinowski had then already pointed out, as Halliday (1985:23)

affirms, one of the main characteristics of language: its *functionality*. The functional nature of language is essential to understand conversation since:

every sentence in a text is multifunctional... The meanings are woven together in a very dense fabric in such a way that, to understand them, we do not look separately at its different parts; rather, we look at the whole thing simultaneously from a number of different angles, each perspective contributing towards the total interpretation. That is the essential nature of a functional approach.

(Halliday, 1985: 23)

Malinowski affirmed that in the case of conversation the whole situation consists in what happens linguistically and that each utterance is an act serving the direct aim of binding hearer to speaker by a tie of some social sentiment or other (1962: 149).

For a long time some theories, the so called *bucket* or *container* theory, considered context as a previously given and static concept determined by the setting in which the interaction took place. CA, however, approaches the concept of context from a very different viewpoint. Drew and Heritage (1992: 19) and Hutchby (1996: 10) argue in favour of a CA approach for the study of talk that is also applicable here. Hutchby claims that CA treats talk as a vehicle for social action and that the social action dimensions of talk-in-interaction<sup>2</sup> lead to a dynamic view of context; therefore utterances would not be produced as isolated actions but as actions embedded in an ongoing context of interaction, i.e., context is an active accomplishment.

In admitting this, CA departs from conventional approaches that adopt a container/bucket theory of context (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 19) model whose view is "that whatever goes on within some institutional settings is linked to the

---

<sup>2</sup> The term talk-in-interaction has come to be generally used, in preference to "conversation" (Schegloff 1987) to refer to the object of CA research (Drew and Heritage 1992: 4).

interactional constraints imposed by that setting's already existing organisational structure" (Hutchby, 1996: 11), and in favour of a dynamic approach in which "context is treated as both the project and product of the participants' own actions and therefore as inherently locally produced and transformed at any moment." Drew and Heritage (1992: 19) argue that the abandonment of the bucket theory is what differentiates the approach outlined by the Birmingham school of discourse analysis from CA.

Drew and Heritage (1992:18) use context "to refer both to the immediately local configuration of preceding activity in which an utterance occurs, and also to the "larger" environment of activity within which that configuration is recognised to occur." They add that context is both "the project and product of the participants' own actions and therefore as inherently locally produced and transformed at any moment" (Drew and Heritage, 1992:19). For them, in the context of institutional talk, an empirical analysis must treat "context and identity ...as inherently locally produced, incrementally developed and, by extension, as transformable at any moment" (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 21). CA will analyse the conduct of the participants including their orientations to specific local identities and the underlying organisation of their activities and will try to show that the participants' conduct and its organisation embody orientations which are specifically institutional.

In the analysis of institutional talk, the concept of *procedural consequentiality*, introduced by Schegloff (1992:116-17), accounts for the relevance of the context, that is, how does the fact that the talk is being conducted in some setting issue in any consequence for the shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction that the parties conduct. Schegloff (1992) claims that:

context can be as much a part of what traditionally has been meant by "social structure" as attributes of the participants

are. So, for example, remarking that some talk is being conducted "in the context of bureaucracy," "in the classroom" "on a city street", etc. is part of what is sometimes intended by incorporating the relevance of social structure.

(Schegloff, 1992:110)

Schegloff's (1992: 112) questions are directed towards finding formulations of context or setting that would allow us to connect to social structure in a way that would take into account not only the participants but would also allow us to make a "procedural" connection between the context-so formulated and what actually happens in the talk. This, Schegloff reports, occurs in the "speech exchange systems":

because they characterise a setting or context both, in ways that connect to our general notions of social structure, and in ways which directly refer to aspects of the practices by which the participants organise their talk.

(Schegloff, 1992: 112)

The example by which Schegloff illustrates this reasoning is courtroom interaction where, by their conduct, the participants show themselves to be oriented to particular identities that are legally provided by the setting and show themselves to be oriented to the "court-in-session" as a context (Schegloff, 1992: 13).

#### *4) Comparative analysis*

Work in CA is inspired in the fact that conversation is the predominant medium of interaction in the social world against which other kinds of interaction are recognised and experienced (Drew and Heritage, 1992:19). Comparative analysis is not only a necessary tool but very valuable for the present study. The characteristics of TTSs can be pinpointed by comparing these to ordinary conversation and to other types of discourse. This comparison will answer the

question of what is distinctive about this particular type of interaction and if we are facing institutional or quasi-formal talk or both.

The present study has mainly adopted a CA approach for the study of TTSs since CA has the means to account for studies such as the one carried out here. CA is used in linguistics as well as in communication studies and it brings in a sociological perspective that is to be considered when studying TTSs. Schegloff (1992) emphasises the sociological dimension that has always existed in CA and recognises that they both have a common enterprise: "getting at the character of social action and social interaction" (Schegloff, 1992: 105).

It is the purpose here, and in adopting CA as the approach for the present study, to focus on the analysis of a particular activity type which in turn is a culturally recognised activity: the TTS. In looking at TTSs, we focus on a activity in which speech is not only an integral part of it but the main one, as its name suggests (*talkshow*). Hence, the sense of utterances in the TTS is conceived not as an isolated phenomenon but as an interactive product of what was projected by a previous turn or turns at talk and what the speaker actually does. Thus, the units that we look at are conceived as *sequences of activities* and their component unit turns as turns-within sequences (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 18).

Utterances and actions in the TTSs will be understood only by reference to the context in which they are shaped, and never outside of it. These utterances and actions being of course understood as *context renewing* (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 18). Finally, the characterisation of the TTS and all its components will be done by comparison with conversation, as the benchmark against which other types of institutional types are recognised and, by extension, to other types of institutional genres.



We are aware, however, of the objections that our analysis may raise and also of the fact that it may be not *scientific* enough. Cook (1990) examines the theoretical and practical problems inherent in attempts to classify context types relevant to discourse pragmatics and argues that there is an inconsistency between data presentation and theory which bedevils discourse pragmatics. Since pragmatic theory declares extralinguistic factors relevant, Cook (1990) claims that a transcription consistent with the theory would need to be able to present information about: 1. the text itself (graphetic and phonetic substance); 2. the physical characteristics of the text (graphetic and phonetic); 3. paralinguistic features (movements and postures of the body); 4. the physical situation (properties and relations of objects and bodies); 5. the co-text; 6. the intertext (texts which participants associate with the text under consideration); 7. thought (intentions, interpretations, knowledge and beliefs); 8. the observer (the inevitable selection and interpretation of the analyst). He concludes, however that "the full transcription of discourse context is thus a theoretical as well as a practical impossibility" and that "the subjective, selective and fundamentally *unscientific* nature of language in context should be acknowledged." Cook claims that this obsession with demonstrating 'scientificity' has passed and that there is no need to keep such symbols, unless it is for clarity of comprehension, precision or to exclude analytic subjectivity." (1990: 16). Along these lines, in the methodology (chapter 9) section, I clearly explain the features that are included in the transcription and why. In the same way that in section 5.5 I justified the exclusion of non-verbal language unless necessary.

## 2.6. The concept of genre

The concept of genre has long figured in both academic and media discourse. We shall therefore briefly address the notion of genre in order to have a clear view of what it implies, for the analysis of TTSs is carried out here through a combination of both perspectives. The social and audio-visual nature of talk shows tells us that language does not constitute the whole activity of this type of encounter; however we adopt the term *genre* in order to differentiate social processes, primarily achieved through language, from those which are totally realised by non-linguistic means (Ventola, 1987:2).

### *A linguistic perspective*

Hymes (1967: 25) included *genre* as one of his components of speech and argued that "the notion of genre implies the possibility of identifying formal characteristics traditionally recognised" (1972: 65). These characteristics may be partly linguistic (e.g. words), partly non-linguistic, (e.g. gestures, lay-out in a letter) and one or another may be more or less, or equally, relevant depending on the genre, but they all contribute to the configuration of a genre. As argued by Bakhtin:

We guess its genres from the very first words; we predict a certain length [...] and a certain compositional structure; we foresee the end; that is, from the very beginning we have as sense of the speech as a whole, which only later differentiated during the speech process.

(Bakhtin, 1979: 78ff)

It was when linguistics shifted its attention from sentence to text that the existing linguistic traditions tried to defend the validity of their model for the analysis of macrostructures. For Bakhtin (1979) language is used within typical

situations, and genres do not appear as complex language structures devoid of the dynamics of interaction but rather as interactive patterns of speech.

A great deal of the descriptive work on genre has been done following *the Systemic Functional Approach* developed by Michael Halliday (1975). Some representative samples of works that deal with generic structure are those of Hasan (1977, 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980, 1985); Ventola (1984, 1987, 1996), and Kress (1982). Systemicists have paid attention to the difference between *genre* and *register*. While Halliday and Hasan (1978, 1980) treat both terms synonymously, Martin (1984), on the other hand, considers they are in different communication planes and affirms that genre "represents at an abstract level the verbal strategies used to accomplish social purposes of many kinds"<sup>3</sup>.

The controversy between the distinction of these terms continues nowadays. Downing (1996: 15) points out that both terms have been considered as interchangeable by some linguists such as Ghadessy (1993) and Goatley (1994) and affirms that the problem is that some of the distinctions made nowadays between genre and register "represent the way genre theorists visualise "genre" at the present time," and adds that if we do not limit the label of "genre" to literary products, then it will be more difficult to separate *genre* from *register*.

Hasan (1978) in her model *Linear Generic Structure Potential* determines the belonging of one text to a genre through the Structure Potential. The structure potential is determined by the components of the contextual configuration, that will predict the range of structures available for the texts occurring in a certain context. In turn, the SP of a text is constituted by a series of *obligatory* and *optional* elements and represented linearly. A text would belong to a genre and

---

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Ventola (1987).

be considered complete if all the obligatory elements of the generic structure potential occurred.

As formulated by Ventola (1985), there are two problems in Hasan's model: linearity seems to impose a stricter sequence for elements than what actually appears in real data, and that, in natural data, elements seem to be more extensively recursive than as suggested in Hasan's generic structure potential (1978/ 79). Ventola (1985, 1989) comes to the conclusion that most of the problems in many approaches to the definition of genre derive from the fact that texts have been considered for a long time "as *static products*, something to look at and to analyse as ready-made products" (1989). She is in favour of a more dynamic view of genres, already pointed out in Hymes (1972).

Ventola's (1989) argument is that, although in a face-to-face interaction one may start with a generic structure in mind, this may be changed as the interaction progresses since speakers make decisions according to the direction of the ongoing social process. Her view of genre is represented graphically by a flowchart that accounts for all the possible variations, and hence captures "how texts [are] structurally unique, but at the same time generically the same" (1989:136). Notwithstanding, Ventola (1989) herself sees problems in the flowchart such as the continual renegotiation of the values of field, tenor and mode; the limitation offered by binary choices when not all systems are binary and the inability to account for cultural differences.

Harris (1987: 35ff) points out some of the limitations of both Ventola's and Hasan's approaches, especially when their models have to be applied to larger and more complex discourse types such as courtroom discourse. Those limitations would be related to the social function of genres and their relation with setting in which the speech event that encloses a genre/s takes place.

Hymes (1967:13) already pointed out the need to *see* data as an interaction of language and social setting and the need to elaborate a model and a taxonomy of sociolinguistic systems. In turn, Fairclough (1995: 56) distinguishes between the concepts of discourse and genre. He says that a *discourse* is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view, while a *genre* is a use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice, such as interviewing people, advertising commodities. Genres can be described in terms of their organisational properties, hence an interview is structured in a different view from ads.

A sociological approach to genre analysis is outlined in an article by Günthner and Knoblauch (1995). Here they point out some relevant "analytical categories which allow for a structural description of genres and thereby demonstrate the significance of [their] research for the analysis of communicative contexts and cultural speaking practices" (1995: 1). They show how the analysis of communicative patterns and genres can prove to be an important link between language and culture. "Speakers not only produce culturally routinized conventions of communication but also reconfirm, recreate or modify typified organisational forms of communicative behaviour" (Günthner and Knoblauch, 1995: 22).

### *Genre variation in television*

White (1985: 41ff) argues that television programmes are described and differentiated according to generic categories. Different categories such as soap operas, crime drama, game shows, etc., she says, are distinguished by their programming slots and an array of shared conventions. White points out the

difficulty of the analysis of genre in television and introduces the question of what elements are necessary and sufficient to constitute and delimit a genre (cf. Altman, 1984). The rule at the moment seems to be that there are many programmes on television that undermine this norm of generic unity (cf. Vande Berg, 1991) and as a result conventional categories have become blurred, or even disappeared. The consequences, White states, are that in this process the traditional designations lose force both as a standard of coherence with respect to individual programs and as a principle of differentiation among programs. As McCarthy claims, generic categories must, by definition, always be in a state of change.

Intertextuality and genre mixing is therefore a feature of television. As a consequence, White (1985: 46) reports "one cannot account for the generic identity of the show in conventional terms of consistency or unity." On the contrary, textual strategies such as the mixture of models and levels of representation, alienation, de-dramatisation and heterogeneity are in part an effect of genre development. White concludes that genres are structures regulating similarity and difference both among texts and in viewer-text relations.

Altman (1984: 12) approaches *genre* in the film industry and claims that no major genre remains unchanged over the many decades of its existence. However, he argues, "the most durable are precisely only those that have established the most coherent syntax." (1984: 16). White (1985) compares briefly the television and film industries and places emphasis on the flexibility that television has to transform genres (cf. Gronbeck, 1979). She notes the capacity of television to be able to produce an apparent change by borrowing from existing and presumably popular forms and combining them in a new configuration (cf. Vande Berg, 1991), a flexibility that certainly has implications for the present study since in the history of TTSs a lot of changes have been introduced and others vary on a daily basis. An

example of such is the *mise en scene*, i.e., the position of the participants, the variation in the order of participation, the position of the stage with relation to the audience, etc.

The features of any TV genre will vary to maximise profit or introduce a change in the metapsychology of the audience. This argument leads us to admit that, even in programmes belonging to the same genre, slight variations and alterations in the form are not only allowed but encouraged by the same inherent nature of the television medium. The general conventions, however, are still present and they do allow immediate identification of the genre.

#### *A working definition of genre*

Genre is, paradoxically, a concept difficult to define but easy to understand. The existence of genres is openly admitted in the two disciplines that inevitably interact in this study: linguistics and media studies. Hence, we assume that genres exist and that one has to analyse and go deeply into examples of the same genre to understand each structure (McCarthy, chapter 2: 32, in press) since, in Halliday's words, we believe that "there is a generic structure in all discourse, including the most spontaneous conversation" (Halliday, 1978: 134).

McCarthy (Chapter 2, in press) claims that the genre analyst will work with a variety of types of evidence, some more linguistic than others, and that in doing so, analysis will focus on the *generic activity*, an inherently dynamic notion, rather than on a static notion of 'genres.' Regarding the analysis of TTSs from a generic point of view, the task presents itself as problematic since we are facing a type of discourse whose overt purpose is dyadic: to inform and to entertain.

However, the assumption of overt purposes may mislead us into a product-based analysis of talk shows, one which would resemble more the text-typological analyses often associated with the study of written texts. This would be unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it is in the nature of face-to-face interaction that forms of talk *emerge* rather than pre-exist: participants negotiate frameworks within which their goals may be best pursued. This may, on the face of it, seem to contradict much existing work in genre analysis, which often emphasises the presence (or absence) of obligatory elements in sequence (e.g. Ventola, 1984/87, Hasan, 1989) and the orientation towards institutional and discourse-community norms (e.g. Benwell, 1996). Institutionalised elements certainly exercise considerable centripetal force on participants' behaviour and, in the case of the talkshow, it is clearly the host's responsibility to make sure that guests remain on task and within the bounds of what programme makers and viewers expect. However, if it were the case that hosts and guests always adhered to institutional norms, then we would expect (a) a monotonous consistency in the statistical distribution of elements in our data, and (b) no evidence of diachronic change in the talkshow genre. Neither of these possibilities is supported by the data or by diachronic evidence. The present thesis will offer evidence of guests behaving linguistically off-role, while history suggests that the talkshow has evolved and developed from its earliest manifestations into something now different from what it formerly was. Talk shows change and develop, just as other genres do, with what Downing (1996: 15) calls their 'schematic structures' in constant evolution. The TTS genre is a social speech event whose rules of interaction become recognisable to a community/ies that share or has/have knowledge of those rules. The genre has a social function and is never static but subject to changes which are linked and interdependent with sociocultural features.



These last facts lead us inevitably towards a view of genre that is dynamic and emergent. To capture such dynamism, however, requires examination of the features of context which potentially generate it. These are principally the setting, the participants, their goals and their relations. The setting is one of the perhaps more constant elements (the studio, the placing of seating, etc., tend to be repeated show after show). The participants are unique individuals whose *expectations* (see McCarthy in press, Chapter 2) will greatly circumscribe their behaviour, but whose *private agendas* may result in behaviour that stretches the norms in some way, the cumulative effects of which, over longer periods of time, result in generic shift. Furthermore, a dynamic view of genre must attach as much significance to relational elements (i.e. the social relations assumed and constructed among participants, including affective factors) as to the more transactional, information-oriented ones.

Finally, it is necessary also to be aware of participants' own overt signalling of the generic activities they believe themselves to be engaged in, and how these are responded to by other participants, such that a view of the negotiation of genre may be formulated. It is with these goals that our detailed statistical analyses are carried out, not solely with the goal of establishing normative constructs over the whole range of data. In short, the unusual statistical events in our constellation of figures will be given as much importance as the usual, for therein lie the events which evidence the emergent nature of the generic process.

In this chapter, we have reviewed the principles of some of the disciplines that deal with the analysis of spoken language by focusing on those aspects that may be relevant for the analysis of American daytime television talkshows. Such review was to show that the analysis of TTSs may draw from different disciplines. Nevertheless, one of the applications of CA, the dimension which looks at talk-in-

interaction in relation to social structure, provides the analytical approach that best fits the purposes of the present study. Its techniques allow a systematic comparison between natural conversation and other forms of institutional talk, demonstrating a mass of differences. Out of the four major CA features pointed out by Drew and Heritage (1992: 17ff), we have outlined the importance of sequential organisation, the comparative perspective for the study of TTSs, and the dynamic view of context. By looking at this features, we argue, it will be possible to reveal what is distinctive about the TTS interaction. Since the aims of the present study are to provide a description of the TTS genre, we conclude this chapter by introducing a brief review and definition of the concept of spoken genre. The TTS is a genre that is never static but subjected to social changes. This very nature leads us inevitably towards a view of genre that is dynamic and emergent. We argue that in order to capture such dynamism, a description of the features of the context is necessary. In the next chapter we present a description of the corpus which is the database for the present study on TTSs.



## **CHAPTER 3.**

# **DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS**

### **3.1. Nature and function of the data**

The corpus of data studied is based on the video-tape recording and transcription of TTSs in US television. The programmes were randomly recorded during February-June 1995 and August 1996. The data excerpts cited in this study are representative of large collections of data we have assembled, out of a substantial number of programs recorded. Thus, we have a main corpus that has been subjected to statistic analysis (**Corpus A**), and a reference corpus (**Corpus B**) which includes a list of programmes recorded during those two periods, and to which we refer to exemplify different features characteristic of TTSs. This corpus, however, has not been totally transcribed and is not included in the present work. The nature of the data is clear since it is talk that took place in a very particular setting a television studio set and on television, one of the principal mass media nowadays. The programmes that we have analysed are usually recorded in advance and broadcast later on with little, if any editing. They all belong to the type of talkshow described in detail in chapter 4.

### **3.2. Corpus B**

As mentioned above, corpus B is our reference corpus. Our analysis and conclusions do not only derive from the analysis of the twelve extracts but is also the result of observation of a larger corpus. We found that this was necessary to understand the functioning not only of opening sequences but of the whole interaction. Here is the list of TTSs that constitute corpus B:

Charles Perez. 1995. How to pick up dates  
Charles Perez. 1995. I hate the way my boyfriend tries to control me

- Cristina. 1996. Explotación de niños.  
Cristina. 1996. Perdón no era mi intención herirte'
- Donahue. 1995. Incredible tales of long lost relatives.  
Donahue. 1996. Why don't you go out and make thousands.  
Donahue. 1996. Family dramas. Sisters and brothers reunions  
Donahue. 1996. Black and Jewish who became friends with Klansman who threatened them.  
Donahue. 1996. Nu Skin IDN. Skin products.  
Donahue. 1996. Selling names to another company don't use my name without my concern. Is it illegal? Property rights. Junk mail.
- Donahue. 1996. The problem with being an effeminate man or a masculine woman
- Geraldo. 1995. Jealous guys. Stop you're suffocating me  
Geraldo. 1996. Mothers that do not care about her daughters  
Geraldo. 1996. On Death Row  
Geraldo. 1996. Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word  
Geraldo. 1996. Meth madness. Poor man's cocaine  
Geraldo. 1996. Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word.  
Geraldo. 1996. Secret Lives  
Geraldo. 1996. Shock Video IV. America caught on tape.
- Gordon Elliot. 1996. Big Beautiful Women With Attitude  
Gordon Elliot. 1996. Highschool sweetheart reunions  
Gordon Elliot. 1996. The Elliott Awards  
Gordon Elliot. 1996. What happened after the (marriage) proposals?
- Jenny Jones. 1996. I'm afraid of my violent teen.  
Jenny Jones. 1996. I wanna be a centrefold  
Jenny Jones. 1996. Women Speak out about domestic violence  
Jenny Jones. 1996. Confronting an unfaithful spouses
- Leeza. 1995. Cold hearted con women.  
Leeza. 1995. Friends of Famous people/stars.  
Leeza. 1996. Amazing rescues.  
Leeza. 1996. Baby-sitter surveillance  
Leeza. 1996. Daredevils caught on tape.  
Leeza. 1996. Dressing and modelling stars  
Leeza. 1996. Growing up as an overweight kid  
Leeza. 1996. Looking into the eyes of people who killed those they loved.  
Leeza. 1996. Outrageous stories from personals
- Maury Povich. 1995. Multiple partners. Cheating Boyfriends  
Maury Povich. 1996. How hard married life can be  
Maury Povich. 1996. I'm embarrassed to be seen with my own parent  
Maury Povich. 1996. Quadruplets, quintuplets, ...  
Maury Povich. 1996. You might be sitting on a million dollars
- Montel Williams. 1996. Church Burning. Racism

Montel Williams. 1996. Hey I'm not giving up my boyfriend'  
Montel Williams. 1996. Men and Women torn between two lovers  
Montel Williams. 1996. Men who con women into relationships  
Montel Williams. 1996. Weight loss surgery  
Montel Williams. 1996. People affected by virus-bacteria.  
Montel Williams. 1996. Show Using girlfriend for sex.  
Montel Williams. 1996. Teenagers out of control.  
Montel Williams. 1996. Using babies to flirt, attack, pick up women.  
Montel Williams. 1996. Couples in crisis  
Montel Williams. 1996. Marital rape.  
Montel Williams. 1996. Paternity Tests

Oprah Winfrey. 1995. Marginal People because of fat, dyslexia, colour, weight problems, etc.  
Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Body Language  
Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Runaway parents  
Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Secret Sales. Government Auctions. Anything that can save you some money.  
Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Strange tragic stories tragic tales  
Oprah Winfrey. 1996. TV guide. Prizes

Other Side. 1995. Psychic and love relationships

Ricki Lake. 1995. I moved to be with you then you dumped me  
Ricki Lake. 1996. I drink and drive. So what.  
Ricki Lake. 1996. I'm tired of being whipped. Today I become the boss or you become history.  
Ricki Lake. 1996. Meeting your favourite star  
Ricki Lake. 1996. Mom get out of my face. Don't tell me how to raise my baby.  
Ricki Lake. 1996. Now that we've had sex he treats me like dirt  
Ricki Lake. 1996. Ricki, help me I weigh almost 500 pounds and I don't know what to do.  
Ricki Lake. 1996. I'm sorry I hid my pregnancy... But now that the baby is here. let's deal with it.  
Ricki Lake. 1996. Today I'm finally going to let you meet your child.  
Ricki Lake. 1996. Why did you have to dump me?  
Ricki Lake. 1996. You told me to dump him. Now you're with him.  
Ricki Lake. 1997. Under 30 and Married a million times

Rolonda People in love with fat people

Sally Jessy Raphael. 1995. My 14 year old wants to get married.  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1995. People who want ex-wife husband out of their life.  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1995. Sally's memorable unforgettable Moments (12 years)  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1995. Suburban Gang Kids  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1995. I'm pregnant but I'm still partying  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. I killed my husband and stuffed him in the closet  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. I'm 12... And I'm pregnant

Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. Single Mom Surprise Proposals  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. Mom, grow up!  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. I want my baby back  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. I'm desperate to look younger  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. I'm fed up with my teen  
Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. Surprise, I'm secretly in love with you

Shirley. 1995. Sex, age, women.

Shirley. 1995. Pregnant and dumped. Women dumped by men when they got pregnant"

Shirley. 1995. Religion taught in the classroom.

Shirley. 1995. Problems in marriage because of children

Tempest. 1996. .Keep out... Stop going through my stuff

Tempest. 1996. Are you still as hot as I remember?

Tempest. 1996. How to survive a break-up.

Tempest. 1996. Marry my daughter or move on

Tempest. 1996. Mom back off. I Love him.

Tempest. 1996. You date Black people because you think it's cool.

Tempest. 1996. You're the mother of my baby. Marry me

Apart from TTSs, we also recorded other types of talkshows such as *Crossfire*, *Larry King*, *Evans and Novak*, etc. which are also mentioned when comparing TTSs to news interviews for example.

### **3. 3. Corpus A**

#### *3.3.1. Selecting the programmes*

In chapter 4, we report that there are more than thirty TTSs being actually broadcast in the US. So, in selecting the programmes, we chose to look at the audience ratings provided by the *Nielsen Media Research*, since the results are scientifically reliable and well considered by academic media researchers. Below we reproduce a sample of the *Top Ten Syndicated Talk Shows* according to the Nielsen scale published in *News/ June 12-18, 1995*.

Show	Rating
1. Oprah Winfrey Show .....	8.3
2. Ricki Lake.....	5.2
3. Jenny Jones Show.....	4.5
4. Sally Jessy Raphael.....	4.3
5. Maury Povich.....	4.1
6. Montel Williams Show.....	3.9
7. Donahue* .....	3.4
7. Geraldo* .....	3.4
8. Rush Limbaugh.....	3.3
9. Jerry Springer.....	2.9
10. Gordon Elliot Show.....	2.6

\* Tied for 7th place

All our data was recorded in 1995/6, so we took this list as a starting point to classify the programmes. In the table reproduced above, only the first eight are TTSs. *Rush Limbaugh* is of a different type and so is *Springer's*. Nevertheless, Gordon Elliot's is also a TTS. Finally, we selected those rated the highest: we chose the first eight hosts because of their proximity in ratings in the Nielsen scale: i.e., Oprah, Ricki Lake, Jenny Jones, Sally Jessy Raphael, Maury Povich, Montel Williams, Donahue, Geraldo.

### 3.3.2. Selected extracts

Among the different programmes that we had of the same host, we chose programmes which involved use of talk over other type of action, i.e. we avoided ambush show types based on surprises (e.g. to propose marriage to someone (e.g. Sally's *Surprise Mom proposals* ) or programmes that were a recapitulation of a lot of different programmes of which they show some extracts on video Montel Williams' *couples in crisis*) or where awards, prizes etc. were given to the best guests, audience participation, etc. (e.g. Gordon Elliot *The Gordon Elliot Awards*) or those cases in which the programme was occasionally used for a different purpose (e.g. Oprah's TV



*guide Awards*) etc. In short, TTSs where the use of language prevailed over action (cf. section 7.5. for special shows)

Hence, the extracts that constitute corpus A correspond to the opening sequences of 12 different shows by 8 different hosts. Five shows are hosted by women: Oprah, Ricki Lake, Jenny Jones, Sally J. Raphael (2 shows) and seven are hosted by men: Maury Povich (2 shows), Montel Williams (2 hosts), Donahue, Geraldo (2 shows).

We did not control variables such as the *number of Gs* or number of people present during the interaction, etc., since these are generic features which are continuously altered: the way of organising the interaction and participation of guests is by no means fixed and can be altered. In this sense, for example, Donahue. 1996. *The problem with being an effeminate man or a masculine woman* opens with all the guests on stage and asks questions to each of them first individually, but allowing occasional interventions from other guests present; while in *Black and Jewish people who became friends of Klansmen who threatened them* opens with only two guests on stage, and progressively invites the others to come on stage. In the same way, the expert is not present in the opening sequences analysed. However, this does not mean that in opening sequences the expert is never present (cf. for example Ricki Lake. 1996. *I'm tired of being whipped. Today I become the boss or you become history*). It follows a description of the extracts that form corpus A: all the extracts correspond to the opening sequence of the programme

Extract 1: Montel Williams *Men who con women into relationships*. Broadcast in August 1996.

The moment the talkshow starts there are three girls: Brandie (B), Danielle (D) and Brandie Ann (BR) sitting on the stage with their back turned to the audience. Montel introduces them all as women who have been "betrayed" or conned by their

lovers, who promised them something when they started going out, but behaved in a completely different way afterwards. They came to the programme to find out why their men behaved like that. Brandie wants to know why Paul lied to her; Danielle is there for the same reason but also to take a paternity test; and Brandie Ann wants her boyfriend to admit he is at fault and wants him to apologise to her. There are five participants: Montel Williams (W) is the host ; and Brandie (B) Brandie Ann (BR) and Danielle (D ) are the guests. AZ1 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

Extract 2: Jenny Jones *Confronting unfaithful spouses*. Broadcast in August 1996.

There are three guests on stage (Dori, Theresa and Ken) facing the audience. They have come to sort out their differences. Theresa had an affair with Dori's husband, Ken and they are there to confront each other. During the sequence analysed they blame each other for what happened. There is confrontation between Theresa and Dori. The latter blames Theresa for everything and, additionally, accuses her of having had affairs with her son and with her son-in-law. The total number of participants in this extract is: Jenny Jones (J) is the host and the guests are: Dori (D), Theresa (T) and Ken (K). Three women from the audience intervene : A1, A2, A3, identification is not provided so we have numbered them according to order of appearance.

Extract 3: Oprah Winfrey *Runaway Parents*. Broadcast in August 1996.

When the programme starts, there are two couples (the Webber and the Hicks) and Oprah on stage. Oprah introduces both of them and decides to talk to the Hicks first. The Hicks are accused of abandoning their child and are going to jail in two months time. In this case, the programme has news value since the Hicks' behaviour has been openly condemned by the media. The Hicks come to the programme to tell the truth of what happened. In this extract, there are three participants: Oprah

Winfrey (O) is the host and Stephen (S) and Diana (D) Hicks are the guests. AZ3 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

Extract 4: Povich *How hard can married life be*. Broadcast in August 1996.

When the programme starts Karrie is on stage. Karrie and Owen got married and their marriage lasted only two months. Now, they have been separated for over a year. Owen is living with someone else and Karrie has come to the programme to try to get Owen back. In this extract, there are 5 participants: Maury Povich (M) is the host; Karie (K) and Owen (O) are the guests. One member of the audience participates (A5). AZ4 is the audience group for this talkshow.

Extract 5: Sally J Raphael *I'm fed up with my teen*. Broadcast in August 1996.

In this programme, Sally pretends to help those mothers who have problems with their rebel teenagers. In the opening sequence we have Maria, the mother, whose daughter Jessica is giving her a lot of trouble: she does not go to school, she drinks, she hits her, etc. In this extract there are several confrontational moments in which both mother and daughter confront each other, and also the audience-group "attacks" Jessica condemning her behaviour. There are six participants in this extract: Sally (S) is the host; Maria (M) and Jessica (J) are the guests. Two members of the audience participate A6 and A7 member of audience. AZ5 is the audience- group of this talkshow.

Extract 6: Ricki Lake *I drink and drive so what*. Broadcast in August 1996.

At the beginning of the programme we have Valery on stage. Valery's sister, Patsy, is an alcoholic and drives when she is drunk. They have both come to the programme to try to get some help for Patsy. She admits she has a problem and is

ready to solve it. There are five participants: Ricki Lake (R) is the host and Valery (V) and Patsy (P) are the guests. One member of the audience (A4) participates. AZ6 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

Extract 7: Donahue *The problem of being an effeminate man or a masculine woman*. Broadcast in August 1996.

On stage we have six people (Luke, Devon, Anita, Kim, Louise, Joan) who are homosexuals and Donahue, the host. They discuss the problems of being homosexual and what being an homosexual really means. Each of the participants represents one type of homosexual. There are seven participants in this sequence: Donahue (D) is the host; Kim (K): effeminate homosexual; Luke Sissy Fag (F): activist, gay; Louis (L), homosexual "in the man's side"; Devon (V), a butch; Joan (JO): a lesbian, activist; Anita (N): a lesbian "femme"; are the guests. AZ7 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

Extract 8: Geraldo *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word*. Broadcast in August 1996.

This programme is made to allow some people to apologise for something they did that hurt other people. In the opening sequence, we have Melissa on stage. Melissa comes to the programme to ask her cousin Darcey to forgive her. They used to be very good friends but now they have not spoken to each other for several months. There are three participants in this sequence: Geraldo (G) is the host; Darcey (D) and Melissa (M) are the guests. AZ8 is the audience-group for this talkshow

Extract 9: Sally J. Raphael *Suburban gang kids*. Broadcast in August 1996.

Sally, the host, brings several teenagers who belong to suburban gangs and asks them about their activities in those gangs. At the beginning of the programme we have Stephanie and Shauna on stage, they belong to the same suburban gang in

Washington, and they talk about what they do: rob houses, kill people, etc. Stephanie's father and Shauna's mother have also come to the programme to try to persuade them to abandon the gang. This opening sequence is highly confrontational, since the audience gets very involved in the discussion. They openly condemn the two girls for what they do. There are twelve participants in this sequence: Sally J. Raphael is the host; Michael (M) Stephanie (ST) Katherine (K) and Shauna (SH) are the guests. There are five members of the audience who participate: A9, A10, A11, A12, A13, A14, A15. AZ9 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

Extract 10: Geraldo *Meth madness Poor man's cocaine*. Broadcast in August 1996.

Crank or crystal meth is a drug that is very much used nowadays. Geraldo brings to the programme seven people who are or have been addicted to crystal meth. They discuss the drug, price, consumer-types, how they get the money to buy it, etc. Eight participants in this sequence: Geraldo (G) is the host; Toni (T), Peter (PE), Cleo (C), Angel (A), Pablo (P), Whisper (W), Brooklyn (B) are the guests. AZ10 is the audience-group for this talkshow

Extract 11: Maury Povich *Cheating Boyfriends*. Broadcast in May 1995.

On stage we have Melissa who came to the programme to tell how she was taken in by Shakir. Shakir has been going out with several women at the same time and has lied to her making her believe that she was the only one. However, according to Melissa and Sarah (the other girlfriend of Shakir) he made them both believe that they were the only one for him. There are eight participants in this sequence: Maury Povich (M) is the host; Melissa (L), Sarah (R) and Shakir (S) are the guests. There are participations from four members of the audience: A16, A17, A18, A19. AZ11 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

Extract 12: Montel Williams *Men and women torn between two lovers*. Broadcast in August 1996.

Brian comes to the programme to tell his two girlfriends, Trina and Tanya that he has been going out with both of them at the same time. According to Brian, he cannot stand that situation any longer and has chosen the programme as the scenario to tell them the truth. None of the two girls knew about the existence of the other. There are five participants: Montel Williams (M) is the host; Brian (B), Tanya (T), Trina (TR) are the guests. AZ12 is the audience-group for this talkshow.

## **CHAPTER 4.**

# **TALKSHOWS ON US TELEVISION**

#### 4.1. Talk on television

The section that follows presents an overview of the place that TTSs occupy both on television and in US society. The place of TTSs in the television scenario of the US and their function for institutional and social purposes is discussed.

Talkshows, as the name indicates, are programmes which provide both talk and entertainment for the audience or, what amounts to the same thing, entertainment through talk (cf. Livingstone and Lunt, 1994). Tolson (1991:179) considers that "chat is a form of studio talk which can be found in all types of interviews, panel discussions, game shows and human interest programmes, wherever in fact there is a studio." Along the same lines, Mincer (1982) argues that the common denominator of the many different types of talkshows on US television are talk and the interview format. However, and contrary to Mincer's affirmation, those same elements that serve to bring together such distinct genres are the same that allow one to establish differences among them: it is the interviewing format and the way talk is conducted (their possible variants and deviations from the norm), which cannot be generalised. These features may well be said to establish differences between genres or sub-genres that come under the label of *talk show* programmes<sup>1</sup>.

On US television, one can find many different talk show genres that combine talk with entertainment:

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare for example *Crossfire* with *Geraldo*.



a) talk-news or news-interview programmes such as: *This Week David Brinkley*, *Good Morning America*, *Meet the Press*; *The Macneil/ Lehrer News Hour*. Their primary objective is to broadcast news. These programmes deal with more serious issues and interview authors, celebrities, academics, etc. The average talkshow guest would not appear in them. They never have an audience or take phone calls.

b) Talk-variety, as for example *The David Letterman Show*, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *Connan O'Brien* are viewed as entertainment rather than news. The format usually includes a band or orchestra, a host who opens the program with a song or monologue, and a set stage often with a desk, chairs and a couch. Entertainers make up the great majority of guests.

c) Talk-religion includes programmes such as *700 Club*. These have a religious content and authors appear discussing books; or politicians, entertainers etc. may discuss religious experiences.

d) Talk-service. Mincer (1982) points out that there are great variations in this category. He includes programmes such as *Hour Magazine*, *The Richard Simmons Show* and *Donahue*. It is from this talk-service category that the Tabloid Talkshows emerge. These programmes may include health topics, political topics, child rearing, homosexuality, the moral majority, gun control and pacifism. Given the topic content, many of the interviews will be hard-hitting and probing<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>2</sup> This section on talkshows types has been adapted from Mincer (1982: 5-6).

## 4.2. The origin of talkshows

Talkshows originated on the radio as early as the 1930s when audience participation and interactive talk radio started to emerge, and Disc Jockeys invited people to phone in comments. Referring to talk radio, Munson (1993: 36) reports:

It is important to see radio talk's intertextual, institutional, and spectatorial relationships with the other evolving formats, particularly the all-news and news/talk programs.... Its relationship to public controversy, its appearance of spontaneity, and its calculated blending of information and entertainment in a constant, productive defiance of notions of generic integrity all underlie its emergence.

Munson (1993: 37 ff.) reviews the emergence of the different types of talk radio. His contribution can be summarised as follows <sup>3</sup>: in 1945, Gray claims to have invented the call-in radio talkshow. He moves away from celebrities to turn more to ordinary individuals. Local overnight talk radio became, and has remained, "more political." Broadcasters were beginning to perceive controversy and voyeurism became talkshow trademarks. In 1961, talk radio had emerged as a discrete format when KABC Los Angeles converted completely to talk programming: All-talk. In the 1960s, there were also the all-news radio stations. These won an older audience, predominantly male. These two formats, all-talk and all-news, regarded themselves as *services* to the listening community rather than *stations* in the traditional sense. The unpredictability of their programming offered a listener-appealing novelty in contrast with the repetition of the music stations. This turned out to be true in 1967 when WCBS-AM in New York changed its rotating headlines format to a more *feature*-oriented format to hold listeners longer.

---

<sup>3</sup> This section about on the origin of talkshows has been adapted from Munson (1993).

Talk and all-news stations both took years to establish themselves in their markets and turn a profit. However, once they did that, the degree of listener loyalty was much higher than that of music radio stations (Munson, 1983: 40). Since the listeners were potential consumers, controversial and sensationalised talk soon became the weapons used to attract listeners. The economic strategy of talk radio was to exploit controversies and contemporary problems about which people were emotionally charged, and therefore vulnerable, so as to get their deeper attention and more effectively sell them something. It was the host him/herself who read the advertisements.

There was one objection to its success: the moment-to-moment unpredictability of talk radio troubled the new format's managers in an industry that feared any absence of control. WTAK Detroit's general manager called talk radio "expensive, demanding, dangerous, and unpredictable." By the 1970s, with the development of several talkshow formulas, the political gripe programme, a gamut of advice shows along with the introduction of call screening procedures, delay systems, and computers, talk radio management would strive towards and achieve greater control. Confrontalk has been a syndicated television talk genre since the 1960s (Munson 1993: 11). It was *Donahue* who adapted the audience participation talkshow from radio to television, in 1967: "On November 6, 1967, Phil Donahue welcomed atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair to his local TV show in Dayton, Ohio, and gave birth to what we know as daytime talk. It was one small step for man, one giant leap for television" (Henson, 1996: 43).

This type of talkshow initiated by Donahue has evolved nowadays into what I call (taking Fischhoff's terminology) **Tabloid Talkshow**<sup>4</sup>. TTSs are *daytime*

---

<sup>4</sup> The word talk show is spelled differently by different authors: *talk show*, *talk-show* and *talkshow* are the three ways I have come across during my research. In the present work, in the quotations the word appears as it is in the original. When referred to TTSs however, we chose *talkshow* because we believe that in TTSs both talk (speaking, discussing, etc.) and *show* (entertainment) are so interwoven in the TTS that the words should be written together.

*talkshows* and the programmes analysed here are listed under that label by Fischhoff: *Montel Williams, Gordon Elliott, Donahue, Tempestt, Geraldo, Jenny Jones, Ricki Lake, Leeza, Oprah Winfrey* <sup>5</sup>, *Maury Povich, Sally, Richard Bey, Mark Grauberg* among others. Focusing more on the nature of the interaction, Bertrand (1992:117) refers to the same type of programme as *talkshows de confrontación*. Bertrand describes those as: "una variante reciente es el *talkshow de confrontación* (confrontainment), audaz por sus temas (el neo-nazismo, las sectas diabólicas, el incesto, el feminismo)."

The origin of this type of program, as Munson (1993) explains, can be traced back and found in the appearance, in the late nineteenth century, of women's service magazines which stimulated personal contact between magazine and audience, e.g. *Ladies' Home Journal*, and in magazines such as *McClure's* which stimulated crusades against any kinds of abuse. These crusades have also become an occasional part of the audience participation talkshow: *Donahue's* championing of feminism is an example (Munson, 1993:23). This explains why, as Livingstone and Lunt (1994: 42) claim, "the topics of talkshows are often 'women issues'; they are frequently scheduled for housewives in the daytime; and they are concerned with gossip and story-telling."

In the same way as all-news and all-talk programmes, TTSs were conceived as *talk service* because, Munson reports, when the form was first conceived more than twenty years ago, the goal was to give lively and useful information, centred on interpersonal and psychological matters, to women (1993: 8); to help them to deal with ordinary and more often interpersonal problems. He points out, however,

---

<sup>5</sup> In the case of the Oprah Winfrey Show, many critics consider that it has better quality. In fact it has been winning prizes for a long time.

that this may have changed since recent criticism has condemned this type of talk as "bizarre talk."

The audience to which they were initially directed, women, has also expanded and "sought a bigger set of consumers: young to middle aged women." Furthermore, TTSs have been exported to Great Britain where *Ricki Lake*, *Montel Williams* and *Oprah Winfrey* are broadcast weekly on channel 4, and to most countries in South America, e.g. in Chile and Mexico where *Oprah* and *Ricki* and *Jenny Jones*, among others, are broadcast with subtitles. Others like Mexico created, very early, their own national version of the line started by US TTSs: *Cristina*, one of the programmes with the highest audience, is a good example of the popularity that these types of programmes may have. Guzman (1996: 5) reports on *Donahue* being aired on a regular basis in Russia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico (cf. Carbaugh 1988: 3); and on *O. Winfrey* being broadcast in many African countries.

TTSs are an emerging genre in Spanish television. It is only very recently that TTSs have become part of the programming in national as well as in local networks. *El Programa de Ana*, started late in 1994, first broadcast on a local network, Tele Madrid and then nationwide by Tele 5 in 1996. Now, in February 1997 three new TTSs have started: *Sinceramente ARQ*, *En primera persona*, *Digan lo que Digan*. Their common trait is that they are imposing a new format for a television genre that is a copycat of the US TTS.

### 4.3. Tabloid Talkshows and programming

The TTS is a genre at the margins of the daily television scheduling conveniently available on many free-access channels (Crabtree, 1995: 8). TTSs are

broadcast in daytime programming, i.e. from 9:00 in the morning until 5:00 in the afternoon on working days, each show being aired at different times according to the decision of the local station. They share television space with soap operas and other programmes not included in prime-time and are very cheap to produce, compared to other programmes. The high number of TTSs proves their widespread popularity: "in the 70s there were three, now there are 20 and counting. They have surpassed soap operas as the number one draw of daytime TV" (Fischhoff, 1995: 41). During daytime programming, there is at least one available at any time usually overlapping with other TTSs aired on other channels (e.g. *Ricki Lake* overlaps with *Maury Povich*, *Gordon Elliott* with *Leeza*, *Phil Donahue* with *Jenny Jones* etc.).

### *The economic factor*

TTSs are audience-participation programmes, all of them syndicated<sup>6</sup> and their existence depends on their ability to make money (Pratt 1995; Coe 1995). Depending on audience rating and on the amount of money they produce, they stay or they go. This is not a rare phenomenon in television; on the contrary, the same measure is applied to all programmes: e.g. sitcoms, serials, soap operas, etc. So, it is not at all uncommon to hear statements, such as the one reproduced below, coming from producers and sponsors of TTSs:

---

<sup>6</sup> Network programmes are aired on only one network. Syndicated programmes can be aired on any station that buys that particular programme.

The ratings on our two shows (*Sally J. Raphael* and *Donahue*) have gone down during the past year and a half, and I have talked with them and said they should change their direction," Black said. "How they will respond, I don't know. But if their direction does not change, we will not have them on next season." Carole Black of KNBC-TV Channel 4.

(Braxton, 1995: 1)

The popularity of these shows is measured every year by the Nielsen ratings, among others. The results are published in many popular magazines such as *People*, *Jet* and in academic media journals. Depending on whether they are successful or not they will continue being broadcast. If the show is successful the clearances<sup>7</sup> will go up, as is the case of the *Ricki Lake* show which earned a 5.5 in the Nielsen rating in 1995 and went "80% of the show's clearances in its third season, up from 34% in its first season and 60% this season" (Tobenkin, 1995: 15). The reverse is also true: Littleton (1996:34) reports that the end of the production of the *Mark Walberg* show "brings this season's tally of new show casualties to seven."

### *Advertising*

As White (1992) states, in the context of US television advertising is openly recognised by viewers as the economic source of the network income. Advertising is expected within the course of programming and the sponsors of the programme are explicitly mentioned at regular intervals (*'This programme has been sponsored and fees have been provided by ...'*). Advertising is seen as 'normal' for the viewer, independent of whether he likes it or not, and is certainly an integral part of

---

<sup>7</sup> "When a network makes a new series available, an affiliated station has three options: clearing the series, not clearing the series or asking for permission to air the series at a later time. When an affiliate agrees to *clear a series*, it commits itself to carrying the programme when the network specifies. On the other hand, affiliates often decide, for various reasons, that they do not want to carry a specific network offering and do not clear the series. The decision to clear or not clear a network offering must be made within two weeks" (Tyler, 1993: 168).

television flow. The television spectator accepts the continuous fragmentation of the discourse for commercial purposes; that is, the regular presence of commercials is a given, regulating the rhythm and patterning of programs and viewing (White, 1987, 1992). Consequently, the structure of most TV discourse comes to be basically determined by the number of advertisements that the producers want to include during the broadcast.

In the case of TTSs, the influence of advertising shows clearly in the generic structure: the TTS is recorded and then edited with the advertisements in between the sequences. According to the number of sponsors available, the discourse is structured with a certain number of cuts or interruptions. Ultimately, the number of advertisements conditions the number of sequences in the programmes. So, it is very much the case that the structure of the TTS can be said to be determined, to a certain extent, by the "need" to advertise certain products.

#### **4.4. Topics and audience**

TTSs centre their discussion on a single topic. The most common topics<sup>8</sup> and possible versions of TTSs can be classified as having to do with the headings below:

AMBUSH SHOWS	LOVE AND SEX
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Emotionally incendiary topics, confrontational matchups.</li><li>• Titillating disclosures</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sex, lies and true confessions</li><li>• Pregnancy and children</li><li>• Sex and sexual abuse</li><li>• Love triangles</li><li>• Marriage and married life</li></ul>

<sup>8</sup> The classification of the topics has been done both from information provided by articles (Gillespie 1996; Bloch and Tynan 1995; Crabtree 1995; Gamson 1996; Munson 1993) and from our own field work.



<p style="text-align: center;"><b>DYSFUNCTIONALITY</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subliminal desires</li> <li>• Gender and non-conformity</li> <li>• Perverse taste</li> <li>• Constant, intensified novelty and reality.</li> <li>• Multiple personality</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PERSONAL FAILURE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal or marital failure</li> <li>• Debasement of the human condition</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>MAKEOVERS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makeovers</li> <li>• Reconciliations</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>REUNIONS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reunions of long-parted friends, family, etc.</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>DOMESTIC</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domestic violence: children and adults</li> <li>• Against men who treat women badly or vice-versa</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>RELATIONSHIP</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Painful relationship problems</li> <li>• Infidelity</li> <li>• Disloyalty between friends, sisters, family, etc.</li> </ul>

As a representative example, a list of the recordings made over a month's period by the researcher herself, for the same TTS, is provided below. The titles are from *Ricki Lake*, a show that is broadcast in the US, Chile, Mexico and the United Kingdom:

I moved to be with you then you dumped me;  
 Why did you have to dump me?;  
 Meeting my favourite star;  
 Mom get out of my face. Don't tell me how to raise my baby; I'm tired of being whipped;  
 Today I become the boss or you become history;  
 You told me to dump him. Now you're with him;  
 Today I'm finally going to let you meet your child;  
 I drink and drive. So what;  
 Ricki, help me; I weigh almost 500 pounds and I don't know what to do;  
 I hid my pregnancy from my mother. But now let's deal with it.

Littleton (1995: 10) summarises the topics of discussion on TV talk shows in 1995 and reports the percentages of talkshows in which the topic was raised: 8% reunions; 11% sexual orientation; 11% mental health; 12 % addictions; 18 % sexual infidelity; 22 % criminal acts; 23 % physical appearance; 23 % alienation; 23% abuse; 24 % physical health; 25 % reconciliations. Those topics are personal, intimate, and highly controversial; that is, they usually imply some kind of

confrontation between people who have or have had strong feelings for those they are confronting. This situation usually results in "a parade that plays to class- and-race-based stereotypes- [and] helps fuel the reactionary fire" (Gillespie, 1995:1).

Many would blame the audience and claim that TTSs "only offer what the guests and the public of the idiot culture will bear," not sparing their insults towards both audience and guests (cf. Bell 1996; Fields 1995: 21; Littleton 1996; Munson 1993: 3; Stark 1996: 10ff.):

Television shows are hosted by a puffbrain and crowded with real people hashing out real problems for the delight of a bereft citizen who, emotionally infantilized by a lifetime spent in front of the tube, seems to have unquenchable thirst for idiocy on parade.

(Raab, 1995: 186)

Livingstone and Lunt's (1994) study on the type of audience for daytime talkshows<sup>9</sup> indicates that audiences of daytime talkshows were mostly lower class people and older people and that there were no significant differences between male and female audiences. Additionally, part of the audience showed a preference for the controversial and personal: "viewers showed a slight tendency to prefer American and/or personal shows to British and/or political shows. This was more true for women and the youngest age group" (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994: 50).

---

<sup>9</sup> Their study is of British talkshows and not only TTSs, although they include *Oprah*.

#### 4.5. TTSs as a social phenomenon

##### *The TTS: a controversial social and political issue*

Two opposite views reflect opinions on TTSs: those who are in favour and those who are against; neutral positions are more rare. On the one hand the common denominator, in a large number of articles and books on TTSs, is bad reports and criticism. TTSs are referred to as *Trash TV* (Block and Tynan, 1995; Crabtree, 1995; Impoco 1996; Littleton, 1994-6; Munson, 1993; Petrakos, 1996; Wartik, 1995) and classified as a poison for society (Gillespie, 1995; Grizzutti 1992, Stark 1996). Chidley's (1996:50) words are as good as any other to summarise this side of the controversy. His opinion is that TTS are nothing but the reunion of "an outspoken studio audience and a more or less charismatic host [who] confronts guests who are in need, apparently of enlightenment or moral castigation."

Many writers claim that getting to know TTSs (cf. Carbaugh, 1988) may well reveal the way US society works, their faults and virtues. Nowadays, TTSs reflect the ideological struggle that exists in the US and incorporate topics and issues that had been outside the boundaries of television for a long time, at the same time as they challenge "the social dominance of a white, middle-class, heterosexist patriarchy"<sup>10</sup> (Buxton, 1991: 411). Carbaugh (1988) affirms that the symbolic patterns and cultural structure circulating in mundane civil society are brought out in these programmes:

Just as we have learned about Roman society by studying orations in the Assembly, and Colonial society by studying

---

<sup>10</sup> These words are out of context. In its context they refer to television programming in general. The affirmation above contradicts the meaning of the paragraph, since TTSs are a counter-example of what is said. I reproduce here the whole paragraph.: "Television both reflects and influences ideological currents swirling throughout American cultural arena. Certainly, much of the programming does emphasize the ideological values of the dominant social matrix of a white, middle-class heterosexist patriarchy."

negotiations in the town hall, so we should learn much about contemporary society by studying the kind of talk that is heard on *Donahue*<sup>11</sup>.

(Carbaugh, 1988: 4)

Very recently, an incident that happened in one of the *Jenny Jones* episodes during 1995 brought out again the issue of TTSs as a matter to be judged by the public eye. In this programme, an unsuspecting guest was confronted with another male who had a "crush" on him. The heterosexual male murdered the homosexual after the programme because, in his opinion, he had humiliated him in public television and in front of the eyes of millions and millions of spectators.

This incident re-ignited the controversy (cf. Hammer and Rudolph, 1995). Questions were directed towards finding out the real influence of TTSs in US society and the potential role of these types of programmes. It obliged politicians and moral groups, media critics and laypeople to turn their attention to talk shows and TV trash and to take sides in this controversy: "Media critics would take aim against producers who use shock tactics to create explosive encounters and reduce human relationships to tabloid clichés" (Green, 1995: 40).

Host Steve Edwards presided over a discussion, launched in October 26, 1995, about the furor regarding the daytime talkfests. This discussion was held between influential political figures who claimed that these shows debase American culture and cause harm to children with their confrontational rhetoric and their emphasis on sexual and deviant-behaviour subjects (Braxton, 1995:1). Braxton (1995) reports on the results of the summoning of six general managers of local television stations airing shows branded as offensive by Senator Joseph I. Lieberman and the advocacy group Empower America on Oct. 26, 1995.

---

<sup>11</sup> Donahue is considered the father of the TTS genre, his show has been on for almost 30 years.

Apparently, only three of those six managers agreed to publicly confront the talkshow subject while other networks kept silent about the issue. Two of those three channels, Braxton reports, showed concern and admitted that the criticism they were receiving then was quite justified and argued that they were introducing changes. They also admitted, as Carole Black of KNBC-TV Channel 4 affirmed, that "the ratings [had] gone down during the past year and a half, and said they should change their direction" (Braxton, 1995:1). However, the results of the discussion do not seem to have changed the situation (cf. McConville 1995).

Most of the arguments against TTSs relate to moral issues. Nielsen ratings from the 1994-95 season indicated that 8 million children watched one of the 13 nationally syndicated talkshows on a daily basis. Nearly 4 million children aged under 8 or younger were daily viewers (Crabtree, 1995: 9). Bennett teamed with a bipartisan group of public figures, including Democratic Senators Lieberman of Connecticut and Sam Nunn of Georgia, to challenge the perpetrators of what he considers "cultural rot" (Crabtree, 1995: 8).

Sex, decency, and immorality were the issues that worried Lieberman and also William J. Bennett, the US's former Education Secretary and current co-director of the Washington-based advocacy group Empower America. The PCI (Population Communications International) sponsored a New York Talk Summit to discuss the possibility of educating viewers on subjects other than promiscuity and deviant behaviour (Crabtree, 1995: 9):

They are pressuring the shows to get rid of what they called tawdry subjects and titillating segments that they said celebrate immoral behaviour. The coalition ... sent letters ...urging them to develop standards of decency for the programs.

(Braxton, 1995:1)

Finally, advertising companies, important sponsors and supporters of these programmes also claimed that they had sometimes tried to put pressure on the talkshow corporations by pulling advertisements from several of the talkshows. In this sense, Bennett himself suggested "...that viewers [should also] put pressure on the producers and advertisers by not buying their products" (Fields, 1995: 21).

The arguments and facts exposed above can be said to summarise the view of those who are against TTSs and in favour of preserving moral values and the integrity of the individual which, they believe, is most of the time degraded. Ethics and morality are in the US, after all, political matters and so are TTSs.

#### *The redeeming social value of talkshows*

In the public eye and in such a complex society as that of the US, the function of TTSs, their effects and consequences may well be very diverse and varied. Coming to terms with a standard for morality in such a multicultural and emblematic society, where diversity of races, religions and morals co-exist, is by no means an easy task. The role of the TTSs, and of talkshows in general, is to encourage this plurality. As Munson (1993: 4) affirms, "if any medium encourages the blurring of borders and the swapping of roles, it is the talkshow."

Braxton (1995:1) reports the opinion of KCOP's Feldman. Feldman is against those who claim that talkshows "are bringing down the value of America" and states that such a claim "is out of proportion and just not true." Furthermore, he adds that the opposition to the talkshows is cyclical and based in large part on generational differences between older and younger audiences. It wasn't too long ago that these shows were seen as terrific, now the pendulum has swung too far the other way" (Braxton, 1995:1). A similar argument is presented by Gamson

(1996) who sees TTSs as the only space that would allow a marginal section of society, such as gays for example, to express their opinion and hear others who think the same way. These type of arguments question the redeeming social value of TTSs and prolong the controversy.

"Don't Tell" is more than a US military policy; it remains US public policy, formally and informally, on sex and gender nonconformity (...) The story here is not about commercial exploitation, but about just how effective the prohibition on asking and telling is in the United States, how stiff the penalties are, how unsafe this place is for people of atypical sexual and gender identities.

(Gamson 1996: 80/ 83)

Opinions like Gamson's argue in favour of individuals whose desires go against the norm and whose voice has no other place but the TTSs, in mainstream media culture, to speak on their own terms or to hear others speaking for themselves; meanwhile, others like John Gilbert, general manager of KOAA-TV are totally against this line of thought: "This stuff is just awful. I fail to see any redeeming social value in showing teen-aged prostitutes" (Braxton, 1995:1).

Most accusations against TTSs point to the lack of *quality* and *manners* : it is the nature of the topics dealt with together with a debasement of the participants themselves, its vulgarity and its lack of respect towards the individuals. TTSs trivialise human tragedy and a lot of the good purposes go down the drain because of production constraints and money matters:

It's easy to sneer at Povich's perception, but he's talking about the time-honoured notion that shows like the one he hosts have "socially redeeming value." That may be a stretch, but anyone with a moral centre can see that freaks are freaks.

(Fields, 1995: 21)

Having said this, one may ask why TTSs are so popular, why people watch these programmes and, most important, *how* they watch them. Fields (1995: 21) argues that TTSs "are not a problem if one does not take them seriously." So it is in the *truth* factor and in the interpretation of the genre conventions where the answer to the controversy might lie.

Many people have asserted that a lot of what is going on in such shows is a fraud (cf. Pratt, 1995), and it is well known that some of the guests are given directions as to how to behave and what to say. Supposedly then, if one were conscious of the TTS juggernaut and did not take TTSs seriously, there would be no point in considering TTSs as part of the ideological struggle and they would not longer be a political issue; the TTS would not be a common place (Munson, 1983:17-23), a common-folk, and a public participation place anymore, but an artificial television creation, a fiction. Consequently, and as occurs with soap operas for example, TTS would not be considered a political matter.

However, the big controversy surrounding the influence of TTSs in "real life"<sup>12</sup> proves that not all spectators are genre experts and that they do not have the knowledge to discern between facts and fiction (e.g. statistics have proved that children watch those programmes). Moreover, the TTS genre presents itself as a reality with real goals: "the hosts usually make a pretence of offering such families "a therapeutic environment," with bright lights and microphones, lots of supportive gasps, sympathetic applause, and, of course, ample commercial breaks" (Fields, 1995: 22). Fields concludes that "such shows demonstrate how far permissive popular culture has declined in determining what's "appropriate," that is,

---

<sup>12</sup> TTSs have been proved to influence real people and/or their behaviour. The Jenny Jones murder case for example. Also, some spectators wrote and went to the O.Winfrey programme to complain about her loss of weight (broadcast 13 February 1995) because they could no more identify with her. To these women this change in Oprah's look meant having lost a member of her family, a friend, etc. The popularity of these shows clearly allows them to influence on real life.



which shows can find sponsors." He blames the producers of TTSs alleging that their judgement on what is good or bad is reduced exclusively to ratings, in the same way advertising does.

The discussion about TTSs functioning as a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces, and their potential ability to enhance the culture of a group is a long-running matter. We do not pretend to provide a solution here but to point out that it is undeniable that they are part of US society, and that they do have a say in what is going on:

Quotation from the *Post*: "I think these shows represent everything that is wretched in American life at the end of the century: the death of privacy, the rise of culture so drenched in celebrity that ordinary people can find meaning only by achieving some form of pseudo-celebrity themselves, the loss of important social controls like shame and pride."

(Raab, 1995: 191) <sup>13</sup>

The number of TTSs in the US, over 30, their polemical nature, and the fact that they are being exported to other countries, tells us that this genre is becoming an important phenomenon not only for US culture but for other cultures as well. The pragmatic consequences that a type of programme such as TTSs may have should be carefully balanced before importing or exporting them to other countries.

In TTSs many socio-cultural and linguistic factors converge; these factors are culturally bound and may have dramatic consequences in a different culture, especially if these programmes are imported without being altered <sup>14</sup>: "the ways in

---

<sup>13</sup> This appears in Raabs article and is the opinion of the writer of the column in the *Post* (no date is given) about talkshows.

<sup>14</sup> Such is the case of South America and England. In South America this show is broadcast with subtitles, in Chile.

which members of different cultures assess the nature of the relationships and interpersonal behaviour vary enormously" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:16). Additionally, as Christie affirms, every genre has a social and a cultural purpose (Christie, 1985: 22).

The purpose of the present study is not, however, to ascertain the cultural and social consequences but to approach TTSs mainly from a linguistic point of view. Obviously, this focus on the language itself cannot by any means be looked at in isolation from social, cultural and political facts which are part of and emerge in the form of 'talk'. This is why we have exposed above a social view of the TTS phenomenon. The social perspective offers a view of the TTS as a highly polemical genre, a political issue and a relevant discursive phenomenon for US society. As such, it deserves to be studied in detail. The present work pays attention to its central aspect, the organisation of talk and the implications of such for both the individual and the social.

#### 4.6. Research on Tabloid Talkshows

Carbaugh's study of the *Donahue* show presents a cultural approach to what he calls *issue-centred* talkshows. Carbaugh (1988: 2) distinguishes between: *personality-centred* shows and more *issue-centred* and classifies TTSs as an example of the latter:

This type focuses generally on social issues (although each occasionally conducts a personality type show) through discussions, including telephoned comments... the issue type displays a kind of group discussion about topics that are more social and often controversial.

(Carbaugh, 1988: 3)

His approach to the study of the *Donahue* talkshow is a cultural approach of the genres of speaking and symbols of personhood. He discusses the codes of personhood such as "the individual," "choice," "self" and "traditional and social roles." Carbaugh's intentions were directed towards trying to interpret some common speech patterns, as they were being naturally performed in the sociocultural context on *Donahue*, rather than to look at linguistic conversational tactics. Carbaugh uses talkshows to demonstrate how American speech is characterised by discourses on the self and the act of speaking that favour the individual and his choices over any sense of social order. Also from a more socio-political perspective Alan Hirsch's *Talking Heads: political talkshows and the star pundits* criticises the bad influence of political talkshows. Heaton (1996) has recently published the book *Tuning in trouble: Talk TV's destructive impact on Mental Health* which looks at TTSs from a psychological perspective.

Guzman's (1996) work is on audiences attending TTSs in four programmes, two by *Sally* and two by *Jerry Springer*. Guzman (1996) makes a qualitative analysis of the role of the studio audience in television daytime talkshows applying a theory model derived from *the social construction of reality*, by Berger and Luckman (1966). She studies how the role of the audience is constructed, maintained, and its significance to the show. Her study shows that the incorporation of the studio audience contributes to the popularity of the genre, and that this reflects changes in society and the television media since the 1960s anti-establishment movement.

Scannell's (1991) *Broadcast talk* offers a good selection of articles that deal with talk on British television, which is also taken into consideration and mentioned later in the present analysis. Fairclough (1995) includes, in the section dealing with identity and social relations in media texts, a subsection for the

American TTS *Oprah*. He points out that this type of programme is characterised by a diversity of voices and explains how all the different contributions of the participants are orchestrated by the host, that is, Oprah herself (Fairclough, 1995: 140ff.). This feature of *Oprah* as "the manager of the hierarchization of voices in the show" results in a host with a very complex identity.

Livingstone and Lunt (1994: 38) discuss the possible terminology for what we call TTSs. They refer to those as *the audience discussion programme* where the public is an active protagonist in the talk show and guests and host converse in a "living room." They admit that no accepted term has yet emerged for what they consider a "now-familiar genre", but argue that its main features are: that it deals with current issues as they affect ordinary lives, that it uses experts but it is not documentary, that it shows the impact of current issues on ordinary people's lives, and that it constructs the viewer as a community member and repository of common sense. In their work they classify TTSs as a genre with no boundaries where "the participation framework... depends on the genre conventions which are themselves peculiarly open and ambiguous" (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994: 57) They classify the nature of the genre as undetermined (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994: 68) and provide a list of characteristics (1994: 39) that we discuss in the next chapter.

Part of their study is dedicated to finding out who is available to watch, in Britain, daytime talkshows of a varied nature such as *Kilroy* and *Question Time*, and the American talkshow *Oprah Winfrey*. Figures deriving from this study of audience for one episode show that: "the lower one's social class and the older one is, the more likely one is to watch, although higher class viewers at this time are more likely to be watching *Kilroy* " As for the viewers' perceptions of the genre they conclude that "to a moderate extent, viewers considered the genre to offer a

public sphere in which they can participate." With the exception of older spectators who were "concerned that the genre invades individuals' privacy" (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994: 49).

Munson (1993: 5) offers a comprehensive approach to talkshows by offering a view that tries to reflect the love-hate attraction between the talkshows and the public and approaches those as "just a point of intersection." He himself affirms that his study of talkshows "approaches them as things to "think with" and asks how they construct knowledge, reality, culture, politics and the self. His historical review of the genre reveals TTSs as confrontational, polemical and as a place where ordinary people can express themselves in the post-modern market economy.

Hutchby's (1996) study on talk radio presents a similar approach to the one undertaken in the present study, although his main emphasis is on empirical investigation of how power operates and is instantiated in the integral features of discourse. On the basis of empirical analysis of turn formats and sequences, he shows how power is present within an interaction. Hutchby chooses the framework of CA to study how arguments are conducted in open-line radio phone-in, also known as talk radio show. He points out that other studies, such as those mentioned above, focus on how talk relates to wider social and cultural issues. Hutchby, however, is concerned with how talk is actually produced, with the interactional and sequential contexts in which different participants speak, and with the relationship between talk and the local organisational constraints of the setting itself. Along the same lines as the present study, he shows that talk radio itself is structured to promote a certain type of argument and confrontation and analyses the way in which the relationship between talk, asymmetry and power can be articulated in the discourse of social institutions.

Talk radio, as stated by Hutchby, is a kind of institutional discourse that takes place within an organisation with its own structure and stability. Although Hutchby emphasises the relevance of the CA theoretical work, he also claims that "power is not a term that CA typically employ," and that power is an issue on which CAs have tended to remain agnostic (1996: 114). His study tries to view power in terms of the relationships between turns in sequences; his empirical investigation shows that power can be addressed as a phenomenon that is both highly specific and also diffusely and pervasively present within an interaction. The results of his work link the emerging model to the theoretical conception of power outlined by Foucault (1977). He concludes that CA is in fact capable of addressing not just the institutional nature of talk, but also the play of power in institutional interaction, on its own terms (1996: 116). Hutchby's work on talk radio is a useful guide to follow in the present study, since one of his claims, the quasi-conversational nature of talk-radio, coincides with the main hypothesis underlying this study. The present study compares many aspects of talk radio outlined for Hutchby to the results obtained from our analysis of TTSs.

The numerous studies on news interviews are also very useful and a good point for comparison: Clayman 1988/89, Downs et al. 1990, Gelles 1974, Greatbatch 1986/88, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991; Jucker, 1986; Livingstone and Lunt's 1994). Especially Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) which illustrates some of the basic characteristics of the turn-taking in news interviews and show that turn-taking procedures for news interviews represent resources for dealing with some fundamental tasks and constraints that bear on his management. Their description of tasks and turn-taking of news interviews has compared to those of TTSs.

Calsamiglia et al. (1995: 325ff.) analyse the relationship between socio-cultural identities and communicative strategies in one of the programmes of a top rating talkshow by the Catalan television network, TV3. They pay special attention to the discourse behaviour of each participant. They argue that discourse behaviour is shown in two dimensions: interlocutive and enunciative and that these two dimensions enable them to build a discursive picture of each participant which is connected with his/her specific socio-cultural identity. They compare these pictures in the context of a particular programme. Their intention is to analyse the relationship between the socio-cultural identities and communicative strategies in one television programme, and one of the dimensions they look at is the *interlocutive dimension* which defines the different ways in which each participant occupies the interactional space (Calsamiglia et al., 1995: 331). In order to analyse the interlocutive dimension, they consider several aspects:

- 1) Verbal capital of each participant which includes: number of turns taken, number of words and time taken up by each turn.
- 2) Interlocutive mechanisms: 1) origin of the turn self-selection/other selection; 2) types of turn transition (pause, interruption, overlap; 3) communicative roles (questioning, responding etc.).

Calsamiglia et al. (1995: 331) argue that the description of these factors leads to a clear understanding of the role of each participant in connection with the basic communicative contract.

The present study considers almost all aspects included in the interlocutive dimension in order to analyse turn-taking. It is not, however, surprising since they all correspond to elements and/or features outlined by Sacks et al. in their famous article *A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn taking for*

*conversation*. (i.e. number of turns, turn size, the turn-allocational component (self-selection) turn-transition or transition relevant place, etc.). Nevertheless, this fact is ignored by Calsamiglia et al. (1995) who do not specify the origin of the elements that form the interlocutive dimension. The present study departs from Sacks et al. (1974) description of the turn-taking organisation of conversation to elaborate the list of features to be looked at in analysing turn-taking in TTSs.

Additionally, Calsamiglia et al. (1995: 331) argue that *the role of the participants is based on the status of each participant and potential deviations due to the strategic behaviour of each participant in constructing his/her own identity*. They argue that the basic premise is that a verbal contract is not rigid. It functions as a frame which allows each participant to enact his/her role. They claim that with this part of the analysis one can measure the effects of authority, legitimacy and understanding of the different participants and see if their behaviour corresponds with the status he has been assigned at the beginning of the programme. We agree with the basic premise that the verbal contract is not rigid, especially with talkshows; as it was already argued by Drew and Heritage (1992: 42; cf. also Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991) for news interviews.

The present approach is, however, different from Calsamiglia et al. (1995) since it departs from the principles established by CA for the analysis of talk, with especial emphasis on integrating the comparative dimension between institutional and conversational talk. Calsamiglia et al. (1995) not only ignore this comparative dimension; but also ignore the numerous studies carried out in the tradition of CA which have revealed important characteristics about organisation of talk-in-interaction in many different types of institutional talk. Among those there are several studies dealing with news interviews, audience-discussion programmes,



TTSs<sup>15</sup> etc., ( i.e. genres which show many similarities with the type of programme annexed by Calsamiglia et. al.) which have outlined many of the characteristics attributed by Calsamiglia et al. (1995) to their programme. These studies can be said to belong to a tradition in CA (cf. Drew and Heritage 1992; Boden and Zimmerman 1991) which goes back to the 70s and which focuses on the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction (Sacks 1989, 1992; Schegloff 1989<sup>16</sup>). These contributions are not mentioned by Calsamiglia et al. either.

In this chapter, we have focused the discussion on the role of TTSs as a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces by presenting an overview of the role that TTSs have in society and on US television. The purpose of this chapter was to differentiate between the TTS and other types of talkshows and establish a niche for the TTS genre itself. It was argued that, although TTSs were initially created for women (Munson, 1983) and still the majority of their audience are women, TTSs have now expanded their audience, are cheaply produced and have turned into a polemic genre whose existence depends on their ability to make money. It is a genre notorious for generating controversial and confrontational talk and have evolved into what many would condemn as "bizarre talk". Their topics are personal, intimate and highly controversial and they raise many important issues such as whether these shows debase American culture and the human condition. As argued by some, TTSs may endanger moral values and the integrity of the individual. The other side of the controversy, however, is represented by those who argue that TTSs are the only place in mainstream media culture where individuals whose desires go against the norm and whose voice has no other place (but the TTSs) can speak on their own terms or hear others speaking for themselves.

---

<sup>15</sup> See bibliographic references included in chapters 4-7.

<sup>16</sup> Drew and Heritage (1992: 60)

We concluded this chapter by discussing some previous studies that have dealt with TTSs or with other types of talkshows and pointed out their relevance for the present study. It is Hutchby's study the one that we find is closest to the present study, although his objectives as well as his methodology are different. However, most of his relevant conclusions will be later on reported in the present study.

Although the discussion above may have given the impression that we are focusing here on the social consequences of the TTS genre, the purpose of the present study is not, however, to ascertain the cultural and social consequences; but to approach TTSs mainly from a linguistic point of view. In the next chapter we already start outlining the characteristics of TTSs as a type of talk by comparing talk in TTSs with conversational and institutional talk.

## **CHAPTER 5.**

# **TURN-TAKING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Turn-taking seems to be a phenomenon deeply rooted in human communication founded on mutual awareness of sharing something.

(Oreström, 1983)

### **5.1. The turn-taking system and spoken language**

In the present study, the relevance of turn-taking in determining the nature of TTSs has been repeatedly emphasised. The following is a review of relevant literature on the concept of turn and turn-taking. The present review only considers aspects that are thought to be relevant to turn-taking in TTSs.

As stated by Denny (1985: 41)"it is often through the construction of conversation and thus, at some level, through the management of turns that a particular form of social occasion is created or instantiated" . The existence of a turn-taking system in the communication process, the universality of such phenomena and the limitations imposed on this system by cultural factors, type of speech event, and medium of transmission have been amply discussed (Duncan ,1972; Goffman, 1969; Miller, 1963; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff 1968; Yngve, 1970) in the literature on conversation

There are integrating mechanisms in any communicative act, that help regulate the pace at which the communication proceeds, and which monitor deviations from appropriate conduct. Duncan (1972: 283) claims that "just as it is desirable to avoid bumping into people on the street, it is desirable to avoid in conversations an inordinate amount of simultaneous talking." Beattie (1982: 93)

also qualifies this position and adds that "turn-taking is made necessary by the cognitive limitations of human beings." Turn-taking is one of a number of communication mechanisms operating in face-to-face interaction (Duncan 1972: 284) and, as Yngve has noted, the most obvious aspect of conversation: a universal feature.

When two people are engaged in conversation, they generally take turns. First one person holds the floor, then the other. The passing of the turn from one party to another is nearly the most obvious aspect of conversation. When he has the turn he engages primarily in speaking activities and when he doesn't have it he engages primarily in listening activities .

(Yngve, 1970: 568)

Turn-taking is necessary because when humans use language to communicate, they face what Lewis (1969: 5) calls a 'co-ordination problem'. For the communication to be effective, certain rules must be followed; rules, Oreström affirms, that are not immediately linguistic but yet intimately related to the linguistic activity:

a rule of speaking is thus a factor that operates for or against certain linguistic behaviour. Cooperative activity is one of the main factors that will determine constructive communication. In conversation one of the rules that would assure this co-operation is that no one monopolises the floor but the participants take turns to speak.

(Oreström, 1983: 18)

Hence, in communicating, the interactants will have to adopt an overall form of interaction. Once such a form has been established it will work normatively, i.e. the participants will try to observe it, and they expect their partners to do the same. Establishing a system to allocate the turns to speak is thus central for the success of the communicative process. Turn-taking is, therefore, a phenomenon deeply rooted in human communication founded on the mutual awareness of

sharing something (Oreström, 1983: 19), a universal social phenomenon "expressive of social relationships" (Yngve, 1970: 568).

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) were the first to provide a systematic account of the turn-taking in conversation. The motivation for their research was sociological and they focused primarily on the hierarchical and sequential organisation of talk. In their research, they presuppose the existence of a formal apparatus able to account for the systematics of turn-taking organisation. The apparatus, they argue, "is itself context free" but, at the same time, it "can in local instances of its operations be sensitive to, and exhibit its sensitivity to, various of the parameters of social reality in a local context" (1974: 9).

One first objection to Sacks et al.'s model assumes a central position in the present study: the idea that there is an abstract system operating for the turn-taking. Following O'Connell et al. (1990) the present study does not accept that "there exists an ideal organisation of turn-taking" and "that deviations are to be thought of as faulty conversation." On the contrary, and following Oreström (1983) and O'Connell et al.(1990), the assumption here is that there is not a unique formal approach for the analysis of turn-taking and that contextual factors such as topic, mutual knowledge, knowledge of situational factors, etc. determine many of the aspects of the turn-taking organisation characteristic of a genre.

The rules governing the turn-taking system for a particular speech event are not generalizable, so different discourse genres will have different ground rules. In that sense, the rules operating in a debate are different from those that govern a conversation among friends. Additionally, turn-taking organisation changes according to cultural factors and may also vary across communities, as proved by

multiple intercultural studies in the disciplines of sociology, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics.

So far, we conclude that if the communication is to be successful, it has to be accepted that establishing a turn-taking system is a cooperative act and therefore social in nature, and that the rules for the turn-taking will vary according to culture and situation. A detailed description of the rules operating in and for TTSs will allow us to characterise this genre, and reveal the nature of the relationship between the participants in the speech event.

## **5.2. The mechanism of turn-taking**

The model introduced by Sacks et al. has received (e.g. Edmondson, 1981; O'Connell et al, 1990; Power and Martello, 1986; ). Here, the formalistic model introduced by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) is taken as a starting point but not as the only comparable framework. The Sacks et al. model was postulated for conversation, and as pointed out by Kowal and O'Connell (1997: 310) "the application of the turn-taking model to interview data is clearly controversial." Applications of the Sacks et al. model to institutional contexts (cf. Greatbatch 1988; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991; Drew and Heritage, 1992) show that comparison with natural conversation produces as a result a "mass of differences" (Heritage, 1985: 96) between conversation and institutional interaction that help to define the latter. However, Sacks et al.(1974) article shows many valuable insights to the nature of turn-taking in conversation which, in our opinion (supported by the numerous references in the literature to their article) cannot be ignored. Additionally, many studies following Sacks et al. (1974) initiative: interactions in courtroom (Atkinson and Drew, 1979), classrooms (McHoul ,1978), and news interview (Greatbatch, 1988) have been shown to exhibit systematically

distinctive forms of turn taking which powerfully structure many aspects of conduct in these settings. We do believe that a systematic comparison of TTSs with the set of characteristics enumerated by Sacks et al. for conversation are a useful that allows an initial characterisation of the TTS genre. In what follows we present a description of Sacks et al. methods for analysing conversation , as well as some of the criticisms that their model has received.

Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 79) defined turn-taking as "the behaviour by which an exchange of turns is accomplished" and argued that the mechanisms by which people take turns to speak are both spoken and non-verbal. As stated by Sacks et al. (1974) the most general feature of turn-taking is that only one person speaks at a time; the reasons for accepting this as a universal are justified by the limitations of the human speech apparatus. The model elaborated by Duncan and Fiske (1977) also departs from this assumption, as stated by Denny (1985):

both models focus on the occurrence of a pervasive type of speaking turn exchange, the smooth exchange, in which there is little or no overlap in speech, and in the frequent occurrence of another type of event, the simultaneous exchange. Both models describe a system that allows the former rather than the latter type of exchange to occur. The simultaneous exchange is not precluded from conversation, but it constitutes either a violation, or simultaneous claiming, of rules.

(Denny, 1985: 44)

Notice, however, that the occurrence of simultaneous talk does not affect the validity of the models. The turn-taking system, Sacks et al. argue, is a "local management system" and an "interactionally managed system" that would not vary for the different parties and that would be able to accommodate any changes that occurred. This system could be selectively and locally affected by such social aspects of context (cf. Sacks et al. 1974).



Sacks et al's description of the turn-taking system is made in terms of: a) a turn-constructive component; b) a turn-allocational component; c) a set of rules:

a) Turn-constructive component: the system requires unit-types, i.e. a word, clause, phrase, or sentence which a speaker may set out to construct a turn. In starting to construct one of the unit-types a speaker is entitled at least to complete such a unit: "the first possible completion of a first such unit constitutes an initial transition-relevance place. Transfer of speakership is coordinated by reference to such transition-relevance places, which any unit-type instance will reach" (1974: 12).

b) Turn-allocational component: the turn-allocational techniques are distributed into two groups: i) next turn allocated by current speaker selecting next; ii) self-selection.

c) Rules: a set of rules which can be summarised as follows: "by using 'current-speaker selects next' technique, the current speaker can choose the next speaker and the party selected has the right to take the turn" (Sacks et al., 1974: 12ff.) This method of allocating the turn has precedence over the others (Power and Martello, 1986: 30). If this technique is not used, self-selection applies with the first starter acquiring the rights to a turn. If neither of the above happens, the current speaker has the chance to, but need not continue, with his turn.

The model elaborated by Sacks et al provides a list of rules that operate on the turn-units and which may be synthesised as follows:

a) If current speaker selects next then the party selected has the right and is obliged to speak.

- b) If a) does not happen then the self-selection for next speaker may apply.
- c) If a) does not happen then the current speaker may, but need not, continue unless another self-selects.

Their model is based upon facts which they observe to occur in any conversation:

1. Speaker change recurs, or, at least, occurs.
2. Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
3. Occurrences of more than one speaker are common, but brief.
4. Transitions from one turn to a next with no gap and no overlap between them are common. Together with transitions characterised by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions.
5. Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
6. Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
7. Length of conversation is not fixed, specified in advance.
8. What parties say is not fixed, specified in advance.
9. Relative distribution of turns is not fixed, specified in advance.
10. Number of parties can change.
11. Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
12. Turn allocation techniques are obviously used.
13. Various "turn-constructive units" are employed.
14. Repair mechanisms for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations obviously are available for use.

### **5.3. Turn Constructive Unit**

Sacks et al. (1974) mention that various turn-constructive units are used in the construction of a turn and propose a Turn Constructive Unit (TCU). They claim that "there are various unit-types which a speaker may set out to construct a turn. Unit-types for English include sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions." Duncan (1975) also recognised the existence of *interaction units* that, according to him, segment turns into smaller units. Duncan states that these type of units require the participation of both interactants and involve ordered sequences of action. He concludes that, within-turn interaction, units may be marked by an ordered sequence of three events: (a) a speaker within-turn signal, (b) a between-unit auditor backchannel, and (c) a speaker continuation signal.

Units may also be marked by an ordered sequence of only two events: (1) an early auditor backchannel, and (2) a speaker continuation signal. His conclusion is that :

the within-turn interaction unit appears to provide the participants with a means by which to pace a speaking turn at a rate that takes both speaker and auditor into account.

(Duncan, 1975: 209)

Ford et al. (1996: 427 ff.) revise the concept of TCUs, especially in relation to the central position that syntax is given in the process of identifying TCUs and possible transition places. They find that there exist three factors that complicate the definition of TCUs:

(1) TCUs are emergent and thus cannot be pre-defined; (2) TCUs have been seen as primarily syntactic units with certain intonational contours, but we have found this to be a problematic account; (3) trying to identify TCUs in the data yields only a partial account of what is actually going on in the interactions we are observing.

(Ford et al., 1996: 427)

Their conclusions derive from the analysis of twenty seconds of an extract taken from a conversation in American English. They try to identify the factors that signal possible turn completion from the point of view of grammar, prosody, pragmatics and non-verbal components, and come to the conclusion that it is not only one of the composite parts that should be analysed in order to interpret co-participation in talk-in-interaction; but both analysts and participants must be accountable for all these contributions at all times. Their analysis shows that it is necessary to look at the role of all the composite parts because sometimes they appear to be in conflict (cf. Ford et al. 1996: 440-8):

(...) projection of possible completion is done not through syntax alone but through practices involving the fitting of a contribution to its context of action (pragmatics), through prosody, by means of gaze and body movements that

accompany verbalisation, and through monitoring of recipient behaviour.

(Ford et al., 1996: 448)

In turn, Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985) propose the existence of DU (discourse units) which they identify with larger turns and larger projects such as jokes, story-telling, etc. Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985: 596) argue that these cannot be explained in terms of Sacks et al.'s model because these larger units of talk "are not constructed out of one syntactic unit-type;" and the speaker who is "producing such a larger project not only has the right to take a turn which is constructed of more syntactical units, but also has the right to take as many turns as necessary to finish the project" (1985: 597). "Furthermore, the completion of the DU itself can be negotiated interactionally."

The concept of DU introduced by Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985)<sup>1</sup> serves to characterise the task of producing a TTS and other types of institutional genres, and to differentiate between the concepts of 'producing a genre' and 'producing an example of that genre.' The TTS is a social action that is produced as a larger unit, a DU. In doing so speakers are interactionally projecting a specific type of DU, an *Open TTS.-DU* (Open TabloidTalkshow- Discourse-unit ) where "continuation of previous speaker is not in the first place projected by the speaker him-/herself, as is the case in the production of Closed DU's, but is an interactionally managed construction, due to a specific type of recipient reaction in a typical sequential position" (Houtkoop and Mazeland, 1985: 607). That is, one cannot produce an example of a TTS unless it is produced as a larger unit (a DU)

---

<sup>1</sup> We have purposely extended the concept of DU introduced by Houtkoop and Mazeland (1985) since we saw the possibility of using it for even larger projects, such as a whole television programme. Houtkoop and Mazeland's (1985: 595) definition of DU is introduced as follows: " Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) have described how conversationalists construct turns at speaking and how they allocate them in a systematic way. Here we may refer to the production of larger projects such as stories, jokes, extended descriptions, pieces of advice, and so on as a Discourse Unit (DUs).

and as an interactionally managed construction (Open DU) which will have to be continuously negotiated by the interactants themselves. In the process of negotiation, a pattern of recipient reaction emerges, that reflects and reproduces the institutional framework and the turn-taking system that allows the identification of the TTS genre. That is, whether a certain turn will be built into the larger TTS project depends upon a recipient design of turn construction. The same applies in other types of institutional talk ( a courtroom session, a lecture, etc.)

The Open TTS-DU is, in turn, formed by a wide variety of speech events that may include a wide variety of syntactic and pragmatic structures (e.g. storytelling, giving advice etc.). The TTS DU has several *subactions* (i.e. the presentation, dealing separately with the different cases brought to the programme, the closing, etc. <sup>2</sup>), and each subaction has a recognisable beginning and end, and so does the DU as a whole (cf. Houtkoop and Mazeland, 1985).

For the present study, the concept of DU is useful to identify the TTS genre itself in relation to turn-units. The identification of a unit to segment the turn is not, however, essential: we are mainly considering here the turn as a whole and in relation to complete turns performed by other participants, not the parts that form the turn itself. It is mainly turn-completion and reciprocity that we are interested in. Turn-completion (e.g. with or without interruption) and reciprocity are revealing features of TTS turn-organisation since they give information about power relationships (e.g. who has the right to interrupt), and compliance or not with the identities and rules imposed by the genre itself (e.g. act as advice-receiver, recipient, etc. and not interrupt H when s/he is talking or giving advice; or hold an answer until it is clear that H has finished his/her contribution, etc.). In short, they

---

<sup>2</sup> Each programme, for example, will have a number of stories or cases which are presented to the audience. The number is usually three to four, with a number of 2 to 3 guests linked to each case.

reveal the pattern of behaviour of the different local identities, and the production as well as the reproduction of the generic structure.

Consequently, it is not necessary for the present work to go deeply into the segmentation of each turn and the consequent discussion of the problems that this segmentation may cause<sup>3</sup>. It is not meant here to "identify a turn necessarily with any syntactic or grammatical unit or combination of units, nor with any activity... it should be clear that a turn may contain anything from a single *mm* or a string of complex sentences" (Schegloff 1968: 376).

It is mainly the sequencing of turns, the final pattern revealing the pragmatic structure of turn exchange in the TTS genre and how turn exchange is reached in TTS that interests us here. In order to determine whether a turn is complete, the identifiable elements are transition relevance-places, the use of syntactically defined unit-types to construct a turn: sentential, clausal, phrasal, or lexical constructions (Sacks et al., 1974), as well as intonational contour patterns and NV signals (gestures, lip movements etc.) that clearly indicate speaker's intentions of yielding or continuing with the turn.

#### **5.4. The concept of floor**

What constitutes a turn at talk varies according to different studies. The distinction between floor and turn is one that allows a clearer view of the meaning of *having the turn*. The concept of floor was introduced by Sacks (1972), who regarded floor and turn at speaking as equivalent concepts. Edelsky (1981) revised previous contributions on floor and was the first to claim that floor and turn are not equivalent. Her definition is one that prevails nowadays among researchers. She defined floor "as the acknowledged what's-going-on within a psychological

---

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Selting 1996 for the interplay of prosody and syntax in conversation.

time/space... controlled by a person at a time or by several simultaneously or in quick succession" (Edelsky, 1981: 384). That is, floor is a psychologically developed interactional space among interactants.

Edelsky (1981) clearly argues that turn and floor are not interchangeable terms, that they are not the same and that just any talk does not count as a turn, since a turn is taken among particular participants (1981: 403). Stainton (1987), who reviews Edelsky (1981) and Yngve's (1970) descriptions of floor, also concludes that the identification of floor with turn would seem to be an oversimplification of what appears to be happening in the discourse: "it is therefore possible to take a turn without holding the floor because the two features may be dissociated" (Stainton, 1987: 76).

Contributions from the audience allow to illustrate the difference between floor and turn. Individual members of the audience, officially, need to be granted the turn to participate. However, sometimes they utter turns spontaneously which are overheard but not included in the main talk. These we classify as *non-floor-holding turns* :

that is messages, that are meant for public hearing, they have both propositional and functional content (not merely encouragers), and are therefore turns (e.g. question for clarification, wisecrack, addition of detail), but do not constitute the official "what's going on"

(Edelsky, 1981: 405).

During interaction we overhear some contents by some members of the audience that never reach the floor, because they are ignored by the focal participants. Hence, it follows that it is therefore possible to take a turn without having the floor (Edelsky 1981). In TTSs, this is the case of some turns taken by the audience or some comments on the part of other participants, who speak

without having the floor (cf. Goffman, 1976: 275), and whose contribution are not incorporated in the main talk.

We argue, however, that the status of non-floor-holding turn can only be determined after its occurrence and in relation to the subsequent talk. Let us explain this fully. In this type of programme the audience is a *potential participant* in the sense that it only becomes *factual* when granted the turn, that is, given the microphone. A member of the audience may theoretically have access to the floor, but it is not until H grants them "attention" that their contribution will become part of the main talk (e.g. there are many overheard comments from A that H ignores), of the officially accredited flow. It derives from this that talk-in-interaction takes place mainly between Gs and H. H will decide when the audience can have access to the floor. Members of the audience may take turns but not reach the floor. These arguments show the relevance of including Edelsky's (1983) concepts of floor and turn in the analysis and characterisation of TTSs. Edelsky defines turn 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... The definition of turn also attempts to incorporate the turn taker's intentions in relation to making meaning, conveying referential as well as functional messages.

(Edelsky, 1983:403)

It is also possible to have the floor while one is not talking (Edelsky 1981: 406 ff.). In TTSs, the case of long silences, in which, for example, H is moving around the studio set or pretending that s/he is thinking (e.g. Geraldo *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word* ) are good examples. That this occurs, not only proves that H has the floor, but that in respecting such a situation and withholding response or talk, the rest of the participants are showing compliance



with a "formally distinctive turn-taking procedure" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 97) characteristic of the TTS.

Floor holding is inevitably linked to power and control: the present study adopts the viewpoint that floor has a close relationship with control over the talk-in-interaction and power over the participants. Observation seems to indicate that H enjoys an almost total control, manifested mostly in H's manipulation of the turn-taking organisation. It seems that, in TTSs, it is basically the host who always holds the floor, and that occasionally, the others are allowed to have it. This would be in relation to what Goffman (1976) claimed when discussing the concepts of listener and speaker. Goffman suggested that "there are listeners who remain in the "role of listeners" even as they speak (i.e. they do not gain the floor) and speakers' listening to such kibitzing, which does not result in their loss of the role of speaker (i.e. floor holder)."

Edelsky (1981) reports that some previous definitions of floor imply that the floor is the focus of attention. She refuses to accept this definition and says that having the turn does not imply having the floor, and as an example she mentions the case of a therapeutic interaction (and in relation to BCs, which have been widely accepted as examples of speaking or holding a turn but not having the floor) where:

it is certainly conceivable that in some cases, the *mmhms* are as much the focus of the client's attention as the client's long speaking turn is to the therapist (and the researcher).

(Edelsky, 1981: 402)

One similar situation occurs in TTSs since one may venture to say that Gs ultimately depend on H to go on. Most often Gs focused more on the reaction that the words may cause in H than on the words themselves. This argument links

directly with the concept of power and interruption, since it may be argued that H's freedom to interrupt whenever s/he pleases, shows H's control over the floor and over the whole interaction.

Finally, regarding possession of the floor, Edelsky (1981: 397) and Denny (1985: 44ff.), among others, point out that one-at-a-time is not a conversational universal. Edelsky differentiates between two types of floor, F1 (one-at-a time-type of floor) and F2 (where two or more people either take part in an apparent free-for-all or a jointly built idea, operating on the same wavelength). Both floors, according to her, seem to interact in conversations and are relevant to be considered in the study of multiparty conversations. I illustrate and discuss both with examples taken from our corpus:

The example below shows a case in which three speakers intervene (K, N, S) in the re-construction of the past event and overlap in several occasions, even a fourth speaker R intervenes later to reconduct speakers towards an F1, assigning a turn by nomination (asks a question to Sean) and, therefore, restoring the order:

#### EXAMPLE 1

S           & The relationship was bad already as it was  
K           [And I told Sean that  
N           [She did  
S           [ XXX know that she did]  
K           And so, me and Nelse started talking. And Sean is in New York,  
            he doesn't need he doesn't need to worry about it  
            [XXX happy  
R           [Sean Sean, what ] has happened to your friendship with Kelly,  
            has it been affected because of this?

In the example above, A's questions are answered by more than one G, even when these questions are addressed to one person in particular. Edelsky also reports this feature and argues that it seems as if "apparently, a question for

example appeared legitimately answerable by many at once " (Edelsky, 1981: 415): if many answer at the same time, an F2 is produced. A possible explanation, in TTSs, may be attributed to the relation that holds between G and the topic, and to the fact that there is more than one participant who can give information about the same event, feature, etc. That is, Gs are there because they are all in a similar situation (expressed by the topic of the day); therefore most of the questions, even if specifically addressed to a particular G, may be felt to be questions that anybody can legitimately answer. The example below shows this feature on two occasions:

## EXAMPLE 2

H [XXXXXXXXX other one too X other one too  
A2 are you bisexual?]  
N Am I? < A2-Yeah > I don't really [classify myself  
S [ No. No]  
A2 And and for the girl in pink. Are you trying to pull the point <  
S- Yeah> like trying to change him to see, you know  
K & No. I'm not [trying to change him  
S [XXX always her attitude, you know]

The first question by A2 provokes contributions by N/S, N answers because a question is directed to him and S answers because he too feels that he has information, in this case about N. The same occurs with A2's second question which is directed to K ('the girl in pink') but once more answered by K and S. What happens is that all the participants have their own view about the situation and want to express their opinions (they all have different opinions about who is bisexual, or the influence of K, for example, on N). Consequently, they all answer the questions independently of whom they are addressed to, irrespective of the turn-allocation techniques used by the questioner and therefore break the interactional rules. The participants are aware of this breaking of rules since the questioners, either A, H, or E, always specify to whom is the question directed.

Reality shows, nevertheless, that this condition is not accomplished by participants in many different settings: in TTSs, although the one-at-a-time may be prevalent - a continuous overlap would not allow the audience to understand anything - free-for-alls occur frequently, are expected to occur, and are fostered by the directors of the show. This is due, mainly, to the confrontational nature of the interaction.

Edelsky's concept of floor is given a new dimension here since, we do not only use the two types of floors to differentiate between different types of turn, but adopt the category F2 as one of the key generic features of TTSs. F2-segments/ F2-turns are defined as highly confrontational moments characterised by floor-sharing and perceived by the listener as a verbal fight matches. The occurrence of F2-segments is one of the generic features of TTSs.

The occurrence of F2s in a medium such as television, makes the task of the listener difficult. That is, they represent situations in which the listener can hardly understand what participants are saying. Contrary to expectations, F2s<sup>4</sup> are not only common but expected to occur in TTSs, and they are one of the generic features that allow immediate identification of the TTS genre: if they do not emerge spontaneously, producers will try to cause them. TTSs foster the breaking of conversational, interactional and politeness rules on TV on behalf of a higher audience.

Linguistically, this imposes limits on the audience regarding access to the text, not only because of the limitations of the human apparatus but due to

---

<sup>4</sup> Edelsky (1981: 391) differentiates between two types of F2. The F2 is defined as a type of floor in which she could not determine who had the floor. Two main types of F2 emerge: a) free-for-alls, examples of these are simultaneity, joint building of an answer to a question, collaboration on developing ideas, and laughter.; and b) collaborative turns that appear more "orderly" but it is not possible to say that only one person has the floor.

technical matters of transmission. In these cases, action substitutes language. The audience realises that there is conflict, the essence of the TTS, and the exact words are not really important.

### **5.5. The nonverbal component**

Non-verbal language is relevant in any analysis of face-to-face interaction, and in relation to turn-taking and floor-holding. Dealing with non-verbal language (henceforth NV) is, and always has been, a complex matter. There are a lot of factors that one should take into consideration when judging NV communication, since this may vary depending on sex, culture, and even on geographical areas, speech communities, etc.:

la evidencia existente, que no es mucha, sugiere que no sólo son sutilmente diferentes los patrones de comportamiento en los distintos países, sino que varían aun dentro de los Estados Unidos.

(Davis, 1994: 38)

McCarthy (1991:129) among others (cf. Abercrombie 1968; Denny 1985; Duncan 1974; Kramer 1963; Wiemann and Knapp 1975) explains how turns are given and gained in English through non-linguistic signals: "body language such as inhalation and head movement as a turn-seeking signal, eye contact, gesticulation, etc.. [as well as linguistic phenomena such as drop in pitch or use of grammatical tags]." And, in particular, some aspects of NV behaviour have proved to be relevant for the study of the turn-taking mechanism; head nodding, gaze, smiles, reclining and leaning angle, gesticulations, have been studied in works like those by Duncan (1972, 74); Speier (1972) and Denny (1985) among others. Wiemann and Knapp (1975) found, for example, that head nodding works as a turn-requesting mechanism while having little or no significance in turn-yielding.

Other-directed gazes function more as a turn-yielding device than as a turn-requesting device, but they can function as both:

both nodding and other-directed gazes seem however to be important to the turn-taking mechanism because of the dual role they play. These behaviours indicate support for and interest in the other interactant... Their supportive nature "softens" the terms of the exchange.

(Wiemann and Knapp , 1975: 89)

Along the same lines, Denny (1985) studied the relation between the co-occurrence of certain verbal and NV elements (clausal completion, speaker and auditor gaze, pause length, silence, etc.) with respect to smooth turn-exchange. Denny (1985: 55ff.) concludes that the turn-taking system is defined not only by a set of verbal and NV elements, but also by relations of co-occurrence. Her study shows that verbal and NV elements have a turn-taking or floor apportionment function. However, the functional status of each element is dependent on the context of its occurrence, i.e., it varies according to the co-occurring verbal and NV elements. Denny claims that the functional significance of elements <sup>5</sup> may not only vary across social situations and speech communities but also within a single conversation. Along the same lines, Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 86) also consider that situational variables may influence the use of certain turn-taking cues. Denny concludes that the form of turn exchange itself is related to the social occasion, that surface forms of turn exchange have social meaning.

The analysis of TTSs would certainly be enriched with a *microanalysis* <sup>6</sup> of the NV behaviour of the participants where aspects such as the relation between

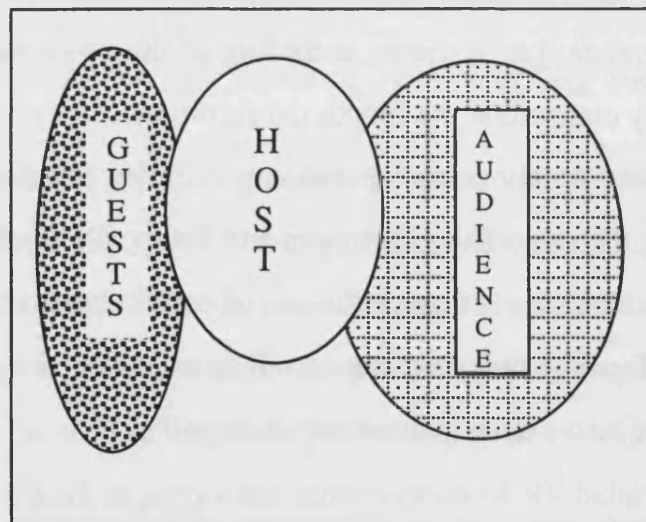
---

<sup>5</sup> For example, she argues that "in the present case, the same physical event, a silent pause, has a different functional status with respect to a system of turn taking depending on the co-occurring elements." (Denny 1985: 56).

<sup>6</sup>.. Davis defines it as follows: *microanálisis*, que constituye un procedimiento extremadamente concienzudo y largo. A la velocidad normal, la mayoría de las películas proyectan a razón de veinticuatro cuadros por segundo. Por lo tanto, para poder realizar un *microanálisis*, el investigador debe registrar todo lo que sucede

being selected by the camera and NV behaviour could be analysed, or whether H's selection for next turn is influenced by some kind of NV cues; or whether the answers given by the Gs are influenced by the drop or rise in pitch of the question, among others. This would certainly provide some valuable information, especially information concerning personal features of each of the participants, but there are limitations imposed by the fact that we do not have access to everything that goes on in the studio-set.

Limitations for the analysis of NV cues are imposed by the fact that we are watching the TTS on a television screen as opposed to watching it in the studio set. The NV communication is partially hidden, that is, we only see what they want to show us. Let us see a representation of the view that we have on the television screen:



*Distribution of space in the television studio set.*

---

-cada movimiento de las cejas o de las manos, cada cambio en la postura del cuello - en los veinticuatro cuadrados por cada segundo de película (Davis, 1994: 47).

Certain technical limitations regarding point of view become apparent. The camera does not focus on all of the participants all the time but alternates between close ups and more general shots. Even if TTSs offered a general view all the time, it would be too far away to distinguish all their gestures clearly. Thus the camera chooses to show certain things but not others. Generally speaking, these are some of the more representative camera movements:

- a) It will make close-ups on each of the participants when they are talking.
- b) Sometimes it zooms in on an individual when someone is referring to him/her.
- c) Sometimes it will focus on H no matter who is talking,
- d) or on some member/s of the audience if their expression is interesting.

There are, obviously, many more camera movements, but the ones mentioned above should be sufficient to illustrate our point: that neither the analyst nor the outside audience have access to all of the NV information that goes on during the show. The choice of one gesture as opposed to another can, without any doubt, show interesting results. We may want, ultimately, to link the analysis of language use with non-linguistic acts and elements of behaviour such as kinesic, proxemics, facial expressions, etc. For the present, however, we concentrate on the linguistic channel, and NV is not included unless strictly necessary.

## **5.6. Unsmooth speaker switch**

### *5.6.1. Unsmooth speaker shifts*

Central features of the mechanism of turn-taking are interruptions and overlaps as compared to smooth exchange of speakers. The turn-taking is the act



of taking the turn and therefore occupying the floor. Duncan states the rule that: "under a proper operation of the turn-taking mechanism, if the auditor acts to take his turn in response to a yielding signal by the speaker, this will immediately yield his turn" (1972: 286). It may be an ideal condition then, as Goffman (1964: 65) already pointed out, that there may well exist a tendency to avoid overlap, and that, ideally at least in some contexts, "intimate collaboration must be sustained to ensure that one turn at talking neither overlaps the previous one too much" (cf. also Denny 1985; Duncan and Fiske's, 1977; Sacks et al.'s, 1974). In Sacks et al. 1974 model and also in Duncan and Niederehe (1977), the minimisation of overlap is a rule said to operate in conversation. This is, obviously, not a universal principle, since in some contexts it is not always the case that the interaction is so smooth.

Oreström (1983: 135) claims that "speaker-shift is seldom, if ever, an entirely smooth process." He states that overlaps occur not only in starting a turn but can appear at any other point during the turn of one particular speaker. In his work, Oreström (1983: 135-66), deals with speaker-shifts which involve joint talking and which did not take place at grammatical boundaries <sup>7</sup>. He talks, in general, of unsmooth speaker-shift and groups tokens of unsmooth speaker-shift according to two criteria: grammatical boundary and turn-taking. His analysis of unsmooth speaker-shift considers various aspects: loudness, speed, length, discourse content, floor-winning, age and sex of speaker and the manner of recording, as well as ongoing speaker's reactions. It was found that a step-up in loudness was an efficient means of both holding and taking the floor. Additionally he notices that objection to what was going on means a raised engagement in the topic and therefore a tendency for unsmooth speaker-shift.

---

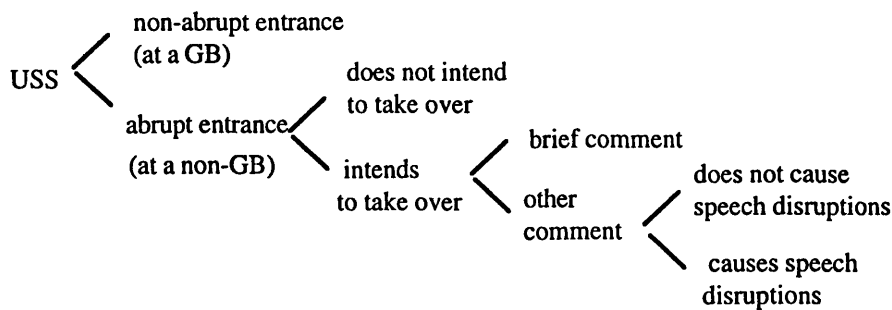
<sup>7</sup> "A grammatical boundary represents a joint completion of three constituents: 1. end of a completed tone unit with a non-level nuclear tone; b) end of a syntactically completed sequence (here a macrosyntagm in the form of a full or ellipted sentence); c) and end of a semantically fully rational sentence. On the interactional level a GB is a niche in the output, a point where intonational, syntactic, and semantic relationships cease and a point of possible completion of the turn" (Oreström 1983: 172).

Oreström (1983), Goldberg (1990) and Hutchby (1996), among others, point out that in analysing interruptions, one must consider the reason why these were produced. Interruptions can have other functions apart from expressing dominance and controlling the topic, as pointed out by Ferguson (1977: 301), among others. They can have several functions, such as building a conversation together, showing active participation, giving brief comments without taking over etc; hence, they can be competitive or cooperative, utter neutral comments, show rapport (cf. Goldberg, 1990) according to their function. In that sense, not all cases of simultaneous turns should be equated with interruption in the proper sense of the word since a large amount of double talking could not be explained in terms of interruption and dominance. Oreström (1983), for example, found cases of brief comments of a more background character that did not show intentions on the part of the speaker to take the floor and there were seldom any reactions in the form of speech disruptions or raised loudness (Oreström, 1983: 176) .

Oreström's (1983: 165-6) conclusions regarding a definition of interruption is that this cannot be satisfactorily described only with the help of formal criteria because there is a subjective element involved and there exists no specific and unambiguous marker of turn-finality. Along the same lines, Goldberg (1990) also argues in favour of considering the content and context to differentiate between those cases of interruption related to topic, and those that are not.

Oreström considers five criteria to be central in sorting out instances of interruption: a) place of entrance (at a GB or non-GB); b) length of the contribution (brief or long comment); c) intention to take the floor as mirrored in the use of loudness properties (reduced/normal or increased); d) an ongoing speaker's reaction (no reaction or speech disruption. He adds (1983: 176) that the more there are of the second alternative of each criterion, the more a speaker shift

assumes an interruptive character, and adds a fifth dimension, which is the legitimacy of an unsmooth contribution.



### III.1. Unsmooth exchanges (Oreström, 1983)

For Oreström (1983), two possible reasons explain interruptions: a) uncertainty or misunderstanding; b) raised eagerness to make one's own contribution. Additionally, he noticed that unsmooth speaker shift occurred systematically when the interactants had understood or thought they had understood the intended message, at which point they disregarded the rest of the message. This was an example of editing redundancy, and therefore an example of co-operation and synchronisation of turns, rather than a competition or blatant interruption; even though it formally answers to most of the stated criteria for interruption.

The concept of grammatical boundary (Oreström, 1983: 68), that is, the point of speaker completion which is "recognised as a point of both syntactic and semantic completion of an utterance" (Stainton, 1987: 79) is also used to determine the completeness of a speaker's contribution. So, in Stainton's (1987: 81) terms a smooth exchange would only occur if A/B were not simultaneous in their speech and the speaker shift occurred at a grammatical boundary. For Stainton (1987) all other possibilities are classified as *unsmooth* (cut-off, simultaneous start I, simultaneous start II, overlap and parallel ). Consequently, if the speaker shift is

smooth it usually happens at a grammatical boundary; the speaker holding the turn yields it and a new speaker takes over (see Oreström, 1983: 138). There are other cases in which two or more speakers claim the turn; thus simultaneous starts happen when both speaker and listener claim the speaking turn at the same time. The options are that either one speaker yields the turn to the other or both go silent for the duration of that mutual state (see Duncan 1972: 286).

Finer distinctions have to be drawn between the different types of interruption as well as between interruptions, overlaps and BCs (see section 9.6.). A clear definition of interruption, simultaneous speech and overlaps involves dealing with different aspects of the interaction itself. The present study approaches the classification of those combining grammatical boundaries, prosody and non-verbal signals. Prosody is also considered mainly in relation to completeness or incompleteness, for example in cases in which intonation showed a desire of current speaker to continue his speech e.g. using a rise tone signalling that something more is to follow as opposed to falling tone which clearly signals completeness or that nothing more is to be said (cf. Roach, 1991). Aspects such as the attitudinal function of tones, width of pitch range, etc. have not been deeply analysed here, since this is not the purpose of this study.

#### *5.6.1.1. Simultaneous talk, overlaps and interruptions*

Duncan (1987: 266) differentiates between *simultaneous talking* and *simultaneous turns* : The difference is that the latter does not necessarily imply a claiming of the turn even if the talking occurs simultaneously. This would exclude BCs from the discussion of interruptions (cf. Oreström, 1983: 138).

Levinson (1983: 299) claims that simultaneous talk occurs either as competing first starts or where transition-relevance places have been misprojected for systematic reasons, in which case, he argues, overlap will be predictably brief. He therefore differentiates between *inadvertent overlap* and *violative interruption*.

Ferguson (1977: 297ff), on her part, distinguishes between four types of speaker-switch non-fluency and adds that certain supplementary categories are required in cases such as those under 2) for example when the new speaker's utterance is not left incomplete.

(1) Simple interruption	(a) Simultaneous speech (b) Ongoing speaker's utter is incomplete (c) New speaker takes turn
(2) Butting-In Interruption	(a) Simultaneous speech (b) New speaker's utterance is left incomplete (c) No turn-taking
(3) Silent Interruption	(a) No simultaneous speech (b) Ongoing speaker's utterance is incomplete (c) New speaker takes the turn
(4) Overlap	(a) Simultaneous speech (b) No apparent break in continuity (c) New speaker takes turn

(following Stainton ,1987 and Oreström ,1983)

Stainton (1987) revises the concept of interruption, comparing both Oreström's (1983) and Ferguson's (1976) classification of types of speaker shifts; as well as Levinson's (1983) concept of *competing first starts* , and comes to the following conclusions:

- a) A *simultaneous start* will only be defined as such if the speaker concerned enters at a grammatical boundary.

b) The defining feature of an *interruption* is that there is an abrupt entry at a non-grammatical boundary. The speaker who interrupts has intentionally entered the current speaker's talk at a non-specified point, thus contravening the turn-taking mechanism (Levinson, 1983: 319).

Oreström (1983: 137ff) departs from Ferguson's ideas but also brings in aspects not considered in her system, such as "where in the ongoing speaker's output the new speaker enters": that is point of entrance, type of contribution and use of speed and loudness properties. He claims that for the speaker shift to be classified as *unsmooth speaker shift*, one of the two following conditions have to be fulfilled: a) two or more people talk at once, or b) the new speaker starts talking before the ongoing speaker has reached a point of completion. So, basically, a distinction between two kinds of speaker shift are made by Oreström (1983: 138): those cases which result in turn-exchange and those which do not. Oreström elaborates a graph in which he classifies 5 different types of speaker-shift<sup>8</sup> according to the occurrence or not of simultaneous talk and in concordance with grammatical boundaries and who does finally continue with the turn.

Beattie (1982: 100ff.) considers that an attempted speaker shift in which simultaneous speech is present can be successful or not according to who and how or whether a speaker gains the floor. Beattie's (1982: 100 ff.) classification of interruptions also departs from the categorisation scheme devised by Ferguson (1977). So, he presents a classification of interruptions and smooth speaker switches and distinguishes between overlap, single interruption, smooth speaker switch, silent interruption and butting-in interruption.

---

<sup>8</sup> *Cut-off*: A and B are not simultaneous and at a non-grammatical boundary (G.B) speaker shift occurs and new speaker takes over; *sim. start I*: A and B are simultaneous and at a G.B speaker shift occurs and new speaker takes over; *sim. start II*: A and B are simultaneous and at a G.B speaker shift occurs and ongoing speaker continues; *overlap*: A and B are simultaneous and at a non-G.B speaker shift occurs and new speaker takes over; *parallel*: A and B are simultaneous and at a non-G.B speaker shift occurs and ongoing speaker continues.

In the present study Beattie's classification has been adopted for the analysis of interruptions, with slight modifications of the concepts themselves, for several reasons. First, he claims that overlaps may well become interruptions, if the second speaker prevents the first speaker from finishing his/her contribution; or vice versa. But, underlying is the idea that, for him overlaps are often the result of an *interruption* on the part of another speaker who wants to take the turn. Overlaps are interruptions involving simultaneous speech, but in which the interrupted person manages to apparently complete his or her turn.

The second reason is that, as Oreström (1983) also pointed out, " a GB is not necessarily identical with an end of turn, [that criterium on its own] is bound to be a trouble source." Thus other features signal the listener that we are at the end of a turn, e.g. prosodic features such as loudness, turn-yielding non-verbal signals, etc. are important in determining whether there is or is not interruption. Beattie's analysis seems to contemplate these features with affirmations such as:

the grounds for its classification as a silent interruption depend crucially on the intonation of the turn and the subsequent behaviour of DT, in that DT immediately attempts to regain the floor. It should be noted that DT's attempt to regain the floor is unsuccessful (resulting in a butting-in interruption).

As Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 86) claim, simultaneous talking can take a variety of forms, it can serve a variety of purposes in the conversation, not all of which have to do with the turn-taking mechanism. So in Beattie's terms, unclear signalling may then result in

(1) Smooth speaker-switch	(a) new speaker takes turn (b) no simultaneous speech (c) first speaker's utterance appears complete.
(2) Simple interruption	(a) new speaker takes turn (b) simultaneous speech present (c) ongoing speaker's utterance is incomplete
(3) Butting-In Interruption	(a) no exchange of turns, ongoing speaker continues talking. (b) simultaneous speech present (c) new speaker's utterance is left incomplete or (d) no turn-taking
(4) Silent Interruption	(a) no simultaneous speech (b) ongoing speaker's utterance is incomplete (c) new speaker takes the turn
(5) Overlap	(a) simultaneous speech (b) no apparent break in continuity (c) new speaker takes turn (d) successful attempted speaker-switch.

(in Stainton (1987): adapted from Beattie's 1982: 101ff)

Stainton (1987: 86-87), however, revises both the categories introduced by Ferguson (1987: 86-87) and those introduced by Oreström (1983) and establishes the equivalence between the two classifications as follows:

Cut-off and silent interruption

Overlap and Simple interruption

Parallel and Butting-in interruption

Simultaneous start I and Overlap

Stainton (1987: 87)'s classification of interruptions departs from an initial distinction between simultaneous start or interruption according to whether the point of entrance was a grammatical boundary (simultaneous start) or a non-grammatical boundary (interruption). She then proceeds to analyse interruptions



by adding the dimension of simultaneous speech differentiating between: a) *overlaps*: simultaneous speech, new speaker takes over the turn; b) *Parallel*: non-grammatical boundary, simultaneous speech and new speaker does not take the turn; c) *cut-offs*: no simultaneous speech, new speaker takes over the turn.

#### *5.6.1.2. Functions of interruptions*

Stainton (1988: 89) states that the function of an interruption is to take over the turn and thus make a contribution to the discourse. She sees interruptions as competitive, enabling the speaker to take the turn at a non-grammatical boundary. Of the possible reasons that there may exist for an interruption to occur she points out that : a) the hearer has heard sufficient of the speaker's ongoing discourse and wants to reply or comment without hearing the remainder of the utterance; or b) s/he may wish to remark on some aspect on the current speaker's discourse; or c) s/he may wish to comment on something related to the general topic of the conversation.

Stainton's (1987:89) analysis proves that the distribution of the interruptions types is influenced by situational context and the degree of social distance that holds between the participants, and that different degrees of social distance may influence the frequency of interruptions. Her study tried to test social distance and her conclusion is that "interruption may be viewed as an infelicitous feature of discourse.... regarded as impolite, [...] in conditions in which speakers are less familiar with each other it is suggested that they may produce fewer interruptions."

Ferguson (1977) found that the function of interruptions was directly linked to the concepts of power and dominance (cf. O'Donnell, 1990; West and

Zimmerman, 1983; ). In fact, many studies coincide in classifying interruption as an incursive, intrusive, and violative act, since they violate the principle 'one-person speaks at a time? (Duncan, 1972; Sacks et al., 1974; ). Goldberg (1990: 884) reports on the results of many studies which, on the assumption that interruptions violate the other's speakership rights, interruptions tend to be viewed as rude and disrespectful acts, indicative of indifference, hostility etc.

However briefly, Stainton (1987) points attention towards a feature of interruptions that is relevant for the present study: the fact that interruptions may be seen as cooperative and be a sign of support and interest rather than competition. She notices that it may be the case, however, that what is considered as cooperative by one speaker is not always recognised as such by other interactants. Along the same lines, Goldberg (1990) shows that interruptions need not be synonymous with power and that although some interruptions may signal power, others signal rapport and may be cooperative. She differentiates between power and non-power interruptions. Hutchby (1996: 77ff) also differentiates between cooperative and non-cooperative interruptions and analyses interruptions as a feature of the social construction of arguments. Gallois and Markel (1975), on the other hand, recognise interruption as a marker of heightened involvement rather than dominance or discomfort (cf. Beattie, 1982: 97 ff.).

In TTSs, emotional conflicts are enhanced and sought by the producers of the programme, and such a context increases the occurrence of interruptions. The different notions of interruption seem to combine in TTSs. It seems as if the case of interruption in relation to dominance, discourse guiding and superior status are linked to the figure of H; the cases of interruptions on the part of Gs, however, seem to respond to moments of high involvement moments rather than an attempt

to dominate talk. However, interruptions can be performed by any of the parties in TTSs.

Those interruptions performed by H have special relevance in determining the institutional character of the interaction, since H is the representative of the institution. Managing the agenda is H's main activity, hence H may perform interruptions especially to avoid deviation from the agenda. This case is noticeable when, for example, Gs extend their turns by including answers that are not in the propositional content of the question. All types of interruptions are used by H.

Secondly, H also interrupts with the purpose of restoring order. In this case the role of H can be compared to the chairman in a meeting whose obligation is to interrupt if the mechanics of the system break down. In whichever case, the act of interrupting the speaker is not presented here as the realisation of the subject's intention, but as the execution of a role (cf. Larrue and Trognon, 1993:192). Paradoxically, interruptions are also used with the purpose of causing confrontation and disruption:

confrontation itself may be accomplished in talk using the strategy of interruption. ... the host uses interruption strategically to exert control over the argument while exploiting the interactional constraints of the setting

(Hutchby 1996: 19).

If interlocutors interrupt repeatedly, the communicative purpose of the conversation is not necessarily interfered with (O'Connell et al., 1980:346). In TTSs, simultaneous starts occur especially in cases in which two or more Gs may feel that the question asked is addressed to them. Simultaneous starts are then resolved by the participants themselves (i.e. one of them abandons) or by H, who

will immediately ask a question to one of them, assigning the turn and breaking the simultaneous start.

Other situations show how overlaps are seen to occur in TTSs, mostly initiated by H, as a mode of getting the floor; or by G, for example in cases where questions show a more complex "question delivery structure" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991:99) and G may interpret as a question a statement that H produces as a prefatory: G will answer prematurely, overlapping with H's talk. In these cases, G usually realises that it is not a question and abandons, allowing H to continue. Overlaps are part of the TTS interaction type and are a relevant feature because they allow identification of conflictive moments (linguistic or not) between the interviewer (H) and the interviewees (Gs).

#### *5.6.1.3. A working definition of intervened turns or unsmooth exchanges*

Here we classified all cases in which there is a coincidence of more or two speakers as *intervened turns or unsmooth exchanges*. Then we differentiate between several types of intervened turns. We depart from three basic assumptions:

- a) intervened turns may be cooperative and/or disruptive in nature.
- b) Classifying an intervened turn as one or the other depends on the two or more speakers involved in intervened turns since what is conceived as cooperative to one may be intrusive and uncooperative for others.
- c) The interpretation of an intervened turn is dyadic in nature. We can never interpret it from looking at only one extreme: the actions of reactions of the interventor as well as the reactions from the interventee have to be taken into consideration.

In this sense, Hutchby (1996: 84) argues that, in overlaps, it is significant that speakers try to hold the floor through the interruption, precisely because this is a way they can display their own orientation to the interruption. We believe that the kind of turn resulting from an intervention also reveals the orientation of the speakers towards the institutional character of the orientation, and towards the internal status (see section 7.3) and towards the identities taking part in it. In this account, an overlap shows that the current speaker, despite the intervention, is determined to reach turn-completion ( e.g. in TTSs if the guests do it to the host, it reveals a more daring attitude). This would seem more relevant to look at than who holds the floor and who does not (cf. Beattie, 1982) <sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, butting-in interruptions show that in seeing the intervention, the current speaker immediately gives up. Simple and silent interruptions also show an orientation of the current speaker to give-up the turn (s/he could have chosen overlap), and of the interventor to perform an openly incursive turn (see section 9.4).

### *5.6.2. F2-segments*

TTSs have been classified as highly confrontational talk and as favouring a disagreement <sup>10</sup>. between Gs in the search for higher audience ratings (see section 5.3.) Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:114) report that in news interviews, seriously escalated disagreements involve abandoning the turn-taking procedures and the footings which they embody. They explain that these *out of turn disagreements* (here called F2 situations) usually have a limited duration and that the interviewer

---

<sup>9</sup> The ideas presented here imply that, although our classification is based on Beattie's (1982), the principles underlying such classification are different. Beattie's notion of successful vs. unsuccessful interruptions based on which speaker holds the floor is disregarded here. It is the action of the interrupted speakers that matters.

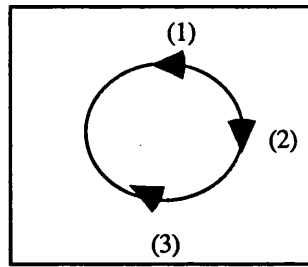
<sup>10</sup> In TTSs, they want action, and action means strong disagreements, Gs shouting and screaming at each other, etc. In *Talk to Death*, a programe based on TTSs, they show how producers instigate Gs by giving them specific instructions on how to act, which includes instructions such as: 'scream at her or I take you out of here.'

will have to intervene in order to restore order and the question-answer format. Along the same lines Oreström (1983: 160) also argues that "when emotional temperature goes up, there are interactional consequences that concern speaker-shift."

In TTS, these out of turn disagreements also occur, but we believe that their function and role is very different from that performed in news interviews, for example. As we have mentioned several times, *in-turn disagreements*, deviation from the turn-taking procedures, confrontational episodes or as they are called here, F2-segments are a "must" in TTSs. So, breaches in the turn-taking provision are not only a mere occurrence in TTSs, but are essential to the TTS generic structure. This to the point that, if they do not emerge naturally, H will provoke their appearance by building up his/her discourse towards openly conflictive details which will cause confrontation.

The reason why these in-turn disagreements are fostered is, echoing the words of many talkshow producers in charge of TTSs, that they raise audience ratings and therefore produce more benefits. In fact in *Talk to Death*, one of the producers recalls that usually TTSs and TTSs' Hs are recalled and recognised not for a thousand shows, but for a few, and for those which are highly confrontational. As an example they say that people interviewed on the streets only remember highly conflictive programmes. (e.g. still today for example, people remember that Geraldo's nose which got broken in a fight that took place during one of his shows around eight years ago. In the same way, Jenny Jones is nowadays recalled, almost exclusively, for the ambush show as a result of which one person was murdered (cf. Stasio, 1995))

TTSs can be represented as cyclic formats containing three types of sequences: non-confrontational vs. confrontational sequences: (1) a sequence that usually builds up towards a moment of confrontation, (2) a sequence of dramatic breakdown in the turn-taking process and change of footing and (3) restoration of order and a first step towards a new confrontational moment:



### III.2. Confrontational movement in TTSs

The duration of confrontational sequences depends on H. Although s/he eventually restores the order, s/he often allows these distortions to go on for a while to "heat" the atmosphere. During that time, H stands there watching impassively while on stage Gs and the audience hold a verbal battle that may involve insulting, screaming, yelling at each other, etc. (e.g. Ricki Lake *I drink and drive. So what!* ).

#### EXAMPLE 3

- A3 Theresa, I was just wondering what kind of advice you're giving. Because I give advice to people but it doesn't end up sleeping together. And it [*audience reaction; applauds*] sounds like you've got kind of a little thing going there —
- J Σ Well, maybe Ken you're the guy to ask. What kind of advice were you getting from Theresa about your relationship with Dori?
- K A way to work out arguments.  
Er—[ you can laugh but — Π
- J Δ [\* What did you worry —
- D Δ We—er—you never came to talk to me about what you guys were talking about.
- K Δ [ I told you (XXX) work it out.
- D Δ [ (X) never once never once.





EXAMPLE 4

- P And she thinks people want to take it  
C Pablo, it isn't that. I'm going to punch you. Don't start that (*censored*) with me. And I mean it. This guy- he's a - look (*censored*) . Look.  
P It's (*censored*).It's (*censored*) . It's (*censored*)  
C People get killed over that.  
B No maybe it's not your problem because you're a guy.  
P Might I speak? Might I have a moment?  
C No, it's just they are my things. They belong to me.  
B No, I've lived in this apartment building.  
P I don't want to interrupt you guys...  
T We all live there  
C Coming from somebody who thinks - who thinks it's OK to go into someone else's -and take what they want. It's not OK, Pablo.

(from Geraldo *Meth madness: poor man's cocaine* )

The example above shows how Gs are all overlapping with each other, arguing, even insulting each other or using four letter words (the censoring), threatening (I'm going to punch you), ignoring polite requests for turn (Might I speak? Might I have a moment?), etc. H does not intervene during 25 turns and when he does, he does so to restore order. The way H does it this time is by using his/her authority to grant the turn to a member of the audience. This member of the audience asks a question to one of the Gs, thus terminating the confrontational moment. Along the same lines, in Sally's *I'm fed up with my teen*, mother and daughter scream, yell and insult each other for more than 5 minutes and Sally only intervenes at the end.

The TTS demands from the guests (and also from the audience) the ability to make a spectacle of themselves in front of an audience of millions. In this way, they argue, the show gains emotion, adrenaline, and is "hot." All this, in the opinion of many TTSs producers and sponsors is what the audience expects to see in this type of programmes. F2-situations are consequently the feature around which the turn-taking is organised.

### 5.6.3. Stutter-starts

Turn-taking is also achieved very frequently in TTSs with *stutter-starts*. Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 89) claim that these may constitute a demand for the floor. We want to specially mention those here, in relation with the use of discourse markers at the beginning of turns or to gain a turn. Let us illustrate this with an example:

#### EXAMPLE 5

- P I...  
W Most of the time that women have a man's shirt, it's because they wore it once before.  
P Yeah.  
W I—I mean, you know.  
P I mean—I mean, just—just because...  
R Yeah.  
P Just because somebody wear your shirt, I mean...  
W It. doesn't mean...  
P Yeah. I mean...  
W Nothing went on. So, Rodina, what was going on? Did you not intervene because there was a point in time where Brandie was with her mother—wouldn't let her see Paul and—what happened

(Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into sex* )

In this example we see two cases of stutter starts. In both cases a *discourse marker* is used. Markers are found to be used in relation to the four discourse regulatory procedures for turn-taking. They occur quite often at transition-relevance places or at possible transition-relevance places; they also appear in overlaps and interruptions signalling the speakers intention to yield or take a turn in the conversation. In the same way they also act as turn-holding signals and are able to construct a turn by themselves when acting as a BC.

Sacks et al. (1974) claim that appositional beginnings, for example "well," "but," "and," and "so," are extraordinarily common, and satisfy the constraints of beginning. However, they do so without revealing much about the constructional features of the sentence to follow. That is, they do not require "that the speaker have a plan in hand as a condition for starting...[but] are turn-entry devices...devices with important turn-organisational uses" (1974: 32). Duncan (1972: 283) supports this view and classifies elements such as 'and', 'but', 'however' as claim-suppressing signals... which signal the current speaker's wish to continue to hold the turn." Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 86) also agree in that "buffers and reinforcers are frequently used as turn-requesting strategies. Buffers generally constitute a clear attempt by the auditor to get the floor." Markers function as a mark for turn-boundaries, signal the wish of a speaker to take or relinquish a turn and are able to build a turn-unit by themselves. This function of markers is extended to other units of talk: discourse markers not only bracket turns but also exchanges and whole conversations.

#### EXAMPLE 6

- V Well, I haven't seen two really extreme butches together I must say.  
D So—so butches seldom date butches then  
V Well [ \* butch u—you ge—I don't think—  
JO [ & I—I would disagree] with that.  
V Yeah.  
D Well, let's find out. Yes, KIM e::r— you're a gay man, and you're not upset if I describe your behaviour as effeminate

(Donahue, EXT7)

## 5.7. Backchannelling

The term backchannel (BC) was introduced by Yngve (1970) to denote messages such as 'mm-hmm' and head nods from the auditor<sup>11</sup>. Duncan (1975) systematically compared turn and BC and came to the conclusion, along the same lines as Dittman and Llewellyn (1967, 1968), Fries (1952), Kendon (1967), that turns have characteristics different from BCs.

In this sense, Oreström (1983) pointed out that there are two types of utterances that must be distinguished: *turn* and *back-channel* item. Turn is for Oreström "the continuous period of time during which a person is talking". As for BC, Oreström reports that many writers such as Duncan 1973/1975, Harrigan 1980, Yngve 1970, among others, do not consider BCs to be turns. He agrees with Watzlawick et al. (1967) that, although BCs have a relatively low value on the content level of communication they have a relatively high value on the relationship level. Stainton (1987: 83) points out that they are an important part of conversation: "they must be present in discourse or else the speaker will either reformulate his utterance or ask the hearer directly if he understands". Kasper (1986: 66) considers *uptaking* a crucial feature for smooth conversation, since the lack of uptake will be interpreted as a sign of inattentiveness, non-comprehension or disagreement on the part of the hearer, and thus may initiate repair.

The difference between taking the turn and performing a BC, Stainton (1987: 85) concludes, is that "the BC does not provide propositional and functional content, and thus, it will not be possible to backchannel a BC." On the other hand, Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 86) suggest that looking at the position

---

<sup>11</sup> The term backchannel has since been extended to designate 'backchannel message' and this is the practice I shall follow here. When it is necessary to speak of a particular linguistic form functioning either as a backchannel or as part of one, I shall use the term 'backchannel item.' (Tottie 1991: 256)

of possible BCs may help to determine whether we are facing a BC or a turn-request. If the reinforcers, as they call the items that may act as BCs, are uttered while the speaker is talking (rather than during a pause) or if they are uttered while the speaker is not looking at the auditor, they seem to have the force of a request. If the speaker has previously solicited feedback, these reinforcers may be interpreted as encouragement to continue talking. They claim that "it may be that a dramatic increase on an "activity dimension" differentiates between turn request and back channel cues." Oreström (1983) points out that the difference between a BC and a request for clarification is clear; a BC does not directly influence the subject matter or stream of talk, while the request does. In conversation, however, an excess amount of BCs can be a problem, Stainton argues, along the same lines as Crystal and Davy (1975: 5) who claim that it "may be one of over-bearing pugnacity or of embarrassing friendliness, depending on your facial expression" (qtd. in Stainton). However, the tolerance of BCs does undoubtedly vary from culture to culture (cf. Bou and Gregori, in press). As McCarthy states, Japanese seem to tolerate a higher number of BCs (cf. also Maynard, 1986)

Analysing BCs in TTSs is hindered by some technical problems which emerge because BCs are characterised by prosodical reduction <sup>12</sup>. It is difficult to appreciate their production in a TV programme where the reproduction of sound is not totally natural but controlled through the volume of the microphones: the analysis of BCs in TTSs would only be precise if we had access to the whole of the discourse, i.e. due to the nature of BCs these may not be captured by the loudspeakers and, especially, prosodically reduced BCs may go undetected. Again, the analyst and the audience have only access to part of the interaction. The analyst is nevertheless aware that there may be some distortions in what we hear,

---

<sup>12</sup> Oreström (1983: 104ff.) reports how 65 % of his examples of BC were prosodically 'reduced', which often made it very difficult to identify them.

but we assume that whatever the distortions, the broadcast version is what becomes "the reality" of the programme itself, since it is the final public version.

The systematic absence of backchannel tokens or response items, even in long responses, is reported to be wholly prototypical in the conduct of interviewers for news interview programmes in both UK and US, and also for courtroom discourse. Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 109ff.) claim that the systematic withholding of these objects, conversely, is a means by which the interviewer can decline the role of primary addressee of Gs' remarks in favour of the news audience and that the consistent absence of response tokens on the news interview is systematically associated with the tasks and constraints of news interview conduct. Heritage (1985) argues that:

in both courtrooms and news interviews the task of the questioner is to elicit information but not to judge its adequacy, the avoidance of routine conversational receipt objects may be managed so as to achieve a posture of formal or official neutrality with respect to the testimony of witnesses or interviewees.

(Heritage, 1985: 9)

In the same way, as argued by Greatbatch (1988:409), interviewees would also withhold the use of BCs when the interviewer is producing statement formatted components as prefaces to questions. In that way, the interviewee is "treat [ing] IRs' statement turn components as preliminaries to questioning turn components... by holding off at least until the first possible completion of an initial questioning component before initiating a next turn and by withholding continuers."

Contrary to these affirmations, BCs do appear occasionally in the TTS and H not only does not avoid receipt and assessment of prior report components, but

uses BCs whenever s/he wants to display alignment with some G's prior talk. H, in fact does act often as the primary addressee of G's talk<sup>13</sup> as usually occurs in casual conversation (cf. Bou and Gregori, in press; Kasper, 1989; Oreström, 1983). On the other hand, the use of BCs seems to function as a reminder of the presence of H and/or a demand for the camera. Observation shows that, especially in long turns produced by other parties (E, A, G), the camera alternates between the speaker and H, and that the uttering of a BC by H coincides with a change in the focus, i.e. G is talking and the camera focuses on him/her, H utters a BC and the camera changes focus to H.

BCs are also used by H to show that s/he is listening attentively to the ongoing talk. BCs, "signal continuous attention, agreement, and various emotional reactions, thereby indicating that the communicative contact is still maintained" (Oreström, 1983: 104). BCs also prove that the speaker (G, E, A) and listener (H) are on line, at the same time that they show support and or regulate the discourse (cf. Oreström, 1983; Tottie, 1991 for details). The examples below show some uses of BCs by H:

#### EXAMPLE 7

- D            Yeah. He—his—Our friends live next door to her told me that he was going to be spending the evening with them. So I stayed home, y'know, to cool off a little bit < J- Uhu > The next morning I went up to our friend's house and he was not there, her—her door was open so I walked in and there they were on the couch.

(Jenny Jones.1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses* )

---

<sup>13</sup> We are not forgetting here that most talk, participants are aware, is produced for an overhearing audience. However, this phenomenon seems to contradict in a way this feature, since participants seem to "forget" the audience.

EXAMPLE 8

- D I panicked <O- Mhm> And I did—I left—whe—in in an institution but I panicked when nobody would help < O- Mhm >
- O Were you trying to leave him there? Were you trying [to get away ] from him?
- D [ No] No I wanned him to get help < O- Mhm > He couldn't come home <O- Mhm> I was afraid—I mean we have a kid that's gonna—that's threatened to blow your head off <O- Mhm>

(Oprah Winfrey. 1996. *Runaway parents* )

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:111) report that the presence of response tokens imparts a quasi-conversational character to the talk. The use of BCs on the part of H may give the impression that talk by the guests is being addressed to the host rather than to an audience, a feature reinforced by the fact that Gs explicitly address H by naming him/her. Example 9 below shows how the panellists themselves are really responding and trying to justify themselves to H rather than to the audience.

EXAMPLE 9

- G No. I withdraw the question. I withdraw that.
- W No. No.
- B **Geraldo...**
- WI I mean...
- B **Geraldo, I...**
- G Is he an abusive man? Did he hit you more than once?

(Geraldo. 1996. *Jealous rage. Stop you're suffocating me* )

- Dr. R: Oh, definitely. And I think—Montel, what we're seeing is—and—and I like what you said a—a minute ago on the show—this is happening all over America today. We've got older men who are going to say whatever they need to say. We've got younger girls who are breaking the rules.

( Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*)



According to Heritage (1985: 100) this behaviour, in news interviews, may be classified as improper for two reasons:

1. their production [production of backchannels] would identify prior talk as news for questioners (who are usually briefed beforehand or may be required to appear so) rather than the overhearing audience for whom the talk is being produced and for whom it is, putatively news.
2. By their production these receipt objects (including continuers), questioners identify themselves as the primary addressers of the talk they elicit.

From this affirmation, it derives that TTSs differ from courtroom and news interviews, at least apparently, in the degree of formality. TTSs occasionally violate one of the principles established for news interviews by which H has to maintain neutrality and avoid making factual claims and direct accusatory disagreements, as well as alignments with Gs (this is better illustrated in the analysis, where examples of H's non-neutrality are widely displayed). As a result, TTSs are a genre that allows such violations and that these violations are in the list of its generic features.

On the other hand, as argued by Wiemann and Knapp, among others, in conversation, "buffers and reinforcers seem to bind the interactants together... provide the auditor a means of participating in the conversation in an overt and verbal manner even if he or she doesn't have the floor" (1975:88). The consequences of the use of BCs may reflect a desire to get closer to the other parties, to make the interaction less formal and closer to conversation. This phenomenon has been noticed by Fairclough (1995) who claims a *conversationalization* in media discourse in general and more specifically on TV

programmes. Some of our field work shows this same attitude and inclusion of receipt objects and alignment work between questioners and answerers in other types of talkshows, such as *Larry King, Politically Incorrect, Crossfire*, etc.

One may venture to say that the rules of interaction may be changing in discourse types such as news interviews, and the rigidity characteristic of these is progressing towards a more conversational style (cf. Fairclough, 1995). Furthermore, it is the interviewers themselves, that is, those representing the institution who, at least in the TTS are the first to cross the line. In TTSs, the BC is a function absorbed by H (at least for verbal backchannels) more often than by Gs. This presence of alignment work results in a confusion between roles, in which H is somewhere in between the role of report recipient and of report elicitor (Heritage, 1985: 100)<sup>14</sup>, in an attempt to make their talk more "natural" and/or "real."

In conclusion, in TTSs the use of BCs is a fact. H, contrary to other institutionally formal interaction types (e.g. courtroom, news interviews), uses BCs freely, a feature that contrasts strongly with the "systematic absence of these tokens" that is wholly "prototypical" of news interviews, as reported by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:109). The absence of these response tokens guarantees professional maintenance of neutrality, and shows that talk is oriented to the audience rather than to the interviewer. This is recognised as a principle underlying journalism since "the IR's maintenance of such a stance (of neutrality) is a facet of the broader range of external constraints that bear on news organisations in the UK and the US" (Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:116). Although the TTS appears similar to news interviews, and displays characteristics

---

<sup>14</sup> Heritage (1985) talks of receipt objects with particular emphasis on third-turn receipt objects characteristic of question answer sequences in natural conversation as opposed to the lack of those in news and courtroom and news interviews. Our approach has extended his arguments as applicable also to the use of BCs and other small features of alignment apart from third-turn receipt objects.

of courtroom discourse, some features proper of the TTS, such as the use of BCs, tell us that we are facing a different genre that constructs its institutionality, turn by turn, using its unique and hence generic features. So far we can conclude that the use of BCs in TTSs confirms one of the initial claims of the present work, that the TTS sits on the fence of institutional and conversational interaction.

### **5.8. Turn-taking in TTSs. The normative character of the interaction**

It is important to establish that the present analysis of the turn-taking system for TTSs is based on three assumptions. First, that the TTS is a hybrid kind of institutional talk whose management of turn-taking is mostly done through question-answer sequences (see section 8.4). Second, and a consequence of the first, the TTS will share characteristics with other formal institutional genres and with conversation. Its hybrid nature derives from its similarity and/or differences with casual conversation and other institutional genres; and third, and most basic, is that the success of a TTS is not:

the smooth interchange of speaking turns or any other prescriptive ideal, but the fulfilment of the purposes entertained by two or more interlocutors. If they chose to loudly harangue one another simultaneously for several minutes, the result is not a breakdown in the conversation; the procedure is rather to be considered a deliberate conversational ploy.

(O'Connell, Kowal and Kaltenbacher, 1990: 346)

The importance of turn-taking for institutional interaction is summarised by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 95) as follows:

- 1- Turn-taking organisations are a fundamental and generic aspect of the organisation of the interaction. In institutional settings, the participants

organise their turn-taking and their conduct so as to display and realise its "institutional" character. They do so *recurrently* and *pervasively*.

2- The parties confine their conduct within the framework of some "formal" institutional turn-taking system. More differences with conversation emerge, which involve *reductions*, *specifications*, and *respecifications* of the interactional functions of the activities that remain. The ensemble of these variations from conversational practice contributes to a unique "fingerprint" for each institutional form of interaction. The institutionalised reductions and specialisations, they argue, are *conventional*, culturally variable, subject to legal constraints and vulnerable to processes of social change. Associated with these various institutional conventions are differing participation frameworks, different footings and different patternings to initiate and sanction interactional activities.

Drew and Heritage (1992: 27) conclude that in several "formal" kinds of institutional interaction, turn-taking is strongly constrained within quite sharply defined procedures. Departures from these procedures attract overt sanctions; therefore the pattern of the turn-taking in these settings is uniform and complies with those procedures. If the analysis proves TTS to be an example of an institutional form of interaction, and closer to formal types of interaction, the turn-taking should be strongly constrained within quite sharply defined procedures.

The participation frameworks presented for the participants in chapter 7 are no doubt, gross features that should ideally apply in the TTS interaction and which H, as representative of the institution, would try to maintain. However, the turn-taking system in the TTS is more complex, since it allows all the categories at least occasionally, to participate in any of the possible communicative activities.

In institutional settings, especially those which involve multiple participants, one has to accept that there are constraints on turn-taking that may reveal the asymmetric relations that arise from the predominant pattern of interaction characteristic of institutional interaction. Most institutional settings work on the basis of pre-allocation: "turn-taking systems ... organised through pre-allocation of questions and answers - most often to the institutional and lay participants respectively" (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 39) :

in courtrooms, meetings, media interviews, press conferences and other occasions when a number of people gather to conduct business of some sort, various conventionally specified, systematic modifications of the turn system for mundane conversation can be found.

(Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 14)

The degree of adherence to the pre-allocation turn-taking system and to the context in general will depend "on the orientation of the participants to those aspects of who they are, and those aspects of their context" (Schegloff, 1991:52). Schegloff (1991) argues that it is only when the parties are oriented to their institutional identities that they "are embodying for one another the relevancies of the interaction and thereby producing the social structure."

The influence of the setting, that is, the fact that the interaction occurs "in the hospital", "in the courtroom" etc., may or may not be *procedurally consequential*. Schegloff argues that "not everything *in* the setting is *of* the setting. Not all talk at work is work talk" (Schegloff, 1991: 53). Consequently, only if or/and when the participants respect and orient their activities to those aspects of the context and their identities, they will be *doing* a particular type of interaction:

it is through the ways in which the talk (and other conduct) is produced that the work setting is realised (by and for *its participants*, in the first instance) as a concerted interactional accomplishment.

(Schegloff, 1992: 116)

Moreover, as argued by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:103) the turn-taking system naturally manifests itself on an iterative turn-by-turn basis and thus constitutes extremely powerful evidence for the relevance it has for the participants concerning their engagement in a certain kind of institutional talk. The relevance of the turn-taking system is mostly evident in "deviant cases." Schegloff, (1992: 121ff) analyses an interview between President Bush and Dan Rather (see also Downs, Kaid, and Ragan, 1990), in which there are several departures from the interview format, and reports on occasions in which "the interview *qua* interview breaks down" (Schegloff, 1992: 126). Many would argue that in the cases in which the participants do not operate within the conventions of an interview, it can be concluded that an interview is not taking place (Heritage and Greatbatch 191: 108).

Schegloff (1992) suggests a methodological canon: "establishing procedural consequentiality cannot be "threshold issues" ... [but] questions for continuing analysis". He argues that invoking social structure or the setting of the talk at the outset can systematically distract from, even blind us to, details of those domains of events in the world. He suggests, instead, to try to give a methodical explanation of our grasp, our insistent intuition and show that the features that we find relevant are relevant also for the parties in the interaction; and show what in the context is demonstrably consequential for some aspects of that interaction.

The approach proposed by Schegloff is very much relevant for the study of TTSs. Intuitively, we observe different talk-formats, departures from the interview

format and disruption of roles and the discursive procedures assigned to each category.

The analysis of the turn system reveals the real nature of the interaction, because each genre has a unique set of turn-taking norms that apply only in that particular context. There are, of course, similarities between the genres and characteristics shared between genres, as is the case, for example, between TTSs and other types of talk shows: interviews, game shows, i.e. any activity that involves a question/answer process. The point is, however, that if we gather them all together and join the extra-sequential properties (Moerman, 1996: 154) of the discourse as well as of the parties, the result is a unique genre. The configuration of the turn-taking system allows the analyst to establish a difference between types of discourse and present the object of study as a sample of a unique genre. Sacks et al. point out:

how much operating turn-taking systems are characterizable as adapting to properties of the sorts of activities in which they operate and also how much the activity is constrained by the particular form of turn-taking system operating on it.

(Sacks et al., 1974: 8)

Once the rules for the turn-taking system have been established, we can easily argue that any disruption or alteration of the turn-taking system in any genre is done.

In this chapter we have reviewed the concepts of turn-taking relevant to understand how allocation of turns at speaking is not automatically achieved but is always actively managed through talk. As Gumperz (1992) argues:

the position of an utterance and its timing in relation to preceding and following speaking turns as enlisting the other's attention, creating the interactive space to develop an

argument, opening or closing conversations, or managing topic change are important to its interpretation.

(Gumperz, 1992: 304)

In the next chapter we introduce the elements that are part of the TTS structure and then proceed in chapter 8 to give a preliminary description of turn-taking in TTSs.



## **CHAPTER 6.**

# **CONVERSATION vs. INSTITUTIONAL TALK**

## 6.1. The television medium

McLuhan affirms that the medium is the message "because it is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action" (1964: 9). The medium of the TTSs analysed here is US television. Morse refers to such medium as follows:

US television is conceived as an ongoing transmission which the viewer watches intermittently and often with low-level attention.

(Morse, 1985: 5)

The mass media and mass communication, as indicated by the terms themselves, involve the use of language with social purposes. The function of language is to communicate and so is the function of the mass media and of television as, probably, the most influential mass medium in our society. In such medium, the primacy of spoken language is a fact.

Television has altered our relations to one another and has also introduced the new dialectic dimension<sup>1</sup> of relating and interacting with the people that appear on the screen. The single voice of the literary work is transformed into a wide variety of dialectic relationships available to the audience in instant and almost overlapping and interrupting sequences (cf. Fiske and Hartley, 1994).

---

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the macrostructure of the discourse in television, we are aware of the vast amount of work done in the semiotic and cultural studies. A semiotic approach to the study of television discourse supposes that *discourse* implies a plane of subjectivity in which a person, 'I' adopts responsibility for an utterance and calls for intersubjective relations with a 'you' in the here and now (Morse 1985: 3). Morse adds that "not only do a large number of its genres under discussion address to the viewer; but also, television itself, although it is just an electronic machine and a piece of furniture, speaks from a position of subjectivity, as in 'We'll be right back...'. Although we are aware of the implications that this viewpoint of discourse has, in the present study we will not look at the TTS from this perspective.

Today, as argued by Buxton (1991: 411), "in the American context, commercial broadcast television is still the central medium that people turn to for both information and entertainment."

Fairclough (1994) identifies two tensions affecting contemporary media language: the tension between information and entertainment and the tension between public and private. These two tensions, he claims, are indicative of two tendencies in media language:

- a) the tendency of public affairs media to become increasingly conversationalized.
- b) its tendency to move increasingly in the direction of entertainment to become more 'marketized.'

Marketization and conversationalization are processes that affect the mass media. As for conversationalization, Fairclough's opinion is that those mass-media that favour it reflect a contradiction between the public nature of media production and the private nature of media consumption:

We might see these in terms of tradition as an organising principle within societies becoming problematic (Giddens 1991), which entails problems with relationships based upon authority, an opening up and democratisation of social relationships, a new public prestige for 'ordinary' values and practices, popular culture, including 'ordinary conversational practices.'

(Fairclough, 1995:11)

The relation between conversationalization and marketization, Fairclough concludes, is seen in the fact that the emphasis in contemporary economies has shifted from production to consumption.

Academic response to television has long been negative, and television and its product are, still today, widely criticised. The quality of its product has very often been compared to that of literature with the balance usually in favour of the latter. Fiske and Hartley argue against this comparative process by saying that although "the tools of literacy and dramatic appreciation are by now very sophisticated" they will not necessarily work for television (cf. Gronbeck, 1979). Fiske and Hartley argue argument that regarding television production, "we have not fully formed language appreciation to *read* them by" (1994: 14) and that any attempt to judge television as if it were a literary "text" is doomed to failure. Fiske and Hartley recognise that different media have different sets of characteristics which are unique to that medium:

but the codes which structure the "language" of television are much more like those of speech than of writing.... this tendency to judge all media... by the prescriptions of literacy... is the reflection of dominant culture values, instilled during five hundred years of print-literacy.

(Fiske and Hartley, 1994: 15)

Television has been described as "ephemeral, episodic, specific, concrete and dramatic in mode" (Fiske and Hartley, 1994:15). However, Fiske and Hartley argue, it can achieve the same universal effect claimed for literary work since television creates, through repetition and with its different genres, a sense of universal familiarity. Each television genre is associated with certain values and beliefs that are transmitted to and are largely and effectively kept by the audience: "it is television's familiarity, its centrality to our culture, that makes it so important, so fascinating, and so difficult to analyse" (Fiske and Hartley, 1994: 16). Television is a social reality at the same time that it helps to create that social reality; and there is probably no other medium that surpasses, daily, the number of people exposed to its product.

Gronbeck (1979), in discussing television criticism, notes that when seeking to analyse television "the critic confronts with completely different characteristics [to literature for example]. Not only primarily visual, but it functions and is constructed in radically different ways. Gronbeck (1979: 1ff.) points out five characteristics of television which force us to change the ground rules of criticism: 1. Pervasiveness: television is a veritable kaleidoscope of information, entertainment, and persuasion; 2. Ephemerality: TV programmes come and go by the hour; 3. Fragmentation; 4. Mundaneness; and 5. Involvement (cf. Gronbeck, 1988).

The present study seeks to illustrate one of the many possible approaches that can emerge from a combination of linguistics and mass media and communication studies. Considering that one needs "to be sensitive to properties of the society and institutions we are concerned with" (cf. Fairclough, 1994), television and the present study on TTSs can certainly help in the understanding of the use of the English language as well as serving to illustrate cultural aspects predominant in US society.

Following Fiske and Hartley's viewpoint, we approach television talk as an extension of our spoken language, subject to many rules that have been shown to apply to language:

It [television] is rather like the language we speak: taken for granted, but both complex and vital to an understanding of the way human beings have created their world. Indeed, the resemblance of television discourse to spoken language explains our interest in the communicative role played by television in society.

(Fiske and Hartley, 1994: 16)

Television and its product are socio-linguistic phenomena, that is, what is talked about in TTS is "determined socially and has social effects<sup>2</sup>" (Fairclough 1994: 23); much the same as the way in which people use language is subject to social convention. Fairclough, along the same lines of Fiske and Hartley (1994), argues in favour of a view of language as a form of social practice:

there is not an external relationship between language and society. Language is part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* linguistic phenomena.... But it is not matter of a symmetrical relationship ... not all social phenomena are linguistic (economic production for instance).

(Fairclough, 1994: 23)

## **6.2. Transactional vs. interactional talk in TTSs**

Should talk in TTSs be classified as transactional, interactional or both? This question introduces the main hypothesis of the present study, i.e., that the TTS is a hybrid genre that emulates both conversational and institutional practices.

In this sense, Tolson, in describing television chat, argues in favour of a definition that would include both and which we take as representative of our viewpoint:

these forms of talk [televised chat] are, in general terms, 'informational and conversational' (Scannell, 1988), but more

---

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 4 for information on TTSs a social phenomenon.

precisely, they should be seen as institutionalised variants of 'conversation' as such.

(Tolson, 1991: 179)

The terms transactional and interactional are two terms used in discourse analysis to differentiate between two types of talk:

That function which language serves in the expression of 'content' we will describe as *transactional*, the general assumption being that the most important function of language is the communication of information. And the function involved in expressing social relations and personal attitudes we will describe as *interactional*.

(Brown and Yule, 1983: 1)

It is by now accepted that it is difficult to maintain the transactional-interactional dichotomy, classify talk as one or the other, since it is not always a matter of black or white. As McCarthy (1991: 136) argues "it is almost impossible to conceive of talk between two people that does not, in some way 'change the world', even if that only means getting to know someone better." McCarthy, it would seem, would not wish to give any special priority to information transactions. However, the distinction between interactional and transactional, with the transactional being more message-oriented while the interactional is more-listener oriented, is useful to understand the kind of talk that occurs in TTSs.

The clear cut parallel that Cheepen (1988) supposes exists between transactional and interactional encounters and external/ internal status becomes complicated when applied to TTSs. For Cheepen:

transactional encounters are frequently associated with some kind of cultural institution so that the participants can be seen as enacting, not as individual human beings, but as 'types', and the particular roles they adopt in any given encounter are complementary 'pair types', involving either a

superior, and an inferior participant or two equal participants.

(Cheepen, 1988: 25)

In relation to her definition of transactional encounters, one may argue that: first, TTS may be a type of transactional encounter in that talk takes place in a cultural institution: television. Television is characterised by a dual, if not triadic, goal: it pretends to inform, entertain and make money. In TTSs, however, the participants are not only enacting institutional roles but are expected to combine both the institutional and the personal; after all, TTSs promote individualism. Finally, and regarding status, in TTSs both the internal and the external status are present, but with a clear prevalence of the former.

The transactional, message-oriented, dimension of TTSs lies in the fact that TTSs want to transmit a message to their audience. The message is in relation to a topic or situation that, at that moment in time and history, is socially relevant and is to be discussed. TTSs are one genre that offers a common place for the discussion; the interaction is between a host, an expert/s, an audience interested in the topic, and some guests. The guests are the elements that serve as the starting point for the debate; they become the key feature of a public sphere in which the general public as well as experts and host, can participate. The guests, their story, and their discourse "shows the impact of current issues on ordinary people's everyday lives" (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994: 38).

Nevertheless, the topics of TTSs are known to be intimate and highly emotional. Such programmes offer a "cultural performance of individuality" (Carbaugh 1988: 13) and enhance the exposure of the most intimate aspects of the participants in the interaction. TTSs are not only to inform but to entertain, to confront, to involve their audience in a moral discussion, to provoke conflict, etc.;



in brief, to make their audience react and pronounce on a subject that is social matter. This gives an interactional character to the interaction. The interactional emerges entering into conflict with the transactional.

The separation between the interactional and transactional is, therefore, by no means clear in such a speech event as the TTS; a feature common to many types of discourse, since, as argued by Schegloff (1987), in several types of talk-in-interaction both of them alternate and mix to the point that the analyst cannot be sure one hundred per cent which is which. The complex generic structure of TTS and its double nature<sup>3</sup>, inform (talk) and entertain (show), encourages a blurring of boundaries which, in effect, has become its most characteristic feature. We can therefore conclude, borrowing McCarthy's arguments (in press, chapter 2), that TTSs are a good example of the way that interactional talk can be just as goal-oriented as transactional talk.

Regarding sequential organisation of the transactional vs. interactional, observation seems to suggest that such sequentiality does not really exist. One might argue in favour of a greater proportion of transactional talk tending to appear closer to the opening and closing of the different sequences than towards the end. In this respect, McCarthy has pointed out that in the real world it is almost the opposite, with interactional talk being common during openings and closures. The reason for this apparent contradiction is, we believe, intrinsic to the nature of the TTS genre itself. These bits of transactional talk help to *place the audience in context* and make it easier for the listener to get involved in the interaction. *Initial transactional talk* provides background information and allows the audience to easily join in and follow the consequent development of the interaction.

---

<sup>3</sup> This double nature can be said to be apparent in most of the television programmes: it is an inherent characteristic of the medium itself. We leave out the economic side of it since it is not from that perspective that we analyze TTSs.

Transactional talk seems to perform the function of a warm-up towards a more compromised and emotionally involved type of interaction<sup>4</sup>.

The discussion above suggests that certain redefinitions of the terms transactional and interactional, as well as those of status and goal, need to be made when the discourse being analysed is television discourse, in particular TTSs. The presence of an audience and the complex organisation of the institution *television* alters the scene completely. As Hymes (1967) already suggested the presence of an audience can alter the rules of speaking.

TTSs are a hybrid genre in which characteristics proper to conversation and/or *institutional talk*<sup>5</sup> as well as the interactional and transactional seem to converge. As reported by McCarthy (in press, chapter 2), "Ylänne-McEwen (1997) has shown in great detail just how significantly the transactional and relational elements intertwine ... such that any modelling of genre would arguably be fruitless without at least equal regard for the interactional/relational process as well as the transactional processes"<sup>6</sup>.

---

<sup>4</sup> The analyst is aware that this cannot be proved and that only by asking the participants and/or being present in all the conversations that precede the final product could an affirmation like this be proved. This is therefore intuitive rather than scientific.

<sup>5</sup> The term *institutional talk/interaction* will be henceforth used to refer to transactional encounters or to talk-in-interaction. See section for more information of the term.

<sup>6</sup> The discussion above serves as an introduction to the description of the intricate nature of TTS-interaction. "Doing a TTS" appeared to be a complicated, let alone the description. The lack of boundaries, between transactional and interactional, the talk and the show, the entertainment and the information, the personal and the public, the interview and the conversation, the individual and society, etc. was inherent to TTSs. It was for this reason that among the different spellings we came across, we chose the one word *talkshow*.

### **6.3. Ordinary conversation and TTSs**

#### *Dimensions of discourse: spoken and written*

Conversation occupies a central position among the speech exchange systems (Sacks et al, 1974: 11). The mechanisms of sequential organisation of ordinary conversation are considered the fundamental mechanisms of interaction. In CA, comparison between different types of talk are defined by reference to conversation: "conversation is treated as the primordial medium of face-to-face interaction and as possessing a full array of potential practices. This is in opposition to institutional interaction, which is characterised by a systematic reduction and/or specialisation of the repertoire of practices." (Hutchby, 1996: 11).

For the past forty years the interest in the study of conversation has increased and several disciplines, from anthropology, psychology, philosophy to linguistics, have contributed to give an insight into conversation. Works on conversation are numerous: Boden and Zimmerman, 1991; Cheepen, 1988, 1990; Channell, 1985; Crystal and Davy, 1969; Grice, 1975; Jefferson, 1973, 78; Psathas, 1979; Schenkein, 1978; Tottie and Bäcklund, 1986. On rituals and conversational routine: Aijmer 1996; Coulmas, 1981; on conversational relevance: Sperber and Wilson, Dascal, 1977; conversational politeness and mitigation: Fraser, 1990; On conversation and background knowledge, Gibbs 1987; On conversation as a social activity, Malinowski 1923, Good 1979; and studies that deal with parts of conversation: conversational closings: Aston, 1995; conversational openings (cf. Sacks et al, 1974; Schegloff, 1967-8 ) to mention but some.

Conversation is a complex phenomenon and so are the practical applications arising from it. Media discourse, and in particular programmes such as

talkshows, are certainly practices that have extended, enriched, and often taken to the limits, conversation as a speech event. The number of possibilities arising from conversational practice have certainly found a new dimension in the context of the mass media, on TV in particular.

A clear cut definition of conversation has not yet been given. Following Gregory's (1984: 47) classification of situational variation, and according to user's medium relationship, we accept the distinction between 2 initial dimensions: spoken and written.

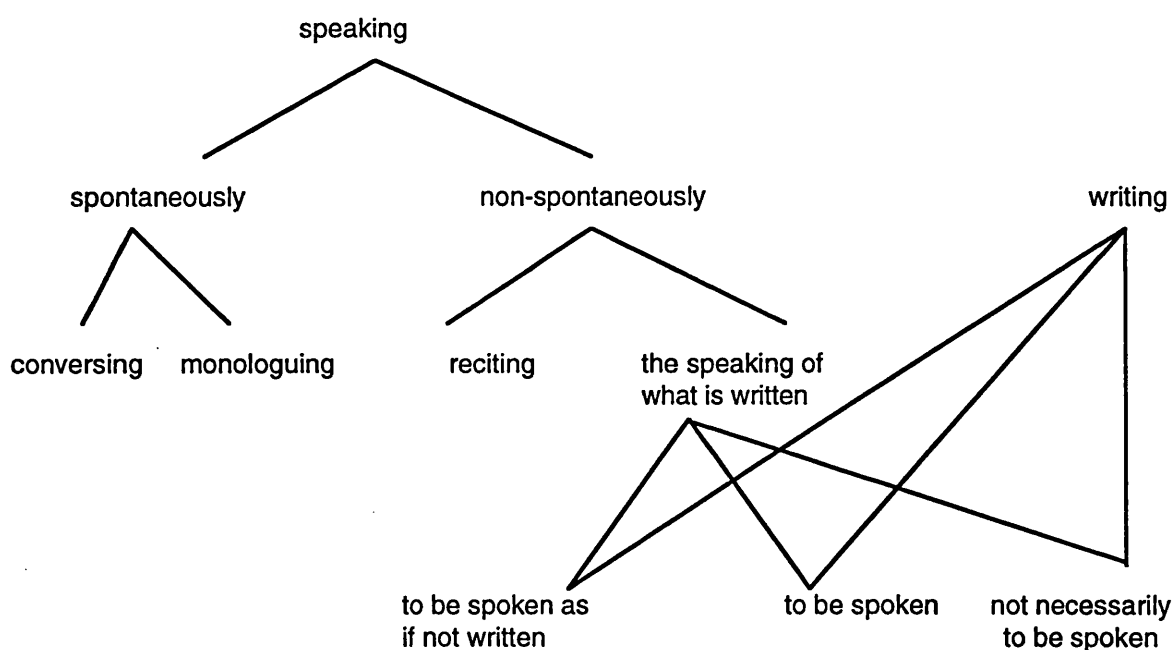
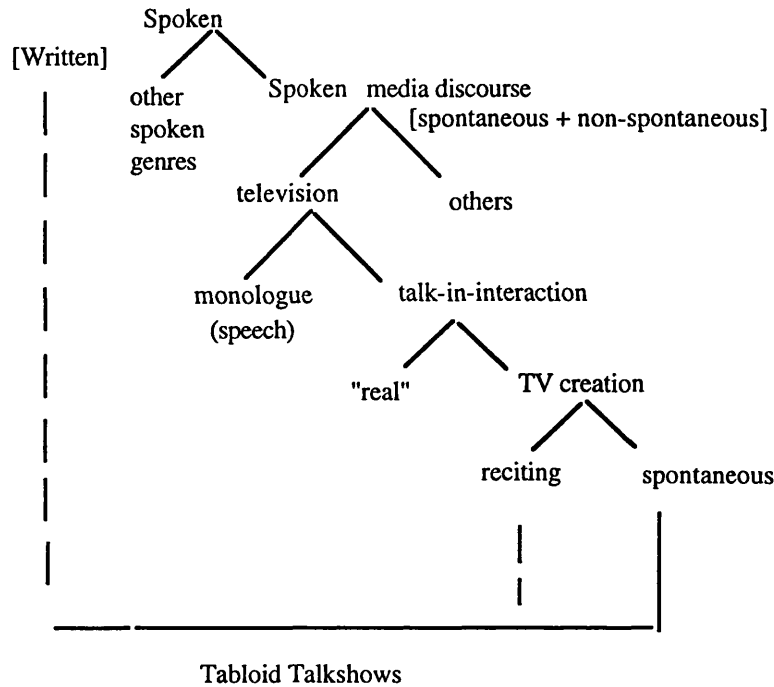


Illustration 3 . Classification of situational variation ( Gregory, 1984: 47)

Attending to this division a first approach to our definition of conversation is as follows: a conversation is spoken according to the user's medium and it can be said to have the characteristic of spontaneity.

A new dimension has to be, however, added here to account for TTS-interaction. This dimension takes features from the spontaneous and non-

spontaneous as well as from both spoken and written. Talk-in-interaction in TTSs occupies a slot in relation to other planes of discourse which is illustrated in the figure below:



Ill. 4. The mode of TTSs.

Reading the figure from the bottom-up, it is first noticed that TTSs take features from both the spoken and the written mode (the dotted line meaning minor presence). The written is represented in the TTS by titles, *on-screen*<sup>7</sup> inserts describing participants, statistic results of polls, information for recruitment of new guests interested in a particular topic, usually in the form of a question; information for potential studio-audience, i.e. how to come to the programme, etc. The written either appears on the screen during the breaks or overlaps with the spoken (e.g. on-screen inserts describing the guests).

<sup>7</sup> They usually specify the attitude, point of view, opinion, describe an event in relation with the topic of the day, etc. of the guest they describe.

In the next stage, TTSs are presented as a mixture of recited and spontaneous discourse, with the dotted lines meaning that there is less *reciting* than manifestations showing a certain degree of *spontaneity*. That is, there is not, at least to my knowledge, a complete script that the participants have to memorise.

In the next level, TTSs are identified as a *TV-creation* which means that talk-in-interaction in TTSs takes place and is produced, as well as created within, and for the television itself<sup>8</sup>: TTS are a product of television. This is shown to be in opposition to "*real*" interactions which are talk merely reproduced or broadcast on television (e.g. talk that has been surreptitiously captured and is merely transmitted by this medium: the camera records a conversation between two friends and shows it on TV); and which are usually more spontaneous than the other. These categories, however, are not exclusive, since one can participate in the other and vice versa. For example, in the TTS, some of that "real" talk can be integrated in the talkshow<sup>9</sup>. This continuum that can be said to exist between *recited* and *spontaneous* talk allows establishing basic differences between TV genres (i.e., a discussion is most probably less rehearsed than the dialogues of a soap opera).

Finally, a distinction is made between spoken media discourse and other types of spoken discourse. This is the basic assumption underlying this classification of TTSs: the fact that a piece of spoken discourse is shown or produced for the mass media, and in particular for television, alters all possible dialectic relations between addresser and addressee, a feature present in all mass

---

<sup>8</sup> This applies, no doubt, for many other genres. But it is not necessary, we believe, to continuously express or refer to the obvious.

<sup>9</sup> In a programme by *Leeza* (1995) they show video tapes in which people were not aware of a camera recording their talk. They show the extracts of baby-sitters while they were working. In other recordings, some people are aware of the recording and some others are not: e.g. *Montel Williams* (1996) guests recorded themselves when they were being abused by their husbands.

communication theories. One cannot, by any means, forget this basic principle when analysing TTSs and, by extension, television products.

*Tabloid talkshows and ordinary conversation*

TTS can be described as an event in which a group of people gather to talk about their experiences, as occurs in many casual conversations. The phenomenon of conversation, however, seems to be linked to adjectives such as 'casual' 'ordinary' 'natural' while one may "doubt" the genuineness of talk in TTSs and of television discourse in general.

Oreström's (1983) definition of conversation is one that brings together most of the factors which differentiate conversation from other speech events, emphasising social as well as linguistic aspects: the social dimension is essential for our approach to media discourse and in particular to TTSs:

... it seems difficult to give a brief, simple and clear cut definition since conversation is a speech event which involves a mutual exchange of information, thoughts, ideas, and emotions which takes place on a here-and-now level and is therefore both a social and psychological, as well as a linguistic activity.

(Oreström , 1983: 22)

TTSs, the same as conversation, are social phenomena and cultural activities which involve an active participation of members that exchange information, thoughts, ideas, and emotions. Similar to conversation, TTSs are both a social and a psychological as well as a linguistic activity.

Sacks et al. (1974) compare conversation to other types of speech events such as ceremonies, debates, and similar types claiming that in the latter, what the participants say may be specified in advance. They conclude that "in these and

other speech exchange systems, the turn-taking organisation employs, as part of its resources, the grosser or finer pre-specification of what shall be done in the turns it organises"(1974: 716). Along the same lines, Oreström compares a conversation (talk among friends, colleagues, husband and wife, etc.) with a debate and claims that "a debate... is a formal speech event which is highly task-oriented and characterised by organisational efficiency" (1983:23). Oreström lists the characteristics of conversation as follows:

- \* Private rather than public
- \* Casual and spontaneous
- \* Not institutionalised
- \* Focus on the interaction
- \* Freedom to introduce new topics
- \* Frequent use of tag questions and 'intimacy signals'
- \* Frequent use of 'listener responses'

In the case of TTSs:

a) Private rather than public. A TTS is a public speech event where private talk is the protagonist.

b) Casual and spontaneous. TTSs sit on the fence of spontaneity/non-spontaneity. That is, we know that almost all the information that is brought about in the public event has been debated in private. However, we do not know who discussed what with whom (i. e. H knows all the information in advance but s/he may know that through the producers, production team, etc. rather than through a face-to-face conversation with each of the guests). Hence, the audience cannot know how much shared knowledge there is between the participants. The host's behaviour, especially, is constrained by the demands of the genre, the agenda and



the institution for which s/he works. Additionally, it is known that some guests are advised, given instructions, etc., as to how to behave and what to say. Non-spontaneous talk can be perceived, for example, in TTSs in which the goal is to "say something to somebody" and the host prompts that part of the discourse to appear with questions of the type: *What is it that you wanted to say to X today?* As an answer the guests perform an *ideal delivery* of their intentions (e.g. Ricki Lake. 1996. I'm sorry I hid my pregnancy... But now that the baby is here. let's deal with it; Geraldo. 1996. *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word*; Sally .1996. Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. *Surprise, I'm secretly in love with you*)

c) Focus on the interaction. TTSs focus on the interaction although it is not, as it may happen in conversation, "largely guided by the spontaneous wishes of the participants and may occur for no other reason than to carry out social interaction"(1983: 23), since the underlying implications of television go much further.

Malinowski (1923: 147) affirmed that in the case of conversation the whole situation consists of what happens linguistically and that each utterance is an act serving the direct aim of binding hearer to speaker by a tie of some social sentiment or other. He refers to it as *phatic communion*<sup>10</sup>. So, in casual spontaneous conversation, the context of situation is mainly created by what happens linguistically. The development of the interaction is not influenced, more often than not, by the actions that the speakers may be performing at the time. Conversation is a social activity, therefore one of the main aims of the participants in the interaction is the *maintenance of social relationships*; that is, the participants in the interactions will be mainly fulfilling a social function. Therefore,

---

<sup>10</sup> We are aware of the different interpretations that the term 'phatic communion' has been given. When we identify casual conversation with 'phatic communion' we refer to the original sense provided by Malinowski 'a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words'. That we will refer to, from now on as 'interaction'.

their utterances will be functioning as a means of establishing, creating, maintaining or altering the relationships between the participants in the interaction. They will also be a way to avoid silence because: "to a natural man, another man's silence is not a reassuring factor, but on the contrary something alarming and dangerous." (Malinowski 1962: 147). Thus, spontaneous conversation is dominated by phatic communion, a kind of talk in which the interactional aspect is pre-eminent.

TTSs are determined by their entertaining and informing nature, and have an agenda to fulfil. Although they may share some characteristics with conversation, since conversation is the spoken genre par excellence, one key difference is that talk in TTSs is task-based and generated with the purpose of discussing and informing an audience about a particular matter as well as entertaining them. In this sense, TTSs are rather a form of institutional discourse, or at least a institutionalised example of conversation.

d) New topics. A key feature to differentiate between casual conversation and TTSs is referred to by Crystal and Davy (1969) as *randomness of the subject matter*, which is a feature claimed to rule casual conversation:

the absence of any conscious planning as conversation proceeds. Conversation does not take place in a series of coordinated blocks, but- especially as someone searches for the beginning of a topic in a series of jumps... There is a general absence of linguistic or cultural pressures to make the conversation go in a particular direction.

(Crystal and Davy, 1969:15)

In TTSs the topic is pre-established. In general, the differences between television discourse and conversation are that in the former there is, usually, no randomness of topic; that conscious planning exists one way or another; that the

discourse takes place in identifiable blocks; and that there are linguistic and cultural pressures that make the discourse go one way or another.

d) Listener responses. In TTSs interaction the use of tag questions and intimacy signals such as addressing each other by first name, reference to personal and intimate information and use of listener responses may occur. The existence, or at least the licence that participants have to use these signals, argues in favour of the quasi-conversational character of the talk in TTSs.

e) Agenda-setting is also a difference between conversation and TTSs. As Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 78) argue, in an informal gathering, individuals devote little conscious time to deciding *who speaks and who listens* and there is no formal system to decide who will speak. Furthermore, Wiemann and Knapp (1975: 79) claim that "it may be embarrassing and rude to tell the boor <sup>11</sup> to give someone else a chance to speak".

In TTSs, the process is obviously very different. There is an almost fixed order of participation imposed by H (and/or the producers) and by the fact that all the speakers have to tell their story before the programme finishes. The agenda is continuously made reference to by H who will organise turn-taking according to time and agenda.

In casual conversation, *speaking roles* can be, and usually are, negotiated while in TTSs roles are set from the beginning and are assumed by the participants together with any constraints that such a role may impose on him/her. The final say is normally in the hands of H who is granted authority through the nature of his/her contract. The authority of H is rarely questioned.

---

<sup>11</sup> A person who dominates the conversation (Wiemann and Knapp 1975: 79).

Finally, *turn requesting* is not common in a conversation among equals since everybody has the right to participate. In TTSs, turn allocation is usually in the hands of H, and it is not rare to find the guests and the audience openly requesting a turn to speak (e.g. by putting up their hands, or verbally, etc.)

f) The existence of a *co-text* is also relevant. Lewis (1972) introduced what he called the *previous discourse* co-ordinate to give account of sentences which included specific reference to what has been mentioned before; "as in phrases like *the aforementioned*, that is, the words which occur in discourse are constrained by what, following Halliday, we shall call their co-text" (Brown and Yule, 1983:46).

Brown and Yule affirm that the co-text is very powerful when we have to interpret a text. The co-text constrains the interpretation that we give to a text, even in the absence of information about the speaker/writer and his intended recipient; and allows a reconstruction of the physical context, at least in part, and allows one to arrive at some interpretation of the text. The function of the co-text is to help in the interpretation of the text, and of any of the individual items that are part of that text :

The more co-text there is, in general, the more secure the interpretation is. Text creates its own context. As Isard (1975: 377) remarks: 'communications do not merely depend upon on the context for their interpretation, they change that context'.

(Brown and Yule, 1983:50)

The co-text is an important feature of TTSs. It appears in opening and closing sequences, at local as well as at global level, in order to place the audience back into the context by making reference to the topic and subtopics dealt with and to be dealt with: names of guests who will appear or those who have already been there; statements, opinions, etc. that are necessary to reconstruct and

interpret the text to come. Additionally, the co-text reveals the existence of a *pre-discourse* in TTSs, from which the audience has been excluded (i.e. they refer to concrete information discussed in the pre-interview ( e.g. "you told our producers that"; "backstage you said that").

g) A feature of conversation, not mentioned in Oreström's definition but commonly assumed, and crucial in the present study, is the capacity of conversation for genre-embedding. Casual conversation and TTSs have in common the capacity to emulate and use a lot of institutionalised discourse types (e.g. news interviews, talk radio, therapeutic discourse, courtroom interaction, etc<sup>12</sup>). That is, traces of courtroom discourse, classroom interaction, therapeutic discourse, etc. can be found in the TTS.

The difference between the two, however, can be pinpointed as follows. While casual conversation may, momentarily, move into more formal types of talk, it overall promotes casual talk and phatic communion. If this was not respected, the goal would change and we would not be holding a conversation any longer. With TTSs a similar phenomenon occurs. The semi-institutional character of the TTS allows emulation of other institutional genres as well as of casual conversation (see Gregori in progress): the TTSs is a flexible hybrid genre. In relation to conversation, however, TTSs would not be able to sustain the conversational mode for long since the fulfilment of a pre-set agenda would be at stake.

---

<sup>12</sup> See Gregori (in progress) on the similarities between TTSs and other institutional genres (classroom, courtroom and therapeutic discourse).

#### **6.4. Tabloid Talkshows as institutional talk**

Since Sacks et al.'s (1974:11) pioneering affirmation that the turn taking was a crucial element to differentiate between speech exchange genres such as meetings, debates, etc. a lot of studies have proliferated, especially in the research tradition of CA, comparing those speech systems to conversation since "the speech exchange system constituting mundane conversation is the base from which other systems depart" (Zimmerman and Boden, 1991: 14). Such studies have dealt with data in which "the institutional character of the interaction is embodied first and foremost in its *form*, most notably in turn-taking systems which depart substantially from the way in which turn-taking is managed in conversation" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 95) and have proved the existence of a range of options characteristic of certain institutional settings and different from conversation. Examples include works on courtroom interaction (Atkinson and Drew 1979; Drew 1992; Shuy 1996); therapeutic discourse, initiated by Labov and Fanshel (1977) and inspiring many other works such as those by Coulthard and Asbhy, 1975; Conte, 1981; Berenst, 1986; Have, 1991; on classroom discourse (McHoul, 1978; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; van Lier, 1974; Wiemann and Knapp ,1975; Mehan, 1985; Reynolds, 1990); and on news interviews (Gelles,1974; Heritage, 1985; Greatbatch, 1986/88; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991), to mention but some areas.

Institutional talk is assumed to be closer to non-conversational style in the sense outlined by Sacks et al. (1974) in that, as argued by Drew and Heritage (1992: 21), not only exhibits aggregates and/or distributions of actions that are distinctive from ordinary conversation, but the participants construct their conduct over its course, turn by responsive turn so as progressively to constitute and hence jointly and collaboratively to realise the occasion of their talk, together with their

own social roles in it, as having some distinctly institutional character. In institutional interaction the participants display an orientation to institutional settings by engaging in certain activities and refraining from others.

For CA, the varieties of sequential organisation provide the structure for conversational encounters and talk-in-interaction. Talk oriented to institutional settings usually involves recurrent and distinctive patterns of talk that exhibit a similar structure (Zimmerman and Boden 1991: 13) and that are produced jointly between all the participants, each according to his/her internal discursive identity and the discourse activities assigned to his/her category. In that way in a question-answer sequence a certain category of participants will mostly ask questions while others will be relegated to answer them. Additionally, there are also a high number of inferential frameworks that characterise any kind of interaction. For example, and comparing TTSs to courtroom discourse, while in the courtroom it is common to withhold expressions of surprise, sympathy and agreement because they are disaffiliative in that particular context, in the TTS those expressions are a key feature of the genre itself.

Talk that takes place in institutional contexts is often referred to as "talk-in-interaction"<sup>13</sup>. Drew and Heritage (1992:3) explain this term as follows: the principal means through which lay persons pursue various practical goals and the central medium through which the daily working activities of many professionals and organisational representatives are conducted." They emphasise that the interactions classified as "institutional interactions" are work or task-oriented and "non-conversational" (1992: 59). Institutional types of interactions include classroom, therapeutic and medical discourse, psychiatric, courtroom, news

---

<sup>13</sup> Following Schegloff (1987), and Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 132): "The term "talk-in-interaction" rather than "conversation" will be used here to refer to the object of conversation analytic work because the interaction studied now using conversational techniques embraces much broader range of material than ordinary conversation *per se*."

interviews, academic and tutorial meetings, etc., i.e., interactions in which the "participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged" (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 4).

Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) propose three basic characteristics of institutional talk:

- 1 Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. It is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
- 2 Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
- 3 Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

Considering the arguments exposed above, we may venture to identify the TTS as a form of institutional interaction since: talk takes place within an institution, TV (in each TV network) which has its own structure and stability. That structure and stability are themselves phenomena which are reproduced through talk and interaction. The interaction takes place in a TV studio set, an institutionalised space; it has a subject <sup>14</sup> representing a formal organisation, the host, and the goal is to inform and entertain an audience with the personal stories from the guests: the group is therefore formed by members from inside and outside the institution.

---

<sup>14</sup> We only see the host participating actively or rather, visibly. But there are many others that may also participate in the interaction (instructions may be given to the host through headphones, signals, etc.) and the outside-audience may not be aware.



TTSs offer a specialised form of talk, talk about personal stories and opinions, which is jointly produced by several individuals present in the institutional space and being listened to by an audience of millions. Their goal is to provide a service<sup>15</sup>. This type of talk is conflictive in nature because it participates of the private and the public: most topics dealt with in TTS belong to the most private sphere. In fact, some pieces of information, if revealed by others in other contexts may be considered as a criminal act penalised by law (e.g. a doctor revealing the confessions of his patient; a murderer confessing his/her crime). Since TTSs is a type of public discourse there are constraints of a varied nature (linguistic and non-linguistic) on the participation frameworks (Goffman 1981)<sup>16</sup>. For example, regarding the set of conversational options, it is acceptable on the part of the audience to ask questions, but it is not common for that same audience to answer them.

The type of interaction in TTSs is, no doubt, very different from the conversational style in ordinary casual conversation. TTSs can be said to be a form of institutional interaction perceived as a formal speech event, that shows, as many other genres, "recognisable norm-governed activities comprising varying degrees of institutionalised linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour" (McCarthy, in press).

In this chapter, we have argued that television is an influential medium nowadays, probably the most influential, and have outlined how difficult it is to analyse its product (Gronbeck 1979). We adopted Fiske and Hartley's (1994:16).

---

<sup>15</sup> The TTS may be said to follow a problem-solution pattern (Hoey 1983), but many times due to time pressures, commercial and economical demands, etc. this solution is not well-provided; that is, the amount of time dedicated to each G is clearly insufficient. Therefore, they are ignoring one of the main goals of the genre itself.

<sup>16</sup> Schiffrin (1987a) defines *participation framework* as the way speaker and hearer can relate to each other and affirms that speaker and hearer are not only related to each other because of their mutual presence and shared responsibility for talk, but they are also related to talk- to what they are producing.

viewpoint for the present analysis. These authors approach television talk as an extension of spoken language, subject to many rules that have been shown to apply to language. First, we discussed the terms transactional and interactional in relation to TTS-talk and concluded that TTSs encourage the blurring of boundaries that are a good example of the way that interactional talk can be just as goal-oriented as transactional talk (McCarthy, in press, chapter 1). We then proceeded to compare the way talk is produced in ordinary conversation with the way talk is produced in TTSs. We argued in favour of the centrality of conversation as the benchmark against which other types of discourse can be analysed, and defined TTSs as a hybrid genre which takes features from the spoken and the written, with a clear prevalence of the former; likewise, the production of talk can also be perceived as a mixture of spontaneous and non-spontaneous. Second, we proceeded to compare the characteristics attributed by Oreström to conversation, and the definition of the concept of institutional talk introduced by Drew and Heritage (1992) with the nature of TTSs. TTSs seem to share characteristics of both, hence the conclusion here is that TTSs, are an institutionalised form of conversation. The difference between conversation and TTSs is that while casual conversation may, momentarily, move into more formal types of talk, it overall promotes casual talk and phatic communion. With TTSs is the other way round; since TTSs would not be able to sustain the conversational mode for long since the fulfilment of a pre-set agenda would be at stake. A lot of similarities (apart from the turn-taking, which will be studied in detail in the analysis section) between the interaction in TTSs and those in formal institutional settings are also perceived: the existence of recurrent patterns of talk, the fact that TTSs are goal-oriented, the constraints on the contributions of the participants and the fact that talk in TTSs is associated with inferential frameworks and procedures that are particular to a specific institutional context, in this case, television. Its uniqueness lies in their capacity to shift from the conversational to the quasi-conversational as well as to

the formal. The TTS genre is therefore hybrid by nature and able to embed a wide variety of inferential frameworks. Finally, we justify why TTSs contribute to develop a sense of community by comparing six characteristics outlined by Swales (1990) which can identify TTSs as a discourse community. In the next two chapters we provide a description of the participants in the interaction and a preliminary description of how turn-taking functions in TTSs.

## **CHAPTER 7.**

# **ELEMENTS OF THE STRUCTURE TABLOID TALKSHOW**



Linguistics is a necessary part of the study of people in their environment; and their environment consists, first and foremost, of other people.

(Halliday, 1975:17)

### **7.1. The concept of *activity types***

Levinson (1992: 69) uses the term activity type to refer to "any culturally recognised activity, whether or not that activity is coextensive with a period of speech or indeed whether any talk takes place ... a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded events with *constraints* on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions." According to Levinson, social events run along a gradient formed by two polar types: a) the totally prepacked activity, and b) the largely unscripted event. A further dimension activities vary would be c) the degree to which speech is an integral part of each activity.

In order to describe the different uses to which speech is put in different activities, Levinson suggests establishing a distinction between structure and style and proceeds to deal only with the first one. As elements of the structure of an activity, he includes the following: a subdivision into a number of subparts or episodes and, within each, any pre-structured sequences that may be required by convention, the norms governing the allocation of turns at speaking, and so on. He adds that there may also be constraints on the personnel and the roles, as well as on topical cohesion and on the functional adequacy of contributions to the activity.

All the above elements are viewed by Levinson as rationally and functionally adapted to the point or *goal* of the activity in question, which he identifies with the function or functions that members of society see the activity as having. However, his interest in the structure of activities is confined to one particular question: *in what ways do structural properties of an activity constrain (especially the functions of) the verbal contributions that can be made towards it?*

In this chapter and the next, we give a description of the elements of the structure TTS. In the present chapter we describe the goal of TTSs and a description of the participants and their role in the interaction. In chapter 8 we will describe the number of subparts in TTSs (cf. Levinson, 1992) and offer a preliminary description of the norms governing the allocation of turns at speaking in TTSs.

## **7.2. Goal**

Related to the concept of transactional and interactional are the goals of the discourse. In characterising any kind of discourse, we have to be able to specify what its goal is. Cheepen (1988: 3ff) suggests that there are two inter-related general concepts which are important and which, between them, cover all aspects of spoken interpersonal communication: *discourse goal* and *relative speaker status*. Speech encounters can be seen as falling into two basic categories depending on the kind of goal which predominates, whether that goal be internal or external to the encounter.

A goal external to the encounter is concerned with having some effect on the 'outside' world, i.e., to perform some action, take on a particular responsibility, change the world in some way. On the other hand, an internal goal is a matter of

achieving some kind of effect on the 'inner' shared world of the participants: the *interpersonal* world, or the relationship between speaker and hearer as operating through a particular encounter.

In the first place, the *overall*<sup>1</sup> goal of the TTS is to inform about a certain topic that may be of interest to members of society or to a section of society (cf. Swales, 1990: 46). This information is provided by inviting some people (the guests) to tell their story in the programme. The guests have volunteered to talk about themselves in public and their discourse will be assessed and judged by other participants as the interaction progresses. In particular, TTSs usually discuss private matters; those who work in TTSs claim that they help people to solve out their "problems" (cf. chapter 4 for details)

During the process of presentation and assessment of the stories, *moment-by-moment* goals arise (e.g. the resolution of a conflict between two of the participants may become a momentary goal; to apologise to another guest, etc.). In terms of Tracy and Coupland (1990), these constitute examples of *emergent* goals, that is, goals that were not pre-determined and which emerge as the discourse unfolds. In TTSs, the achievement of goals operates on the basis of limitations imposed by time, and the rationalisation of time depends on good management of the turn-taking system, which is ultimately relegated to the figure of the host. The host will decide what the priority is and arrange participations accordingly: *agenda setting* and *status* probably influence in determining those priorities.

---

<sup>1</sup> The general purpose of the conversation (Cheepen 1988: 22)

Some may prioritise the critical rational discourse of the experts, some prioritise the variety of personal experiences among the studio audience, some prioritise the direct contexts between the participants, and some prioritise the diversity of issues.

(Livingstone and Lunt, 1994:52)

### *Agenda setting and confrontation*

In TTSs, the need for economic benefit may sometimes prevail over other factors on television. It is known that TTS's sponsoring comes from advertising and thus, it is a fact that advertising conditions the majority of the structures operating in television discourse. TTSs last no more than an hour, usually 45 minutes. The interaction has to be planned so as to fit into this time slot with the advertisements being evenly distributed along the programme. Time is money and many discourse types on TV are structured according to the time slot agreed for them.

TTSs are not open-line shows; on the contrary, there is an agenda that has to be followed almost step by step. The agenda for the discussion is set by H who, according to it, imposes on the participants not only the order of participation in the interaction but also the topic. The socio-cultural context of TTSs: participation frameworks, status, turn-taking system, etc., all those aspects are generally and primarily influenced by such an agenda. It is therefore a goal of the TTS to fulfil the agenda.

The overall topic of the programme is usually a controversial topic/issue, supposedly of general interest, with social and or cultural consequences in US society. There is no negotiation of the topic-to-be between speakers as it may happen in interactional casual encounters since the topic is pre-established. When they are on the air, it may appear that "the agenda itself can become the contested



arena for disputes focusing on what is *relevantly sayable* " (Hutchby 1996: 41) but, in fact, it is H who has the last word and who ultimately decides on both topic and turn-taking.

The program starts with a voice-over that introduces the topic of the day. Variations to this are possible; in some programmes it appears written on the screen (Ricki Lake; Jenny Jones) and/or additionally, H will repeat this information as soon as the programme opens. Topic-reference is repeated after each break with the function of reminding the audience what the topic of the day is; it also serves to structure and re-organise, if necessary, the discourse after each pause. This topic-reference includes a re-cap of what has happened before and an anticipation of what is going to happen next, and it is basically addressed to the viewing audience.

Additionally, the TTS-agenda also contemplates the existence of external topic progression during the breaks. That is, the participants continue their talk while they are showing advertisements. Occasionally, some of the talk on stage will derive from what has been going on backstage (e.g. W- Think about it. I'm going to take a break. **I'm going to have Dr. Rhoades talk to you during this break. OK? Go backstage. Talk to Dr. Rhoades.** We'll bring you back out a little later in the show). The implications of this feature are clear: there is some information that may never reach the viewing audience. The reasons for doing so may vary (e.g. H may not consider it relevant or there is not enough time to go through everything). The agenda does not allow everything to be openly shown. In fact, there *hidden agenda/s* which are only known only to part of the participants. This hidden agenda is reported to exist in many institutional genres and due to lack of access ... to represent significant avenues of research into the asymmetry of participation " (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 50) in TTSs.

The development of the TTS agenda usually includes confrontation. Confrontation is almost a "must" in TTSs and a constant generic feature. In fact, most writers refer to TTSs as confrontational talk or conflict talk. The nature of the topics usually implies emotional risks, some kind of dispute, disagreement, verbal duels and even physical fights between the participants. In the self-advertising previous to the broadcast, they preferably show confrontational and or conflictive moments of the programme, so as to attract audiences. Confrontation is open to all four categories (host, guests, audience and expert) and it can occur between any of those (i.e., audience against H, G against H, etc.).

In order to have confrontation, at least two parts willing to have such confrontation are needed. As argued by Hutchby (1996), even if one of the parts is willing to start an argument, "a recipient may elect (perhaps equally perversely) to ignore or even agree with the controversial assertion, thereby effectively neutralising it" (Hutchby, 1996: 23). The two examples below illustrate two different confrontational moments. In example 10, the two participants openly confront each other. In example 11, one of the speakers chooses to avoid open verbal confrontation.

EXAMPLE 10.

- P But you want to know something, Montel?  
W What's that sir?  
P: Everybody says that I'm supposed to be, like, this, quote, "major dog." I mean, how can a man be a dog if a female don't let him?  
[ You know what I'm saying?  
W [ But, you know what? But now...  
P **Shut up.**  
W Wait. But you know what? That—you know, don't...  
P No, no, no.  
W **Don't ask me leading questions, if you don't [want me to answer because I've < P- Mm-hmm > been light on you. OK?**

Montel Williams *Men who con women into relationships*

In the example above, the host and the guest openly confront each other. The example below shows the other alternative: W (the host) is clearly challenging D seeking confrontation. D, however, chooses to challenge him by being very economic with the truth (cf. Grice, 1975) when answering his questions. Moreover, he does so without looking at W, in a posture (reclined in his seat looking careless and disinterested) and attitude that shows the public that he is challenging H. By acting this way, D is not "oriented to the particular identities that are legally provided by the setting and show" (Schegloff, 1992: 113), that is, he is challenging H's internal status and identity. This off-role examples are, however, a generic feature of TTSs.

EXAMPLE 11

W I think we need to find out what's going on in David's mind.  
Please welcome David to the show.

*[applause 9 seconds]*

David, I do have to go to a break, and I want to ask you a question first thing. Did you ever have a conversation with Danielle about having children?

D I did.

W And you said it—you would like to have one with her?

D Yep.

W And then she became pregnant.

D Mm-hmm.

W So now why are you running around telling people that this is not your child?

D Because I'm hearing it from everybody else.

W You're hearing what?

D That it's not my kid.

W So you've said today, you would agree to take a—a—a paternity test. Correct?

D Yep. That's why I'm here.

W That's why you're here. And you will take the test?

D Yes.

Regarding audience participation in confrontation, most of their contributions are of a confrontational nature: they challenge G's words and behaviour and usually, either implicitly or explicitly, condemn Gs behaviour. As

stated by Bell (1996: 77): "They [the audience] were like lions in a den.... the audience would be so hostile....Theresa came to the conclusion that some of the audience members had been "planted" to create more conflict at the guest's expense."

In summary, confrontation is, no doubt, part and parcel of the TTS. Confrontation fosters what maybe considered off-role behaviour, at the same time that this off-role behaviour produces and reproduces the TTS genre itself. These shows "often encourage people to emotionally rip themselves open, then offer no on-show or post-show counselling to put the guests back together again" (Bell, 1996: 76). Confrontation appeals to the audience, raises the ratings and makes money. This confrontation is manipulated and canalised in different ways and for different purposes: e.g. they make Gs confront each other (any of the programmes named here, e.g. Ricki Lake, *Mom get out of my face. Don't tell me how to raise my bab* ); H him/herself confronts Gs (Montel Williams, *Marital Rape*); experts may also confront Gs (Ricki Lake, *I'm tired of being whipped. Today I become the boss or you become history*) etc.

Needless to say that confrontation in TTSs may be *fake* sometimes, That is, it may be provoked and sought by the participants themselves to attract audience and make the programme "more appealing." The extent to which confrontation is fake is, however, impossible to determine.

### 7.3. Status

The concepts of goal and status are intimately related, since, as Cheepen (1988: 24) argues, only if the 'normal' status is maintained can the speakers pursue their overall goal. If the status pattern is changed, the speakers are unable to pursue their overall goal.

There are four category terms (Sacks 1972; Schegloff, 1992:107) by which the persons physically present in the TTS are referred to: H (host), G (guests), A (audience), E (expert). In turn, these four categories split into two groups: one group formed by H as the representative of the institution, the TV network and the second group, formed by the other three categories who are invited temporarily to form part of that institution. In Sacks's (1972) terms, these categories would be *not Pn adequate*, since they would not serve to categorise any member of any population, but only members of other similar genres such as other types of talkshows.

Linked to the establishment of those categories is the question of status. Status is linked to social structure and it is an important factor to consider in any kind of interaction. It has often been argued that in casual conversation among friends they all have equal rights of participation: this gives them equal status. On the contrary, other speech exchange systems show that status matters and that, in fact, status influences the outcome of the whole interaction. Examples of the latter would be those classified under the heading of institutional types of interaction (doctor-patient; teacher-student; job interviews, tutorials, etc.).

According to Cheepen (1988: 23), the status has two functions: a) it in part defines the type of conversational encounter in the sense of the organisation of

the speech encounter as an event in the 'outside' world (transactional), and b) it enables speakers to pursue the goal of the encounter, that is, concerned with the inner workings of discourse. Schegloff (1992: 101) argues that the reasons for thinking about the relationships between talk and social structure is that in the interactions the question of "who they are" matters to the parties that take part in the interaction. The status helps to link the on-going talk with the cultural events and institutions of the society in which the encounter occurs.

... and these include senses of "who they are" that connect directly to what is ordinarily meant by "social structure" - their relative status, the power they differentially can command, the group affiliations they display... and the other categories of membership in the society which can matter to the participants and which fall under the sociological rubric "social structure."

(Schegloff, 1992: 101)

### *7.3.1. Internal vs. external status*

The *official status* (Schegloff 1992: 101), that by which we are socially identifiable, is crucial to the definition of speech encounters that fall under the term "talk-in-interaction" or institutional interaction. The existence of two generally accepted statuses is established by Cheepen (1988: 24) who claims that there is:

- "1. Status *external* to the encounter. i.e., the social or socio-economic status in the world.
2. Status *internal* to the encounter, i.e., that adopted by or assigned to a speech participant in a particular encounter."

In the analysis of television talk, status becomes a conflictive feature. In their study of a talkshow, Calsamiglia et al. (1995: 331) <sup>2</sup> report how the participants' verbal behaviour "corresponds with the status he has been assigned at the beginning of the program."

The present study is concerned exclusively with the internal status and the orientation that participants show towards it. The adoption of the internal status of the TTS implies the acceptance of a *linguistic status* which means accepting certain discursive constraints which involve a dramatic constraint of the set of communicative activities that each category can perform. At a more global level, and linking back with the question of external status, the representation of the self may also vary as the interaction progresses, i.e., the participants analyse their behaviour in the past, they may change their views on a certain matter and become a 'new person' (e.g. someone who is presented as a 'thief' may decide that he is doing wrong and change). If this occurs another goal is fulfilled since the discourse has achieved a potential alteration of the outside world.

One of the claims of this study is that the status patterns will clearly emerge by analysing the functioning of the turn-taking system and the question answer sequences, since the results will show the way participants organise their talk and whether or not they orient themselves to the context and their internal status.

### *7.3.2. Variations in external status*

In TTSs, the participants' official status, that is the status of the participants in the outside world, is of minor interest and usually ignored. The participants in

---

<sup>2</sup> The type of talkshow analyzed by Casalmiglia et al (1995) is of a different nature. It would correspond more to a discussion programme. The programme is built around a polemic topic of general interest and is conducted by a moderator-presenter who has previously invited a series of "experts" on the topic.

the TTS are obliged to adopt a new internal status assigned to them as part of the talkshow juggernaut, i.e. if someone is a doctor in real life, she becomes a *baby's mom* if the topic of the program is *'You're My Baby's Mom. Marry me'* (from Tempestt); in turn, the man who proposes will behave not as a doctor, mechanic, etc. but instead as someone who wants to surprise his girlfriend with a marriage proposal. In this respect, the external status can be said to be irrelevant.

Fundamentally, participating in a TTS involves adopting a certain status: i.e., we have ordinary citizens acting out only those roles which are appropriate to their internal status. The degree to which the external status is altered varies according to the category one adopts internally, that is:

a) TTSs are host-centred programmes and the socio-economic status of the host is determined by the fact that s/he works as a talkshow host on television. In this sense the external and internal status of the host can be said to coincide.

b) The same can be said to occur with the expert, whose socio-economic status is determined by the fact that s/he is an expert in the topic being dealt with, and s/he is introduced as such. His/her expertise should give him/her the highest status in the show. However, the internal status of the TTS places experts after the host.

c) Guests: their socio-economic status is often unknown and ignored since not much is told (on some occasions, nothing) about it. Guests participate only as guests, never as waitresses, builders, doctors, etc.

d) The same can be said to occur with the studio audience whose socio-economic status is ignored. They are referred to as 'the audience' and when H



addresses one particular member of the audience, they are not described or introduced to the rest of participants, but just allowed to participate with their questions and/or comments, independently of the fact that in real life they may be mechanics, shopkeepers, teachers, etc. Occasionally when a member of the audience is granted a turn, s/he chooses to introduce him/herself, but this is not the most common.

In summary the internal status certainly determines the type of participation granted in the discourse, one major implication being that in accepting the internal status (i.e. the complementary roles adopted by the participants in TTSs), they are accepting a superior/inferior orientation. A clear sign of this is that talk is oriented, from the very beginning, towards exposing the psychological world of the Gs, never those of H or E. Gs are not - in theory- allowed to demand the same type of information from the other participants. The other participants may decide to offer information voluntarily but never as part of the discourse 'musts.'

Of the four categories (H, E, A, G), each one implies accepting status differential and treating the authority of the TTS and the hierarchy established in the show as part of the conventions of the genre. H can exercise any kind of power over the rest of the participants because its contractual relation so indicates. E is next in the hierarchical organisation because his/her knowledge allows him/her to determine a solution, criticise and judge Gs's behaviour but not usually H's. Following this are members of the audience, since they are allowed to question, criticise, etc. but are not usually questioned. Finally, Gs come last since they are widely exposed to all the other participants' actions. They are obliged by contract to co-operate with all the other participants and are generally only allowed to inform and justify their behaviour, adopting therefore the role of the inferior in interactional terms. The internal status becomes the external and official

status for those watching the programme, for the studio and home audience and also for H and E since the socio-economic status is not really heeded.

### *7.3.3. Internal status*

Upon initial consideration, one seems to observe the superiority of H over the others because H is in charge of the discourse management (i.e. H determines who is going to speak, when and for how long), possesses more information than the rest of the participants and will always make use of his/her knowledge of the institutional functioning, of his experience in that type of interaction, and of the information that s/he has been provided with in advance to control the interaction.

The question of a permanent alignment with their status, at least for the duration of the programme, arises here. Do the participants permanently align themselves with their internal status? In casual conversation, the status is continuously reassessed during the interaction and therefore it is a dynamic category created throughout the encounter. Cheepen (1988) claims this to be a feature common to interactional encounters, that is, their structure allows status to be continually adjusted throughout the encounter. Thus, one may not presuppose a *status-pattern* based on the context or setting since it may be altered as the interaction progresses.

Observations of TTSs suggest that one of the main characteristics is its *flexible* nature in almost all of its generic aspects. Hence, TTS allow for occasional readjustments in status. For example, a G dares to struggle, on equal terms, for both the floor and the management of the interaction. Those unadjusted movements or variations of status in TTSs call up special speaker tactics which will have to be applied in order to restore order.

The status may then vary and/or be questioned, in some cases, during the interaction. McCarthy suggests that status, like goal, can also be *emergent status*. We believe this is the case in TTSs. Such emergent status has been observed especially at moments in which there is confrontation between some of the participants. In these moments, the status and role of the participants as well as the turn-taking provisions are disrupted as a result of the fight matches and exaltation.

Along the same lines Thomas (1985: 780) argues in favour of a dynamic view of pragmatics and points out the negotiation of roles existing in interaction. The resolution pattern of sequences in which patterns break certainly reveals a lot about the functioning of any genre since:

power relationships, social distance, role relationships, perceptions of relative rights and obligations or of size of imposition, **are not necessarily given but negotiated in interaction.**

(Thomas, 1985: 780)

Against these considerations is the assumption that the orientation towards the *status quo* of the TTS has to exist in order to recognise the genre itself. It is not sufficient for a TTS that a group of people meet and discuss their own problems in front of a camera; if their meeting is to be a TTS, they will have to assume their internal status and use it overtly in the management of the discourse: "this preservation of fixed status is essential if the nature of the encounter is to be kept constant" (Cheepen 1988: 25). Hence, the realisation of the TTS genre depends on the orientation of the participants towards the maintenance of their internal status and towards its "constitutive properties" (Schegloff 1992: 123). The participants in the interaction, Cheepen (1988: 26) claims, adopt an interpersonal orientation towards each other depending on their relative status. It is the status that enables speakers to pursue the goal of the encounter (1988:23).

In brief, the arguments above may suggest the existence of a conflict in the nature of the TTS genre, but only apparently, since the view argued for in this study is that the mechanisms involved in the functioning of the TTS provide for both. TTSs not only allow but encourage deviations from the format in which the participants may not seem to comport themselves in ways that reflect the understandings of status, goals, turn-taking organisation, etc. At different moments in the interaction the lack of systematic conduct shows that they are "doing a TTS." The restoration of order implies the confirmation of the genre conventions, that is, of the existence of an authority (H) who brings them back to where they departed from. The disruptions are then simultaneously producing and reproducing the genre conventions.

In what follows we present a description of the status and role of each of the participants (H, E, G, A) and its relation to the interaction (*participation framework*) as preliminary for the turn-taking analysis. This description lead us "to a clear understanding of the role of each participant in connection with the basic communicative contract and that this role is based on, the status of each participant and the potential deviations due to the strategic behaviour of each participant in constructing his/her own identity" (Calsamiglia et al. 1995: 331). In such description, the categories external to the interaction (director, producer) are paid less attention since this work concentrates only on participants physically present in the interaction.

#### **7.4. Participation frameworks**

The term participation framework was introduced by Goffman (1979: 11) to describe "the relation of all the persons in the gathering for that moment of

speech." Based on his concept Schiffrin (1987:27) defines participation framework "as the different ways in which speaker and hearer relate to one another," and to their talk, i.e., "speakers are oriented towards ideas: they evaluate them ...express commitment," and to turns: "speakers are related to their turns: they may claim them, fight for them, relinquish them." Hence, participation framework captures the relations between speakers and also the relation of those speakers to their discourse.

#### *7.4.1. The host*

H is the most important figure in TTSs. In the TV industry s/he is the person who attracts the audience. H may be a popular TV or media professional known already (e.g. Ricki Lake; Gabrielle Careteris, George Hamilton; Alana Stewart; Lauren Hutton; Sally J. Raphael) or someone new to the medium whose popularity begins, in most cases, with the TTS (Montel Williams, Oprah Winfrey).

H represents and adopts a particular social identity which allows a sector of the audience to identify themselves with. For example we find that *Ricki Lake* represents more the 'teenager-like' way of seeing life, while *Sally* 's behaviour and attitude is closer to that of a mother; *Montel*, on the other hand, is the only Black male in the talkshow market; and *Donahue* seems to emulate *Carson* and acts as the father of the talkshows that he is. Hs become a personality in the public sphere through their job as Hs and are expected to act as such.

Corliss argues that being a talkshow host is "the most despised job title in the country" (Corliss, 1996: 72). Along the same lines, Emery (1995:12) reports that "the hosts of these shows sometimes argue that they're doing a public service by publicising important issues swept under the rug by polite society and some

believe that they can change things for the guests" (cf. also Pratt 1995; Chidley 1996). Others like Deane (1996: 190) defend their work arguing that some of them contribute to social improvement: "but quiet as it's kept, many talk-show hosts do pay for counselling, rehabilitation and treatment. Some bring broken families together through family reunions. So let's give some credit where credit is due." But, as Gillespie (1995:1) reports, a lot has been written questioning the ethics of these shows where the hosts play with emotional dynamite with little regard for the possible consequences.

The reason for which hosts are despised, lies in the conflict emerging from a clash between the internal and external status of the host: H is conferred a status by the TTS which is often "dishonest" i.e. despite the fact that Hs may not be qualified as researchers, journalists, doctors, etc., their status in the TTS grants them permission to become anything; for example, in a programme by Montel Williams broadcast on 15 August 1996, *Weight loss surgery*, Montel gives advice proper to a doctor who is fully knowledgeable about the process and consequences of such surgery.

In TTSs, H is granted any role by his/her internal status of the TTS, with the aggravating circumstance that they are not acting but their talk is supposed to be 'real.' H is therefore constructed as a human being, a member of the society who wants to help others, and who, in doing so, undertakes many different roles (cf. Fairclough, 1995: 142). On the other hand, the host's voice is that of an ordinary citizen, one of us, who worries and suffers the same over our problems.

The presenter is constructed as an ordinary bloke talking to ordinary people, sharing with them a common lifeworld a common-sense of ordinary experience, colloquial vocabulary, narrative present tense.

(Fairclough, 1995:10)

A consequence of the latter is that spectators identify with certain Hs and get offended if they alter their behaviour. An extreme example is a program of the *Oprah Winfrey* show in which some people from the home audience had sent letters complaining about the change of image that Oprah had undergone. Oprah had lost weight and with that she lost audience. The women who wrote the letters could not identify with her anymore since, as they argued, her change of image had apparently altered her perception of the world, and consequently her relation to the discourse offered by the *Oprah Winfrey* show and to her audience.

Calsamiglia et al (1995: 329) attribute two main functions to the host or *conductor*. S/he is the participant in charge of i) making the programme progress while guiding the discussion and entertaining the audience, and ii) performing the task of triggering and managing the participation of the other participants. In their article, they say that the conductor or host will do the guiding, will be responsible for defining the mood of the programme, and will even be sometimes in charge of solving certain matters.

Although the type of *talkshow* that Calsamiglia et al. analyse is not exactly the same, the roles of the *conductor* do seem to coincide, to a great extent, with the H in TTSs. Both of them direct and control the development of the whole interaction. As may be the case, at least for TTS, the H may even participate in the design of the talkshow. In the TTS industry, this is shown by the fact that many Hs are also producers, as is the case, for example with Maury Povich and Oprah Winfrey.

Regarding the topic of the programme, it is clear that the discussion is very much subjected to the host and the way he wants to approach the topic

(Calsamiglia et al. 1995: 333). H has an agenda that s/he has to follow and will organise turn-taking according to how s/he wants to develop it, and distribute the participation of Gs and of the audience according to that.

H has to fit all talk into a span of between 45 to 60 minutes, depending on the show. This and other limitations may bring H to comment upon the processes and difficulties involved in being a talkshow host (White 1985:44) and to justify most of his/her actions. In the example below, the participants have deviated from the topic, they are arguing and talking all at the same time, and the audience is also making a lot of noise, and Ricki Lake interrupts to restore order:

EXAMPLE 12

- N But that doesn't mean anything  
[  
K But that doesn't mean he's gay. He's just he....  
*[interruption from the audience: audience booing; all talking at the same time]*  
S No.  
K No no no no no  
*[audience booing]*  
R All right, I know it's complicated guys. But, let's stick with the issue. The issue is that she [+] tried to get... sabotage the relationship with Sean [so she could have Nelse for herself  
K *[I did not trying to sabotage]*

7.4.2. *The guests*

What makes Gs eligible to appear on the talkshow? Bell and van Leeuwen (1994:190) answer this question for a type of talkshows such as *David Letterman's*, *Jay Leno's*, etc. which are broadcast late at night and mostly with celebrities as their guests (politicians, actors, actresses, stand-up comedians, etc.). Bell and van Leeuwen affirm that in order to be a guest in this type of talkshow "one must have *news value*, *entertainment value* and *symbolic value* - not



necessarily all of these to the same degree (one or other value may be dominant in a particular case), yet all of them to some degree."

TTSs depart from different notions of what may be interesting for the public. The TTS tells about the life of ordinary, unknown citizens, whereas late night shows tell the story of celebrities. Our guests do not have *news value* since they have not accomplished anything in the public domain (cf. Bell and van Leeuwen, 1994:190), and usually have low economic and social status.

Bell and van Leeuwen describe *entertainment value* in late night shows and say of guests that "they are obliged to be good talkers or story tellers, witty and amusing, whether or not they are professional entertainers." TTS Gs do not fit this description at all, since a lot of Gs are poorly educated.

Finally, the *a priori symbolic value* claimed to exist in guests of the late night shows does not exist in the same way in TTSs, since the audience does not normally know anything about what Gs may individually represent. However, the literature on the topic seems to show certain pre-conceptions about the categories themselves. In the case of Gs, they are not symbols of "good" values but the opposite, as many accusations aimed at these programs, and at the same time directed against those who produce and those who attend the show, state:

Talkshows exist to entertain and exploit the exhibitionism of the walking wounded. If you want to explore your problem, you go to counselling. If you want to exhibit your life, attack and humiliate your spouse, or exact revenge for some misdeed, you go on a talkshow.... they provide endless opportunities to compare one's own life with those on the screen and breathe a superior sigh of relief.

(Fischhoff, 1995: 40)

Our claim is that if any symbolic value emerges from TTSs, this never exists *a priori*, but is constructed and elaborated in the course of the TTS itself.

The selection of guests involves certain rituals. Prior to the show, Gs have to go through an interview process that will function to select some potential guests but not others. Sometimes these pre-interviews even include pilot programmes that may never be aired. This may be done with the purpose of showing the syndicators the possibilities that the show may offer. As a consequence of this pre-interview, individuals 1, 2, 3, etc. become Gs and the pre-show process is completed with advice about how to act in the show, or even what to say and what to do. Some Gs are known to have been in TTSs more than once. In his article, Raab (1995) relates in detail the dynamics that go on with the talkshow Gs and reports on an interracial couple who have been to more than 15 different talkshows.

Once in the studio, Gs are usually introduced by their first name, (e.g. 'Mary', 'Shakir,' 'Brandie, etc.) which may not correspond with their real names. Their surnames, although it varies between different TTSs and even between one programme and the next, are not usually mentioned. It sometimes appears in *on-screen* inserts but is not spoken, or may be spoken and not written , etc. According to Lakoff (1990: 93):

First names are informal: they distinguish each of us as individuals (however common those names may be). A last name identifies someone as a member of a group: "Mary Jones" is a particular individual, the "Mary" of all the Joneses;

By referring to them by their first name, Gs are therefore identified as common ordinary citizens, who are brought to the show to tell their story. However, from the moment they appear in the show, they become "guests", that is, they are suddenly transformed into a category brought to the show to illustrate a certain topic. Hence, the first immediate consequence in becoming a G is, therefore, the loss of individuality.

Previous to the show, Gs are known to be given instructions as to what their verbal behaviour should be like: a considerable number of testimonies of people who have been Gs in the TTSs have told their experience and how they have been deceived and taken in by the people in charge of the show (cf. Bell 1996). Also previous to the show, Gs are promised something and given something else when they are on stage. They come to the show to tell their personal stories, but instead they are forced into other activities that may go against their wishes: "We were bushwhacked. They tried to put us against each other to make a better show." (Bell, 1996: 76)

Some other guests claim that the people in charge of the programme want them to lie. Bell (1996: 76) reports the words of Heaton- an author who has recently published the book *Tuning in trouble: Talk TV's Destructive Impact on Mental Health* - "lying is much more common on these shows than we'd like them to be. It's common for producers to tell guests half-truths to get them on the show, then try to twist the truth once they arrive in the studio". An analysis of 200 recent TV talkshows, carried out at Michigan State University in 1995, found an average of 16 personal disclosures per episode. The revelations ranked by topic as:

	DISCLOSURES PER SHOW
A personal attribute	4
Sexual activity	4
Abuse	3
Criminal activity	2
An embarrassing situation	2
Sexual orientation	1

*USN & WR* (1995: 8)

The manipulation of the image of Gs is also achieved through on screen inserts. Elsewhere, I argue (Gregori, in progress) that the role and behaviour of Gs may be accounted for with Goffman's concept of *line* :

A pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts by which his view of the situation and through this, his/her evaluation of the participants, especially himself[/herself], emerges. The other participants will assume that [s/]he has more or less wilfully taken a stand, so that if he is to deal with their response to him he must take into consideration the impression they have possibly formed of him[/her].

(Goffman, 1955: 319).

In this respect, I argue that Gs get caught in the juggernaut of the show and find no way out but to follow the *line* imposed by the programme: whether Gs' discourse is "true" or not is something that one can never be sure of.

According to the macro-structure questioning-answering, Gs are there to answer questions that will supposedly help to clarify and provide a solution for their problem and/or give information on a certain topic. Gs's contractual situation obliges them to answer questions from the rest of the participants. Occasionally, they may ask H or even E a question to but it is not common.

Participation of Gs is structured in two phases:

- a) G-Phase-1 involves the presentation of G. Here G is paid individual attention and is asked questions by H. It usually coincides with the first time that G participates.
- b) G-Phase-2. after g-phase, the guests become part of the whole group of guest and the TTS becomes more like a general discussion based on questions by the H and the audience.

Finally, the number of Gs may vary depending on the topic of the day and of how many stories they want to bring to the show. So in Montel *Paternity Tests* there are only three Gs (two of the same case; and one of another), whereas in Geraldo *Meth madness, poor man's cocaine* there are ten Gs who all come to talk individually about the same topic.

#### *7.4.3. The audience*

The audience is, in turn, composed of two different audiences according to participation criteria: a) the audience that goes to the programme itself, *studio*

*audience*, and the audience sitting at home watching television, the *viewing audience*. Our description below will mainly focus on the studio audience.

Guzman (1996) states: "the research found that the studio audience role contributes three significant aspects to the talkshow: entertainment, excitement and *vox populi*. The studio audience role represents a revolutionary change both in society and mass media. Its role is predictable, has a group ideology of self-righteous intolerance, and serves an important function in the talkshow."

It is widely accepted that studio-audiences are clearly manipulated in television programmes and TTS are not an exception. The studio-audience is told where to sit, what to do, when to applaud, etc.; it is well-known that these programmes have an applause meter that will tell the audience how to act, when to applaud, and the organisers coach and instruct the studio audience on when to boo, show enthusiasm and disappointment, among other things. Testimony from members of the audience or writers, such as Raab (1995) support these arguments. The same author (1995:188) claims that in his experience with TTSs, a common image was that "in the studio below, one of the producers is teaching the audience to clap properly, which means twice as fast and twice as hard as normal applause."

The placement of planted people among the studio-audience, who serve the purposes of the TTS dynamics, is also a fact; "When Phil Donahue first created the talk-service, he along with his staff, instructed the studio audience as to the role they would play, and these instructions generated recipe knowledge" (Guzman, 1996: 49). The same author (1996: 48) argues that an important part of the socially constructed role of the studio audience involves *recipe knowledge* and defines it as follows:

Recipe knowledge is primarily limited to the practical aspects of routine performances. It is the sum total knowledge of what every studio audience knows regarding this particular

social world. Recipe knowledge is the knowledge that creates and defines the various roles that are played in the institution.

(Guzman, 1996: 50)

However, in approaching TTSs, we can only see what appears on the screen. We know that the audience applauds but do not know about the spontaneity of the gesture. We have only access to the final product, and to that we restrict our analysis.

The difference between the two audiences is that the home audience is *overhearing* (Goffman, 1979: 8) while the studio audience is co-present and, at the same time, a potential participant that is ratified through the participation of individuals that form part of that group. The concepts of overhearing audience and *recipient design* (Heath, 1984; Zimmerman and Boden, 1991) take a new dimension in the TTS since all turns are ultimately produced and designed for both the studio and the viewing audience.

The presence of an audience alters participation frameworks. In a dyadic conversation, the intended recipient is ideally the person we are talking to, an active participant. In media interaction this concept is dramatically altered. The recipient can be: a) *active*: if it can freely interact; b) *semi-active*: the possibility is there and can participate only by asking permission and only when this is granted to him/her, or c) *passive*: only a listener.

By treating audience members as recipients and therefore potential next speakers, the *focal* participants (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991:96) are not only directing their talk to each other but also to the audience, a fact that cannot be ignored in any media or public discourse. That is, although answering H's questions and directing his/her answer to H, Gs are aware that the intended

recipient is multiple and partly unknown, since the audience is, at the same time, one and many.

The concept of *consciousness of action* may be said to reflect the inevitable awareness that participants have of an existing audience who may possibly "assess the moral character of the focal participants" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991: 96). We believe that this fact surely influences the design of the turns and actions of the focal participants. Additionally, Heritage and Greatbatch suggest that the presence of an audience "may also tend to limit the extent to shift the departure from formal turn-taking procedures."

In the case of TTS, the opposite happens: the presence of an audience, at least occasionally, fosters the departure from the formal turn-taking. An example of this is illustrated below, it corresponds to an extract from Montel Williams show *Men who con women into relationships*. In example 13 below a member of the audience insults a member of the panel. He reacts to this by answering back and starting a confrontation that disrupts the turn-taking system. Interactionally, both of them perform face threatening acts and flout the maxim of politeness. The result is a momentary disruption of the turn-taking format :

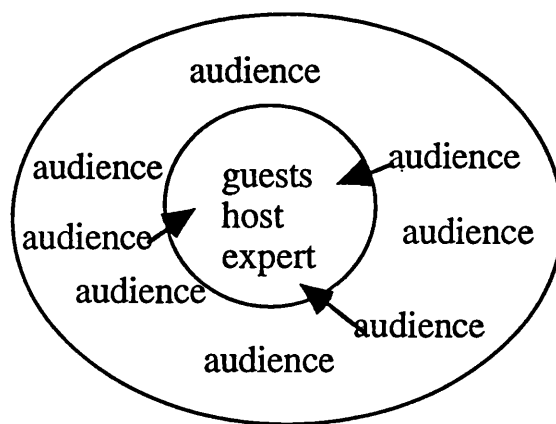
EXAMPLE 13

- A 4: I think you're dirt. I think you're dirt. And I also think that—I don't understand why you're  
[ proud of why you're doing this.  
DAN: [ Well, I wouldn't give you time of day, so you just need to sit down. (1)  
A4: No, you need to please, please.  
D: I could play you, just like I played her and all your friends.  
A4: No, no, no. For—oh, my God, no.  
W: You and all your friends.  
D: Yeah.  
W: You—are you her friend ? (2)  
A5: Yeah.  
W: He'll play you, too?  
A5: No, he wouldn't.



1. A member of the panel gives an order to a member of the audience, an action which he is not entitled to perform.
2. Montel asks a question to a member of the audience, which, although it happens sometimes, is not that common.

The studio-audience is a recipient, but the pertinent question is, of what type? The studio-audience can participate either as a group or individually, in a multiparty situation in which the participants have different rights. Individual members of the audience are only allowed to participate when given the turn, so its category as participant in the interaction is limited by the existence of H, who will decide when to allow them to participate. Hence, the audience is only a *potential* participant that becomes *factual* only occasionally and never totally. The only chance of the individual members of the audience to participate is when acting as a group, and then their individual contribution is not noticeable (i.e. if a lot of members of the audience boo, this is not perceived as A+B+C booing but as the whole audience-group doing so). Hence, as represented in the graphic below, some members of the audience participate, but never all of them:



### III. 5. Participation of individual members of each category

Additionally, the studio audience participation is limited by the fact that they are not "equipped" with a microphone, the magic physical tool that ultimately

allows someone to be heard. It bears saying that if one is not given the microphone, one cannot be heard unless you shout. Some members of the audience keep on producing *parenthetical remarks*, most often unintelligible, which are reactions to either the G's or H's words. These are examples of free participations from members of the audience who have not been granted the turn. It is for that reason that more often than not they are ignored and have no influence on the progress of the main talk. These type of comments, however, can be said to be part of the conventions of the genre.

Different programmes have different systems regarding audience participation: Ricki Lake sometimes alternates her own questions with those coming from the audience; Geraldo does the same thing; Montel Williams usually waits more towards the end, that is, he asks first, then allows the audience to participate, and so do Sally and Oprah. The possible combinations are almost innumerable, but the constant is that all programmes make use of almost all techniques in different programmes.

By a way of conclusion, so far, we look at audience participation from two different perspectives:

- a. as *bystanders* (individual or in group) and therefore producing *subordinate communication* (Goffman, 1979: 9)<sup>3</sup>
- b. As ratified participants (individual or in group), if H allows them to take the floor.

---

<sup>3</sup> Goffman (1979: 9) defines *bystanders* as "not ratified participants and whose access to the encounter, however minimal, is itself perceivable by the official participants. Bystanders should act ... [and] maximally encourage the fiction that they aren't present." Subordinate communication is defined as "talk that is manned, timed, and pitched to constitute a perceivedly limited interference to what might be called *dominant communication*."

As bystanders, the audience produces non-floor-holding turns that will stop being so if they are incorporated into the main talk by H, as illustrated in example 14 below:

EXAMPLE 14

- B:            Hmm. Three years off and on ain't nothing, Paul?  
P:            Mm. Well... [giggles]  
B:            What about all the letters and the cards and all that?  
P:            Man...[giggles]  
A1:           A pig.  
A2:           A pig.  
W:            I won't say it, but you did.  
AZ:           [In unison] Pig.[nodding]  
W:            Thank you. Now—now, Paul, now just in case you don't think that this relationship took place, your aunt is here. Who really gave you permission to...

In example 14, two members of the audience (A1, A2) start insulting Paul. Williams interrupts the flow of the conversation and brings in their contribution (other times hosts ignore these, and they become non-floor-holding turns, since those members of audience have not been granted the turn.) H reacts to those insults clearly supporting them ("I won't say it, but you did"), which provokes a reaction from the audience-group. Williams, once more, incorporates their contribution (this time he cannot avoid it since the loudness makes it impossible to go on with the conversation) with a second acknowledgement ("thank you"). So, what started as a possible non-floor-holding turn does not reach such a state but is, instead, incorporated in the on-record talk. It is analysed, therefore, with the status of *floor-holding-turn*.

From the point of view of meaning, it is interesting to look at these cases since H selects which ones to include and which to exclude according to their content and their relevance for the on-going talk. Many times they are "attacks" against Gs, or comments that may express the opinion and attitude of the *vox-populi*, or even opinions that H does not dare to expose explicitly (the example

above can be interpreted as such, since one can infer from his inclusion and acceptance of the comment that he agrees with A).

Finally, regarding turn-taking organisation, what is relevant about those potential *non-floor-holding turns* is that they show how it is almost exclusively in the hands of H to decide what counts as main talk. Those cases not acknowledged by the host go unnoticed and are therefore categorised as subordinate talk. These types of incidents confirm, once more, the control that H exerts over the interaction.

#### *7.4.4. The expert*

In real life and in most media events, when someone is presented as an *expert* the expectations that this affirmation raises are numerous. In their analysis of discussion programmes, Livingstone and Lunt (1984: 50) argue that "people value the expert's view over those of ordinary people the more they think there is little point in hearing ordinary people's opinions." Along the same lines, Calsamiglia et al. (1995) indicate that the role of the expert involves adopting a superior orientation towards both the audience and the participants in the show.

In this sense, the role of the expert can be compared to the role of a teacher, i.e., his authority comes from knowledge. Reynolds (1990: 122ff) talking about power in the classroom, says that the resources and rules for the teacher derive from her/his pedagogic expertise, from the competence in the subject matter being taught and learnt. Reynolds argues that this will allow the external legitimacy of her/his role as teacher. The teacher's domination of classroom talk, Reynolds claims, is manifested, crucially, in the fact that classroom utterances are evaluated, that is, contributions of the many are evaluated by one. In this sense,

Viaño y Gregori (1996) found that domination of classroom talk was also dependent on the type of task in which they students were involved.

The function of the teacher can be seen as partly coinciding with the function of experts in TTSs. The expert is brought to the programme to judge and give advice and evaluate the contributions that the participants in the interaction make, basing his arguments on his expertise and knowledge about the topic they are dealing with. Hence, his knowledge should be enough to grant him the authority to:

- a) pronounce judgement on the behaviour of the participants- saying whether they did right or wrong; whenever he considers it to be necessary.
- b) Give participants advice and provide a solution to resolve their situation.

As argued by Calsamiglia et al. (1995: 333 ), the communicative role of the expert, is to give legitimacy to the programme and to the discourse in general. These authors report that the professionals take part in the discussion only when the topic leads to their area of specialisation and even point out a case in which one of the specialists in their programme shows a high degree of self-selection; they interpret this as indicating authority which he assumes as a result of his relatively independent status. The role that Calsamiglia et al. describe as characteristic of the expert or the professional is, however, very different from the one played by such figure in TTS context.

In TTSs, the expert is introduced with the title plus full or last name and as belonging to a well recognised and socially reliable group (doctors, psychiatrists, writers, etc.), in contrast with the way in which members of the audience and

guests are introduced. According to Lakoff's statement (1990: 93) "titles alone are the most formal of all", in TTSs, however, there are many possible variations (as with many other generic features of TTSs): the title alone, title and name, introducing the expert by the title and then using just his/her first name etc. In any case, the expert is conceded authority by bringing the expert's external status into the show. The example below illustrates the discussion above.

EXAMPL,E 15

W: Please welcome back Brandie and Danielle and Dr. Rhoades to the show.

**Dr. Rhoades**, I keep doing it to you. I don't give you a lot of time at the end of this, but, I—you know, I—I think—at the very top of the show, I said that the guys made a comment about the ladies being stuck on stupid and I—that's really a very derogatory comment to make in that way.

But I'm sorry, ladies, in a way the—they said it. If you heard them say it, if you've heard them talk about other women that way, you should read between the lines and understand that's what they're saying about you.  
What do you think, **Doctor** ?

(Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*)

The expert is never allowed self-selection, at least in the first instance, until his/her presence is acknowledged by H; s/he is only granted participation in the interaction after a formal introduction by H. H introduces the expert by naming him/her and mentioning his profession, publications, etc., and requests his/her participation when necessary. If H does not perform this act, the expert is ignored by the camera or, what is the same in this case, non-existent for the audience at home.

In TTSs, the legitimacy and value conferred upon the expert is maintained by the title, and the fact that they are asked to judge G's statements, recriminate their behaviour and to give them advice (cf. Fairclough, 1995: 140-1). However,

limitations are imposed upon the participation by the expert. In Stark's words, "... currently, 'experts' serve as enablers, allowing hosts to masquerade as good guys who just happen to be asking a few questions" (Stark 1996: 11). Along the same lines, Fischhoff (1995: 38-41), a psychiatrist and a former "expert" himself who participated in many TTSs (e.g. Montel Williams, Geraldo) gives a good description of the role of the expert in TTSs. His article can be summarised as follows:

- 1- Time: the expert's contribution is limited in time from the beginning (talk in sound bites). The host will either interrupt him/her or specify in advance how much time s/he is allowed: "in thirty seconds or less, Dr. Fischhoff, give us your impression of these women."
- 2- The dynamics of the programme control the discourse and: the experts find themselves with two choices: be glib or be ignored.
- 3- The expert is not allowed to play the role that is normally assigned to him/her: "calm intellectual discourse is unwelcome to most talkshow viewers. They want action. So he/she is only allowed to provide general comments .... the hurried rush to judgement, and do misguided on-air counselling."

The first impediment to a fair contribution by the expert is time. Experts are not given enough time to perform the speech acts they have been trained for (questions, investigations, decision-making) since the expert's advice<sup>4</sup> is most often given only on the basis of the G's contributions during the interaction. In other words, G's expose their case, problems, etc., and through their discourse (which lasts very little and has very little content), the expert gets to know them, however briefly, and has to be ready to assess any comment, act or behaviour at any time that H requests him/her to do so.

---

<sup>4</sup> We have chosen advice in its widest sense, including any of the possibilities E has: warning, recriminating, admonishing, etc.

It is obvious that dealing with personal matters with so little information (usually the interviews for each particular case would not last more than ten minutes) is not sufficient. Most literature on therapeutic discourse proves that assessing someone's acts and providing a solution is not that easy (Lakoff 1990; Have 1991; Erickson and Rittenberg 1979) and it is even more difficult to do so without any control of the topic. One of the main disparities between the role of the expert in real life in comparison with TTSs, is that in TTSs the expert is by no means allowed to have the control of the topic (Have, 1991: 140-1) and ask the pertinent questions that would allow him to make a judgement about Gs situation. In this regard, Fischhoff affirms that in the show, he was asked questions about Gs and he claimed: "but I don't know these women....only bits and pieces of their self-justifying explanations...the time that the program lasts is not enough" (Fischhoff, 1995: 38).

The ideas put forward by Fischhoff, among others, tell us that the role of the expert in the show is no more than a fraud. The basic discursive necessities for his/her discourse to become consistent with the status he is assigned (time to speak, authority to ask as many questions as possible, disagreement with H, research on Gs, etc.), are not at all provided. As Fischhoff claims, this seems to be the case in many TTSs and "in the main, experts are the laugh track to help audiences whom to blame, whom to side with, and who "just doesn't get it" (Fischhoff, 1995:43).

In TTSs the intervention of the expert is usually relegated to the end of the program and subjected to H's will concerning time and topic, i.e., how long he is allowed to talk and also the amount and length of turns. One is the number of experts that most commonly appears per show. However, sometimes it is two (e.g.



Montel Williams. 1996. *Paternity Tests* ), and sometimes even three (Oprah Winfrey. 1996. *Body Language* ). When and how the expert takes part in the interaction also depends on H. For example, Ricki Lake alternates between bringing out E at the beginning (e.g. Ricki Lake. 1996. *I'm tired of being whipped. Today I become the boss or you become history*) or at the end or in the middle.

Close observation of our data leads us to argue that, because of the dynamics of the programme, the expert is turned into a clown who has lost his social status and his social role, mainly as a consequence of the power granted to H and of the dynamics of the programming. If the expert tries to fight for the control and power of the interaction to perform his/her role, H will use his status to control the interaction and take the reins again. In short, the expert is discursively relegated to the position of an inferior, and is subject to H's wishes, who will request his/her participation at his own will and will equally interrupt him/her. The sequential organisation of the discourse shows that the expert is dependent on H. The orientation of the participants towards the discourse displays that the expert's social status is not respected and that, finally, it is the internal status what counts.

#### *7.4.5. The Producer*

The politics of the producers of these shows has been repeatedly criticised. As Green (1995: 42) affirms, when reporting the words of US prosecutor R. Thompson, they "follow the rule that anything goes in the pursuit of ratings." The producer<sup>5</sup> controls the programme: "while the host or hostess and director are responsible for 'carrying' the show once it's on the air, the producer is the hub of

---

<sup>5</sup> There are various producers: associate producer, assistant producer, executive producer etc. but a senior producer or the producer will generally have more power than someone holding other titles (Mincer 1982: 18). Here we are talking about the main producer and his/her team because he is the one who ultimately controls the show. When used in plural we refer to the producers in different shows.

creativity and ideas before the show." Many times the producer and the host are the same person. The producers are in charge of selecting and listening to the guests's stories before they come to the program: "one of my duties was to sit for countless hours and listen to thousands of these calls" (Deane, 1996: 190), and therefore many blame the producers for allowing freaks on national television. They also decide most of what happens in the show: "they do everything from booking the guests to holding big cards from the sidelines instructing the hosts to ask which questions of which guests" (Pratt, 1995: 173):

The producers make all arrangements for the guest's appearance, describe most of the ground rules for the guest, compiles research material for the host or hostess (unless the program employs a researcher who handles this), passes along guest or subject information to the appropriate program promotion person and is ultimately responsible for the content of the individual program he or she has produced.

(Mincer, 1982: 18)

Green criticises strongly the lack of research and scientific support that these programs have and proves that in some shows (such as the *O. Winfrey*, *J. Raphael*, *M. Povich* etc.) everything going on is a lie and scientifically impossible: "the methods used by the talkshow teams to find out information are totally careless "(1995:54). This opinion is supported by Stark, who criticises the methods used for *helping* Gs and labels Hs "opportunistic adults" (cf. Stark 1996 for more details). Alternatively, Deane (1996:190), a former talkshow producer, approaches the problem from a different perspective arguing that we do not talk enough about all the problems that people who go to TTSs have, and that "viewers should not be so quick to judge these guests since a lot of them do not have anybody to turn to".

#### **7.4.6 Director**

The director is the technical expert and overseer on the talkshow; s/he is in control of what the viewer sees. Communication between the director and the floor is maintained through headsets worn by all camera personnel and the floor manager(s). The director gives time cues and other important direction to the floor manager and selects from the monitors the shot s/he wants the viewer to see (adapted from Mincer, 1982: 19f). As we did with the producer, we do not analyse the role of the director since s/he does not participate physically in the interaction.

The presence of the director may sometimes be detected because of the non-verbal gestures of H, who may perform an involuntary gesture in trying to understand the message that H gets through the headphones (e.g. Oprah Winfrey's *Runaway parents*), but almost always s/he goes unnoticed.

#### **7.5. Generic elements in Tabloid Talkshows**

The description above may suggest that these are static elements that form part of the TTS structure. However, as argued in section 2.6., the TTS is a dynamic and emergent genre which is in constant evolution. We will end this description of the features of the TTS context and show its dynamism by exemplifying some of the changes observed in our data. These are not meant to be prescriptive but just illustrate some of the many possible changes that the TTS structure can implement.

In order to talk about the elements that conform the generic structure of the TTS we want to recover the idea of the Structure Potential introduced by Hasan (1978) in which she claims that the generic structure of a text is formed by a certain number of obligatory and optional elements that come about organised in

a linear representation (see Hasan 1978, and Ventola 1984 for details). Hasan (1978) argues that for a text to be complete, it has to include all the obligatory elements of the SP <sup>6</sup>: when talking about a genre one may think that there is a lineal appearance and distribution of the elements of that genre, that the identification happens straightway and that one may not have any problems in identifying such a genre. We do believe in the existence of obligatory and optional elements that allow us to identify a genre but agree with Ventola (1987) that linearity is not always possible and so indeterminacy must be accepted in the description of genres.

Although in a certain genre, the existence of an overall structure and a number of elements are identified as belonging to that same genre, it may be the case (as it happens with literary texts for instance) that the elements do not appear in strict sequential order, and that very rarely does one find two identical examples of the same genre (especially in media and TV products). The optional elements offer a high number of possible combinations for the same genre. In face-to-face interaction, the possibilities multiply since one may guess, to a certain extent, how the other/s will react, but it is only that, a guess:

When an interactant gets involved in a co-operative, face-to-face situation, he or she may start with a planned generic structure in mind. But once involved in the interaction, the negotiation with the fellow participant on how to proceed begins, and the planned unfolding of the interaction may change.

(Ventola, 1989:136)

One principle underlying this study is that there exist obligatory and optional elements in any representation of a genre, and that "genres cannot be

---

<sup>6</sup> We do not want to go into detail here about the acceptance or not of Hasan's theory and the limitations imposed by it. We only pretend to part from the idea of *obligatory-optional* to talk about the elements in TTSs because it reflects exactly what happens in TTSs and in many other TV genres.

sealed off one from another; the difference is not a yes/no difference but a more/less difference." That is, some of the elements in TTSs will be shared by other genres, especially those classified as talkshows and in particular with talks-service programmes (cf. Hutchby, 1996 on talk radio) but the final representation of each genre is unique.

The obligatory elements in a TTS are, in broad outlines, the participants (including the studio audience) interacting in a television studio set about personal and polemic topics. Three are the categories taking part in the TTS interaction: the host, the guests and the audience. The audience having the possibility of acting as a group or individually.

A characteristic that may distinguish TTSs from other talkshow genres is that the studio audience is an active participant in the interaction. Not only that but is "free" to introduce new topics or change the direction of the ongoing talk with their questions. That is, if a member of the audience is granted a turn, then s/he may ask a question about anything they wish to know independently of the previous turn and/or speaker. The audience is allowed to select next speaker and to move on to a subtopic. If H allows it, the interaction may be left in the hands of the audience for a while. The audience is one obligatory element in the TTS.

The optional elements would be those added to the obligatory. They include details of the setting and the use of external "material" added to the interaction (e.g. include reports on video tapes; polls to people on the street; statistics based on opinion polls). The principle underlying this type of programmes is that catching the audience's opinion validates, if this is reached, any possible change. We discuss now some of the changes that we observed in our data.

*Presence of participants on stage*

Of the four categories discussed above only one, E is optional. The others are obligatory and have to appear, although altering the order, in a different way, etc. The question is when and how.

H is the least problematic since TTSs are host-centred and there has to be a host. H is the conductor of the interaction. Usually H will be standing up and moving around the studio holding the microphone, asking questions and holding the microphone out to those members of the audience who want to ask questions. H may decide to appear sitting down for part of the programme, or go closer to a certain G in highly emotional moments, or to impose on G (e.g. Montel Williams *Men who con women into relationships*; Geraldo *When sorry is the hardest word* )

The expert appears on stage when H summons his/her presence. Sometimes E may be present from the beginning, or it may appear after the first interview and allowed to opine about the first story. Most frequently E is called at the end to give his/her opinion about everything discussed in the show. For example in Oprah Winfrey's *Strange tragic stories/ tragic tales* the expert appears from the beginning and so does in Ricki Lake *I'm tired of being whipped. Today I become the boss or you become history*. In Montel Williams *Men who con women into relationships* comes and goes as Montel sends him in and out of backstage. In some cases there is no expert at all.

Apart from the studio audience, who is an obligatory participant and present from the beginning, they may introduce opinion polls from people on the street (e.g. Ricki Lake *You told me to dump him. Now you're with him*). Video-

clips with brief interviews, show a street camera that interviews passer byes, etc.. They also use *on-screen* written inserts which provide statistics about the results, among others (e.g. Ricki Lake *Mom get out of my face. Don't tell me how to raise my baby*, where there are video tapes of the mothers insulting and recriminating their daughter's behaviour in front of the camera).

Since Gs are the protagonists of the show, there is more variation in dealing with them. Two kinds of Gs are identified in TTS:

1. *Primary guests*: those who are introduced first and have been directly selected to participate in the programme, they are usually the ones who initiate the process to become Gs.

2. *Secondary guests*: those who go there because of the primary Gs. That is, for example the boyfriend who is causing pain to the girl, the mother or the cousin of the girl who drinks and drives, etc. They are usually "asked" to come to the programme. They usually appear physically in the programme but occasionally people who cannot be there may appear on video or make a phone call although it is not very common (e.g. Leeza. 1996. *Cold hearted con women*) Sometimes their opinion is first recorded on video (Ricki Lke. 1996. *Mom get out of my face. Let me raise my child* ) and additionally they appear in the show, etc.

## *2. Number of guests on stage*

There are several possibilities and many different possibilities have been observed in our corpus. All in all, it depends on H and how s/he decides to conduct in each particular programme. For example in my total corpus, Donahue would have most or the total number of Gs on stage from the beginning and some mixed

with the audience. Montel usually starts with part of them and then progressively introduces the rest. Ricki Lake does the same thing and so does Jenny Jones. These are not however prescriptive, since all of them alternate between the different possibilities (e.g. compare Donahue. 1996. *Black and Jewish who became friends with Klansmen who threatened them* with Donahue. 1996. *The problem with being an effeminate man or a masculine woman*. Host who introduce guests progressively use different techniques:

a) At the beginning of the programme, the guest are introduced in different ways.

The possible variations to this are many. Let us mention some:

a.1) Only the primary guests appear on stage, the secondary guests appear later progressively.

(i) H may choose to talk to each of them separately, the camera focuses usually only on the person interacting with H (Maury Povich. 1995. *Cheating Boyfriends* )

(ii) or may choose to introduce them all at the same time (Donahue. 1996. *Pyramid scheme*)

(iii) or two first and then the last one. If there are three.

a.2) All the guests main and secondary appear on stage (Geraldo. 1996. *Meth madness. Poor men's cocaine*)

From the exposed above, it derives that verbal interaction and or order of participation of Gs in the main talk is also organised by H. H may initiate several dyadic conversations with Gs (e.g. Donahue. *Selling names to another company don't use my name without my concern. Is it illegal? Property rights. Junk mail* ) and therefore exclude the other participants, or throw a question to each of the



people on stage, etc. It is H who usually decides the when to "include" Gs in the interaction, although in some occasions the other Gs may participate without being asked. Nevertheless, Gs will wait to be introduced and or asked to participate (e.g. asked a question) by H before he takes part in the interaction.

b) All the main guests are on stage and the secondary guests come out of backstage after they had been announced and summoned up to appear.

c) The main guests are questioned one by one individually on stage. When they do this the secondary Gs for each of them will appear progressively when announced by H. The usual process in this case is to ask a few questions to the primary G and then call the secondary to come in (e.g. Jenny Jones *Confronting Unfaithful Spouses*)

The possible combinations of the categories and their participation are many, but what is clear is that the choice obviously conditions the development of the discussion.

### *Position of the guests*

The two most common possibilities, observed in our data, are:

- a) On stage sitting down and facing the audience.
- b) Turning their back to the audience.

Here the variations depend on the producer, the team etc. may be done with the purpose to improve the show. Of the shows analysed the only one that actually has b) is *Montel Williams* and *Oprah Winfrey* occasionally. However, *Montel Williams* has not always had this setting since in 1995, for example, the

audience was sitting as if they were in the middle of the arena (in circle) and part of the audience was facing them and part was sitting behind them.

c) Occasionally some guests or people who are asked to participate are sitting with the audience (e.g. Oprah Winfrey *Body Language*).

### *Backstage*

Two concepts of backstage are shuffled here:

- a) The secondary guests are backstage and cannot hear what they are saying.
- b) The secondary guests are allowed to listen to what they are saying on stage.

These two options depend on whether H or the producers choose them to let them listen or not. Accordingly, the viewing audience may have secondary Gs in view or not: if it happens, they split the screen in two, one showing the image of the person backstage (e.g. Geraldo *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word* )

### *Special shows*

It is obvious that the TTSs structure varies depending on the nature of the topic, and whether it is more or less conflictive. However, when we talk of *special shows*, we refer to certain programmes which radically change the structure. In the history of the different TTSs, they always include special shows that may be dedicated for example to an homage to the host, or remembrance of other shows, a recollection of "good" opinions, events, etc. Let us give so me examples.

a) Reviews of shows in the past, showing images of different programmes with the same or very similar topics. E.g. Montel Williams *Couples in crisis* where he shows video extracts of other programmes with different titles (e.g. *Coming clean to your fiancée before the wedding*, *Cheating on long distance lovers*, *Women obsessed with their Ex-, Ex-boyfriends who won't leave their ex-girlfriends alone*). They show part of these programmes and all of them are united under a more general heading. Sometimes it includes a *post-show phase* since they can give feedback about what happened to Gs after the show. These programmes are broadcast as self-propaganda of the show.

b) A variant of a) could be also the programme where they show extracts about the host. For example, Sally Jesse Raphael dedicated a show to show images of herself from the beginnings of the programme.

c) Another type of special shows are those dedicated to give some kind of awards: a) To the people who have participated in the same programme Gordon Elliot, *The Elliot Awards* or b) Some kind of recognised award Oprah Winfrey *TV Guide Awards* to actors, actresses, etc.

We have not listed all possibilities, however we believe it is sufficient to illustrate possible changes. The common characteristic to all these possible variations is the need to make propaganda of the show itself, the auto discursive reference, repetition, a very common feature of television discourse.

In this chapter we have departed from the dynamic concept of genre introduced in chapter (2), which, we claimed, required a description of the features of the TTS context. Along the same lines, Levinson (1992) speaks of activity types and describes those as bounded events which are goal-defined and which show

constraints on the participants, settings and so on, but above all on the allowable contributions. Drew and Heritage (1992: 30) claim that one difference between conversation and institutional talk is that the latter is goal oriented and has certain tasks to fulfil and that it constraints the types of contributions by the participants. In this chapter we have provided a description of the goals and the participants in the TTS structure. In chapter 8 we will finish the description of the TTS structure by providing a description of the overall structure of TTSs, and a preliminary description of the turn-taking in TTSs.

## **CHAPTER 8.**

# **PRE-ALLOCATION OF TURN IN TABLOID TALKSHOWS**

In this chapter, we continue describing the elements of the structure TTS. First, we focus on the parts that form the TTS and describe each of them, with special emphasis on the *broadcast phase*. We then give a preliminary description of turn-taking in TTSs, by comparing systematically the characteristics enumerated by Sacks et al. (1974), for conversation, with those that we believe characterise TTS. The preliminary comparison with institutional genres is made by considering question-answer sequences, as one of the dominant forms in which the interaction proceeds in many institutional settings.

### **8.1. The overall structure of the TTS**

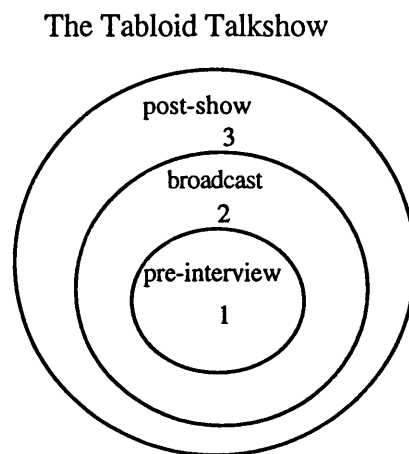
A generic feature common to most TTSs is the existence of three phases in the elaboration of the speech event:

- a) before the programme or pre-interview phase (obligatory)
- b) during the programme or broadcast phase (obligatory)
- c) after the programme or post-show phase (optional)

Each of them can be either private or public (i.e. broadcast or in the presence of an audience): a) the pre-interview, in which information about the guests is gathered, is usually private and it involves the selection of Gs and the discussion of their case. Parts of this pre-interview may be made public afterwards; b) the broadcast phase is public and is recorded live and broadcast afterwards on TV with very little editing; c) the post-show phase can be both private and public: private in the sense that, for example, the producers or the team may decide to

monitor a guest/s to see how they come along after the show, and public if they broadcast it afterwards.

These three phases are linearly interdependent in the sense that a) the pre-interview is obviously present in b) and both the pre-interview and the broadcast are always present in c) the post-show. All together they constitute the TTS itself:



Ill. 6. Three phases in the macro-structure of the TTS.

The pre-interview and the broadcast are obligatory; the post-show is optional and not that common, as the percentage of guests who are afterwards monitored is far lower than the number of guests participating in the programme. However, the post-show phase is socially important since it serves to emphasise and consolidate the role of the TTS as a service to the community. If the post-show occurs, they will inform the audience about the results, since they want the public to know that they worry about how the guests come along and that the TTS is not only spectacle but a social service.

There are different ways of informing the audience about post-show actions, either in the verbal or written mode. For example, written inserts on the screen (e.g. Sally J. Raphael. 1995. *My 14 year old wants to get married.*, they inform at the

end of the show. The written inserts appear as part of the credits); inviting the guests to come back to the programme (Oprah Winfrey. 1996. *Runaway parents*) and tell them what happened after they left the show; special shows in which they display images of previous programmes and then report on them (Montel Williams *Couples in crisis*) etc. It is obviously the broadcast phase that we focus on in this study.

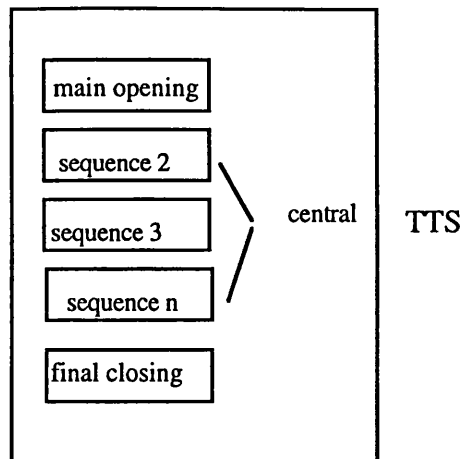
### *The broadcast phase*

The structure of the broadcast TTS is formed into several sequences that last approximately 4 to 15 minutes each (the sequential structure can be seen in illustration 7 below). These sequences, although dependent on the macro-sequence *programme*, are independent in the sense that they usually have an opening and a closing each.

At content level, each sequence is related to the whole because they are all part of the general discussion. For example, if someone is talking about how he stole money from his daughter, or hurt his family, etc., the advice or solutions may be given to each of the individual participants, but indirectly they are general advice for anybody in a similar situation (i.e. the other Gs, and other members of society who are not present).

In the broadcast version of the TTS there are three phases: *main opening*, *central* and *final closing*, as illustrated below.





Ill. 7. The overall structure of TTSs

*Main Opening phase*<sup>1</sup> is the opening of the programme. It starts with the *first turn* by H, a monologic opening discourse which is at the same time a greeting, an announcement, and a setting of the agenda for the programme. Additionally, it may include a brief summary of the stories that will be dealt with. As argued by Hutchby (1996:13), the opening turn has an "institutional or specialised quality to it, in as much as it is constructed as an announcement." The length of the main opening phase and of the first turn depends exclusively on H, and the nature of it even varies in the same host. Let us illustrate this with two first turns by Donahue:

<sup>1</sup> Term borrowed from Laver (1975: 217)

EXAMPLE 16.

- D I'm pleased to welcome the Wiessers to our studio. They are from Lincoln, Nebraska and yes, they are proud members of the Jewish community. The Jewish faith then, now and always then of you forebears and those who followed you. And you became friends with a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Holly cow, how did this happen <sup>2</sup>? In of June of 1990 you started getting threatening phone calls, you understand this?

(Donahue. 1996. *Black and Jewish who became friends with Klansman who threatened them*)

EXAMPLE 17

- D OK. What does it mean being a homosexual? What is a homosexual? His name used to be Montgomery, he legally changed it to Sissyfag. [*audience reaction*] I'm not lying.

In example 16, Donahue chooses to provide some background information, announce the topic of the day, and introduce his guests. In example 17,, he chooses to start the show with a question. Hence, the length of the first turn depends on the host. The first turn may include several discourse units:

- i) a monologic greeting, which may be overlapped or interrupted by audience reactions.
- ii) The second part of the greeting (produced by the audience and/or Gs). This is optional and may not occur. It also exist the possibility that the second part of the greeting is non-verbal language and therefore not always accessible to the analyst or home-audience.
- iii) Setting the agenda: presentation of topic and/or summary of the stories that we are going to hear:
- iv) Finally, the first question is put forward. It is usually allocated to a particular G on stage.

---

<sup>2</sup> Camera focuses on a Black woman and a White girl (blonde, blue eyes, etc) sitting side by side.

The structure of this first turn admits all possible variations. So, for example, some hosts greet briefly and almost immediately introduce the first question (e.g. EXT7); others summarise the whole programme and provide the background to the stories to be discussed (EXT3) etc. Three examples of a first turns from main opening sequences are given below:

EXAMPLE 18

Montel: Welcome, welcome, welcome, and thank you very much for joining us today. Now today we're going to talk to women who say that they are mad as hell at the men they say did nothing but con them into having sex. You know how these guys are. They con you; they take you out; they wine you and dine you; they tell you everything you want to hear from 'I love you,' 'I'll marry you,' to whatever just to get you in bed. As soon as they do, where do they go? Pshew, they kick the ladies right to the curb. These women came here today to say, 'I want to know why you kicked me to the curb.' Please welcome Brandie, Danielle and Brandie Ann to the show.

(Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*)

EXAMPLE 19

Sally The women on today's show are all single moms. And they have no idea that their boyfriends are here to propose to them. Victoria thinks she is here to compete in Sally's Super Talent Search; Tara is a travel agent who thinks she is here to talk about summer getaways; we told Lisa she had won a contest and the price was a free trip to New York, just to see our show. Julie thinks that she's here to help her boyfriend demonstrate his skills as a fisherman. She has no idea she's the catch he's after. Let's get started with our first story. Rich are you nervous? Scared to death?

(Sally J. Raphael .1996. *Single mom surprise proposals*)

EXAMPLE 20

Povich      What would you do if you found out that the love of your life is cheating on you, sleeping with another woman? Melissa found out her boyfriend, Shakir, was cheating on her. So how do you fe-how-how did you feel about all this?

(Maury Povich .1996. *Cheating Boyfriends*)

The *Central phase* would include all the sequences between the main opening and the final closing of the programme itself (see below for the structure of central sequences).

*Final Closing phase.* The final closing of the programme closes the interaction at a global level, and therefore signals the end of the broadcasting and the closing of the programme. In mundane conversation (Greatbatch 1988: 416), closings are usually accomplished collaboratively, while in TTSs terminal exchanges are accomplished unilaterally, as happens in news interviews for example. Furthermore, the flexible structure of TTSs confers them the possibility of an open-end. This is one generic feature of TTSs by which technical procedures substitute conversational gambits. There are, generally speaking, three possibilities:

a) an open closing (e.g. *Leeza Baby Sitter Surveillance*; Donahue EXT7).

That is, there is no verbal closing as such, since the participants continue with the interaction and the sound is gradually muffled by music at the same time that the credits appear. The audience in this sense may feel that the discourse is incomplete or *continuous* since the people in the studio continue talking.

b) a closing proper, as illustrated in example 21 below:

EXAMPLE 21

Sally: First of all, a very special thank you to Ron and Maddie, Maddie you did a great job for the makeovers. And I want to thank you very much all of our guests today. We have some amazingly talented people who just dropped to say "I love you and will you marry me?" I hope the women can forgive me for all of the little white lies that we had to tell each of them. We wish you much love and a lot of happiness for the future and I hope you record this and I hope you keep it forever. And I think both of them are going to be big stars in television. And what's nice is the kids. The kids just make it all worthwhile. So, please come and see us again. Bye now.

(Sally Jessy Raphael. 1996. *Single Mom Surprise Proposals*)

If there is a verbal closing, whether it occurs at the end or in central sequences, it is always unilateral: it is always H who is in charge of closing the interaction. Similar to the opening, H performs a monologic closing discourse, and the length of it depends on him/her. In some cases the closing includes some moral or advice, always optional; an invitation to follow the programme in the future, a good-bye expression, etc., as illustrated in example 22:

EXAMPLE 22

G: We're not going to resolve it in the next 15 seconds. Robin, let you be an example to the others that there is hope at the other end of this grim tunnel. Good luck everybody. Thank you for watching, everybody. We'll see you next time. Bye-bye.

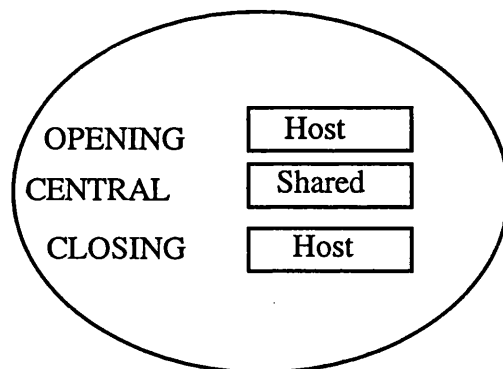
(Geraldo Rivera 1996. *Meth Madness: poor man's cocaine*)

The closing of the programme refers to the closing of the event but does not necessarily imply that the goals or the resolution of the arguments, cases, etc., has been reached. It has been observed that in these types of programmes too many doors are left open, and that often, the closings are abrupt, i.e. termination is

imposed by the lack of time rather than by the fact that the goals have been fulfilled.

c) A third possibility for closings is a combination of both in which the host closes the programme but the spectator can see that they continue talking, even after the formal closing (e.g. Ricki lake and Donahue do that sometimes).

At local level, the global structure is repeated inside each of those sequences; that is, each sequence is formed by an *opening*, *central*, and a *closing* section. So in that way, the main opening sequence would include: 1. an opening, 2. central section 3. a central closing (because the opening phase closing would be related to the first central sequence of the programme). The closing of the programme would have the same sequences except for the last one which would be the final closing instead of central. Regarding turn-pre-allocation, for each sequence the order is as follows:



Illus. 8. Distribution of talk in TTSs sequences

### Central Sequences

Central sequences are all those sequences, except for the main opening and closing, which together make up the core of the TTS. There are as many central sequences as the producers are willing to include. So in Donahue (EXT7) and in Ricki Lake *Mom get out of my face. Don't tell me how to raise my baby*, there are 7 sequences; while in Gordon Elliot *The Elliot Awards* and Jenny Jones *Cyber Loves* there are 8; in Sally *I killed and hid my husband* there are only 5, to mention some examples. The basic structural components and sequence order of one of the central sequences may be represented as follows: central-sequence opening, central-central and central closing.

a) central-sequence-opening. As argued by Heritage (1985:100), "the opening statements (openings) in the different sequences are usually some "formulating" by H, which involves summarising, glossing, or developing the gist of information of earlier statements in the programme." The opening statement is optional, and its occurrence depends on the host. Below we give examples of the openings and closings of central sequences.

Central-opening sequence,

#### EXAMPLE 23

P           Hi, Tanja.  
T           Hi.  
P           You don't look happy.  
T           No, I'm not.  
P           Yeah. Is it because you went to your boyfriend's house the  
              other day...  
T           Yes.  
P           looking for him?

(Maury Povich's. 1996. *Cheating Boyfriends* )

b) Central-closing:

EXAMPLE 24

- S Yes, it--it was...
- SA Yeah, but ain't this some (censored). You had three girls a week ago, now you ain't got jack. So you can have your good looks if that's what you think you got. So go ahead with your bad stuff because I don't want you.
- P **When we come back--when we come back**, the woman who got the shock of her life when she opened the door to her boyfriend's bedroom. And you won't believe who was in there with him. We'll have that story next.

(Maury Povich's. 1996. *Cheating Boyfriends* )

The central opening of in the example above is very brief. We know that the interaction is re-initiated because of the greeting (M- Hi Tanja) between two people who had been talking before. However, there is no re-cap or repetition of previous talk. The closing is a bit more extense. In the central-closing, the host closes the actual sequence at the same time that s/he pre-opens the next one. It is not uncommon for central-closings to become, partly, a projection towards The next central-sequence; in the same way that it is not uncommon to find abrupt central closings in which H interrupts the current speaker with no preclosing sequence at all. In these cases, there is even a greater sense of the unilateral nature of the closing moves (Hutchby, 1996: 96).

Alternatively, example 25 that follows presents a central sequence where the opening is shorter than the main opening, but it is felt as an introduction as well as a re-cap of previous talk: Central sequence, Montel Williams *Men who con women into sex*:



Example of central-opening:

EXAMPLE 25

W We are talking today to women who say that they were used by men and dropped like a hot potato as soon as he got what he wanted. Please welcome Paul to the show.

[applause]

Now, Paul, I understand that—you know, now you've been with quite a few women. [sits next to Paul]

(Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*)

Example of central-opening:

EXAMPLE 26

D Well wait. Hang on a minute. You can imagine the conversation. These folks have lived the same very personal family drama. I just cannot imagine somebody coming up to me and say' Hi. I'm your twin brother. Yeah, I'm your half brother. I'm your half sister. You-you know- adoption, not scandal.

W [I don't

D [ An act-it's an act of love.

W Right. Right.

(Donahue. 1996. *Family dramas. Sisters and brothers reunions*)

b) Central-closing

EXAMPLE 27

P Mm. Not by me.

W Oh. We'll take break. We'll find out by who. We'll be back right after this.

(Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*)

As illustrated in example 27 above, central closings (as it is the case with main closings) do not necessarily imply that it is relevant in the discourse to finish there and that the case argued in that sequence has been resolved; but are dictated by time and agenda.

Example 28 below shows a longer closing, which extends over several turns. That is, Donahue announces the closing but then proceeds to advance the content of the next sequence with a few questions.

EXAMPLE 28

- D I mean you would have never known if it had not been for the accident of having the same employment. **We'll talk to you about all that happened and also meet** er- Cookie and James. Cookie Richardson and James, of Austin. Don't tell me you worked in the same place tooo.
- C Mhm
- D Tell'em where
- C Post office
- D You're like (X) half-siblings
- J [Yes
- C Right]
- D Same mother
- J [Yes
- C same mother]
- D How long were you working in the post office together before you realised?
- C/J Ten years.
- D And you'd see each other
- C/J Every day.
- D Did you notice any manner in him?
- J/C [*Say no nodding head*]
- D You didn't
- C [*Say no nodding head*]
- J No clue]
- D I can tell right now!
- C That's what everyone says now.
- D But that's after the fact
- C Yeah
- D **We'll be back to talk to these very happy people in just a moment.**

(Donahue. 1996. *Family dramas. Sisters and brothers reunions*) .<sup>3</sup>)

So far, the sequential structure in TTSs has been outlined. But it is widely recognised (Hasan 1978; Ventola 1984/87) that slight variations appear in any generic structure. One can find differences between particular instances of the samples of a genre. Some of the basic structural components listed above, for

---

<sup>3</sup> I recorded the programme in 1996, but the copyright at the end of the programme says it is from 1995.

example, can sometimes be left out, but still the structure will be such as to allow that text as a sample of the TTS genre, in the same ways as one could find differences between different types of letters but yet they all belong to the genre *letters*, and be able to differentiate between a business letter and a letter to a friend.

## *8.2. Turn-taking in TTSs and in conversation*

The structure in phases for TTSs suggest that pre-allocation is present. The form of the TTS, and in particular its turn-taking system, although departs from conversational practices it shows more similarities with interviews than with conversation. The interview, in its widest definition (question-answer sequences), is to institutional talk what ordinary conversation is to spoken discourse: the default speech exchange system. The different ways in which the interviewing process is conducted allow differentiating between the TTS and other types of talkshows such as discussion programmes, news interviews, etc.

A preliminary characterisation of the nature of turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows is provided by comparison with those outlined by Sacks et al. (1974) for conversation.

1. *Speaker change recurs, or, at least, occurs.* The dialogic nature of the TTS is proved by the fact that speaker change recurs since the question-answer process that rules the interaction implies a constant change of speaker. Some times faster than others (see section 8.4.3. )

2. *Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.* Power and Martello (1986) affirm that the set of rules proposed by Sacks et al. (1974) does not describe a

pattern of behaviour but rather the force of a cultural convention, and that one must take into account not only the degree to which people conform to the postulated rules but also how people react when rules are broken. Along the same lines, Oreström (1983) and O'Connell et al. (1990), among others, express the view that occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are frequently encountered in conversation.

If one followed such a rule, TTSs should be classified as a type of speech that breaks the rule. However, and in the words of Power and Martello (1986), TTSs fit better the definition of *counter-example*, since the characteristics of the genre itself turn into normal what in other cases may be considered as deviant:

if persistent deviants are inferred to be incompetent or anti-social, then we have grounds for thinking that the postulated rules are indeed a convention for our society. A counter-example would have to be a case in which a deviation from the rules failed to provoke such reactions, either in the participants, or (if the incident was recorded) in subsequent observers.

( Power and Martello, 1986: 31)

In TTSs, the existence of the generic feature F2-segments (see section 5.4 and/or chapter 9 on methodology) , which cause disruption of order, chaos and verbal fights ,with overlaps, interruptions etc. may be classified as deviation from the norms. However, in TTSs, such deviation becomes the rule itself.

3. Power and Martello's claims link directly with the third and fourth characteristics postulated by Sacks et al (1974) by which they argue that in conversation: *occurrences of more than one speaker are common, but brief; and that transitions from one turn to a next with no gap and no overlap between them are common.*

In conversation, the sequential ordering of participation is 'free.' Each participant has equal rights to take turns and there is only one limit to this turn-taking which comes from one of the basic rules in conversation, that is "one party at a time" (Schegloff, 1968:706). Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) affirm that transitions from one turn to another usually occur with no gaps and no overlap, and that the turn-taking system provides repair mechanisms for dealing with turn-taking errors such as overlaps (cf. also Clark, 1996). As stated above, both models of turn-taking, the one by Sacks et al. (1974) and that by Duncan and Fiske, depart from one general principle underlying any analysis of spoken genres. They argue that "in the course of interaction, participants will try to preserve the widely accepted principle of one talking at a time, since as it has been many times argued, simultaneous talk would not permit communication since it is potentially unheard, and that is problematic" (Edelsky, 1981: 397).

In her paper, however, Edelsky (1981:137) reacts against previous works (Duncan, 1973; Goffman, 1967; McHoul, 1978) which claim that more-than-one-at-a-time talk is "degenerate, a breakdown or something requiring repair." In defending this position, Edelsky reports the results of works such as those by Spelke, Hirst and Neisser (1976) and Reisman (1974)<sup>4</sup>, which show that simultaneous talk is frequent, expected and processed in certain contexts and speech communities. Edelsky concludes that one-at-a-time is not a universal, and that instances of more-than-one-at-a-time are not always brief, repaired, or degenerate. Along the same lines, Denny (1985:46) claims that "overlapping exchange, a pragmatically unmarked index when occurring among friends, is pragmatically marked on a formal occasion and can have the effect of making formal more informal." The perception of simultaneous talk as rude is therefore situation-dependent.

---

<sup>4</sup> From Edelsky (1981).

In providing a description of TTSs, it is first noticeable that, in the course of the ongoing interaction, what often has been considered as "deviant behaviour:" (long overlaps, interruptions, impolite behaviour, etc.) not only occurs but, furthermore, is expected and fostered by the participants themselves. Consequently, the observers will not judge this continuous rule-breaking as incompetent or anti-social but an inherent characteristic of the TTS genre itself. The recurrence of simultaneous talk in TTSs may well be a characteristic that shows the indeterminacy of the TTS genre itself, as it oscillates continually between the more formal and the more conversational style.

Nevertheless, in a medium such as television the existence of a genre depends on the listener/audience to be successful. Hence, one may initially assume that the one-at-a-time principle should prevail in TTSs since it facilitates the task of the listener. However, the concept of "successful communication" has to be interpreted differently in the TTS context. O'Connell et al. (1990: 346) claim that "that the ultimate criterion for the success of conversation is not "smooth interchange of speaking turns" but the fulfilment of the purposes entertained by two or more interlocutors." The purpose of TTSs is to show confrontation and deviant cases, stories, behaviours etc., on American national television. Therefore, not only simultaneous talk, overlaps and interruptions are expected to occur, due to the confrontational nature of the exchange, but these features fulfilment the purpose of the TTS and the spectators' expectations of this genre. Moreover, this "deviant behaviour", is the most essential feature of TTS and, although it may impede the listeners' understanding, is claimed to be a feature that contributes positively to gaining audience, and is, consequently, fostered by the producers themselves.

Labov and Fanshel (1977:73) focused their interest on the knowledge of contexts and affirmed that: "in any particular context we will not know if a particular rule applies unless our knowledge of the contextual conditions is accurate." The context is, therefore, a key feature to interpret correctly the turn system, its rules and the deviation from them. In this sense, the context provided by TTSs allows the occurrence of some events that would not be otherwise considered as appropriate.

4. *Turn order is not fixed, but varies.* Generally speaking, turn-taking can be either predetermined- as is usually the case in trials, masses, interviews, debates. In debates, for example, turns are pre-allocated, and the turn at talk is as flexible or negotiated by the participants as is the case of casual conversation (cf. Larrue and Trognon, 1993; Sacks et al., 1974). TTSs, as argued before, are an example of institutionalised discourse where the order can be said to be fixed to a certain extent, but which allows some variation.

5. A lot can be said about the *size* of the turn being fixed. One may argue that in TTSs turn-sizes may vary, and that all participants are allowed to alternate between long and short turns. However, most important here is the fact that the size of the turn is largely determined by the previous turn, and that it often depends on H.

We argue (see section 8.4. below) in favour of a macro structure based on a question-answer format, which accounts for most of the turns occurring in the course of the TTS interaction. This implies that a question always comes before an answer, and that the size of answer is directly linked to the propositional content of the question. Questioning is primarily done by H, who uses different types of questions which allow him/her to control turn size (e.g. yes-no questions as

opposed to Wh-questions). In addition, other external factors, such as time, influence the size of turns.

6. The *length of the interaction* for TTSs, in contrast to casual encounters, is fixed and specified in advance by the genre conventions themselves. TTSs last some 45 to 60 minutes and are divided into blocks of 5-15 minutes in order to fit in the advertisements. As a consequence, characteristic number (9) outlined by Sacks et al., (1974): the *relative distribution of turns* can be said to be pre-specified to a certain extent.

7. *What parties say is not fixed, specified in advance.* In TTSs, a great part of what is said may be specified in advance and, most certainly, it has been discussed and talked over with H and the producers. This pattern is not uncommon in some TV interviews, e.g. formal political interviews, where the participants have carefully gone over the material and questioning before-hand (cf. Kurzon, 1996: 217) and Kowal and O'Connell, 1996: 310).

In TTSs, it is known that instructions are given to H about the topic, the way to handle the interview, the attitude to be adopted, etc. In the same way, Gs are often given instructions about what to say and how to present their case. If there were a script, TTSs would be examples of *ideal delivery* (Clark, 1996), in which the participants seem to "speak with a pre-formulated fluency: flawlessly, without hesitations, and without long pauses" (Kowal and O'Connell, 1997: 310) <sup>5</sup>. If that were the case, TTSs would be in clear contrast with other speech-exchange systems such as conversation, since turn-taking organisation in conversation

---

<sup>5</sup> Kowal and O'Connell (1997: 319), however, criticize the concept of ideal delivery, especially in interviews: "the ideal delivery is an entity invented out of the implicit conviction that language must be entirely formulated in advance, i.e., before onset of an utterance. It isn't, it shouldn't be, and, in fact, it cannot be, because in an interview the interviewee has to *react* to the interviewer's questions. Obviously, Princess Diana did not primarily strive for "ideal delivery" but for efficient communication."



makes no provision for the content of any turn, nor does it constrain what is (to be) done in any turn.

The literature on TTSs, however, clearly indicates that the participants learn no script but are given mere instructions and indications as a mode of guidance. Additionally, since the end is very often to provoke and cause confrontation, the TTS itself almost always includes the element of surprise (unexpected Gs surprise information ) which is used on Gs, who are forced to react to these elements on the spot. Accordingly, speakers react spontaneously in the direction of the on-going talk.

In the present study, it is nevertheless impossible to determine the degree of pre-formulated fluency, rehearsing, or to what point some of the discourse is "unnatural." Getting to know this would imply a direct and intimate knowledge of the interaction (previous and broadcast) of the participants themselves, and of the related events. Finding out this information is not possible if one analyses the interaction from the perspective of an outsider (in the physical sense). The relation between rehearsed and unrehearsed, and pre-formulated fluency could be a promising area of research if one had access to all the background information that configures media dialogue. Notwithstanding, even if some parts of the discourse have been previously agreed on by some participants, this is not believed to be a factor that would invalidate this type of interaction, but just another feature to be taken into account.

10. The *number of parties* changes in TTSs, but it usually oscillates from 2-12. Whatever the final number is, the most relevant here is that, previous to the interaction, there is a pre-specified number of participants, as opposed to the freedom observed in unplanned types of interaction.

11. *Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.* In the TTS, discontinuity occurs because of the type of discourse and the medium in which it takes place. In that sense, TV requires talk to be split into several segments in order to fit in advertisements. This is done, basically, for economic reasons, since sponsors of the programmes advertise their products during the breaks.

12. *Turn allocation techniques including: repair mechanisms for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations obviously are available for use.* The TTS displays turn allocation techniques, such as question-answer processes, nomination, and introduction of Gs to the audience <sup>6</sup>, among others; and provides for cases in which violations occur. These techniques are primarily controlled by H who can, due to his/her contractual position, make use of the whole range of turn allocation techniques available.

Apart from the features discussed above, a basic difference between TTSs and casual conversation derives from the fact that TTSs have to accomplish certain tasks (cf. Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991; see also section 6.4. above). This brings TTS talk closer to the institutional type of talk. Among a range of possible TTSs tasks <sup>7</sup> I propose that the turn-taking system of the TTSs is geared to the management of the following three tasks and constraints:

1. The task of producing talk for an overhearing audience as its primary recipients.

---

<sup>6</sup> In most cases Gs are present on stage (e.g. Jenny Jones *I'm fed up with my teen* ) and they do not intervene at all until they are allocated the turn . The camera only focuses on the Gs being interviewed and the spectator at home gets the impression that there is nobody else on stage.

<sup>7</sup> Task such as for example, filling in a slot in the programming; making money for the sponsors, etc.

2. The task of showing the public and the guests a biased position in favour or against the behaviour of certain guests, and provide some help to restore social order if necessary.
3. Allow the studio audience to ratify or go against positions, attitudes, ideas, etc. expressed by both guests and hosts.

Below we provide an explanation of how these tasks may be accomplished.

1. The TTS seeks to entertain and inform the audience, i.e., their primary recipients, with stories coming from Gs. These stories have in common one or several features (related to the topic of the day) which are often morally condemned by most members of society. Within this process, H will provide a context in which Gs can tell their stories. Once this is accomplished, H will expose what s/he considers to be the problem for all and each of the cases discussed. Finally, H will try to provide a solution for G/s with the help of the expert and the audience.

The fact that this talk is directed to an overhearing audience is not only acknowledged but present in the interaction and is "managed through the design of the talk" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991:107). The fact that most talk is designed for the benefit of recipients who are usually non-speaking participants (Drew, 1985: 134) shows, for example, in the repetitions, requests for confirmations, summaries and formulations of previous talk on the part of H (also by explicit reference to the audience, looks and summons directed to the audience, questions (general, rhetoric, etc. directed to the audience, etc.).

2. The TTSs' ultimate objective is to show that the existence of the genre itself is valuable in that it not only provides information, but helps to bring back social order by sanctioning some kinds of conduct, approving others and giving

Gs advice for the better. In this process, although producers themselves argue in favour of considering the work in TTSs as a journalistic practice ruled by journalistic standards, the constraint that bears on broadcast journalists at the moment: "to retain a stance of neutrality towards the statements and opinions of the IE" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 107) does not seem to apply in TTSs.

From the very beginning, TTSs display a distinction between *victims* and *wrongdoers*. In fact, the programmes seek to confront both in order to find out who is to blame. H does not refrain from showing a bias in favour of the victims; on the contrary, it is made obvious through the design of his/her talk, which sanctions the wrongdoers conduct. H's conduct usually conforms to certain social canons of the good and the bad, the just and the unjust etc. So his/her reflection about the facts is moved by moral rather than legal principles.

3. Finally, TTSs allow a representatives of the overhearing audience, those in the studio, to manifest their opinion. Active participation of the audience is a generic feature of TTSs, since TTSs regard themselves as the commonplace for those whose voice would not be heard otherwise. This feature is displayed by the organisation of the turn-taking system: the turn-taking system provides for audience participation (questions, statements) and their contributions become part of the ongoing talk to the point of influencing or even altering the course of the interaction.

### **8.3. The interactional management of talk: questions and answers**

The interaction in TTSs takes place with the purpose of eliciting information to inform the audience. It is claimed that the central goal of the TTS is to listen to the story of the Gs, which usually implies a problematic situation or a conflict for G

in relation with others or with social order in general and to provide them with advice or solution for the better. One of the main ways to elicit information is by questioning. Oreström (1983:108), among others, points out the fact that the difference between an assertion and an elicit is that the former has as a general purpose to give information, the latter extract information. However, Oreström himself denies the existence of such sharp distinction between both :

this sharp distinction between assertions and elicits is often an oversimplification. Generally in conversation, assertions are also linked with some sort of response-seeking and are thus subordinate principles of human communication.

(Oreström, 1983: 109)

Along the same lines, as pointed out by Shuy (1996: 174) is the issue that questions and answers might seem totally different things on the surface, but "the way a question is asked can influence or even determine the answer given, as has been proven by many works on questions and answers (Golding et al., 1990; Graesser, and Franklin ,1990; Macaulay, 1996; Weiser, 1976). Furthermore, one may ask many types of questions: requests for information, requests for opinion, requests for clarification, procedural requests (Shuy, 1996: 174), among others. And in asking a question, one may use different sentence-types: command, elicit, question. Two concepts have to be reviewed in relation to questions and answers: mutual knowledge and power.

### *8.3.1. Mutual knowledge*

Much has been said about how to recognise mutual knowledge, and hypotheses on mutual knowledge have been formulated in several works (Clark and Marshal 1981; Gibbs, 1987; Gundel, 1985; Sperber and Wilson, 1982, 1990). It is not our intention, however, to debate here the existence or non-existence of

mutual or shared knowledge. We depart from the assumption that in TTS-interaction, Gs and H share some mutual knowledge about Gs' personal life. This is not only a presupposition, but it is something inherent to the TTS itself, since mutual knowledge is acquired during the pre-interview. The existence of this mutual knowledge is explicitly mentioned and used throughout the interviewing process ( e.g. when talk in backstage is mentioned, or in references to the pre-interview with the producers, etc.).

Information about the story being presented, as well as many personal traits of the participants, are known to have been previously discussed between H and Gs, between Gs and the producers, between Gs themselves, etc. This generates a certain amount of mutual knowledge which may affect the type of questions used in the interaction. Such mutual knowledge, however, is only accessible to two of the three categories taking part in the interaction: the host and the guests; the audience is excluded. Additionally hidden agendas are only known to the institutional members.

It is impossible to determine exactly how much each part knows, since not all mutual knowledge is relevant at all times. As argued by Sperber and Wilson (1982: 66): "the actual context used in comprehension is much smaller than the common ground." That is, only what is considered to be relevant to understand a certain proposition will be brought up in the discussion and most mutual knowledge may not even be mentioned at all <sup>8</sup>. It is usually the host who decides what to bring up during the interaction and it is through questions that the hosts manipulates such mutual knowledge. This manipulation influences in the outcome of the interaction.

---

<sup>8</sup>The same occurs in courtroom discourse, for example, where the lawyer and the client, the lawyer and the judge etc., have held conversations previous to the public event and know of information that will only be used if necessary.

The existence of mutual knowledge among the participants differentiates TTSs from other media interviews where the "questioner is genuinely trying to discover new information" (Shuy, 1996: 174). In TTSs, H knows most of the answers because of his/her privileged access to information previously elicited in pre-interviews with the same guests. In this respect, TTS are similar to classroom and courtroom interaction where questions are not real questions, since the questioner already knows the answer. In TTSs, questions are used with the purpose of informing the public or with the purpose of testing someone's knowledge or confirming information: they are "display questions" rather than real demands for information. The process followed to gather, distribute and manipulate information or mutual knowledge is outlined below:

1. Before the programme, potential guests are asked questions by the team who works for the show<sup>9</sup>. The questions are related to the topic to be dealt with and are posed with the purpose of determining the adequacy of those being interviewed to become guests.
2. H gets to know the results of these interviews, either directly or indirectly, and is provided with all the details about the personal stories of the guests.
3. The next step is, for H (or the team of the show), to make a list of questions that s/he wants to ask the guests in the broadcast phase. In this way, H (or the team that produces the programme) selects only part of the gathered information. These questions become part of the agenda set for the programme and their function is to elicit information about the topic of the day.
4. In the broadcast, there is no time to discuss all aspects of all guests' personal stories, due mainly to limitations of time. The information dealt

---

<sup>9</sup> This obviously varies for each show. It may involve one person, two or several, depending exclusively on those who provide the money and direct the show.

with is therefore reduced to a few events related to the topic of that particular programme. Thus, part of what has become mutual knowledge, i.e. the potential context (Sperber and Wilson, 1982: 66) which would allow real understanding of Gs and Hs propositions is left aside and never communicated to the audience.

5. The manipulation or selection of the data gathered from personal stories is done through the use of questions. These questions bring out only a part of the mutual knowledge and allow the audience to understand the actual context, this being only a small subset of the potential one.

In brief, mutual knowledge helps H to formulate only the relevant questions and serves to elicit the background information. Thanks to mutual knowledge, H can recover the right context for the audience, eliciting only the information he believes necessary for them to interpret what is being discussed. In that way, the audience has the feeling that the argument is moving forward. As Sperber and Wilson point out that:

a context is a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world... not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or immediately preceding utterances: expectations about the future, scientific hypothesis, or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in the interpretation. [...] A speaker who intends an utterance to be interpreted in a particular way must also expect the hearer to be able to supply a context which allows that interpretation to be recovered.

( Sperber and Wilson, 1990:16)

Notice also that pre-interviews may lead to repetition of question-answer sequences. That is, since most of the aspects discussed between hosts and guests have already been dealt with in the interview, the interview in front of the audience may become a repetition for guests and hosts, while for the audience



everything would be new information. If that were the case, TTSs may be examples of what Clark (1977/1996) refers to as the *ideal delivery* in which:

every use of a word, phrase or sentence has an ideal delivery - a flawless presentation in that is fluent, and the pronunciation, intonation, speed, and volume are appropriate to the circumstances. It is the delivery speakers would make if they had formulated what they are going to say before speaking and could follow through on that plan.

(Clark , 1996: 254)

In short, the TTS genre enshrines in its generic nature a physical discussion of the different *knowledges* that the participants may possess. It is a discussion that tries to reconcile the private and the public, the individual and the social, the moral and the immoral, the right and wrong, i.e., the knowledge that they merely share and the knowledge that is genuinely mutual.

### 8.3.2. *Power*

Hierarchy and power in relation to question-answer have been debated for many different genres (e.g. Harris 1984/1995 and Phillips, 1984 for courtroom interaction; Reynolds, 1990 for classroom discourse, etc.). Power, however, is understood here as expressed in discourse through an unequal distribution and deployment of argumentative resources (Hutchby, 1996: 58). On the other hand, question-answer processes and power are almost inevitably linked to the concept of face (Brown and Levinson 1987; Goffman 1967), and in particular to face-saving and face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987).

In TTSs, questions demand an answer from the hearer; they demand revealing information which may become a face-threat, especially if it demands information on intimately personal and sensitive topics. Thus, questions involve

risks that are particularly related to face. It is understood, however, that, according to the context, certain acts which may imply a face-threat may become unmarked or acceptable in another context. That is, in a courtroom, for instance, everything is allowed to certain parts (e.g. lawyers) but not others in order to get to know the truth, theoretically, one of the main purposes of a trial. In casual conversation, however, where phatic communion is the goal, the speaker would be more careful as to what kind of questions to ask. So, ultimately, the questions and the "responses to questions show a pattern that reflects the hierarchy of status, power and authority differentiation" (Phillips, 1984: 226).

The questioning activity has often been related to the most powerful position, especially in institutional interaction types. Maynard (1991), for example, reports that a way of tracing the power relationship in doctor-patient interactions is by counting the number of questions asked by each participant, looking at the type of questions asked by doctors, and counting the number of interruptions performed by the doctor and vice versa.

If we admit that language can show the underlying power relations, and one of the ways to do so is by reproducing question-answer processes, we are forced to introduce the concept of *abuse*, which Lakoff (1990: 128-129) mentions exists for three types of institutional talk: therapy, classrooms, and courtrooms. An overt power imbalance is found in these three types of interaction (Lakoff, 1990: 127), and hypothetically we believe it may also exist in TTSs. Phillips (1984) claims that:

responses to questions show a pattern that reflects the hierarchy of status power and authority differentiation that is both situational, and exists in the courtroom, and societal, so one can expect to see the same pattern as described here in other hierarchically organised role relations....thus legal uses of language ... reproduce broader patterns of social organisation.

(Philips, 1984: 226)

Harris (1984: 19) argues that one of the most important factors that serve to determine the function of questions in context is the different perspectives of reality from which the questioners and the answerers depart: "as a number of sociologists have observed about teachers and pupils in schools, magistrates and defendants start from different perspectives of reality" (Harris, 1984:18). The difference in perspective, according to Harris, is based on two contradictory parameters: 'unable' and 'unwilling', the latter representing the perspective adopted by the law. So, the defendant will have to prove that he is unable to pay rather than unwilling to do so.

A parallel situation is observed in TTSs, where questions are conducive and serve the purpose of a mode of control on the topic as well as on the turn-taking system. Gs come to the TTS to tell their story as *victims* (i.e. unable) who are suffering for whatever the reason. However, they are many times treated as *wrongdoers* (i.e. unwilling) therefore responsible for their actions. In TTSs, Gs find themselves trying to justify themselves and prove their innocence to the audience, rather than receiving help from them. The TTSs reflect, in the figure of H, situations similar to those described by Harris (1984) in the courtroom:

In the court, the magistrate will obtain information from the defendant's income... so that the court can judge the nature of the circumstances. Such questions are intended to serve a purely *informative* purpose but because of the tendency of the magistrate to adopt the 'unwilling' paradigm and the nature of the subject matter, the magistrate's questions become *accusations* in context.

(Harris, 1984: 20).

### 8.3.3. *Question-answers in TTSs*

Question-answer processes are known to be central to many institutional genres such as courtroom, therapeutic, classroom, etc., in which the whole interaction can be said to progress thanks to a sequencing and repetition of the question-answer process, a fact underlying most human communication. In TTSs, the interaction also seems to proceed with question-answer sequences, and almost all contributions can be somehow placed in such a framework.

#### *Types of questions*

As is the case in many other media interviews, the pragmatic force of questions will then vary, as argued by McCarthy and Carter (1994: 193), depending on the desired outcome. They resume 5 discourse strategies of the skilled interviewer which involve the use of questions of a very diverse nature:

1. Use a lead-in to the question
2. Expand after the main question
3. Reinforce your question to get more from the other person
4. Use a conventional expression to take the other person back to an earlier question to get more from there.
5. Link your next question to the last answer.

Although their findings are directed towards the process of teaching and learning a language, one immediately realises the potentiality involved in these 5 types of questions regarding genre typology. McCarthy and Carter conclude, however, that this is not a behaviour "to be aped in a robot-like fashion" but rather "a resource bank of examples and actual language which (teachers and learners) use for their own perceived needs." Along the same lines Günthner and Knoblauch (1995:7) point out that "a certain activity such as asking a student questions during an oral exam, can be done by means of various communicative forms or genres which may be more or less conventionalised and more or less pre-patterned." All the five types of questions listed by McCarthy and Carter are observed to occur in TTSs, the host alternates between different types.

There are, however, many ways to introduce a question. A particular type of questioning identified by Tannen (1981) is observed to occur in TTSs: the *machine-gun question*. (1981: 387). Tannen defines the effects of the use of this device as follows:

The effect of the use of this device with speakers accustomed to its use is to grease the conversational wheels: keep talk flowing rapidly and smoothly. The reduced form, marked pitch, and turn-timing carry the message: "I am so interested that I can't wait for you to finish before asking this, and I don't want to interrupt your turn at talk, so answer quickly if it fits in, and if it doesn't, forget it"

(Tannen, 1981: 387).

The machine-gun question style is characterised by rapid turn-taking, overlaps, marked intonation and pitch, and little pause between speaker turns. Tannen adds that machine-gun questioning, if used with speakers that are unaccustomed "to their use as cooperative devices, [the effect] is the opposite of what is intended...[and may] seem startling, rude." In this case the interchange will be unsatisfactory for the participants. In TTSs, Gs react differently when faced with

a series of abrupt and rapidly uttered questions, mainly coming from H. Let us illustrate this with an example:

EXAMPLE 29

- K I love him very much.  
M You love [ this man very much  
K [ He knows I love him] very much and  
[ I'm very in love with him.  
M [ You would like] for this marriage to work  
K Very much so.  
M But, what's happened? Is he living with you?  
K No. He's living with her.  
M Ooooh. So so in other words, after you got married, the other  
fiancee just wouldn't go away  
K Er—e—er our relationship's been going on for about three  
years  
[ and during those three years it has been  
M [ & and you knew about the other girl beforehand]  
K back and forth, and  
[ back and forth  
M [ & You knew about] the other person Shanon?  
K Right.  
M You knew about her before  
K He was engaged to her first and then he  
[ left her free.  
M [ So you thought that if you get married] you're the one, right?  
K Right and [ I  
M [ & Why do you love] him still?  
K He's really—he's a great man [*audience reaction*]. He—he  
really is, he's  
M Σ Who said no? who said no?

(Maury Povich. 1996. *Cheating Boyfriends* )

The pace of this segment is extremely fast, so fast that K has hardly any time to answer M's questions. M's questions are spoken quickly, with high pitch and reduced syntactic form (Tannen, 1981: 393). He does not allow pauses in between questions and interrupts and overlaps K's speech several times. M's questions are timed to overlap or to latch onto K's talk: by the time he's asking another question, K is still trying to answer the previous one. No doubt her answers are conditioned by his machine-gun questions. K, however, adapts very quickly to this style and

manages to answer most of the questions: "the machine-gun question has its correlate in the machine-gun answer" (Tannen, 1981:394). The continuous interruptions and fast style, on the part of M, give the impression that M wouldn't mind if K didn't answer the questions. She could say whatever she wanted, even if it didn't answer the question, and M's fast pace would not be altered.

Example 30 shows the opposite effect. In the interaction below, it is obvious that D feels clearly intimidated by the machine-gun question style used by O. The guest D does not adapt to this style, so the interaction in this case can be characterised as *cross-stylistic talk* (Tannen, 1981: 387); D's answers, which are uttered slowly, include hesitations, pauses, a very sober tone and low pitch, and show that she does not feel comfortable talking about her relationship with her son on TV. She feels intimidated by the machine-gun questioning style used by O. Consequently, the interchange is rhythmically uneven if compared to the example above:

EXAMPLE 30

- O        Σ How old is your daughter?  
D        She's now seventeen. At the time she was sixteen < O- Mhm >  
          <sup>10</sup>  
O        And he's thirteen  
D        He's thirteen < O- Mhm > He's now fourteen < O- Mhm > er (+)  
          I panicked when they told me that nobody was gonna help  
          me— they had—he had to come home. And he 'd already  
          threatened to blows his stepfather's head off < O- Mhm >  
          what—wo—(+) when our division, our social service division,  
          refused to help I didn't know what else to do.  
O        So you left town  
D        We left town.  
O        Because you did not want him to come back home  
D        Right . Because I was afraid of him < O- Mhm >

(3.5 sec. pause) <sup>11</sup>

(Oprah Winfrey. 1996. *Runaway Parents*)

The types of questions are very diverse. However, a distinction between two main approaches to questioning can be made by distinguishing between: a) questions with one or several initial "prefatory statements" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991: 99) and b) questions without prefatory. This prefatory is often a *topicalizing and questioning turn*:

in order to topicalize his remark, the current speaker is forced to remind the others of what initiated his request to speak, i.e., he must report the content of a prior remark. Hence errors are always possible (along with attempts to manipulate), and debates are triggered by the need to rely on reported discourse.

(Larrue and Trognon, 1993: 188)

<sup>10</sup> D does not seem to continue, so Oprah throws a question. Example of cooperative interruption (Kowal and O'Connell, 1997: 322).

<sup>11</sup> Here the recipient, D, does not take the floor. D will then elicit continued speakership of previous speaker. In this way, it is recipient's rejecting the floor what makes previous speaker into primary speaker (Houtkoop and Mazeland, 1985: 605).



Whatever the case, one characteristic that shows the orientation of the parties to the institutional character of the interaction (as pointed out by Heritage and Greatbatch 1991: 99ff.) is that the other parties in the TTS usually withhold their responses until H produces a recognisable question:

EXAMPLE 31

- G            Hold it. Hold it. Got kids? Kids? Kids have a piggy bank? (X) I get my daughter's— can you imagine how low-you can go-to reach into your daughters piggy bank? and steal twenty bucks?<sup>12</sup> [*pause 0.5 seconds*]. Even if she doesn't accept your apology, you should go to the top of a mountain and scream out to the whole wide world I am so sorry that I have humiliated my manhood in this way, my humanness in this way. It's just, you know, let me say it. I wanna say something. I get a— I feel so bad for you. I feel angry at you and I feel so bad because I know that for you to do something that low, you had to be:: low. And now your wife is gonna come out and now you expect her to say I forgive you?
- J            Er—
- G            Σ Are you sure you won't do it (X) next ?

(Geraldo. 1996. *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word*)

Here the example shows a long turn by H, with an equally long prefatory, which is not at all interrupted by any other participant until a question is put forward. Related to the prefatory are functions such as: summarising topics, events, etc. dealt with in the show, giving advice, and reproducing the voice of the institution, the "American society," etc. and which result in a higher degree of protagonism in the figure of the host.

---

<sup>12</sup> Speech slowed down.

*Function of questions*

In the context of TTSs, questions serve two major functions that coincide with those reported by Harris (1984: 19) for courtroom discourse<sup>13</sup> : questions may serve to elicit information, to confirm something, or may be used as a means for accusing someone. Informing and confirming are functions appropriate in TTSs, but accusing should not be so. It is observed, however, that in TTS, questions often become a mere formulation of accusations rather than a way to build up and reconstruct stories. The following examples illustrate how a series of questions progressively accuse guests of several faults.

Example 32 below is taken from Montel Williams's *Men who con women into relationships*. D was initially introduced as a victim, a woman who had been abandoned by the man who left her pregnant. Williams starts asking questions about her case which, apart from advancing the argument, progressively lead to the main accusation: i.e., it is all her fault, she should not have allowed that to happen. It is in this sense that the victim turns into a wrongdoer, and it is through question that we are lead to that conclusion.

---

<sup>13</sup> Harris (1984) data is taken from the Arrears and Maintenance division of the Nottinghamshire County Magistrates' Courts.

EXAMPLE 32

- D: So that same month, I became pregnant; that same month, David cheated on me and left me. So I ended up moving into a pregnancy center and I didn't hear from him for like six months. During that time, he was saying he didn't know who Danielle was, he didn't sleep with me and that wasn't his kid.
- W: Mm-hmm. And then he moved back in.
- D: He called me back up when I was seven months pregnant.
- W: And you let him back in?
- D: Yes. I fell for it again. He said he wanted a family; he was sorry, er, so I took him back again. Two weeks before I'm about to give birth, he cheated on me again and left me.
- W: But you've seen him again.
- D: Yes.
- W: So wait—now, Danielle, come on now, you want to confront him about him abusing you, but remember this old saying, it's like once—What is that?—Once bitten, their fault; second time, your fault'?

(Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*.)

In the same way, the example below shows how Geraldo's questions are clearly directed towards blaming J for his actions. The situation is as follows: J has repented for his sins and comes to the programme as a victim of an addiction to gambling (or as he names it "illness of gambling") to beg his wife to forgive him. Geraldo knows all the details and the impact that revealing them will have on the audience, so he carefully builds up his argument towards the climax by uttering a few accusative questions which help him to bring out the most morbid details. He accuses J of stealing money from his daughter's piggy bank and using it for gambling.

EXAMPLE 33

- G Wait wait. Are you in Rodney's position? Or you just want a warm bed to sleep in?
- J No. Not at all. I can get a warm bed. I've got a few places You know, I can go. I can get a room if I wanted my own bed by myself
- G You've got a job?
- J Yeah. But what but what means most to me is is my family y'know a::nd when I look at ... when I look at &
- G & When was the last time you gambled? The last time
- J [The last time
- G and don't don't lie]
- J The last time I gambled was last week
- G And where did you get the money?
- J er I took it from my wife's bracelet.
- G *hh [sighs]* If you were his wife, if you were his wife what would you do?

(Geraldo. 1996. *Please forgive me . When sorry is the hardest word*)

Not only hosts but the audience also uses questions to accuse the guests and to cause confrontation. The audience has often been classified as aggressive (cf. Guzman 1996) and such aggressiveness can be expressed either through questions or through direct accusations (see cases of *comments* in the analysis section).

The audience are only granted the turn when H so desires. Hence, audience's questions may not be related with the immediately preceding discourse, but to earlier discourse. If that is the case, this member of the audience topicalizes in order to place his/her question in context. In general, observation shows that audience's questions are generally accusative and that Gs are on guard when questioning time<sup>14</sup> for the audience comes. Example 34 illustrates this:

<sup>14</sup> This is manifested mainly by NV reactions, such as keeping a straight face, changing seating postures, crossing arms, pulling faces to indicate surprise, scorn, disdain, etc. and/or exchange of complicity looks between Gs, scornful smiles. Verbal reactions to these accusations are often insults.

EXAMPLE 34

- A3 Theresa, I was just wondering what kind of advice you're giving. Because I give advice to people but it doesn't end up sleeping together. And it[audience reaction; applauds] sounds like you you've got kind of a little thing going there <sup>15</sup>
- J Σ Well, maybe Ken you're the guy to ask. What kind of advice were you getting from Theresa about your relationship with Dori?

(Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses*)

So far, we have argued that the interaction and management of talk in TTSs is built up by question-answer sequences, and that all other possible communicative activities that may emerge can be identified with either of them (i.e. question or answer) and that answers are largely constrained by the propositional content of questions.

Questions in TTSs have agenda setting characteristics and will help to fulfil the goals of the TTS itself (e.g. help Gs to resolve their problems), so they are uttered in different forms (statements, Wh-questions, yes-no question, etc.), with different functions and with different pragmatic force according to the desired outcome: they allow the guests to tell their stories, and H to elicit relevant information; they permit the audience to express either disagreement, agreement, surprise; accuse other participants, confirm some information etc. with regards to the ongoing discussion.

In TTSs, questions serve three main functions: confirming, informing and accusing. Additionally, according to the desired outcome, the participants will vary the pragmatic force of the question which can be resumed in five strategies ( i.e.,

---

<sup>15</sup>At the end of turn here, the intonation contour shows she was going to continue. J takes away the microphone and asks a question.

use a lead-in to the question; expand after the main question; reinforce your question to get more from the other person; use a conventional expression to take the other person back to an earlier question to get more from there; link your next question to the last answer). Mutual knowledge is a decisive factor in that it determines the form and purpose of the question.

Questioning generates power relationships in the sense that the questioner has the right to demand intimate and personal information from others. Hence, the activities of questioning and answering reveal the status relationships that emerge and are held during the TTS interaction. The distribution of these activities (questioning-answering), if imbalanced, may reveal the existence of an institutional framework based on a superior-inferior relationship that holds between the different parties. This framework will only be so if the participants accept and respect the rules applying to the TTS interaction and the internal status assigned to them.

Although the analysis may show more complex relations, an initial characterisation of the turn-taking in TTSs can be simply stated as the rule that mainly one party (H) will ask questions and provide advice while Gs will answer those questions. The information elicited from H's questions and from Gs statements will allow the audience and expert to intervene and ask questions as well as give advice.

There may be occasional departures from the question-answer process specially in confrontational moments. Such departures demand an effort, especially on the part of H, to restore the order but are, no doubt, appropriate and expected in the context of TTSs. However, one will recognise that the participants are *doing a TTS* by the orientation of the parties to the institutional character of their talk and

the relevancies of their local and social identities (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991:130) as host, guest, audience or expert. These identities reproduce the TTS as a form of institutional interaction on a recursive turn-by-turn basis.

Generally speaking, and these become hypotheses to be tested in the analysis, some power relationships seem to emerge in TTSs-interaction in relation to the question-answer processes:

- a) H has the power over all the other participants present in the interaction<sup>16</sup>, a feature that may be proven by the fact that H asks questions but rarely answers any.
- b) This power is sometimes used more overtly than others depending on what is going on in the discourse, and it is subjected to challenges on the part of the other participants.
- c) The power strategies used by the different participants are inherently *reciprocal* , i.e., they are successful only if the participants accept the norms applying in that particular institutional framework and the internal status of the encounter (e.g., withholding responses until a recognisable question has been produced).

In this chapter, we have first described the overall structure of TTSs. As explained above, the TTSs event is prestructured in a number of phases and sequences that are required by convention. In this case, those phases exist because of the nature of the genre and of the institution in which takes place: TTSs have to be split in parts to fit the advertisements. Those advertisements sponsor the talkshow and it is usually thanks to them that the programme continues being

---

<sup>16</sup> Behind what is seen on the screen, the director has more authority, but here we only analyze the "visible" interaction.

broadcast. The structure of TTSs in phases establishes a certain degree of turn-pre-allocation at both global and local level, which is most present in all opening and closing turns. That is, opening and closing turns are pre-allocated to the institution or, what is the same, to the representative of the institution: the host. Finally we focused on the turn-taking system in TTSs which, we argued, is organised through the pre-allocation of questions and answers, most often to the institutional and lay participants respectively (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 39). The non-formal character of the interaction was outlined in the comparison between characteristics of turn-taking in ordinary conversation and in TTSs.

The comparative perspective which we have applied so far (taken in its widest sense) has its fundamentals in the principles of CA (see introduction and chapter 2). As argued in the introduction, we adopted such perspective with the intention of finding out the generic features of TTSs. The comparison between our perception of TTSs with conversation and/or more formal types of institutional talk has been possible because the analyst, in becoming part of the audience of TTSs, also becomes part of the TTS discourse community. TTS is a social speech event whose rules of interaction become recognisable to a discourse community that shares or has knowledge of those rules.

So far, in these previous chapters, as explained in the introduction, we have been comparing TTSs with conversation using several findings that previous works based on CA, provided us with. We will now, in the next two chapters, provide a corpus-based approach to turn-taking procedures in twelve opening sequences.



**CHAPTER 9.**  
**METHOD OF ANALYSIS**

## **9.1. Role of the analyst**

A TV programme may be said to have different types of audience but, generally speaking, the main distinction that can be made is between the studio audience and the viewing audience. The position of the analyst here can be identified with that of the outside-the-studio audience or viewing audience (cf. Cook 1990). The analyst is a typical TTS viewer and has, therefore, only access to the broadcast version of the TTS. The consequences for dealing with the object of study from that point of view are:

- a) That the analyst is an outsider, i.e. not taking part directly in the interaction. So the point of view adopted here is that of an external observer to the whole social process, a spectator.
- b) That many times, in order to comprehend the discourse, inferences will have to be drawn on the basis of the knowledge of the television medium and the conventions of such a medium. That is, the analyst is an outsider but not innocent.
- c) Finally, the analyst is knowledgeable that the final broadcast version may have been altered if compared with the original, i.e. some parts may have been ignored, cut, edited out etc. in the benefit of the programme itself, it is this broadcast version what becomes the object of analysis.

Several reasons point towards considering the broadcast version analysis as relevant: a) the analysis of the unedited version would bring about a totally

different kind of approach which would involve dealing with TV conventions behind the screen/camera, debating with the editors why they decided to cut some parts and not others, finding out deeper reasons for editing out one piece rather than another, etc. The present study makes no attempt to deal with such factors at this point; b) it is the broadcast version that really counts, since it is the one that is perennial and available to the public; c) there are, it is clear, more people influenced by what may be going on in the broadcast version than in the unedited version. People attending the TTS live are a small number compared with the number of people at home; d) finally, the TTS genre is consumed in product form, it is not negotiated by its participants (i.e. the viewers) as a face-to-face conversation would be<sup>1</sup>.

## **9.2. The extracts under study**

The corpus selected for the present study was already introduced in chapter 3, however a brief description of each of the extracts is provided here. The extracts selected correspond to the opening sequences of 11 different TTSs with 8 different hosts. The samples were arbitrarily numbered from 1-11, the title and host of the programme as well as the date of broadcast included in each brief description.

Extract 1: Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships*.

Extract 2. Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses*.

Extract 3. Oprah Winfrey. 1996. *Runaway Parents*.

Extract 4. Maury Povich 1996. *How hard can married life be*.

Extract 5. Sally J Raphael. 1996. *I'm fed up with my teen*.

Extract 6. Ricki Lake. 1996. *I drink and drive so what*.

---

<sup>1</sup> McCarthy (1998), personal communication.

Extract 7: Phil Donahue. 1996. *The problem of being an effeminate man or a masculine woman.*

Extract 8: Geraldo Rivera. 1996. *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word.*

Extract 9: Sally J. Raphael. 1995. *Suburban gang kids.*

Extract 10: Geraldo Rivera. 1996. *Meth madness Poor man's cocaine.*

Extract 11: Maury Povich . 1995. *Cheating Boyfriends.*

Extract 12: Montel Williams. 1996. *Men and women torn between two lovers*

### **9.3. Establishing the framework of the analysis**

In section 2.5 the adequacy of the CA approach for the study of TTSs was discussed. Therefore, the method used for this analysis departs from CA and comparative analysis. Comparative analysis implies realising an empirical analysis of TTSs as institutional talk, which involves, as argued by Drew and Heritage :

- a) analysing the conduct of the participants including their orientations to specific local identities and the underlying organisation of their activities;
- b) normally showing that the participants' conduct and its organisation embody orientations which are specifically institutional or which are, at least responsive to constraints which are institutional in character or origin (Drew and Heritage 1992: 20).

We coincide with Drew and Heritage's view (1992: 21), in that the analyst cannot be satisfied with showing that institutional talk exhibits aggregates and/or distributions of actions that are distinctive from ordinary conversation; they must rather demonstrate that the participants constructed their conduct throughout, turn by responsive turn, so as progressively to constitute and hence, jointly and

collaboratively, to realise the occasion of their talk together with their own social roles in it, as having some distinctly institutional character. The turn taking system operates differently for each institutional form and it allows the possibility to describe any interaction as a unique form, either by comparison to ordinary conversation or to other forms of institutional discourse, the turn-taking system structures many aspects of conduct in these settings (cf. Drew and Heritage 1992: 25).

The interactions analysed here correspond, as explained above, to excerpts from TTSs. The excerpts have been selected with the purpose of illustrating the functioning of the turn-taking system in TTSs. TTSs, as argued before, are an example of a television genre-hybrid and, in turn, a hybrid spoken genre which combines both conversational and institutional features. The analysis of the turn-taking, in relation to determining what type of spoken genre we are dealing with, is therefore done with the purpose of showing that it is not enough to say that speaker A is a guest and speaker B is a host, but to show how the two of them are oriented to whom they are in the programme and to the aspects of the setting; and how, by maintaining the communicative roles that they are given to perform, they are producing the TTS and establishing its generic features. A general assumption regarding the functioning of the turn-taking system, which precedes the analysis, is that unless there is a need to break a rule- whatever the reasons, we assume that the participants in the interaction under analysis are rule-abiding for the most part.

#### **9.4. Hypotheses**

The main hypothesis underlying this study is that TTSs are a hybrid discourse genre which displays characteristics from conversation and from institutional discourse. From that it follows:

- a) That as a genre, TTSs should own a set of characteristics that can be accounted for by a unique configuration regarding the turn-taking mechanism.
- b) the turn-taking procedures, although normatively oriented, show similarities with ordinary conversation. Consequently, the turn-taking system will not develop naturally if compared to conversational style but show orientation towards the institutional constraints.

As a consequence, my hypotheses can be summarised as one major issue which involves the functioning of the turn-taking and the question-answer sequences. Consequently, and in relation to the generic structure we believe:

1. that an analysis of the structure of the turn-taking system for TTSs will show what factors determine their generic structure;
2. that the turn-taking organisation will, at the same time, produce and reproduce the institutional rules which apply in the interaction; and that this will, in turn, be shown by the orientation of the different parties towards the internal identities assigned to them by the TTS juggernaut;
3. that analysis of the turn taking shows who has the power to guide, and what factors contribute to the structuring of the whole interaction. This, we believe, will be mainly in the hands of the H.

The figure of the host, in such host-centred programmes, is essential in establishing the functioning of the turn-taking system since his/her contractual situation gives him/her, at least hypothetically, the power to manage the interaction. We therefore believe:

- 4-that the figure of the host should guarantee fair participation to all speakers so that their case is clearly stated to the audience and to avoid misunderstandings concerning Gs.
- 5- that guests will mostly restrict themselves to answer questions, although they are allowed other types of activities
- 6- That the host's participation is dictated by an agenda setting which in turn also limits and constrains his/her own participation.
- 7- That the turn-taking is also clearly influenced by the guests' private agendas which may differ from those which are dictated beforehand by the production team.

### **9.5. Transcription conventions**

The principle underlying the transcription of the data is a matter of importance for CAs. In the present work, the final transcription was presented in such a way that it would facilitate the comprehension of the reader (cf. Stubbs, 1983: 212). Some researchers have pointed out the need to facilitate the task of the reader and not include more details than those required (Stubbs 1979/ 1983; Stainton, 1983). Ochs points out that transcription of any kind is a selective process, reflecting underlying theoretical goals and assumptions (Ochs, 1979: 44). In this sense, the process of transcription has to be selective and include only those aspects that are relevant for the analysis. Along these lines, Milroy (1987: 117) affirms that "when the objectives of the analysis are clearer, a selective

transcription will be more useful than a detailed one, which is at that later stage of the research likely to contain much unwanted information." On the basis of such considerations, most features were given a restricted account, so e.g. elements such as written inserts, change of camera focus, non-verbal signals etc. were not included in the transcripts themselves but listed in other sections. Some elements were even left out once they turned out not to be analytically important here.

The transcription conventions used in our data are the following:

- = when lack of space prevents continuous speech from A from being presented on a single line of text, then '=' at the end of the box and '=' at the beginning of the other shows that it is the same turn
- (+)
- (0.0)
- wORd**
- italics*
- bold type**
- ::
- (XXX)
- [
- ]
- wor(h)d**
- hh*
- (( ))



- Cut-off speech. Voluntarily: hanging discourse, speaker interrupts his/her own discourse, in order to produce a repair, paraphrase and leaves it grammatically incomplete.
- Or involuntarily when interrupted, placed at the end of an incomplete utterance.
- & Single interruption: exchange of turns; simultaneous speech; 1st speaker turn incomplete.
- \* butting-in interruption (no exchange of turns).
- Σ silent interruption (exchange of turns; no simultaneous speech; 1st speaker turn incomplete).
- Π intonation contour shows that speaker wants to yield the turn. Only used in cases where it may appear confusing because the speaker's utterance is incomplete.
- . sentence final falling intonation
- , clause-final intonation ("more to come").
- p* spoken slowly
- acc...acc* spoken quickly, and/or without the usual pauses between words.
- Δ Highly confrontational moments characterised by a total disruption of the turn-taking. It is perceived by the speaker as chaotic, verbal fighting, confrontational, aggressive etc. The transcription of these moments is sometimes merely representative since most of the discourse cannot be understood because of complex overlaps, shouting, censoring on the part of the programme itself, etc.
- contributions with no punctuation at the end, represent those contributions by H, which- regardless of intonation patterns (rise or fall)- are followed by an answer on the part of G, confirming or denying H's utterance.

*Problems of transcription:*

Overlaps and interruptions were a difficult area to deal with because of the difficulties involved in transcribing simultaneous talk. We did not pretend to provide the transcript with all fine details since this may have led to confusion (cf. Stubbs 1983: 218-49), instead we provided transcription of only those features

that were afterwards analysed or were believed to be relevant for the interpretation of the context.

Some of the difficulties in transcribing have been recognised by Stubs (1983), Oreström (1983), and Stainton (1987), among others, and some of the problems reported in those studies were also encountered here, mainly having to do with:

- a. not hearing simultaneous speech when it did occur, and also the difficulty of detecting the actual *place of onset* ( Stainton 1987: 100), that is where exactly the simultaneous speech started .
- b. The layout was also a problematic area in that it was difficult sometimes to reflect what came first and how exactly to place "in between" uttered discourse. I tried to reproduce the order in which speech was uttered visually and so this explains, for example, why some speakers' contributions are split into two different boxes, to reflect *mid-turn* contributions or joint talking. Gaps larger than normal in between elements of the same turn were used in order to make overlaps fit in the boxes, etc.

## **9.6. Method of analysis**

The analyses presented below were based on data from videotapes of televised TTSs recorded by the analyst during two periods: the academic year 1994-1995 and the summer of 1996. The recordings were made in Iowa City which explains why researchers in the field may find differences regarding time of broadcast if they have watched the same programmes in a different state. The video-tapes were played back and analysed on a Sony VCR.

The time of each selected segment was noted and date of broadcast provided. The corpus itself is around 23.000 words. Each extract was transcribed with considerable detail, taking special care in transcribing stuttering, repetitions, hesitation phenomena, etc.

The transcripts were split into turns on the basis of change of speaker. In the transcript, the text itself appears in the last column of the table. The presentation in tables was for the purpose of facilitating the task of the reader, since in that way all the possible information analysed for each speaker's contribution would be immediately available.

In order to classify in detail each turn, the following aspects were considered and analysed in six different columns:

- a) Column 1: number of turn according to order of appearance;
- b) Column 2: speaker category (host, guest, audience-individual, audience-group) and a number which indicates the extract that they take part in as well as the number given to each speaker for statistical purposes;
- c) Column 3: next-speaker selection technique;
- d) Column 4: the way in which the speaker shift occurs, that is in relation to the previous turn ;
- e) Column 5: if any backchannels occurred during that speaker's contribution;
- f) Column 6: each turn was classified in terms of question-answer and/or comment;
- g) additionally some relevant comments on the context were included in the transcripts as footnotes (transcript column.)

### Procedure

The analysis was done in two parts: first we classified each turn individually according to several features included in each of the six columns, that we explain below. Afterwards the data was analysed using statistical methods.

The description of the procedure will be here provided by making explicit reference to the different columns developed with the purpose of analysing each turn individually.

#### COLUMN 1: Turn number

The first step was to determine what would count as a turn. Here Beattie's (1982: 99) category of *turn at talk* has been adopted, i.e. "only the vocal identifiers 'mhmm' 'uh-huh' and brief lexical terms such as 'yeah' and 'I see' with attentional functions are excluded from the class of turns." As a result, we categorised uninterrupted contributions as turns (*number of turns* in the transcripts) and included all the referential contributions by the participants. That is all contributions except those perceived as backchannels were given a turn number (cf. Bou and Gregori in press).

In section 7.4. we discussed the concepts of floor and turn and adopted Edelsky's concept of floor. One of the implications is therefore that one can take a turn without having the floor. This was the case of butting-in interruptions and parenthetical remarks (see column 4 below) where the speaker took a turn but did not get the floor. Hence we proceeded to count:

- a) contributions of the speakers which were numbered in sequential order and reflected on the table as number of turns;

- b) extracts of talk that are indicated by 0, are part of another turn but did not fit in the same box or had to be split to include a butting-in interruption or a parenthetical remark overlapping with the ongoing talk.

### **COLUMN 2: Speakers**

The second step was to classify who uttered the turn. The speakers were numbered in sequential order of participation starting with the first TTS extract. Participants were categorised according to four different labels: H (if the speaker was a host), G (if the speaker was a guest), AU (if the speaker was a member of the audience participating individually), AZ (if the audience participated as a group) and were afterwards sequentially numbered according to their order of appearance<sup>2</sup>.

For statistical purposes, the speakers have a double-labelling (one in the column for speakers and another in the transcript proper): the first one concerns the total number of speakers and is done to facilitate differentiation of those in the statistical account. The second is done by considering each extract in isolation and specifying name and label according to the order of participation. A full description of the labels given to each speaker in the different extracts is provided at the beginning of each transcript:

### **COLUMN 3: Turn-taking**

The organisation and description of the turn-taking system and types of turn-taking, focuses mainly on the relation between the categories taking part in TTS-interactions, to find out the participation frameworks emerging from such kind

---

<sup>2</sup>The video clips were not included in the statistical account. There were only nine brief contributions that appeared in only two shows. Their exclusion did not vary the results in general terms. Those nine turns have been dealt with qualitatively in section ⑥.

of interaction. Two main techniques (see section 8.2) described by Sacks et al. (1974: 12-13) to accomplish turn-allocation were considered to find out why X has the turn at a certain point of the interaction. X has the turn because either: a) s/he self-selected him/herself as next speaker or b) because somebody allocated the turn to him/her by voluntarily yielding the turn or producing the first part of an adjacency pair (e.g. question-answer). Hence, turns were classified in terms of self-selection and according to the current- turn and speaker:

1) the next turn is allocated by current speaker selecting a next speaker. If that was the case the following combinations were found to occur in our data:

<b>Turn-giving</b>	<b>abbr.</b>	<b>description</b>
H to G	<b>HG</b>	G has the turn because H allocated it to him/her
G to H	<b>GH</b>	H has the turn because G allocated it to him/her
G to G	<b>GG</b>	G has the turn because another G allocated it to him/her.
H to A	<b>HA</b>	A has the turn because H allocated it to him/her.
A to G	<b>AG</b>	G has the turn because A allocated it to him/her.
G to A/ AZ	<b>GA</b>	A has the turn because G has given it to him/them
H to external	<b>TH</b>	the host allows recordings, videos, etc. to be played.

Next speaker selection is accomplished using techniques such as: naming the speaker, by alluding to him with a descriptive phrase (cf. Sacks et al., 1974) directing a question to him, gesture in the speaker's direction, gaze direction, eye-monitoring; proximity of speakers, by stating or questioning events of B that need to be confirmed, etc. to mention some. Additionally, in the TTS when the host starts

questioning somebody, unless something indicates a change of addressee, questions will be addressed to the same speaker for several turns the latter understands he is the focus of the current speaker's talk (i.e. it is very frequent in TTSs, that H asks two or three questions to the same G before moving on to another G). The following example illustrates some of these features:

EXAMPLE 35

- D  $\Sigma$  Then ho—why be **butch** at all then?  
V This is not about modelling heterosexuality.  
D **This is about** who you wanna be, is that the point?  
V That's right. That's who I am.  
D This is who—how you feel better  
V This is how I like to dress. This is who I am.  
D Mhm. What do you think **when you see two butches** together? Is that a kind of what's going on here?  
V Well, I haven't seen two really extreme butches together I must say.  
D So—so butches seldom date butches then  
V Well [ butch u—you ge—I don't think—  
JO [ & I—I would disagree with that.  
V Yeah.

(Donahue, EXT7)

Here Donahue is standing right next to V, the only lesbian-butch on stage. He is questioning the fact that she is a butch and/or making reference to her previous statement/s. All the other participants understand questions as being addressed to V and do not try to answer, although at some point they do (final two turns), with an interruption on the part of JO.

2) Self-selection, that is, next speaker selects him/herself.

We considered cases of SS1 (H self-selects him/herself for next turn); SS2 ( G self-selects him/herself for next turn) and SS3 (audience self-selects him/herself for next turn)

In classifying turns some assumptions prevail here:

a) Self-selection includes answers to *open* questions i.e., questions that were ambiguous regarding to whom they were addressed (e.g. to one G or to all the G present ).

b) In classifying audience's participation, prompts commonly uttered by H, such as "please welcome... to the show" that oblige the audience to take the floor and applaud have been classified as HA since it really is a turn allocation to the audience.

#### **COLUMN 4: Exchange of turns**

Here we looked at how transfer of speakership or talk shift (Sacks et a. 1974: 8) was accomplished. The basic distinction was made on the results of attempted speaker switch non-fluency (Ferguson 1977: 295 ff.). In that way, the turns were classified as:

a) **Smooth exchange of speakers (SE)**, in which there is no simultaneous speech and the speaker's utterance seems to be complete in every way.

b) **Unsmooth exchanges or intervened turns (ITV)** i.e., exchanges involving simultaneous speech and incompleteness. In these turns a speaker intervenes in another speaker's turn. Four different types of interventions appeared in the data: interruptions (simple, silent and butting-in interruption), overlaps, parenthetical remarks and F2-turns.

#### **Types of intervened turns**

(1) **Simple interruption (P)**, is defined as an exchange of turns, in which simultaneous speech is present, the first speaker's turn appears incomplete and the



new speaker takes the turn. These were labelled in the analysis as follows: P1 (simple interruption by H); P2 (simple interruption by G), P3 (simple interruption by AU or AZ).

(2) **Butting-in interruption (BT)** interruptions or self-stopped utterances never develop into complete turns. Those interruptions are cases in which there is simultaneous speech and no exchange of turns. Butting-in interruptions are usually very brief, and the speaker does not get the floor, i.e. the initiator of the interruption does not gain the floor and breaks off before completing his/her statement. They may be cut off by other speaker's talk or stopped by their initiators. In any case, the interrupted speaker successfully continues with his/her turn: they are therefore cases of unsuccessful interruptions. This were labelled in the analysis as follows: BT1( butting-in interruption by H), BT2(butting-in interruption by G), BT3 (butting-in interruption by AU or AZ).

(3) **Silent interruptions** would include cases in which there is no simultaneous speech, the first speaker's utterance appears incomplete and there is an exchange of turns. In silent interruptions we also included those cases in which turn-keeping signals such as intonation contour, lip-movement, posture, non-verbal language etc. were displayed by the speaker, signalling the intention of continuing with his turn and found themselves interrupted at that point. These were labelled in the analysis as follows: K1 (silent interruption by H), K2 (silent interruption by G), K3 ( silent interruption by AU or AZ).

4) **Overlaps (OVL)** Overlaps are interruptions involving simultaneous speech, but in which the interrupted person manages, apparently, to complete his or her turn. In overlaps there is an exchange of turns, simultaneous speech is present and the first speaker's turn reaches completion. Overlaps imply a partial

sharing of the floor, between the new and the current speaker, the new speaker is the one that keeps the floor. Overlaps (OVL) were classified as follows: OVL1 (overlap initiated by H), OVL2 (overlap initiated by G), OVL3 (overlap initiated by AU or AZ).

a) The choice of the speaker to perform an overlap may be due to several reasons that can be perceived as voluntary or involuntary. However, the speaker always has the option of giving up when s/he notices the overlap and may choose not to take the floor. Hence, an overlap is always classified as a self-selection, since there exists the possibility that without the overlap, the current speaker may have changed the target of his talk or question or even may have ended up producing a totally different question. Let us look at example 36:

EXAMPLE 36

- M [ Yeah.] And — and I'm a real light sl —sleeper I— you know I was in the military a few years  
[ and I—  
S [ & But you're living in a state of siege is this— **is this** ¶  
M Oh of course. Of  
[ course.  
S [ **This is**] — **Katherine** when did you know something was going on with Shauna?

In this example S has been talking with M. The first time that S describes the way they live as "is this..." M decides to answer and confirm her request for confirmation. The second time "**This is—**", since it is uttered with the same intonation and tone, might well have functioned as an elicitor. However, in this case M does not intervene, and S changes her target interrupting herself and asking K a question instead.

b) Audience participation has been also classified as OVL3 in those cases in which the reaction, applause, etc. starts before the current speaker finishes his/her talk and the audience holds the floor for a while.

(5) **Parallel remarks (PR).**

Oreström (1983) differentiates between *simultaneous start 2* (simultaneous talking, new speaker enters at a grammatical boundary, current speaker continues) and *parallel* (simultaneous talking, new speaker enters at a non-grammatical boundary, current speaker continues) on the basis of point of entrance at a grammatical boundary. Beattie (1982: 102), on the other hand, does not differentiate between those butting-in interruptions that appear incomplete and those that are complete. In Beattie's categorisation, the following two examples would be a butting-in interruption:

EXAMPLE 37

D [ Sometimes. Sometimes.  
J \* **But you were going—**  
D & But yeah she was sleeping with my SO on too!

(Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting Unfaithful Spouses*)

EXAMPLE 38

J & Wait a minute. Wait a second.  
[ I need to get some ages here]=  
T [ **Oh my go::d.**  
J = if you don't mind. Dori you are 43?

(Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting Unfaithful Spouses*)

In our data, however, a new type of simultaneous speech category, that may well be considered as co-operative, seemed to be clearly distinguishable, and not

unfrequent. Adopting Goffman's (1976: 275) terminology we refer to these as *parenthetical remarks*. These parenthetical remarks are usually in the form of brief and/or cooperative comments on some aspects of the current speaker's discourse and signal no wish on the part of the new speaker to take the floor.

Parenthetical remarks include brief supportive exclamations, background or brief comments, etc., whose primary motive is "the efficiency of the interaction rather than to make [a] contribution ... a sign of support and interest" (cf. Stainton 1987: 88). Although many times parenthetical remarks are uttered weakly, or quite softly, this cannot be said to be a constant feature: in that they are different from backchannels.

Parenthetical remarks cause no visible reaction from the current speaker. That is, they are felt as not giving any apparent sequence space in the flow of events (Goffman 1976: 275). The floor is not taken over by the new speaker but briefly shared by the two participants. It causes neither increased loudness nor speech disruptions on the part of the ongoing speaker (Oreström 1983: 161). So both speaker's utterances appear complete. Let us see an example:

### EXAMPLE 39

- V Sure. There is a pressure just like there is er— from heterosexuals. There is a pressure within the community I think to conform and be mainstream and be androgynous and not be overtly butch  
[ and don't be a femme =
- N [ Exactly.
- JO [ (XXX)
- V = and not be a fairy drag queen becau]se we don't want to offend the more majority and we don't want them to dislike us and we wanna show that we are normal. And I say why can we not be diverse and be accepted[ for our diversity

The difference between parenthetical remarks and backchannels is that the former have content, are prosodically more audible than backchannels (cf. Bou

and Gregori 1998); and that, furthermore, they transmit the speaker's attitudinal position regarding the ongoing discourse and, extensively, the general topic of the conversation. The speaker is therefore not only supporting, discrediting, objecting, etc. the ongoing speaker's discourse but expressing his/her own.

The difference between parenthetical remarks and butting-in interruptions is that the new speaker's utterance appears complete. Finally, the difference between parenthetical remarks and overlap is that it is the current speaker who continues his/her turn. Parenthetical remarks were labelled in the analysis as follows: PR1 (parenthetical remarks by H), PR2 (parenthetical remarks by G), PR3 (parenthetical remarks by A or AZ).

**(6) F2-turns.** The last type of speaker exchange was classified as F2-turn departing from Edelsky's definition of floor F1 vs. F2 (see section 7.4.). These were cases in which the analyst was incapable of attributing the floor to any participant in particular.

F2-turns occurred in F2-segments, that is stretches of highly confrontational talk in which several participants occupy the floor at the same time: speakers are all talking at the same time, they interrupt each other, there are long overlaps, fights for the floor, parallel remarks, etc. all interwoven together.

This situation implies that the listener/analyst cannot be sure about when and where or how the exchange of turns occurred since continuous simultaneous speech makes it very difficult to understand what is being said or done. Hence, one cannot pin down for example the exact point which an overlap starts or ends.

### **COLUMN 5: Backchannels**

Backchannels (BCs) were given special treatment because of the importance that backchannelling has in relation to the setting and the participants themselves: the use of BCs implies an open acceptance of the role of the listener. Several consequences may arise from the use of BCs regarding similarities and differences with other genres and compliance with the turn-taking provisions of the genre.

BCs do not hold the floor and are uttered jointly with the ongoing speech (cf. Bou and Gregori, in press), in the form of brief items (I see, yeah, etc.) or vocal identifiers (mhm, uhu, etc.), without being considered an interruption. BCs have been labelled in the analysis as follows: BC1 (BC by the host), BC2= BC by guest), BC3 ( BC by audience) and 0 ( turns not including BCs).

### **COLUMN 6: QUESTION /ANSWER**

Finally the sequential organisation of the interaction was looked at by considering whether participants accomplished the variety of interactional activities through a *question*, an *answer*; or, alternatively, as *comments* types of contributions.

In the present study, questions and answers have been here interpreted in their widest possible sense with the purpose of discerning, if possible, a pattern in the contributions from the participants and their communicative roles. In each case we specified, with numbers, who questioned, who answered and who made any other type of contribution with numbers in the following sense:

a) questions include: question-intoned turns (Hutchby 1996: 89), request for confirmation, statement with rising intonation, check-up questions, Wh-questions, commands with verbs demanding verbal participation (tell, ask, say) etc. Questions were labelled as follows: Q1 (question asked by H), Q2 (question asked by G), Q3 (question asked by audience).

b) Answer: if the propositional content of the answer corresponded to the previous question in the same adjacency pair. Answers were labelled as follows: A1 (answer to a question by H), A2 (answer to a question by G), A3 (answer to a question by audience).

c) The classification as *comments* (Z) includes those contributions that were not examples of either question nor an answer, or that presented *sequentialized ambiguity* (Sacks 1992: 670) at a local level ( e.g. comments, insults to audience, etc.) These were labelled as follows: Z1 (H produces something other than a question or an answer); Z2 (G produces something other than a question or an answer); Z3 (audience produce something other than a question or an answer).

Since turns have not been divided into their possible composites, cases in which there are more than one DU (for example: *prefatory + question*; or *answer+ telling an anecdote related to the question*; or *answer + giving advice the audience*; etc.) have been included as a question-answer respectively, since their relation with the previous and the next turn could be accounted for, in general terms as such (cf. Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991).

*Audience participation*

Individual contributions by individual members of the audience were included in the transcript. Participation of the audience as a group however, which includes reactions such as: applause, laughter, booing, laughter, audience-backchannel, etc., were only included if they influenced the main talk, that is, if they held the floor. Audience reactions were dealt with in the following manner:

a) Audience reactions of the type *background audience reactions*, that is those that do not reach the floor (see section 7.4. for non-floor-holding turns) but share it with the participants in the interaction, did not count for statistical purposes in this study. They were included in the form of comments (e.g. *audience applaud* ) inside the same turn in which they occurred, as was done with BCs. Different description comments are used: *audience reaction* includes booing, talking out loud, murmur, etc.; we also include *applause* or a mixture of applause and other features.

b) Only those turns that influence the main talk and that can be seen as the audience taking a turn were included. These were examples of cases of audience participation in which they interrupted the main talk mainly because of loudness, thus occupying the floor. Therefore these cases alter talk-flow and count as a turn by the audience as a group (AZ). After a turn by AZ, the restoration of order, that is, going back to the orderly interaction process between Gs and Hs was considered as an overlap if AZ's reaction was still going on when the speaker tries to make him/herself heard, or as a smooth exchange if the audience stops by its own will before the participants restore the main talk again.



In turn, AZ can also overlap or interrupt, etc., the same as all the other participants in taking a turn. An example of an interruption by AZ follows:

EXAMPLE 40.

K [ I was going up there looking for advice, and I talked to her,  
[ we had beers—  
AZ [ *audience laughing loud*]  
J OK. That's how—but that's how it sometimes it starts that's

(Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting Unfaithful Spouses*)

In this example AZ interrupts K's contribution. Then afterwards, J overlaps with AZ and restores the order and the main talk.

*Outside- the-talk -stretches*

Outside-the-talk stretches include any kind of material recorded previous to the show and included as part of the main talk as testimony, such as video clips (e.g. Donahue, extract 7; Geraldo, extract 10). These have been included using the following labels: VC indicating that is a video clip. We have not included those turns in the statistical analysis.

## 9.7. Statistical procedure

As explained above, the analysis was carried out by considering first the results of each column individually and then cross-comparing as well as applying stratified analysis which combined three columns at the same time. The data were analysed using the programme EPIINFO 6. We first proceeded to make a descriptive study of the data by calculating the frequency and percentages for each of the variables. The chi-square was calculated in those cases in which there was contrast of hypothesis or variables, e.g. differences in behaviour of the

participants according to sex, and in those cases in which we applied an analysis of multi-variables (e.g. sex and participants).The transcripts illustrate the analysis and the data which was used to do the statistical analysis. Although we have included a list of abbreviations at the beginning of this study, we will now give exact explanation of those abbreviations which appear in the analysis:

**CHAPTER 10.**  
**ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**



Extract (EXT1). Montel Williams *Men who con women into relationships*

Participants	Statistical notation
Audience-group	AZ1
Brandie (B)	G1
Danielle (D)	G2
Brandie Ann (BR)	G3
Montel Williams (W)	H1

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H1	SS1	OVL1	0	z1	W [acc] Welcome, welcome, welcome, and thank you very much for joining us today. Now today we're gonna talk to women [acc] [p] who say that they are mad as hell at the men they say did nothing but con them into having sex.[p] You know how these guys are. They CON [audience reaction] you, they take you out, they wine you and dine you, they tell you everything you want to hear from I love you, I'll marry you to whatever just to get you in bed, as soon as they do, where do they go? Pshew, they kick the ladies right to the curb. These women came here today to say, I wanna know why you kicked me to the curb. Please welcome Brandie, Danielle and Brandi Ann to the show.
2	AZ1	HA	SE	0	z3	<i>applause, 0.7 sec.</i>
3	H1	SS1	OVL1	0	z1	W Brandie[applause still continues] I wanna start with you. You—you want to confront the guy—[acc] now I want to tell you something, the guys are here, they're backstage. They're not right now listening to this portion of the show. They—then—in a couple of these cases—well in once case in particular, the man doesn't even know which woman is here to confront him because he is such a player, he said just bring it on it don't matter to me. [audience reaction] So:—er—[acc] Brandie, who

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
4	G1	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	B $\Sigma$ Yeah
5	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Er—it's—how long ago did you start dating this guy?
6	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Three years ago.
7	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Three years ago. How old was he when you started dating?
8	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Thirty.
9	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Thirty. And you lived with him for about three years off and on, correct?
10	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yeah, I'd stay with him every now and then =
11	H1	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	W [* And i—
0	0	0	0	0	0	B = [ I ] didn't actually move in with him. I'd just stay with him quite a bit.
12	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W <i>[acc]</i> How did you meet him? He was your neighbour, right? <i>[acc]</i>
13	G1	TH	SE	BC1	A1	B He lived right behind me < W- Mm-hmm > across the alley. And we just started being friends and I'd go over there and party with him and, that's mainly about it.
14	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You had to sneak out the house to do that, right?
15	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yes.
16	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W <i>[acc]</i> You had to sneak out because—how old were you when you started seeing him? <i>[acc]</i>
17	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Thirteen. <i>[unison murmur from audience]</i>
18	H1	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W Thirteen
19	AZ1	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
20	H1	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W Thirteen. He's 30 years old at the time. You spent, then, three more years off and on with him
21	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B <i>[ Nods yes]</i>
22	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Then you started -till 33, and you are now 16 years old
23	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yes.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
24	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W [acc] Now you just broke it off what? last May? [acc]
25	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yeah. Well, this past May.
26	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Now why? Why did you break it off?
27	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Because on and off for the past three years, he cheated on me continuously. He'd lie to me, tell me how he loved me and wanted to be with me forever, and (( )) I'd leave him every now and then, and then I'd end up going right back to him because I'd fall for him again and—II
28	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W [acc] Well, now you—at one point, your mother wasn't going to let you see him, right? [acc]
29	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Right.
30	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W [acc] So you moved out of your mother's house and moved in with your grandmother's [acc]
31	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Right.
32	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And then you had your aunt, [acc] who we're going to meet later on in the show, came to your rescue and said hey, this is true love. He really does love you, right? [acc]
33	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
34	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You thought he really loved you
35	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B [ Nods yes]
36	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W [acc] So that's why you had the intimate relationship with him [acc]
37	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yes.
38	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Mm. OK, so you want to talk to him today, right? What do you want to ask him?
39	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B I just wanna mainly ask him why he played my emotions like he did a::nd —II

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
40	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W He knew he was dealing with a child
41	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
42	H1	SS1	SE	BC2	Q1	W [acc] I'm not saying (X) I'm going to say—I'm saying a child < B- yeah > I'm not going—I'm going—I've got to call you that. You may have been acting like a woman for the last three years, but you were a child when you started seeing him [acc]
43	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
44	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W He knew that, right?
45	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B Mmhmm.
46	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W [acc] Oh, that's—you know, he's claimed that you acted and told him you were a little older [acc]
47	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B No.
48	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Not true?
49	G1	TH	SE	0	A1	B No =
50	H1	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	W [ * OK. You
0	0	0	0	0	0	B = My [ aunt] even told him how old I was.
51	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Now, Danielle why don't you tell me about —er— David?
52	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D OK. Well, about three years ago, I met David. I was coming out of an abusive relationship, so:: he started telling me things that he knew that I would—I wanted to hear. He told me he loved me, he wasn't gonna do me wrong. He told me he wanted me to have his baby—
53	H1	SS1	K1	0	Q1	W Σ He' s came right out and said I wanna have children with you

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
54	G2	TH	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	D Yes. <W- OK> So that same month, I became pregnant, that same month, David cheated on me and left me. Er—so I ended up moving into a pregnancy center, a::nd I didn't hear from him for like six months, during that time, he was saying he didn't know who Danielle was, he didn't sleep with me and that wasn't his kid <W- Mhm > [- er
55	H1	SS1	P1	0	Q1	W [ & And then he moved back in
56	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D He called me back up when I was seven months pregnant.
57	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And you let him back in?
58	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Yes. I fell for it again. He said he wanted a family, he was sorry, er- so I took him back again. Two weeks before I'm about to give birth, he cheated on me again and left me.
59	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W But you've seen him again
60	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Yes. [laughs]
61	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W So wait—now, Danielle, come on. Now, you want to confront him about him abusing you, but remember this old saying, it's like once—what is that? Once bitten their fault second time your fault?
62	G2	TH	SE	BC1	A1	D I felt that—the only time David would acknowledge Jordan was his son is when we were together <W- OK> So I felt I was obligated to give my son the chance to have a father in his life.
63	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W An obligated so that you brought this man back into your home?
64	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Right. And by [ then—
65	H1	SS1	P1	0	Q1	W [ & Back into your bed?



N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
66	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Yes.
67	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Back into your heart?
68	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Yes.
69	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Back into your life?
70	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Yes.
71	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And you—now what do you want to say to him today?
72	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Well, I'm really upset 'cos if he was going to put me through this a::nd tell his friends that my son wasn't his son, then I would have never slept with him and had his baby.
73	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And now you also have agreed today to take a paternity test, is that correct?
74	G2	TH	SE	0	A1	D Correct.
75	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And we're going to make sure that he does that also [acc] [p] He's not hearing this part of the conversation, but we'll work on him. He's going to take a paternity test today before he leaves here.[acc] Brandi Ann, why don't you tell me about what's going on with you?
76	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR OK. I was dating this guy named Dan. And in the beginning, he was, like, telling me how, like, he loved me and all the stuff, and he cared about me and that—I don't know. I don't know. I kind of—I guess I fell for it. And he moved into my house, and he didn't have a job or anything, and I paid for rent and I bought him clothes—I mean— and everything. And [ then as soon as—
77	H1	SS1	P1	0	Q1	W [ & You paid all the bills

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
78	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR Yes, I paid for everything. And then as soon as the money ran out, he was out the door and decided he wanted to date other people so—II
79	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W But now he went out the door, but you let him back in the door
80	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR Hmm? Mm no I—well-kind of. <i>[laughs]</i>
81	AZ1	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience laughing</i>
82	H1	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W Was he in the door like last month?
83	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR Yes and he also like messed around with my best friend.
84	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Wait. But, Brandi Ann, he te—left you after the money ran out
85	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR Mhmm.
86	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Went out the door
87	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR Mhmm.
88	H1	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W You got a little bit of money back, he comes back in the door, so you let him like in your bed in your heart in your life. He leaves you again. He goes to hit on your best friend and then [ used—
89	G3	TH	P2	0	Z2	BR [ & He messed] around with her in my room. I was in the hallway. I saw the whole thing.
90	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W He messed around and then you let him [ back into your bed again?
91	G3	TH	OVL2	0	A1	BR [ Then he—he—no, no, no, no, no, no.] Then he went go kiss me and I told him to get out.
92	H1	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W So what do you want to say to him?
93	G3	TH	SE	0	A1	BR I just want him to admit what he did.
94	H1	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W I got to tell you that I've talked to the guys, and they seem to think that, you know, I'm going to put it right out to you, that all three of you knew what was going on when you went into this relationship

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
95	G1	SS2	PR2	0	z2	B No.
0	0	0	0	0	0	W Never told, you wanted a baby, told you from the beginning all he wanted you for was sex.
96	G3	SS2	PR2	0	z2	BR Oooh
0	0	0	0	0	0	W That's what they say. And they also say, you know I'm sorry, if women are stuck on stupid, then men may as well take advantage of them. That's how they feel. So we're going to take you take little break. <i>[acc]</i> I'm going to give an opportunity to talk to them because they're going to come out here in a minute. When we come back, <i>[acc]</i> we're going to find out about this guy that was Brandie's boyfriend exboyfriend. His name is Paul. He's going to come out here to talk to us. I'm going to let the ladies go off the stage first. I want to hear Br-Paul 's side of this because Paul doesn't even know which girl is here. He's been out with so many and we said, how old are the women that you've been out with? He said, o::h thirteen to forty nine. How many have you been out in the last year? Over a hundred. Which one could it be? Who knows. We'll find out. We'll be back right after this.

Extract 2 (EX2). Jenny Jones. *Confronting Unfaithful Spouses*

Participants	Statistical-notation
Dori (D)	G4
Group-audience	AZ2
Jenny Jones (J)	H2
Theresa (T)	G5
Ken (K)	G6
member of audience	A1
member of audience	A2
member of audience	A3

N° T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Finding out your spouse is cheating is never easy but it's even worse when you catch them red-handed. <i>hh</i> We want you to meet Do:: ri. Now she says she is furious ever since she found that her husband Ken was having an affair with her upstairs neighbour Theresa, who is no longer the upstairs neighbour, right Dori?
2	G4	TH	SE	0	A1	D Correct.
3	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Why d—Why did she leave?
4	G4	TH	SE	0	A1	D I evicted her.
5	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Oh you're the boss
6	G4	TH	SE	0	A1	D Yes.
7	H2	SS1	SE	0	z1	J OK.
8	AZ2	SS3	SE	0	z3	<i>applause audience. Cheering for 0.9 sec.</i>
9	H2	SS1	BT1	0	z1	J * So —
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>applaud continues 0.3 sec.</i>

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
10	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J	Now, it's not like it's not like you didn't—Theresa did—you don't live there anymore, right?
11	G5	TH	SE	0	A1	T	No. I do not.
12	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J	OK. So it's not like you didn't see this coming Dori
13	G4	TH	SE	0	A1	D	No. In fact I'd seen it coming for quite a while, and I asked her to please stop because I knew what was gonna happen. She kept letting him come up there, kept being being [ close to him—
14	H2	SS1	P1	0	Q1	J	[ & You asked her] to stop? [ Why didn't you ask him] to stop going up there?
15	G4	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	D	[ Yes I did.] I did. But it did—it didn't matter!
16	G5	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T	We were friends, we were friends.
17	G4	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D	Ah, Uhhh <i>[showing disbelieve and anger ]</i>
18	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J	You were friends? So this is now— she lite[ rally =
19	G4	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	D	[ We were friends.
0	0	0	0	0	0	J	= lives upstairs from you] or was upstairs from you in this building ?
20	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D	Correct.
21	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J	And Ken you were going up?
22	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K	Yeah—
23	H2	SS1	K1	0	Q1	J	Σ To—to [ do what ?
24	G6	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	K	[ I—I was going up there looking for advice, and I talked to her we had beers—
25	AZ2	SS3	P3	0	Z3		<i>audience laughing loud</i>
26	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	J	OK. That's how—but that's how it sometimes it starts [ that's (( ))—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
27	G6	SS2	P2	0	Z2	K [ & I wasn't the only person up there. She had her [boyfriend up there. Her son was up there (X).
28	G4	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	D [Sometimes.Sometimes.
29	H2	SS1	SE	0	Z1	J But you were going up there[ (X XX)—
30	G4	SS2	P2	0	Z2	D [ & But yeah she was sleeping with my SOn too!
31	AZ2	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience booing</i>
32	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J Wait a minute. Wait a second. [ I need to get some ages here]=
33	G5	SS 2	PR2	0	Z2	T [ Oh my go::d.
0	0	0	0	0	0	J = if you don't mind. Dori you are 43?
34	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Correct.
35	H2	SS 1	SE	0	Q1	J Theresa you're 30. How old is your son?
36	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Twenty-six.
37	H2	SS 1	SE	0	Q1	J Did you have an affair with her son?
38	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T No.
39	G4	SS 2	SE	0	Z2	D Oh. And my son in-law. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
40	G5	SS 2	SE	0	Z2	T No. <i>[shaking her head several times]</i>
41	G4	SS 2	SE	0	Q2	D <i>[Theresa continues saying no with her head]</i> Theresa. How [ dare you say no that is (X) ?
42	G5	SS 2	OVL2	0	A2	T [ No.
43	H2	SS 1	OVL1	0	Z1	J [ Dori] Dori, you know you promised to stay in your seat.
44	G4	HG	SE	0	Z2	D Oh. I'll stay. <i>[audience laughs]</i>

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
45	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J OK. I know you're st—You're very angry. But let's go back—first of all, now Ken—Ken was going up to visit, how—how—how often was he going [ up there?
46	G4	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	D [ Quite] frequently.
47	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J [acc] For how long of a time? What time of the day? [acc]
48	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Well, sometimes I 'd get up at three o'clock in the morning and he still wouldn't be home. So I'd go up there and there he would lo and behold he'd be sitting up with her.
49	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J OK. When did you know it was more than just visits?
50	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D hh When he came down one morning at seven and told me that he had spent the night up there.
51	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J [acc] So Ken that—that was how it happened? [acc]
52	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yeah.
53	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J [acc] So it didn't start up as an affair [acc]
54	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K No.
55	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Ho—when did it change from visits to the ask for advice?[acc] Advice was about what by the way? [acc]
56	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Oh how—how to deal with her.
57	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J [acc] How to deal with Dori?
58	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yeah.
59	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J [acc] So you were having problems with Dori [acc]
60	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yes.
61	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J [acc] What kind of problems?
62	G6	HG	SE	BC1	A1	K Well. We were arguing all the time. We weren't talking <J-Yeah > er—
63	H2	SS1	K1	0	Q1	J Σ Did you talk to [ Dori ? I mean Π

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
64	G6	SS2	OVL2	BC1	Z2	K [ We weren't getting along at all. =
65	H2	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	J [ * Did?
0	0	0	0	BC1	0	K = [ We weren't sleeping together. She'd be out in the couch, I'd be out in the bed or viceversa. < J - Mhm>
66	A1	HA	SE	0	Q3	A1 How long have you two been married?
67	G4	SS2	SE	0	A3	D We've been married a year in May but we've been together for five.
68	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Five years together [acc] You have children together? [acc]
69	G6	SS2	SE	0	A1	K [ No.
70	G4	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	D [ He's] got step—stepchildren.
71	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J But not your own
72	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D No.
73	A2	HA	SE	0	Q3	A2 Has he ever cheated on you before this time?
74	G4	TAG	SE	0	A3	D No. I strongly believe he hasn't.
75	G5	SS2	SE	0	Q2	T What about you mess around on him?
76	G4	GG	SE	0	A2	D I've never did!
77	G5	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T Oh yes [ yes yes yes.
78	G4	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	D [ With who?
79	G5	GG	SE	0	A2	T I couldn't name names but I [ can (X) is right.
80	G4	SS2	OVL2	BC2	Z2	D [ I want you to] because I can call you a liar. Because I have never cheated on this man EVER. < T- OK OK > .
81	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Ken do you think that [ Dori's been] faithful to you?
82	G4	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	D [ EVER.
83	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yeah.
84	H2	SS1	F2	0	Q1	J OK. And before Theresa? were you alw— =
85	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T Δ (XXX) cheat before.



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
86	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Δ [ No. You know nothing I know what happened.
0	0	0	0	0	0	J =Δ [ Excuse me Dori one second] were you always faithful to Dori?
87	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yeah.
88	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Before Theresa ?
89	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yeah.
90	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J So did it—was it just one of those passionate moments you couldn't stop yourself or had you planned to do this?
91	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K No I hadn't planned to do it.
92	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J OK. How did you get caught?
93	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K She asked me and I told her.
94	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J How long had it been going on at that point ?
95	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K A day. Two days. Well a [ bout a day and a half.
96	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ So about the first time you were together]
97	G6	HG	SE	0	Z2	K And then I went back we argued. I went back up there. And then she came up and caught us together.
98	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J You physically caught them Dori. Tell us about—
99	G4	SS2	K2	0	A1	D Σ Yes I did!
100	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J that. What happened?
101	G4	HG	SE	BC1	A1	D Yeah. He—his—Our friends live next door to her told me that he was going to be spending the evening with them. So I stayed home, y'know, to cool off a little bit <J- Uhu > The next morning I went up to our friend's house and he was not there, her—her door was open so I walked in and there they were on the couch.
102	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J On the couch what ?
103	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Er—all snuggled together sleeping. Neither one of them knew I was there until I threw them on the floor and bit the hell out of her.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
104	AZ2	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applauds and cheering</i>
105	H2	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	J Δ [* It makes me uncomfortable—
106	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T Δ [ That is so nice. You asked for it.
107	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Δ [ I haven't (XXX)
108	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T Δ You asked for it.
109	AZ2	SS3	F2	0	Z3	Δ [ <i>audience applauds continues</i> ]
110	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	J It makes me uncomfortable when people applaud for someBODY physically going after another person. That's not the answer. It's not a [ good idea =
111	G5	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	T [ It's not!
112	G4	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	D [ (XXX) have happened.
0	0	0	0	0	0	J =[ Especially when there are] children and they see stuff like this. It is not such a good idea. [ <i>acc</i> ] Let me get this question [ <i>acc</i> ]
113	A3	HA	SE	0	Z3	A3 Theresa, I was just wondering what kind of advice you're giving. Because I give advice to people but it doesn't end up sleeping together. And it [ <i>audience reaction; applauds</i> ] sounds like you you've got kind of a little thing going there —
114	H2	SS1	K1	0	Q1	J Σ Well, maybe Ken you're the guy to ask. What kind of advice were you getting from Theresa about your relationship with Dori?
115	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K A way to work out arguments. Er—[ you can laugh but — Π
116	H2	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	J Δ [* What did you worry —
117	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Δ We—er—you never came to talk to me about what you guys were talking about.
118	G6	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K Δ [ I told you (XXX) work it out.
119	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Δ [ (X) never once never once.
120	G5	SS2	F2	0	Q2	T Δ [ you never asked. Why did you never ask?
121	H2	SS1	F2	0	Q1	J Δ [ (X) it seems like— Theresa.=

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
122	G4	GG	F2	0	A2	D Δ [ I did! I have!]
0	0	0	0	0	0	J = it seems that when a couple is having a problem the first thing they do is try to talk it out. Did you guys talk about the problem? [ Did you talk about Dori? [with—with Dori?
123	G6	SS2	F2	0	A1	K [ We tried.] [We]—we couldn't do it.
124	G5	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T That was part of the [ problem, communication.] They didn't have it
125	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D [ You never came to me.
126	G6	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K [ You were always arguing.
127	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D You didn't live there! [ You don't know Theresa.
128	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T [ No. But I cared about you guys Dori.
129	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Oh [ I'm sure.
130	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T [ I cared about you.
131	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Yeah. Right.
132	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T Believe what you want to. [ Believe what you want to.
133	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D [ And this is how (XXX)
134	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T [ It don't matter.
135	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D [ (XXX)—men. And you cared about my daughter too.
136	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T Believe [ what you want to.
137	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ Do—do your neighbours] know what was going on?
138	G4	SS2	SE	0	A1	D Oh [ yes! We—I have a forty five unit complex.
139	G5	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	T [ She::—she::] blubbed her mouth so much about us having a big affair way before it even happened, way before it happened.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
140	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Theresa, why would you let that happen? She was your friend. Why would you let it happen?
141	G5	HG	SE	BC1	A1	T I didn't let it—well I did let it happen I guess <J-yeah > But after y'know after a while it just—we didn't even have a— me and Dori did not have a friendship after [ a while.
142	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	J [ Of course not] you— you were sleeping with her husband!
143	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D [ (X) He was always up there.
144	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T [No. Way before that happened]. NO no way before no.
145	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D No. Because if I wanted to see my husband I had to come [ to your house.
146	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T [ Way before (X)] we were— we— No Dori.
147	G6	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K Δ [ That's not true.
148	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Δ [ It is true.
149	G5	SS2	F2	0	Z2	T Δ [ The last time you came up to my house you wanted to borrow something.
150	G4	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D Δ [ (XXX) I came looking for you.
151	H2	SS1	F2	0	Z1	J Δ [ Hey Dori one second.
152	G6	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K Δ [ (XXX) up there a coup—a couple of nights a week if that.
153	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ (XXX) you were evicting then Theresa right] Cos Dori you were the manager of the complex
154	G5	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T I was moving [ out] before she evicted me.
155	G4	SS2	PR2	0	A1	D [ Yes.
156	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J And what's— what's happening now with you guys? Are you II?
157	G5	SS2	SE	0	A1	T I moved. I'm not there.
158	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J And Ken you're not— are you still seeing Theresa?
159	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K No.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
160	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J What happened?
161	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K (( )) It's— We just stopped.
162	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Why?
163	G6	HG	SE	0	A1	K It's not there. I wanned my wife.
164	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J We know why Ken's here, Theresa you're here— yo— are you done with Ken or what? What?
165	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T Yes.Yes.
166	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J So how— how [ did did it end with you =
167	G5	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	T [ We're not associate at all.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	J = How did it end with you and Ken?
168	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T I— I think I was the one— I think I was the one who told him that you go on I'm going my way I— [ we had to.
169	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ So you didn't] care about him
170	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T Of course I cared about him. I care about both of them whether she wants to believe it or not I do. =
171	H2	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	J * I just—
0	0	0	0	0	0	T = That's why [ I'm not there.
172	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ When did it end? From the time] you got caught when did the relationship end? Was that the end of it?
173	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T Er—no. About a month.
174	G6	SS2	SE	0	A1	K I— I moved out and we continued to see each other on and off.
175	G5	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T About a month.
176	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J For a month I can— I can't get a feeling on how it ended. Did it just kind of— why— why did it end? If you kept seeing each other for a month
177	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T It wasn't right. It just wasn't [ right.
178	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [What was] wrong with it? (+) I should — Dori are you OK?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
179	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D [ Yeah.
180	G6	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	K [ Believed what] [ she wann'd and—
181	H2	SS1	P1	0	Q1	J [ & Or I should I ask you Dori. Maybe you] have the answer
182	G6	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	K * Then i— then it—
183	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Ah—She was through with him just like all the rest of them OK? Jus—
184	G5	SS2	K2	0	Z2	T Σ Oh Plea::se.
185	G4	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D That's the truth [ Theresa!
186	G5	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	T [ You're so] dramatic Dori.
187	G4	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D Yeah well [ I can't imagine] why.
188	G5	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	T [ You are. You will.]
189	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J She— she said you were— you know— you were— you — you really were [ belistic right Dori? ]
190	G4	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	D [ You didn't wan' him. You told me [ You said I didn't wan' him!
191	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ Dori] You were very upset the day you found out
192	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D OOooh.
193	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J How would you [ describe the way she acted that day] Theresa?
194	G4	SS2	PR2	0	A1	D [ Totally devastated.
195	G5	HG	SE	0	Q2	T The day that she found [ out
196	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	A2	J [ Aha.
197	G5	HG	SE	0	A1	T Er— we— yeah she was very upset y'know. She came upstairs and was physical then and verbal but I mean she was [ like that beforehand anyway.
198	H2	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	J [ You look as angry Dori now] as you appeared to have been then. Nothing has made you feel better about this? He wants you back.
199	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Oh and we are definitely trying.
200	H2	SS1	SE	0	Q1	J Ah! Why?

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
201	G4	HG	SE	0	A1	D Because— because [ <i>audience laughs</i> ] e— because we have put five years into this relationship and I do believe that he didn't understand what was happening—
202	H2	SS1	F2	0	z1	J Σ Don't make [ excuses for him. Don't make it too (X) —you know we've got to get to you — =
203	G4	SS2	F2	0	z2	D [ OK OK I'm not but [ I know this is— no.]
204	G5	SS2	PR2	0	z2	T [ This is crazy.
0	0	0	0	0	0	J = understanding —with your que—I'll get your question when we come back. We'll continue this conversation because I wanna know what you think is gonna to get him to win you back. We'll also talk to a guy who apologize for cheating on a past show, and today he'll try to win her back but it won't be easy because she brought her boyfriend. So Π

Extract 3 (EXT3). Oprah Winfrey. *Runaway Parents*

	Statistical-notation
Audience	AZ3/AU3
Diana Hicks (D)	G7
Stephen Hicks (D)	G8
Oprah Winfrey (O)	H3
TOTAL	

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H3	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	O Well, you know I've often said this. I believe it. It's why I don't have any children myself. It's because I believe that being a parent is just the world's toughest job. Today you're gonna meet mothers and fathers who were put to the ultimate test. The question is, could you file a restraining order against your runaway child who's stALking you? Would you call the police to arrest your teenager for hitting you? I know a lot of you watching would. And the hardest question of all, could you give up your child your own flesh and blood? your child, with the possibility that you might never see them again because you felt they were out of control and YOU:: just could no longer handle it. My first guests are news making parents who say they have been condemned by the media, and by their communities for doing the unthinkable, they institutionalized their rebellious teens. Ken and Diane, Webber, Omaha, Nebraska, still can't believe the circumstances that have DRUST them into the national spot light, they wanted their fourteen year old son placed in a foster care system so that he could get help. But their son made legal history when he turned the tables and then SUIT THEM.



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
0	0	0	0	0	0	O But first let's talk to this couple. They may have lines as runaway parents, runaway parents, and they are now headed for JAIL. Steven and Diana Hicks placed Christopher, their thirteen year old son in a New Jersey facility for psychiatric evaluation, that was last JA::nuary. Before their son was released however, prosecutors say that the Hicks packed their bags, moved from NEW Jersey to CALifornia without telling a soul. Steven and Diana were considered fugitives until they wERE, finally caught TWO months later. Now they BOTH have been sentenced to prison on child abandonment charges. But the Hicks say that nobody knows the real story of how they were terrorized by their child who almost destroyed their marriage and threaten to kill THEM. Did you intentionally leave the city, the the—city?
2	G7	SS2	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	D I panicked < O- Mhm > And I did—I left—whe—in in an institution but I panicked when nobody would help <O- Mhm > [pause]
3	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O Were you trying to leave him there? Were you trying [to get away ] from him?
4	G7	SS2	OVL2	BC1 BC1 BC1	A1	D [ No] No I wanned him to get help < O- Mhm > He couldn't come home < O- Mhm > I was afraid—I mean we have a kid that's gonna—that's threatened to blow your head off < O- Mhm > —
5	H3	SS1	K1	0	Q1	O Σ That little kid that little face there?
6	G7	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	D Yes <O- Mhm > That beats on your handicap daughter, <O- Mhm > she tries to commit suicide because of his—because of him and the abuse—
7	H3	SS1	K1	0	Q1	O Σ Mhm. How old is your daughter?
8	G7	HG	SE	BC1	A1	D She's now seventeen. At the time she was sixteen < O- Mhm > (+)

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
9	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O And he's thirteen
10	G7	HG	SE	BC1 BC1 BC1	A1	D He's thirteen < O- Mhm > He's now fourteen < O- Mhm > er (+) I panicked when they told me that nobody was gonna help me— they had—he had to come home. And he 'd already threatened to blows his stepfather's head off < O- Mhm > what—wo— (+) when our division, our social service division, refused to help I didn't know what else to do.
11	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O So you left town
12	G7	HG	SE	0	A1	D We left town.
13	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O Because you did not want him to come back home
14	G7	HG	SE	BC1	A1	D Right . Because I was afraid of him < O- Mhm > <i>(3.5 sec. pause)</i>
15	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O When did he start to be this out of control? Because all the sudden the kids turn thirteen and they become like monsterlike people?
16	G7	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	D No. <O- Mhm> No. Sometimes it happens overnight. < O- Mhm > I mean he's always been a [ behav—
17	H3	SS1	P1	0	Q1	O [ & Do you believe]—do you believe it happens overnight?
18	G7	HG	SE	BC1	A1	D Sometim—I—If I didn't know the signs maybe no < O- Mhm > But he's always been a behavioured kid. I mean he's brought knives to school, fighting, he's been kicked out of school so many times (+) [ is—
19	G8	SS2	P2	0	A1	S [ & (X) this did]—this did happen overnight he got really vicious. He got really vicious.
20	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O But the question is, were you able to control him before this?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
21	G7	SS2	SE	BC1	A1	D [ Yes. < O- Aha > [headnods]
22	G8	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	S [ Yes. Yes.
23	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O He was er what a good kid, bad kid is that? Π
24	G7	SS2	SE	0	A1	D A normal kid with behaviour problems that we've dealt with < O- Mhm> There was nothing major, there wasn't vio—I mean there wasn't violence in the home, he wasn't trying to beat people up in our house,y—y—you know he was basically a normal kid.
25	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O He was. He didn't become violent
26	G7	HG	SE	0	A1	D [ He wasn't violent.
27	G8	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	S [ Never.
28	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O Until he was thirteen
29	G7	HG	SE	0	A1	D Ri[ ght.
30	G8	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	S [ Never.
31	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O He suddenly became violent what hanging out with the wrong group or what?
32	G7	HG	SE	BC1	A1	D Well sneaking out, yeah < O- Aha > [ jumping—
33	H3	SS1	P1	0	Q1	O [ & Did he] jump out the window?
34	G7	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	D Yes. But he wasn't trying to commit suicide. Yes, he did jump out of the second storey window every night for probably nine months, while we were asleep, to be with his friends < O- Aha > in the drug scene < O- Aha > you know Π

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
35	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O So you put him in the psychiatric evaluation unit
36	G8	HG	SE	BC1 BC2 BC1	A1	S No. The—well, a whole lot of things happened beFOre this < O- yes> < D- right > OK? He was in and out a place called (X) (X) OK? They were supposed to be helping him but seeing Michael was just a little TIme-out. They—OK, go here then come back home. Stay over here and then come back home y'know, and nobody—this wasn't helping him psychologically.<O- OK> This wasn't helping him period.
37	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O OK. Did you abandon this boy?
38	G7	SS2	SE	0	A1	D No.
39	G8	SS2	SE	0	A1	S No. Not the way you wanna ex—er er er—er—not the way that they use abandonment. [ Okei::?
40	H3	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	O [ Why do you feel] you gotten a bomb wrapped in the media— from the media?
41	G7	HG	SE	0	A1	S Becau::se is—e—
42	H3	SS1	K1	0	Q1	O Σ Is it the word abandon that ofends you? Or did you just—or did you— OK let's say they'll take away the word abandon. Did you— were you fed up with trying to get help and decided you would just let the psychiatric unit handle it and you would go some place else?
43	G7	SS2	SE	BC1	A1	D No. I did it to save my other two kids <O- Mhm> I had a nine year old who's now ten and a—a sev—sixteen year old at the time handicap daughter that lived in fear! My daughter would lock herself in her room everyday.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q / A	TRANSCRIPT
44	G8	SS2	SE	0	Z2	S She wouldn't come [ out at all.
45	G7	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	D [ She wouldn't come out] because she was afraid that he was gonna hit her or knock her down or tell her that she's like— verbally abuse her. I mean he'd hit me. I did it [ (X)—
46	H3	SS1	P1	0	Q1	O [ & He'd hit] you. The child would hit you
47	G7	HG	SE	BC1	A1	D Mhm. I've been punched in my face by him <O- Mhm> [ But I—
48	G8	SS2	P2	0	Z2	S [ & The only person he would mind was me. OK? You know he [ was—
49	H3	SS1	P1	0	Q1	O [ & I wanna know] if I can get to this [to the day
50	G8	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	S [ OK .Go ahead.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	O = when you all decided to leave and not tell anybody. What made you come to that decision?
51	G7	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	D I panicked because I wan— I asked for help and asked he to be placed in a residencial <O- Mhm> because I was afraid, he couldn't come home. <O- Mhm > I was [ afraid of him.
52	H3	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	O [ They were going to let] him home
53	G7	HG	SE	BC1 BC1 BC1 BC1	A1	D They were going to let him home <O- Mhm> And when they told me that no he's not going to residencial, he HAS to come home, I panicked. My husband was going for a job which would have meant me me and the kids home by ourselves, <O- Mhm> he's coming home. And I'm not knowing if I'm gonna wake up one mo—night with a gun to my head at night <O- Mhm> or what's gonna happen to my daughter <O- Mhm> and I panicked and I left.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
54	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O Mhm. So now you— you guys have been sentenced to jail. When do you go to jail? And how do you feel about going to jail for not being able to control [ your child?
55	G8	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	S [ Well you know] I love my children OK? I'll tell you what, I would die for my children OK? And I would live for them. OK? They— they [ study (X)—
56	H3	SS1	P1	0	Q1	O [ & Do you want] your son back at home?
57	G8	HG	SE	0	A1	S Sure! All we (X) was help for him.
58	H3	SS1	SE	0	Q1	O Do you want him back at home? Why are you any less afraid of him now?
59	G7	SS2	SE	BC1	A1	D And I'm not. <O- Mhm > I'm not any less afraid. And I— and I've even told my husband this, because I don't know if it could happen again—
60	H3	SS1	K1	0	Q1	O Σ What do you mean you don't know?
61	G7	HG	SE	0	A1	D I don't know if— I don't mean that I could leave him in a hospice I don't know that he's gonna [ be—
62	H3	SS1	P1	0	Q1	O [ & Do you] think he's cured?
63	G7	HG	SE	0	A1	D No.
64	H3	SS1	SE	0	Z1	O Well
65	G7	HG	SE	0	Z2	D No.
66	H3	SS1	SE	0	Z1	O Well then you know.
67	G7	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D OK.
68	H3	SS1	SE	0	Z1	O Coming up Ken and Diane's son made Nebraska legal history when he suit them. Their son suit them in a quest to see his sister again. And when we come back we'll find out why they stand by their decision to disown their son and they may never speak to their son again. We'll talk to them when we come back.

Extract 4 (EXT4). Maury Povich *How hard married life can be*

Participants	Statistical-notation
Audience-group	AZ4
Karie (K)	G9
Maury Povich (M)	H4
member of audience	A5
Owen (O)	G10

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M Thank you very much everybody. They're fighting they're cheating and they're ready to file for divorce and they're only NEWly weds. Today we're talking to couples whose fairy tale of a perfect marriage is already on the rocks. And we'll find out just how hard married life can be:: and if any of these marriages can be saved o::r if these couples are heading for divorce court. Now, think about this how would you react if you found out on your wedding day that your husband to be was still engaged to somebody else
2	AZ4	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
3	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Would you still go through with the weddding? Well guess what, my next guest did. Karie, what happened after the wedding a::—a::nd —are you still together?
4	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K No, we're not together. We haven't been together fo::r almost a year. A::nd it's not necessarily that he was engaged to someone else, but about three hours before we got married, he got a package in the mail—er—with—er—wedding invitation type things [ and plans for—

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
5	H4	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & For the other] fiance?
6	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Fo::r his other girlfriend that he::—er—used to be [ engaged to =
7	H4	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	M [ *An— an were you just—
0	0	0	0	0	0	K = [ before he met me.
8	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Did you confront him with that?
9	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yeah. We:: didn't really have time to fight about it cos we were, y'know, in the process [ of of getting married so we —
10	H4	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & So you got married] you got married anyway
11	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K We went ahead with it a::nd we got married a::nd—
12	H4	SS1	K1	0	Q1	M Σ Life was bliss right ?
13	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K It was fine.
14	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M For how long?
15	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K For about two months.
16	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M And then—two months?
17	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K About two months <i>[laughs]</i>
18	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Then what happened?
19	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Er— aside from other problems we were having, it was just er—he has a hard time making a decision between me and this other girl in his [ life.
20	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ You want this guy?
21	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K I love him very much.
22	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M You love [ this man very much
23	G9	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	K [ He knows I love him] very much and [ I'm very in love with him.
24	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ You would like for this] marriage to work
25	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Very much so.
26	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M But, what's happened? Is he living with you?
27	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K No. He's living with her.
28	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Ooooh. <i>[audience reaction]</i> So so in other words, after you got married, the other fiance just wouldn't go away



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
29	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Er—e—er our relationship's been going on for about three years [ and during those three years it has been—
30	H4	SS1	F2	0	Q1	M [ & and you knew about the other girl beforehand]
31	G9	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K back and forth, and [ back and forth.
32	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ & You knew about] the other person Shanon?
33	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Right.
34	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M You knew about her before
35	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K He was engaged to her first and then he [ left her free.
36	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ So you thought that if you get married] you're the one, right?
37	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Right. And [ I—
38	H4	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & Why do you love him] still?
39	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K He's really—he's a great man [ <i>audience reaction: very weak</i> ]. He—he really is, he's—
40	H4	SS1	K1	0	Q1	M Σ Who said no? who said no?
41	G9	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K He is.
42	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Eh? [ <i>to the audience</i> ]
43	G9	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K He's just very confused.
44	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M He's confused
45	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K He's [ very confused.
46	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M [ He sounds con] fused.
47	G9	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K But er—that's why we are here today, 'cos he's got to have to make a decision between me or her [ when wanting one for all.
48	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ OK] So legally you're still married

TRANSCRIPT						
Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	
49	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K We legally are still [ married.
50	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M [ OK.] Now let's meet your husband. Here's your husband Owen. Come on out Owen. Now, hey, come on! . Here's Owen. Nobody wants to say [ hello? I do =
51	G9	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	K [ He's a great guy.
0	0	0	0	0	0	M = sit down Owen]
52	AZ4	HA	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>Short applause. His wife applauding really emphatic</i>
53	H4	SS1	SE	0	Z1	M All of a sudden everybody's mad at you, Owen they don't even know you. You haven't even opened your mouth!
54	G10	SS2	SE	0	Z2	O No, I [ haven't.
55	G9	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	K [ He's not a bad guy He is a great guy <i>[audience reaction]</i> I would not love him! I would not still be very much in love with this man if he wasn't a good man.
56	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M [ Everything she said=
57	G9	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	K [ He really is.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	M = is true, right?
58	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Not really.
59	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Did you want this marriage to work when you got married?
60	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Mhm <i>[ Nods yes</i>
61	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M And what happened ?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
62	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O It didn't work. [ We::—
63	H4	SS1	PI	0	Q1	M [ & Why?
64	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Well, we lived together. We were together for a long time in between the breaking up with Shanon and our marriage. We lived together for four or five months, during that time, we fought, we got back together, we fought we—it was a crazy lifestyle and—and actually I thought that if we got married it might help the situation. We both did. It didn't. [ That was it.
65	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ She described] you as confused
66	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O (( )) I have been. I might still be in some ways.
67	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M OK, I mean—er—Karie, when was the last time that you were together in which you felt like you were one?
68	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K A month ago.
69	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Wait a second. Even though you were separated, even though he was living with Shanon you saw him a month ago
70	G9	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	K He came and spend a week-end with me a month ago < M- right > And Shanon knew about it. Shanon knew he was coming up to spend the weekend with me < M-right > And at that time he told me that he still loved me very much, that he missed me, and that he:: was confused about what he wanted in his life and—there is also—I have two children and, he's not the father but, my six year old and him are very very close. My six-year old workships the ground he walks on.
71	H4	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	M * Considers him—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
72	G9	SS2	K2	0	Z2	K $\Sigma$ And so it's very hard for him too because they are very close and it's very hard for him. This is his daddy.
73	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M But there's another woman in his life, is there another guy in your life?
74	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K No. <i>[pause 3 sec.]</i>
75	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M How about that, Owen? What's—what's the deal here? I mean [ are you —
76	G9	SS2	P2	0	Z2	K [ & There was] though, ther— there was er—for about seven months there was, but it was very hard for me to make that relationship work because I still s—im—was very in love with him and it was very hard for me to [ try to love someone else.
77	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ Owen, do you want a divorce?
78	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Yeah. Definitely I have [ for some time.
79	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ Is it because you have] stronger feelings for this person you're living with now, [ Shanon?
80	G10	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	O [ No.] No it hasn't. It's really not —
81	H4	SS1	K1	0	Q1	M $\Sigma$ If you got divorced would you get married?
82	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O No. Not now. Maybe some day down the road, it's —this relationship I'm in that I'm—I'm sure about where I wanna be, in which relationship I— I wan'. We've— we've been apart for over a year. It took six months to even get Shanon back into my life a little bit a::nd e::r [ that's—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
83	H4	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & Well then why] a month ago would you go visit her?
84	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O It was— it was confusion. That's where I am confused I—I still fall once in a while in— in more ways than one, and this is kind of wrapping wi::th—er—
85	H4	SS1	K1	0	Z1	M Σ It sounds like you want your cake and [ eat it. Owen Owen
86	G10	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	O [ Exactly I've— I've made a mistake.
87	AZ4	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
88	G10	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	O I'm not proud of it.
89	H4	SS1	SE	0	Z1	M You're not— unlike a lot of guys.
90	G10	SS2	SE	0	Z2	O I know that. That's one thing I'm not proud about at all.
91	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Right. OK. All right. We have any:: advice here for Owen? Anybody wanna get this guy some advice. Yes. Stand up. Oh oh is this a kick into the kerb kind of line?
92	A5	HA	SE	0	A1	A1 No::
93	H4	SS1	SE	0	Z1	M [ OK.
94	A5	HA	OVL3	0	Z3	A1 [ I just] wanna say that before you vow to marry somebody you must understand what you who you want when you want and why. You can't—I mean you have two women What is it? Like he say you want your cake and eat it too I don't understand because you have to figure out what you want for— just before you put somebody else in your life who also have children you know what I'm saying? That sounds very selfish to me.
95	AZ4	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction applauds</i>

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
96	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M Karie let me ask you something. Do you want Owen in your life because of what you feel towards Owen or because you know he's so good around your children?
97	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K Because of what I — both. Because of what I feel for him and—we had our hard times but we had a lot of fun together. We are very compatible. We have a lot of things in common we—we you know we ski together, during football season we're both crazy football people, we you know can go camping, bungee jumping er—golfing I mean [ we:: =
98	H4	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	M [ * Bungee jump—]
0	0	0	0	0	0	K = we do:: a lot of things together [ we have a lot of fun together.
99	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ You like bungee jumping] You like bungee jumping
100	G9	HG	SE	0	Z2	K He sky dives. I wanted to go sky diving this summer you know it's just—we have a lot of fun together. And we ha—are very PASSionate together. It's just —er —tha —and I believe that [ if Shanon was not=
101	H4	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	M [* Wha —what do you—]
0	0	0	0	0	0	K = in his life I believe he would be with me [ and we could this marriage work.
102	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ What do you think—what do you think of Sha] non?
103	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K I:: have never met her. And I do not have any bad feeling towards her—er— I really believe that she loves him very much also.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
104	G10	SS2	SE	0	Z2	O It's really not an issue between the two of us versus the two of us —er—it's not an issue [ of one or the other—
105	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ It's not an issue of Shanon and Owen] against Shan— an—an— against [ Owen and Karie?
106	G10	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	O [ No not at] all. We —we were separated an—and I was— I had nobody in my life for a period of eight months and didn't get back with her and didn't get back with her, and I'm just you know now I'm going that's where I'm going now [ but it's not—
107	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ Are you surprised that] you're here on national television?
108	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Oh I'm shocked I'm—I'm —
109	H4	SS1	K1	0	Q1	M Σ [ Why are you here?
110	G9	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	K [ I am too!] Surprised in (XXX)
111	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Er— just because I don't think my story is all that crazy. I mean yeah I've fallen— I've been in a relationship and—and I—I've fallen and went back with somebody [ for a day and you know.
112	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ You know what I don't quite understand] is that how after two months of marriage it kind of exploded
113	G10	HG	SE	0	A1	O Well we were together for a year [ and the marriage was—
114	H4	SS1	F2	0	Z1	M [ Because because] icy
115	G10	SS2	F2	0	Z2	O [ The marriage was just a part of it.
116	H4	SS1	F2	0	Q1	M [ So the vows it—selves] it ju—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
117	G9	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K We lived together [ before we got married.
118	G10	HG	F2	0	A1	O [ It really didn't. No
119	H4	SS1	F2	0	Q1	M It was just another act [ in this whole relationship
120	G10	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	O [ It really was.] Unfortunately.
121	H4	SS1	SE	0	Z1	M OK. When we come back we are gonna meet a couple who's been married only NINE months. They are already talking to a lawyer and they've already divided up their property. What is happening in this country? We'll meet them next.



Extract 5 (EXT5). Sally J. Raphael *I'm fed up with my teen*

Participants:	Statistical-notation
Audience-group	AZ5
Jessica (J)	G12
Maria (M)	G11
member of audience (A1)	A6
member of audience (A7)	A7
Sally (S)	H5

N° T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
1	H5	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S	Totally out of control. And they say they actually LIVE, the parents do, in fear of being hurt or even KILLED by their own CHILD[murmurs from audience] I—I don't think this is—when you're holding a baby in your arms I don't think you think it would ever come to this. Today the mothers say they are at the point where they are about ready to do the unthinkable. How do you get a divorce from your own child? [audience murmur] Meet Maria. Maria says her fifteen year old daughter Jessica has slapped her
2	G11	SS2	SE	0	A1	M	Σ [nods yes] Ye::s. [audience reaction] Yes Sally.
3	AZ5	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3		audience reaction
4	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S	Thrown heavy objects at her when she doesn't get away, and Maria says she lives in fear of the day—you really think she would come and kill you one day
5	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M	Nods yes
6	H5	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S	That sounds so extre::me
7	G11	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M	She's got a temper. She has very terrible temper a::nd—
8	H5	SS1	K1	0	Z1	S	Σ She's fifTEEN though
9	G11	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M	Sally I have given all my life to her. I dedicated my life. I've been a good mother and she— [sobbing, crying]
10	H5	SS1	K1	0	Q1	S	Σ How did this come about?

						TRANSCRIPT	
N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A		
11	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M	It happened two years ago—er—she has totally changed just hanging with the wrong [ crowd.
12	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S	[ She was a] good kid
13	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M	She was an A student .
14	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S	And what happened?
15	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M	A::nd a couple of years ago she's being changing, the way she dresses, the way she talks —er —she says she's doing everything—er—she's doing everything bad a::nd —er—I'm always getting calls from school and she gets suspended, she likes to beat up girls a::nd— and she's very out of control I don't know what to do. I'm—I had it already I had enough of her, I have two othe— two other daughters that—er—that are just getting her —just getting just like her.
16	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S	My feeling when you say she changed, did she hang out with the wrong crowd?
17	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M	Yes [ yes.
18	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S	[ Is she in a] gang of any kind?
19	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M	She says she wants to be in a gang she dresses like a gang, she talks like one, she:: does everything, I mean she doesn't she—she just—
20	H5	SS1	K1	0	Z1	S	Σ Gets suspended from school.
21	G11	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M	She likes to fight.
22	H5	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S	Gets F on reports [ at school.
23	G11	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M	[ All her reports are all efs. I mean she get really bad grade. She she's—hates school she says [ she's tired of life.
24	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S	[ Dates boys.]
25	G11	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M	Yes, yes.
26	H5	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S	And wants to have a baby.
27	G11	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M	She wants to have a baby.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
28	AZ5	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
29	G11	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M She wants to have a baby. She doesn't know how to cook she doesn't know how to clean she doesn't know how to do anything and she wants to have a baby.
30	AZ5	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
31	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S When we asked her ((-argh))— if— if making you this upset isn't the wrong thing, she says she doesn't care— =
32	G11	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	M [ She doesn't care.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	S = [ how upset her mother is. [ She doesn't care.
33	G11	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M [ Yes—she doesn't care.] She calls us names all the time, she— she tells me —er—you bitch you fat slob —er—(censored) whore, you're not good (censored) [audience reaction] she beats up—er—she beats up my daughters, my other two. She threw one of my daughters down the stairs a::nd she punched her nose a::nd — []
34	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S What do you—do you feel in your heart that you did everything?
35	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M I did everything Sally. I really did everything and I'm tired, I just told her I just wanna—when she gets off from school on vacation I just send her somewhere. I cannot be with her twenty four hours I'm just terrified, I'm scared, and I'm just happy when she's gone. So I really want her—really divorce my daughter, if she keeps that up.
36	AZ5	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>applaud from audience 0.8 sec.</i>
37	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Let's meet Jessica, who's fifteen and see what she has to say about all this. JEssica, come on out.
38	AZ5	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience booing =</i>
39	G12	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	J Shut up! [audience booing continues ]
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>= audience booing</i>

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
40	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S Je::ssica, your mother says you like to be out of control What [ is] so great about that?
41	G12	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	J [ Yeah] I just get to do everything I want. I can get to go out late, I get to stay up, I get to just do whatever I want. I'm tired of everyone tell me what to do.
42	AZ5	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
43	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S OK. [ Let me =
44	G12	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	J [ Oh well whatever.
0	0	0	0	0	0	S = understand something] Why are you tired of her telling you what to do? She's your mother.
45	G12	HG	SE	0	A1	J I'm old enough to make my own decisions I can go [ out <i>[audience reaction]</i>
46	G11	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M Δ [ You're not old enough ! You're [ not old enough !
47	G12	SS2	F2	0	Z2	J Δ [ Yes I am! Yes I am! Mum shut up! Yes I am!
48	G11	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M Δ You're only You're only fifteen! ] You cannot make [ your own decisions.
49	G12	SS2	F2	0	Z2	J Δ [ Shut up! [ Shut up!
50	G11	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M Δ [ OK? You're only fifteen] And at fifteen you can't do your decisions, OK?
51	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Why do you get bad grades in school?
52	G12	HG	SE	0	A1	J 'Cos school's boring and I'm tired. I'm fed up with school. I used to be such a—
53	G11	SS2	K2	0	Z2	M Σ She was an A student Sally, now she gets all Fs, OK? I get calls from school almost everyday—
54	H5	SS1	K1	0	Q1	S She answers the teacher
55	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes. And she does not —when she doesn't wanna go to school she will not get up.
56	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S What about the:: smoking? =
57	G11	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	M * She do—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
0	0	0	0	0	0	S = and the drinking? That doesn't go down too [ well at school
58	G11	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	M [ Well, she just started] recently —er—doing all the drinking and—I mean I've been seeing —er—that she's been drinking and doing bad things. I don't [ know about smoking?
59	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ shoplifting ]
60	G11	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes, yes. She does all that.
61	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Why shoplift? You know who pays when you shoplift?
62	A6	SS3	SE	0	A1	A1 [unidentified] We do.
63	H5	SS1	SE	0	A1	S We do.
64	AZ5	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>applause from audience =</i>
65	H5	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S [ * Do you think these people—
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>= audience applauds continues</i>
66	H5	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S * Do you—
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>= audience applauds</i>
67	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S Do you—this lady is right—do you understand that? What did you shoplift last?
68	G12	HG	SE	0	Q2	J Where o:r? []
69	H5	TGH	SE	0	A2	S What [ What did you?
70	G12	SS2	SE	0	A1	J [ Just clothes.
71	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S OK. [ Who do you think paid —
72	G12	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	J [ & Purse, clothes brushes] better than pay for it.[ <i>audience reaction</i> ] I'm fed up with paying for stuff.
73	H5	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S Bu—who do yo—bu—bu — bu [ we pay for it.
74	G12	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	J [ I'm always broke all the time.] I'm tired my mum can never buy me anything so I just decided to steal.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
75	G11	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M [audience reaction] I've been sick because of her Sally I've been in the hospital I've been in the hospital] for the last year on and off and I've been real sick because of her. I've been sick because of YOU because you're giving me a headache you're getting me sick I've got problems health problems because of YOU. And I had enough already.
76	AZ5	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
77	G12	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	J [ So::— II
78	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ OK. ] What is the quote I will beat the crap out of my mother if she pisses me off what [ does that mean?
79	G11	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	M [ She would hit you she would] actually hit me and she will even kill—er—kill us cos she's got a temper.
80	G12	SS2	SE	0	Z2	J Yes.
81	H5	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S Yes. Yes. Sorry.
82	A7	HA	SE	0	Z3	A2 I would like to say to the mother er— you cannot show your daughter any fear. I did a lot of things that hurt my mother and the one thing I could say my mother showed me no fear. She sees the fish she's eating off of you you understand cos that's exactly what I did the cause that's exactly what I did. I would never threaten my mother in there.
83	AZ5	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience applauds</i>
84	G11	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M Sally everything— everything she's hearing right now it goes to one year— ear and comes out through the other. She does not care. She's actually making fun of all of you all [audience reaction] OK. [ She does not care she does not care.
85	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ Are you making fun of all of us?
86	G12	HG	SE	0	A1	J No::
87	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Are you making fun of all of us?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
88	G12	HG	SE	0	A1	J	No. I'm not making fun of it . I just [ think it's stupid.
89	H5	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S	[ What do you] think when you see a whole audience of people who think you're doing wrong What do you think?
90	G12	HG	SE	0	A1	J	I don't care!
91	H5	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S	You don't care
92	G12	HG	SE	0	A1	J	No:: [They can say all they want =
93	G11	SS2	PR2	0	A1	M	[ She does not care]
0	0	0	0	0	0	J	= I won't change my mind.

Extract 6 (EXT6). Ricki Lake *I drink and drive so what*

Participants	Statistical notation
Audience-group	AZ6
Ricki Lake (host)	(H6).
Valery (V)	G13
Patsy (P)	G14
member of audience (A1)	A4

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H6	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	R DON'T ADJUST your sets because there's nothing wrong with them. What you're seeing is what I would look like to someone who has been drinking excessively. Now imagine if that person decided to get behind the wheel of a car. Today you'll meet people who say that drinking doesn't affect their driving. In fact, today they are here to say I drink and drive, so what.
2	SG1	THS	SE	0	Z3	<i>20 sec. song</i>
3	AZ6	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
4	H6	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	R Hi there. Unfortunately many people have gotten behind the wheel of a car after having a few drinks. And afterwards they HOPEfully thought about how stupid it was, and never did it again. What if you had a friend or a relative who repeatedly got into their car and drove after drinking. In fact their attitude is I drink, so what, what's the big deal. Meet Valery. Valery says her sister Paddy, Patsy, I'm sorry, has been drinking and driving ever since she can remember. Tell me about it Valery



N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
5	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V There was a time where we'd been driving, we went to a bar, we got really drunk, she did, and I told her she couldn't drive and I took the keys and I got inside the driver's seat, and she literally pulled me out of the window. Then opened the door. She pulled me out of the win[ dow.
6	H6	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	R [ So she's] basically become physically violent with you
7	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V Very.
8	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R So are you scared of her when she's drunk?
9	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V Oh most definitely. It's—it's— there's no s—she doesn't listen to what I say. She says she can handle it . I mean—there's—she's—her husband six one, three hundred pounds and he won't even touch her when when (h)—and she's tiny you've gotta wait till you see her. She's tiny.
10	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R So what makes her think that she can get after the wheel of the car she's dead drunk?
11	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V She thinks she can drive better drunk (( )).
12	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R She really thinks that she drives better when she's drunk
13	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V Yeah.
14	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R [acc] How much drink—drinking are we talking about? [acc]

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
15	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V Well, before we go out, we usually drink, both of us, we drink a—a case before we go out. <i>[audience reaction]</i> But—
16	H6	SS1	K1	0	Q1	R Σ So she's driving after sharing a CA [ se?
17	G13	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	V [ Yeah. But see] I don't drive with her, I have—my boyfriend takes me there. And she drives up there and when she gets there, she'll drink and drink and drink and drink, and when she finishes one beer she'll drink another, and she'll make her drinks and—
18	H6	SS1	K1	0	Q1	R Σ So you're scared for her life
19	G13	HG	SE	0	A1	V Yeah.
20	H6	SS1	SE	0	Z1	R You know and—I'm scared for my life 'cos I'm on the road too. Are you ready to meet her sister Patsy. I sure am. Patsy come on out here.
21	AZ6	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience booing</i>
22	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R Patsy, you just—anybody'd think—you're drinking a case of beer and driving?
23	G14	HG	SE	0	A1	P Yes I am.
24	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R What makes you think that you're OK to do that?
25	G14	HG	SE	0	A1	P Well, I'm twenty nine years old and I feel that I've been through enough hell in my life, that y'know I'm old enough that I should be able to do what I want, when I want [ without—
26	H6	SS1	P1	0	Q1	R [ & You should] be able to make some hell for other [ people

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
27	G14	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	P [ Without] hurt being a mother. I think so.
28	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R But isn't it everybody's business when we're on the road with you while you drive and drunk?
29	G14	HG	SE	0	A1	P Yes. Y'know I just feel, that—y'know that—when I—when I go out and drink and drive and I get so loaded, y'know, I feel that I can drive better which I'm sure a lot of people does when they're drunk OK? [ But—
30	H6	SS1	P1	0	Q1	R [ & Wait wait] you think that people that are drunk drive better than people who are sober?
31	G14	HG	SE	0	A1	P I feel that I do. Y'know I'm not saying that—that that's exactly what happens but I feel that I do.
32	H6	SS1	SE	0	Z1	R Yes M'am?
33	A4	HA	SE	0	Z3	A1 Er— are you taking into consideration that you're taking other people's lives er—are at stake? Not only your own. You're taking whoever else is on the road with you. You can't—I'm—I'm a recovering alcoholic, OK? And I think maybe you should look into meetings or a programme.
34	G14	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	P [ * Well—
35	AZ6	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
36	H6	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	R Patsy, is it true that sometimes you even forget how got home?
37	G14	HG	SE	0	A1	P Yes.
38	G13	SS2	SE	0	A1	V Yeah
39	H6	SS1	SE	0	Q1	R So how can you possibly be capable of driving an automobile if don't remember? You have blackouts
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>Patsy keeps quiet. The expression o her face showing that she has no intentions to answer Her sister takes the floor instead.</i>

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
40	G13	SS2	SE	0	Z2	V Ricki, let me tell you. We were driving home one day from a bar, and I was drunk, and I admitted it, and I said to Patsy, I said Pat, I am NOT driving. I pulled over on the highway. She got out of the car, pushed me over to the driver—to the passenger's side and took off driving. I was seeing double and she was drunker than I was.
41	G14	SS2	SE	0	Z2	P But she doesn't tell that, y'know, she tries to jump out of window, she wants to walk home and everything.
42	G13	SS2	SE	0	Z2	V Er—to get the hell—a—away—out of the car from you!
43	G14	SS2	SE	0	Z2	P I don't think exactly that'll do.
44	H6	SS1	SE	0	Z1	R I mean, I'm terrified.
45	G13	SS2	SE	0	Z2	V She does a hundred miles an hour driving down the highway [ <i>audience reaction</i> ] when is like thirty five.
46	H6	SS1	SE	0	Z1	R And I'm scared that your two kids are never gonna have a mother to see [ them grow up.
47	G13	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	V [ I've tried to tell her that.]
48	G14	SS2	SE	0	Z2	P I feel that the only love that I do have is with my children and I admit I have a problem and that I do need help.
49	H6	SS1	SE	0	Z1	R Well, hopefully we can get that help for you today all right?
50	AZ6	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
51	H6	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	R Next up we will meet a girl who says that when she gets drunk she likes to just get in her car and drive. Don't go away.

**Extract 7 (EXT7). Donahue. The problem with being an effeminate man or a masculine woman**

Participants	Statistical notation
Donahue (D)- host	H7
Luke Sissyfag (F)	G15
Devon (D)	G16
Anita (N)	G17
Kim (K)	G18
Louise (L)	G19
Joan (JO)	G20
Audience-group	AZ7

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BCQ/A		TRANSCRIPT
				BC	Q/A	
1	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D OK. What does it mean being a homosexual? What is a homosexual? His name used to be Montgomery, he legally changed it to SISSYfag. <i>[audience reaction]</i> I'm not lying.
2	G15	SS2	SE	0	Z2	F He's not a liar.
3	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D De'von?
4	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V 'Devon.
5	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Devon, so a—are you butch ?
6	G16	HG	SE	BC1	A1	V I'm butch < D- Mhm > Butch enough.
7	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Butch y'know. And Anita, you're a lesbian and you're a femme
8	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N Very much so.
9	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Er—can— e—does a butch date another butch or? What are the rules here?
10	G17	SS2	SE	0	A1	N Well the basic thing that goes on a lot is that people really assume that automatically the butch fits with the femme, but sometimes what—what's going on is that femmes can go with femmes and butches can go with butches [ and—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
11	H7	SS1	P1	0	Z1	D [ & Yeah, but let me tell you what looks like to me, that a butch really should be with a femme because you're gonna model yourself after the heterosexual role of—
12	G16	SS2	K2	0	Z2	V Σ Noo [ oo.
13	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	D [ No, no that's wrong.
14	G17	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	N * Yeah I—
15	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D Σ Then ho—why be butch at all then?
16	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V This is not about modelling heterosexuality.
17	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D This is about who you wanna be, is that the point?
18	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V That's right. That's who I am.
19	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D This is who—how you feel better
20	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V This is how I like to dress. This is who I am.
21	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Mhm. What do you think when you see two butches together? Is that a kind of what's going on here?
22	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V Well, I haven't seen two really extreme butches together I must say.
23	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D So—so butches seldom date butches then
24	G16	HG	BT2	0	Z2	V Well [ * butch u—you ge—I don't think—
25	G20	SS2	P2	0	A1	JO [ & I—I would disagree] with that.
26	G16	SS2	SE	0	Z2	V Yeah.
27	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Well, let's find out. Yes, KIM e::r— you're a gay man, and you're not upset if I describe your behaviour as effeminate
28	G18	HG	SE	0	A1	K No.
29	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D You've often been harassed because of that
30	G18	HG	SE	0	A1	K Always.
31	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D So you've heard the one syllable word a lot in your life then, ef ei gi, have you?
32	G18	HG	SE	0	A1	K About, yeah [laughs] three thousand ti(h)mes.
33	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D You don't wanna count
34	G18	HG	SE	0	A1	K No.
35	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Er— and— and this is not an affection? In other words, you're not performing

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
36	G18	HG	SE	BC1	A1	K No. This is er—I just do whatever < D- mhm > I wanna do, whatever time it is er— any day or night, whatever I wanna wear .
37	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Yeah. Louis? You're in the man's man are you?
38	G19	HG	SE	0	A1	L I consider myself to be.
39	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Yeah, er—this is—you're a homosexual male who:: feels macho (+) Wants to look macho
40	G19	HG	SE	0	A1	L It's a comfort level. It's not er it's a natural —er— it's a naturalness. I don't think there's a real —er— conscious tendency on my part to pursue that.
41	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Aha jo—er—and Joan, Louland, you::re here to say, among other things let's not let's not think of—yin— yan—here in terms of gender
42	G20	HG	SE	0	A1	J Yeah well cos y'see I have this theory that there is a thousand genders.
43	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Really?
44	G20	HG	SE	0	A1	JO Just to start with. <i>[laughs]</i>
45	G15	SS2	SE	0	Z2	F Phil, there are two genders, there are men and there are women.
46	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D Not according to her.
47	G15	SS2	SE	0	Z2	F [ Well—ask the audience.
48	G20	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	JO [ X X X
0	0	0	0	0	0	F = How many—how many of you out here are one of the thousand genders aside from male and [ female that she's describing
49	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	D [ Well, let me just say here] Miss Louland is not the first one to step forward and say it is not about opposites. Tha::t if you lighthen at two o'clock, you've got Arnold Schwarzenagger at twelve noon and Sharon Stone at six thirty < Z- right > and some of us are twenty after eight.
50	AZ7	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction: laugh and applaud =</i>
51	G20	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	JO I like that!
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>= applaud continues</i>
52	H7	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	D * Well, wh—what time—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
53	G20	SS2	K2	0	z2	JO ∑ I know people who are at ten or eleven.
54	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D What time are—what time are you Luke Sissyfag? What's going on here? [ es ai es es wai ef] ei gi=
55	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	F [ I don't know fellow. I don't know what's going on.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = er—you came out we—I understand round sixteen, is this right?
56	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F [acc] Yeah I was like [ fifteen or sixteen [acc]
57	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	D [ How old are you now Luke?
58	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F [acc] I'm twenty one. The right bold age of twenty one. [acc]
59	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D OK. Let's see if we can just get through this bio without spending all day on it, because you know—I—I don't—not that you'd want to but I—we've got a lot of work to do here. You—it wasn't a picnic when you came out, was it ? I mean your folks I assume Π
60	G15	HG	SE	0	z2	F Well, you know, see I don't want to go into the whole game of victimo [logy thing.
61	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	D [ Now you're gonna tell me] you don't like my question. We have to know—
62	G15	SS2	K2	0	A1	F ∑ Ye::—Yeah—
63	H7	SS1	K1	BC2 BC2	Q1	D ∑ We've got to know where you've been. Luke Montgomery was your birth name < F- right > That's what you're born < F- right > Alright. Now you're teenager and you decide, y'know, hey I'm different and the folks are happy with this and you take off. You go to Seattle Π
64	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F I go to Seattle—
65	H7	SS1	BT1	0	z1	D * And you become a—you bec-



N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
66	G15	SS2	K2	BC1 BC1 BC1	A1	F $\Sigma$ [acc] I become an activist, I become Luke Sissyfag, I become the extremist, y'know the most radical extreme gay, er— it had nothing to do with the so called like victimization when I was a kid or that I you know, had all these problems being gay. < D- all right > Being gay is not a big deal. Er —I had a lot of other problems and things I needed to work out so I went to the extreme, y'know, if you're gay so what, y'know, I have sex with men, that's not a big deal. But why do we— why do we obsessed around you know, I'm a femme femme I'm a butch butch < D- yes > Why can't we just be people < D- alright > it's it's [ it's pathetic. [acc]
67	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	z1	D [ Very good] questions Luke but before you ask them—
68	AZ7	SS3	OVL3	0	z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
69	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	D Very good. Before you ask them, you were one wild thing out there
70	G15	HG	SE	BC1	A1	F [acc] I wa—I was interrupting the president, I was running the area of D.C. I me—I mean I was doing all that < D- Yeah > But I've since then senilized.
71	H7	SS1	BT1	0	z1	D [ * And you were—
72	G16	SS2	P2	0	Q2	V [ & What's wrong with that? What's wrong with that? Why can't =
73	H7	SS1	BT1	0	z1	D * But the—
0	0	0	0	0	0	V = they be sissyfags and butch dykes?
74	G15	SS2	SE	0	A2	F You can be. But do you need to make such a deal out of it. Why is it that we— we— [ when we choose =
75	G20	SS2	PR2	0	Q2	JO [ Why is it that Newt Gingrich has to make such a deal out of what he feels?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
0	0	0	0	0	0	F = [acc] choose to be]—when men choose to be feminine women choose to be masculine, that's fine. But if we— if we're really comfortable with that, why are trying to force everybody else to accept it? When I—if I— when I chose to be Luke Sissyfag I knew that people wouldn't like it OK?—I— it was a choice. Now why would you, y'know, if you do something an—n— you expect people to react that way, why do you get upset when they react that way?
76	G20	SS2	SE	BC2 BC2 BC1	z2	JO Well wha—what I don't [ understand is what you're =
77	G15	SS2	BT2	0	z2	F [ * I mean if you—
0	0	0	0	0	0	JO = saying is that we're trying to force people to accept it. I'm just trying to be exactly who I am and <V- right > create a community in which everybody can be exactly who I am, the—they are. I have a thirteen year old son I want him to be able to be exactly who he is < D- right > <L- right > [ I'm not out there blah blah blah. Well I am out there.
78	G17	SS2	F2	0	z2	N [ (XXX)
79	G18	SS2	F2	0	z2	K [ People want people want—
80	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & If I'm understanding— just a mom— ] if I'm understanding Luke, he's saying all that posturing and the preening, for example in the gay pride parade, those video tapes that Pat Robertson and Forewel love to show [ (XXX) you were in one of them you know
81	G20	SS2	PR2	0	Q2	JO [ Wait a minute why (XXX) please
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = you were in one of them you know, with all these crazy clothes on half naked, you got things hanging— don— don't show me. I'm afraid to look. Oh you wore this did you?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
82	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F Yes I wore this. I did! [ you know is a—
83	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & Yeah] er — you're now renouncing that behaviour [ Luke
84	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	F [ Yes.
85	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Tell us why
86	G15	HG	SE	0	z2	F You can give it to him! [ <i>Hands over a golden dress to Kim</i> ]
87	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Tell us why
92	G15	HG	BT2	0	z2	F * Yes this d—
93	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D Σ Do you have any explanation as to why you [ were doing that =
94	G20	SS2	BT2	0	z2	JO [ * That doesn't mean—
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = Just let u— I just wanna understand Luke here and we'll get to you
95	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F Er (( )) tha— (( )) people that are uncomfortable with who they are— are the people who are trying to force it down every—everyone else's throat [ are the people who are putting on parades—
96	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & So—so the—the more insecure I am the more I am] gonna flaunt is this what you're saying?
97	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F Exactly.
98	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D And I'm gonna play right into the right wing and say look [ at all those (X)
99	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	F Δ [ Exactly.
100	G17	SS2	F2	0	z2	N Δ (XXX) <i>crossstalk</i>
101	H7	SS1	F2	0	z1	D Δ [ (XXX) <i>crossstalk</i>
102	G18	SS2	F2	0	z2	K Δ [ (XXX) <i>crossstalk</i>
103	G15	SS2	F2	0	z2	F Δ [ I raised so much money for the seven hundred club that you would not believe
104	H7	SS1	F2	0	z1	D Δ I bet you did yeah
105	G20	SS2	F2	0	z2	JO Δ [ (XXX) <i>crossstalk</i>
106	H7	SS1	P1	0	z1	D [ & Please you wanted to say yes yes Devon

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
107	G16	HG	SE	BC1 BC2	Z2	V Just because he was acting out and he was flaunting and he was putting on a big show doesn't mean that someone who chooses to dress butch or lesbian, who chooses to dress more butch or be very femme or a man who chooses to express his femininity is putting on a flaunting. <N- right > <D- yeah > [ I mean I—
108	G17	SS2	P2	0	Z2	N [ & The reality] says— I feel that America is completely addicted to sameness. We are away from diversity, we're afraid of diversity, we wanna box [ everybody in, we've got the male we've got the female, we've got the butch we've got the femme.
109	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	D [ Yes we do. Yes. And Luke says if don't conform] to this a—a—accepted kind of role playing then you go the other way you become totally outrageous and you die. =
110	G15	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	F * Well Phil—
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = You die, your promiscuity will—
111	G20	SS2	K2	0	Q2	JO $\Sigma$ I don't understand [ why you're saying this
112	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	A2	D $\Delta$ [ Ask him. Ask him. <i>crosstalk</i>
113	G15	SS2	F2	0	A2	F $\Delta$ [ I'll tell you why. I'll tell you why. I'll tell you why . <i>crosstalk</i>
114	G20	SS2	F2	0	Q2	JO $\Delta$ [ Who said there are accepted (XXX) <i>crosstalk</i>
115	H7	SS1	F2	0	Z1	D $\Delta$ [ Let him make his point. Let him make his point. <i>crosstalk</i>
116	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	F I'll tell you why. I'll tell you why ] Once we break one rule, many gay people think that you can just break them all, and that is a mistake. If you look at the AIDS [ rate in the gay community—
117	G16	SS2	F2	0	Q2	V $\Delta$ [ & Who made the rules? What rules are we talking about? <i>[crosstalk yelling at each other]</i>
118	G20	SS2	F2	0	Q2	JO $\Delta$ [ What rules? Newt Gingrich's rules?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
119	G15	GG	F2	0	A2	F Δ [ We're talking about gender rules]
120	G20	SS2	F2	0	Q2	JO Δ Are you talking about Newt Gingrich's rules?
121	G16	SS2	F2	0	Z2	V Δ [ There are no gender rules
122	G15	GG	F2	0	A2	F Δ [ Yeah. He's rational bias. He's rational bias in fact, if you want me to say that . [ He's a rational biased.
123	G20	SS2	OVL2	BC1	Z2	JO [ I wanna break his rules! ] I want to break rational bias in Newt's Gingrich's rules <D- yeah> [ X
124	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	F [ Of course you do.] You wanna break all the rules! You wanna break [ all the rules!
125	G20	SS2	F2	0	Z2	JO [ I don't break all the rules
126	G16	SS2	F2	0	Z2	V [ (XXX) the rules I—
127	G20	SS2	K2	0	Q2	JO Σ Look at my dress! This is breaking the rules?
128	H7	SS1	F2	0	A2	D You're very [ very—er—now all you need is a pill box hat =
129	G15	SS2	F2	0	Z2	F [ * Phil, my only concern— ]
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = [ and a yatch here. She has— Look at er—
130	G20	SS2	F2	0	Z2	JO Δ [ I know. I can use Anita's.
131	G15	SS2	F2	0	Z2	F Δ [ * Phil, my only concern is my con—
132	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D Σ What is your concern?
133	G15	HG	SE	0	Z2	F I'll tell you what my concern is.
134	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D Please.
135	G15	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	F My concern is that once— in—in the gay community the AIDS rate is—is— is phenomenal. < D- right > And I really believe — and I know from experience I'm not saying this from some right wing bible beater, < D- right > I am gay and I know from experience that in the gay community there's this mentality that we've broken one rule let's break them all. Let's bust out and flame, [ and you take a look—
136	H7	SS1	P1	0	Z1	D [ & Among SOME gay people.
137	G15	SS2	F2	0	Z2	V Yes.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
138	H7	SS1	F2	0	z1	D [ Among SOME gay people.
139	G20	SS2	F2	0	z2	JO [ Yes!
140	G19	SS2	F2	0	z2	L [ No. I disagree. I disagree with that.
141	G15	SS2	F2	0	z2	F Some gay people. Yes. [ Exactly.] =
142	H7	SS1	F2	0	z1	D [ It sounds good.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	F = I'm gay. But the majority of the gay community, the people that are at the pride parades, I mean when we have [ AIDS death after AIDS death AIDS death] it's because— =
143	G19	SS2	F2	0	z2	L [ Phil I disagree with that (X)]
144	H7	SS1	F2	0	z1	D X X X
0	0	0	0	0	0	F = there's no responsibility.] =
145	G20	SS2	F2	0	z2	JO [ Phil he's gonna talk all the time.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	F = [ there is no more shame, there is no more social control, ther— people are just going crazy.
146	H7	SS1	SE	0	q1	D Yeah. And you wanna blow the whistle on the behaviour that you yourself acknowledged you engaged in prior to your conversion. I assume that you will change [ your name—
147	G15	SS2	P2	0	q2	F [ & Conversion to what?
148	H7	TGH	SE	BC2 BC2	A2	D To— er—to not be not flaunting not wearing sequence dresses <F- right > in parades not giving Jerry Fowler a tape that he can use to raise money < F-sure > [ so we can fight] the gay play =
149	G20	SS2	BT2	0	z2	JO [ * You see—]
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = All of that. That er— but you— you've changed [ That's all I'm asking you right now
150	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	z2	F [ That's right. Yes.
151	H7	SS1	SE	0	q1	D Are you gonna change your [ name back?
152	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	F [ I've—I've grown yeah.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
153	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Are you gonna be—le— [ you're going back to Montgomery
154	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	F [ Yeah I'm going back to Montgomery] I'm my parents son I'm not Luke Sissy [ fag.
155	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	D [ Here you are interrupting the President of the United States during a speech. Luke Sissyfag the political activist. Go get them Luke.
156	G20	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	JO * Yeah. You see what I—
157	H7	SS1	K1	0	Z1	D Σ Wait a minute.
158	V1	HG	SE	0	Z3	V1 (X) and all you do is talk. Talk is cheap and we need action slate willing (X) for right. We should have never had trusted you, you are doing nothing—
159	V2	HG	P3	0	Z3	V2 & And he was ready.
160	V3	HG	SE	0	Z3	V3 Part of my job is to be a lightning rod. So the fact that he's in here expressing his frustration, to me it means at least that they expect me to do something which is a step forward.
161	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D Not bad. Not bad
162	AZ7	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
163	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	D Er— are you sorry you did that?
164	G15	HG	SE	0	A1	F No I'm not sorry. [ It was a—
165	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & Would you] do it again?
166	G15	HG	SE	BC1 BC1	A1	F Er— no. Because I would do that to the gay community because Bill Clinton is not infecting people, individuals are from their own ris—er— casual behaviour <D- right> from their own irresponsibility =
167	H7	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	D * Yes jus—
0	0	0	0	0	0	F = And that's gotta stop. <D- OK. Luke > That has to stop!

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
168	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D OK. I appreciate your— your energy here. Is— is— is— there's something wrong with Devon being butch? [ or—the other be—
169	G15	SS2	OVL2	BC1	A1	F [ No. There's nothing wrong with Devon] being butch. What's with— with—with I think the whole gay party line <D- yeah > is trying to get every— you know if you're comfortable with yourself why do you flaunt it why are we trying everyone accept it?
170	G20	SS2	SE	0	Q2	JO Why do you describe that as flaunting? Δ [ You're making me] so angry!
171	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	D Δ [ What is flaunting?
172	G15	SS2	SE	0	Z2	F Δ No. You're [ on the show—
173	G20	SS2	P2	0	Z2	JO Δ [ & I have a thirteen] year old child—
174	G15	SS2	K2	0	Q2	F Σ What are the names of the books you wrote?
175	G20	GG	SE	0	Q2	JO Δ Who— would— would you shut up?
176	G15	SS2	SE	0	Q2	F Δ What are the names of the [ books you wrote?
177	G20	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	JO Δ [ Could you shut up?
178	G15	GG	SE	0	A2	F Δ No. You:: [ shut up!
179	G20	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	JO Δ [ Wait a second!
180	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D [ Oh come on.
181	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	F [ No. I can interrupt the president I can interrupt you.
182	G20	SS2	SE	0	Z2	JO No. I can interrupt you.
183	AZ7	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
184	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	D Let's (XXX)
185	G20	SS2	SE	0	Z2	JO And I can interrupt you:: unless you want this show to be entirely about you [ which I think you do.
186	G15	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	F [ I think it's a great idea. The— Luke Sissyfag in [ the Donahue show.



N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
187	G20	SS2	OVL2	BC1	Z2	JO [ OK I have a thirteen] year old son, I live in an upper middle class neighbourhood in California, he goes to a regular school, I go and speak there about being a therapist which is what I do and I go there about— talking about e— e— self-esteem, sexuality which is what I do <D- right > I go to every little ligate that there ever was in the [ history of the world and it's like=
188	H7	SS1	PR1	0	Z1	D [ I believe you. I believe you]
0	0	0	0	0	0	JO = why does everybody say, because we are activists < D- right> we're radicals, we believe in everybody having a place that we wanna break every rule. I don't wanna break every rule!
189	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D Right . But he's merely calling attention to those who get the most attention and it's also [ true—
190	G20	SS2	P2	0	Q2	JO [ & And what's] wrong with that? Newt Gringrich— [ Look at him he's outrageous!
191	H7	SS1	OVL1	0	A2	D [ Well, let me tell you what's wrong with that. Let me tell] you what's wrong with that, is is that the media is gonna focus on the freak show at the expense of not showing the uncouncted thousands and thousands of blue suited IBM type republican conservatives [ who happen to be gay]
192	G20	SS2	F2	0	Z2	JO [ But there're not interesting!
193	G15	SS2	F2	0	Z2	F [ Exactly.
194	G17	SS2	F2	0	Z2	N [ (XXX)
195	G16	SS2	P2	0	Z2	V [ & But the extremes in the freaks shows should be— have—have the same rights as the people in blue [ suits who fit into the conservative pattern
196	G17	SS2	F2	0	Z2	N [ Absolutely. People—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
197	G15	SS2	F2	0	Z2	F [ They do. They do!
198	G20	SS2	F2	0	Z2	JO [ (X) (X)
199	H7	SS1	P1	0	Z1	D [ & They don't get the coverage they get more than their share of the coverage
200	G16	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	V [ * Well that's not—
201	G17	SS2	P2	BC1	Z2	N [ & Well they get more of their share] of the coverage and I agree with you a hundred per cent on that. I've been a lesbian for fourteen years, raised two little tiny babies with such pride and such ambition in my heart for having pride on who I am. Every year I would go to the parade, I would bring those babies, this is who mummy is they would look at my like, this is your people. Because people like me are afraid of coming out. They are ashamed of coming out, and the— the freaks and—and—which I think they have the right too. <D- yes > But what my experience is, is that now, as a feminine woman who is very much in mainstream I don't have rights within my own community [ People within my own community—
202	G15	SS2	P2	0	Q2	F [ & But what rights don't you have?
203	G17	GG	BT2	0	Z2	N [ * I don't—
204	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & Is that not— You don't feel the pressure against butchness?
205	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V [ Oh sure.
206	G17	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	N [ * It's the [ pressure—
207	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & You feel that. Within the gay community
208	G16	HG	SE	0	A1	V Sure. There is a pressure just like there is er— from heterosexuals. There is a pressure within the community I think to conform and be mainstream and be androgynous and not be overtly butch [ and don't be a femme =
209	G17	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	N [ Exactly.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
210	G20	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	JO [ (XXX)
0	0	0	0	0	0	V = and not be a fairy drag queen becau]se we don't want to offend the more majority and we don't want them to dislike us and we wanna show that we are normal. And I say why can we not be diverse and be accepted[ for our diversity
211	G17	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	N [ Exactly. Exactly. =
212	H7	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	D [ * And] [ and Luke is—
0	0	0	0	0	0	N = [ Yeah.] Within the community, with—if—if you're a feminine woman you're expected that you're going to date a butch woman, you're also expected that you'd better go androgenous, you'd better not have nails, you'd better not have hats, you'd better not flaunt it because if you're flaunting it you're only trying to be er— you're try—what is— is— heterosexual privilige. If we don't look like a dyke it's heterosexual privilige. I started a club nine months ago that—within nine months we have almost seven hundred paid members—
213	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D ∑ Just femme to femme
214	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N Femme to femme—
215	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D ∑ In other words these— are these are lesbians who are — are pleased to look feminine
216	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N They are feminine women who feel atracted to feminine women. We don't date butch women.
217	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Aha. Is there some prejudice against butch women?
218	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N There's— er just—er [ no no no no no—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
219	H7	SS1	P1	0	Q1	D [ & So— is it—er is it possible] that there is a homophobic [ energy working here
220	G17	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	N No] It's not it's not. Most of my friends are butch women.
221	H7	SS1	SE	0	Z1	D Really? OK. Alright I'll give a chance I'll give you a chance to develop your case. This audience wants in [p] as well as we move in to the next century. Let us know more about you. Let us hear more from you. Let us AIR our curiosities about the gay community and ALL its diversity a::nd incidentally there A::RE not a few homophobic gay people. We'll talk about that and other things when we come BACK in just a moment. [p]

**Extract 8 (EXT8). Geraldo Please forgive me! When sorry is the hardest word**

Participants	Statistical notation
Audience-group	AZ8
Geraldo (G)- host	H8
Melissa (M)	G21
Darcey (D)	G22

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	G Thanks very much.
2	AZ8	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
3	H8	SS1	F2	0	Z1	G Hi.
4	AZ8	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>applaud continues</i>
5	H8	SS1	F2	0	Z1	G Thank you.
6	AZ8	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>applaud continues</i>
7	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G Everybody's heard the:: famous quote to err is human, to forgive divine, century after century these words still ring true. We all know how easy it is to mess up. We all know how hard it is to forgive and forget when somebody YOU love has hurt you in a profound deep way. My guests today are here to say plea::se forGIVE me. They're truly sorry for something LOUSY that they've done to somebody they care about, whether their loved ones are ready or not to accept their apology. We'll soon see. Melissa eight months ago, got so angry at her cousin and best friend Darcey, who also happens to be the godmother of her little boy, that she cut her off from her own GODson. Why did you do that ?
8	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Well, first of all—er—I think that she's a hypocrite, she:: is always judging somebody—er—as if she:: has never done anything wrong, a::nd I'm tired of her judging me. So it's either give up the judging or get out.
9	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G But I thought you were here to apologize to her

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
10	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M I do want to apologize to her for something that I've done to her, which is—er—a comment that I've made in this letter that I wrote her.
11	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G What did you say?
12	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M I told her that—er—because of the way she is about judgi::ng me:: a::nd thi—some of her actions that—er—basi(h)cally she:: doesn't deserve a child, and she can't have a child.
13	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G You told her she couldn't have a child, her own child
14	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Right.
15	H8	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G Uuu
16	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M Yeah.
17	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G That's prett(h)y severe, isn't it?
18	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes.
19	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G What was it that she said about you or what is it that you did that caused her to judge you so harshly ?
20	G21	HG	BT2	0	A1	M * Well I—
21	H8	SS1	K1	0	Q1	G Σ Is it true that you went on to the wrong side of the track, so you went into [ the red light district?
22	G21	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	M [ Well that was part of it.
23	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G You tell us.
24	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Er—I was an exotic dancer for about—er—I would say almost a year, a::nd—er—being a dancer or doing escorting is one thing but being a whore is another, y'know, sometimes you have to do what you have to do:: —e::r tha—that was a really big problem between us.
25	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G So you admit that you did become an exotic dancer and that occa::sionally, at least you would go with men to do what you had to do.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
26	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Right. But it never involved sex. It never did involve sex [ at all.
27	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ Never ever ever?
28	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M No. The big issue was is that it was erotic dancing and—
29	H8	SS1	K1	0	Q1	G Σ And is it true that Darcey would call you names?
30	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes. She just couldn't basically believe [ that I was doing that.
31	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ What did she call you?] What did she call you?
32	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M A whore—er—just that she felt that I shouldn't do this because of Austin.
33	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Austin your little boy her godson
34	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes.
35	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Five years old, is he?
36	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M He's five.
37	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Mhm. Did Darcey always treat Austin well ?
38	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Oh yea:h. [ She loves Austin.
39	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ Darcey loves Austin
40	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Very much so. Very much so.
41	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G So:: you not only told Darcey that she was unfit to be a mother, you also said Darcey was unfit to see her godson, your child
42	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes. Because she cannot judge me on what I do. Because she does the exact same thing she just doesn't do it as a profession.
43	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G What do you mean by that?
44	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Well, sh—she goes out, she sleeps with men—er—different men. She doesn't have—well— she didn't have a boyfriend last time that we had spoke. Er—she kicks it with everybody too:: The only thing is that—she—you know I would go out with different men and y'know, make money doing it and she'd just have them over when the club closes.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
45	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G So you want me to bring her out ?
46	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yeah.
47	H8	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G OK. Darcey? Come out.
48	AZ	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applauds</i>
49	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G Stop! Stop! Stop! Don't sit down! What didn't you do?
50	G22	HG	SE	0	Q2	D Pardon me?
51	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Don't you wanna at least say hi?
52	G22	HG	SE	0	Z2	D Hello Melissa.
53	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M Hello. <i>[laughs]</i>
54	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G No hug, no:: handshake no:: II
55	G22	HG	SE	0	A1	D Not yet.
56	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G All right, all right. Tell us what's on your mind Darc
57	G22	HG	SE	0	A1	D First of all Melissa, I do NOT go around calling you a whore. And as far as being a hypocrite, what you do is your business. A::nd as far as the letter you wrote me unfortunately I did not bring it. But I mean if I sat here and read this letter to everyone here, you would (hh) understand I mean, that was wrong. I mean, when they called me about the show, they called me at work first, I thought they were lying. But she said that you wanted to come here to apologize. As far as taking men home from the club, I don't do that every time I go out. And what you did in the past, yes, I did say things about you I told you didn't prove, but I'm not your mother, I'm not god, I have no right to judge you for what you do.
58	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M But you did that.
59	G22	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D Melissa, you have a little boy. When he grows up this is going to affect him. I have told you that over and over and over and over again. When he grows up and somebody says well y'know your mum used to do this that and the other thing II



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
60	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M Right. But you still judged me after I quit doing tha::t.
61	G22	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D Melissa [ After you did that there was phone sex=
62	G21	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	M [ You did! You judge me on everything I did.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	D = there was striping escorting, phone sex everything is sex sex sex. I'm an optician I work for an optometrist, I have nothing to do with sex at work.
63	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Melissa, Darcey and you used to celebrate your birthdays together right?
64	G21	SS2	SE	0	A1	M [ Oh yeah.
65	G22	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	D [ Yes. Every year.
66	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Used to be:: er— you know almost inse [ parable right?
67	G22	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	D [ We did] everything together yes.
68	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Everything?
69	G22	HG	SE	0	A1	D Yes.
70	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G And for how long did that last?
71	G22	HG	SE	0	A1	D [ Years.
72	G21	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	M [ Years.
73	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Yea::rs [both laugh] And how long has it been since this estrangement (X)
74	G21	SS2	BT2	0	A1	M [* E::r—
75	G22	SS2	P2	0	A1	D [ & Ev] erything started going bad in May.
76	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G In May?
77	G22	HG	SE	0	A1	D 'Cos we went to Atlanta.
78	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G May of [ nineteen ninety five
79	G21	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M [ To the freaknic nineteen [ ninety five.
80	G22	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	D [ We went to the freaknic] and that's when things [ started bad.
81	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ Ah you went to the freak—

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
82	G22	SS2	K2	0	A1	D $\Sigma$ The freaknic.
83	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G We can assume for the record that you had a wild time at freaknic
84	G21	SS2	SE	0	A1	M Right.
85	G22	SS2	SE	0	A1	D She did.
86	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G And that Darcey on the drive home perhaps was judgemental about [ your cousin
87	G22	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	D [ No. This was on the way there!
88	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M It was like the second day. She could not even believe that I was this way. She's never seen this side of me:: er—
89	H8	SS1	K1	0	Q1	G $\Sigma$ Melissa what were [ you doing? hahaha [laugh]
90	G21	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M [ But first of all we were] even— the place we were staying at was her friend's house her name is [censored] and we were staying at her friends house who happens to be a whore!
91	G22	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D And I didn't know that [censored] was— Oh my god I've completely shouted it on TV. I'm sorry (X)
92	H8	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G Melissa
93	G21	HG	SE	0	Z2	M Yeah?
94	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Would you like to apologize to Darcey?
95	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M Yes I do!
96	G22	SS2	SE	0	Q2	D [ Are you going to mean it?
97	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	G [ Let me— let us— look at Darcey.] Forget we're here and state your case or [ your —
98	G22	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	D [ State my case?
99	H8	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G No. Melissa tell her your— tell her however you want to in whatever words you care to exactly what you what you wanna do.

N <sup>2</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
100	G21	HG	SE	0	A1	M First of all you are my cousin and I love you very much a:nd not only am I being hurt but Austin mustn't do.
101	G22	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D You must not cry. My make up is not (X). Don't cry.
102	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M [laughs] But I am sick of you judging me.
103	G22	SS2	SE	0	Z2	D Melissa like I said what you do is your business, other people outside of us are talking about it though and that's not my fault . [ You have to think—
104	G21	SS2	F2	0	Q2	M [ & Talking about us?
105	G22	GG	SE	0	A2	D No. About you.
106	G21	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M But look at who— =
107	G22	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	D [ * People who—
0	0	0	0	0	0	M = who you believe in stuff you know [ like (X X) —
108	H8	SS1	F2	0	Z1	G [ & All right I would allow these two] to go on, I would— perhaps the apology is a little premature [ but later in the =
109	G21	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [ Look at this. Who these people are!
0	0	0	0	0	0	G = programme I promise] We will [ revisit the Melissa Darcey
110	G22	SS2	F2	0	Z2	D [ I—I won't accept her apology—
111	G21	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [ Who these people are. These people aren't anybody.
112	H8	SS1	F2	0	Z1	G [ OK OK. All right ladies
113	G21	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [ These people haven't a clue about life itself.
114	H8	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	G [ All right ladies. You ke—you kee— keep whispering out.] Jackie, Jackie says that she knows her man Rodney messes around. Jackie is absolutely sick of it, she has come here to here what Rodney has to say but she's not sure she can ever forgive Rodney.

## Extract 9 (EXT9). Sally Suburban gang kids

Participants	Statistical notation
Audience-group	AZ9
Katherine (K)	G26
member of audience (A1)	A9
member of audience (A2)	A10
member of audience (A3)	A11
member of audience (A4)	A12
member of audience (A6)	A14
member of audience (A7)	A15
member of audience (A5)	A13
Michael (M)	G25
Sally J. Raphael (S)	H9
Shauna (SH)	G23
Stephanie (ST)	G24

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Today, we're going to find out what would drive a young person to wanna risk their life and possibly take the LIFE of another person, all for the sake of their gang. I want you to meet Shauna and Stephanie. They are both 16. They belong to the same suburban gang i::n Washington State, right? I always thought Washington State was the healthiest, cleanest air, best-looking people.
0	0	0	0	0	0	= Listening backstage is Shauna's mom, Katherine, and Stephanie's dad, Michael. We're gonna talk to them in a few minutes. I wanted to hear from Shauna and Stephanie alone first, if that's OK. Shauna <i>hh</i> you were fourteen when you joined the gang
2	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah.
3	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Stephanie you were twelve. How did you get in the gang in the first place?
4	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH I was only fourteen and so I— you know I decided I wanted to get in you gotta get beat in.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
5	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S You get beat in
6	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH [ Yeah.
7	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ Explain what] bea—beat in [ for a gang is
8	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	SH [ Well it was like] it was like about eight girls, and you just gotta be like— you just gotta hold your own with the eight girls you know [ and —
9	H9	SS1	P1	BC2	Q1	S [ & Eight] girls come and you gotta fight the eight girls. < SH- yeah> That's called be—been beaten in. Shauna tell me some of the gang activities that you've been involved with
10	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH I've been in drive-bys. I've been—
11	H9	SS1	K1	0	Q1	S Σ Drive-by shooting
12	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah. I ro— I mean I rob people, I rob houses I[ ve s—
13	H9	SS1	P1	0	Q1	S [& You rob] people. You rob houses. What else?
14	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH I stole cars.
15	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Stole cars
16	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah.
17	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S What else?
18	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH I don't know ju—jus— I don't know pretty much— I mean pretty much anything, you know [ I've— I've]=
19	H9	SS1	PR1	0	Z1	S [ Anything]
0	0	0	0	0	0	SH = jacked people, you know.
20	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Jacked people
21	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH For you know their—their money or their clothes.
22	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Jacked is the word for rob, right?
23	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yea::h.
24	H9	SS1	SE	BC2	Q1	S 'Cos some of these words you understand, differ from different parts of the country Jacked maybe on <SH- Oh yeah > the west coast, and here, we just— OK. Shauna, you've been in drive-bys, robbed people, stolen cars, beat people, why?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
25	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH I don't know. Because, you know, I like to get what I want, <i>[audience murmurs]</i> you know and =
26	H9	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S * You like to get—
0	0	0	0	0	0	SH = It's easy—
27	AZ9	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
28	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH [ Shut-up Shut-up. Shut up <i>[audience reaction]</i> <i>[addressing her words to A]</i>
29	H9	SS1	F2	0	Z1	S [ No no. Wait wait wait. Wait wait] <i>[audience reaction]</i>
30	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH I'm trying to talk here so shut-up. <i>[audience reaction]</i> <i>[A keeps on shouting while she's talking.]</i>
31	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
32	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S OK. Now, you wanna get what you want. You've to::ld— both girls have told us that you would kill for the gang if necessary, and you would take a bullet as well. Now, [ does that =
33	G24	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	ST [ Yeah.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	S = mean honestly you would kill for your gang?
34	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah, I mean, you know, they are [ my homies. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
35	H9	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S [ * If somebody was] in— <i>[audience reaction]</i>
36	AZ9	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
37	H9	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S * If somebody was [ in another— <i>[audience reaction]</i>
38	G23	SS2	P2	0	Q2	SH [ & Oh, you all wouldn't do] anything for your family? Oh— Π <i>[Addresses the question to A.]</i>
39	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	A2	<i>audience reaction [Here A's reaction is clearly an answer to SH's question]</i>
40	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH Shut up. Shut up. [ Shut up. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
41	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ They are saying <i>[audience reaction]</i> your gang is not your family. How do you react to— they're saying your gang is not your family

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
42	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH They're my homies, you know. They got my back and I may have their back too.
43	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
44	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S OK. Now suppose somebody shot you Suppose somebody shot you. What's your attitude about that?
45	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH Oh, well.
46	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S You [ don't care? [ <i>audience reaction</i> ]
0	0	0	0	0	0	Don't you wanna live? [ <i>Overheard from some unidentified member of A</i> ]
47	G24	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	ST [ Suppose somebody shot who?
48	H9	TGH	SE	0	A2	S Suppose somebody shot you
49	G24	HG	SE	0	Q2	ST Shot me?
50	H9	TGH	SE	0	A2	S Yeah.
51	G24	SS2	SE	0	A1	ST [ So I know all my =
52	G23	SS2	PR2	0	A1	SH [ I don't care.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	ST = homies would go after that [ person.
53	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH [ Yeah] and that person [ wouldn't live any more. [ <i>audience reaction</i> ]
54	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ Suppose you were dead]
55	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
56	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S Wait wait. If—suppose you were dead. [ <i>audience reaction</i> ] Suppose so— somebody killed you. How would you fee—I mean what woul— do—d—ar— are you afraid of being killed?
57	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH No.
58	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S You're not afraid of being killed
59	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH I don't care.
60	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Your— your gang after your death would go after the other people, right?
61	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah.
62	G24	SS2	SE	0	A1	ST Mhm.
63	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S So that makes it all right?
64	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
65	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S When you shut your eyes and think of your future what do you see?
66	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH I'm just gonna be kicking it the rest of my life.
67	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Kicking it?
68	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
69	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S Kicking it? [ <i>audience reaction</i> ]
70	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah, kicking it. [ <i>audience reaction</i> ]
71	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S So you don't care if you kill anybody you don't care if you kill any [ body
72	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	SH [ Not really.]
73	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S And you don't care if anyone kills you
74	G24	SS2	SE	0	A1	ST Not really.
75	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH [ I just don't give a fuck. I don't care.
76	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ You're no— Is your life not terribly important] to you?
77	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	ST Well if it—it's for all that I guess.
78	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Your life is for all what?
79	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH For our homies you [ know
80	G24	HG	OVL2	0	A1	ST [ For my homies. [ For my—
81	H9	SS1	P1	0	Q1	S [ & Your life] is for your homies. Homies means gang
82	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH No. Y—you know, my friends you know.
83	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S OK. Not your real homies parents but your—your gang pals [ <i>audience reaction</i> ]
84	G23	SS2	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah.
85	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
86	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Just wanted to make sure. Yes, go ahead.
87	A9	HA	SE	0	Z3	A1 Er— you said you do drive-by shootings you've been in it. Well, what bothers me is your nonchalant attitude about it. What if you're in a drive-by shooting and instead o— you miss your target, and you hit a baby, or you hit an innocent person, then what happens? What gives you the right to take somebody else's life like that? Who gave you the power?
0	0	0	0	0	0	Did god come down and say to you, you know what? here is this gun. Kill people. No one gives you that right. <i>[audience reaction]</i> If you live by the sword, you're gonna die by the sword.
88	AZ9	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
89	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH All right. I don't just go—we don't just drive down the road and be like oh there's someone let's shoot'em you know is if someone messes with us, you know (( )) an—and—
90	AZ9	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
91	H9	SS1	BT1	0	Q1	S * If someone messes with you [ you —
92	G23	SS2	P2	0	Z2	SH [ & If someone you know tries — if someone <i>[censored]</i> you know we're just gonna be like— e— if— if they mess with us first, you don't expect us to go back at it [ and just —
93	A9	SS3	P3	0	Q3	A1 [ & What if you miss] and you hit an innocent person —I'm sorry— What if you miss and hit an innocent person, you take an innocent life? [ That (XX X) you have.
94	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	A3	SH [ They shouldn't have been there at that time. They shouldn't have been around <i>[audience reaction]</i> that kind of people there!

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
95	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
96	A9	SS3	OVL3	0	Q3	A1 What happens if there's a drive-by by your house and they miss and hit your mother or your brother or someone in your family? What is someone comes by your house and [ misses?
97	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	A3	SH [ I have] had people drive by my house! I've— I've [ had—
98	A9	SS3	P3	0	Q3	A1 [ & And they try to shoot you and they miss and hit your mother or [ your father?
99	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	A3	SH [ Then I'd kill] 'em. I'd— I would go straight after 'em. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
100	A9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	A1 That's how [ you solve everything? =
101	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	SH [ Who— would you do you s (X X X)?] <i>[audience reaction]</i>
0	0	0	0	0	0	A1 = By violence I tell you again. If you live by the sword, you're going to die by the sword. <i>[audience reaction starts here]</i> You watch yourself!
102	AZ9	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
103	A10	HA	OVL3	0	Q3	A2 Yeah. I wanna know— I wanna know either of you have ever actually seen somebody shot and die right in front of you?
104	G23	SS2	SE	0	A3	SH I don't know if they died. I'm not gonna stick around [ and (X X X)
105	A10	SS3	OVL3	0	Q3	A2 [ Did you ever I mean (X X X) right in front of you <i>[Crosstalk the three of them]</i>
106	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ Wait a minute. Wait a minute.] Did you shot anybody and not stay there to see if they died?
107	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH You're not going to sit there and watch you— y'know —and like are you dead? You're gonna go.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
108	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
109	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Yes?
110	A11	HA	SE	0	Z3	A3 You need to recognize that you ain't all that hard. I have friends that are hard [ that they would kill you. Let me tell you <i>[audience reaction]</i>
111	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH Δ [ Girl (X X X) Sit your ass down OK? You can't know me either, so sit your ass you don't know me. <i>[audience reaction]</i> <i>[Crosstalk all the time. Confrontation with A3 shouting continually. Unintelligible most of it]</i>
112	A11	SS3	F2	0	Z3	A3 Δ [ Because one of these days somebody's going to come and kick your ass, and you ain't gonna be so hard any more. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
113	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH Δ [ You need to shut up. You don't know me. You don't know anything about me. You need <i>[censored]</i> to shut up and sit down. <i>[audience reaction]</i> <i>[SH stands up aggressive.]</i>
114	AZ9	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
115	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Yes, M'am?
116	G23	SS2	SE	0	Z2	SH I didn't bring my bums. They brought me here OK? <i>[audience reaction]</i>
117	H9	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S He[ llo
118	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH [ You shut up! <i>[crosstalk with people from A]</i>
119	A12	HA	SE	0	Q3	A4 Do any of you have kids? And if you do all have kids [ and they get in gangs=
120	G23	SS2	PR2	0	A3	SH [ I don't want no kids.]
0	0	0	0	0	0	A4 = What are you all going to do then? <i>[Crosstalk A4, ST, SH, they all overlap. A asking and both Gs answering]</i>
121	G24	SS2	OVL2	0	A3	ST [ No. I haven't kids.
122	G23	SS2	SE	0	A3	SH I ain't going to be having kids till I'm old.
123	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
124	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Go ahead Ho-hold. It's your turn.
125	A13	HA	SE	0	Z3	A5 I had a chance to be in a gang but when I seen that what they did to people I didn't have the heart for that. I didn't have the heart for it at all. <i>[audience reaction]</i> They rob people they shoot they stab people shoot they stole. I cried to see what they did to people. And sitting there you know what I'd wish they'd shoot you in the damn head!
126	AZ9	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>Δ audience reaction applauding and yelling loud</i>
127	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH <i>Δ Sit down! [audience reaction]</i>
128	G24	SS2	F2	0	Z2	ST <i>Δ You know [censored] whore! [audience reaction]</i>
129	AZ9	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>Δ audience reaction continues</i>
130	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S You both have parents who are having a hard time dealing with all of this. How does it make you feel that your parents want the best for you and are very upset? How does it make you feel?
131	G24	SS2	SE	0	A1	ST I love my parents you know but I can't help what =
132	H9	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S * You can't —
0	0	0	0	0	0	ST = I got into— I got into [ it at a young age.
133	G23	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	SH [ Yeah I love my mom too.]
134	H9	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	S * What is—
0	0	0	0	0	0	ST = [ I got into it at a young age. I thought it was cool. [ And you know (X X X) <i>[Crosstalk]</i>
135	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH [ Yeah y'know we thought And you know (X XX) you know what all's about and then you know you get all mixed up with it you know and—
136	H9	SS1	K1	0	Q1	S Σ Why don't you get out of it?
137	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH It's—it's harder than—it's harder than I think, you— you know you think.
138	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Do you want to get out of it?
139	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH No no. Cos I'm [ jus— I'm jus—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
140	H9	SS1	P1	0	Z1	S [ & OK.] I think it's time we hear from your parents. They don't want to get out of it. Please welcome Shauna's mom Katherine and Stephanie's dad Michael.
141	AZ9	HA	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applauds</i>
142	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S Katherine and Michael you both say this has been a living hell for you and your families. What is your reaction to what you heard? [ Just to know.
143	G25	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	M [ Well] it's been a day at a time thing. It— it always has been. I mean, being a parent a::nd they're very secretive and they're good at being covert. You know the only thing I can do is keep the bedroom door open at night. I mean I did sad things like run a screw through the door— the — the window jam so I cannot — she can open it to get air in but she's you know.
144	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S You mean you've tried to lock her in the house?
145	G25	HG	SE	0	A1	M Not lock her in the house but make sure she only has one way out of it without knocking a window out.
146	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Withou—and tha — that would be going past [ your door
147	G25	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	M [ Yeah.] And — and I'm a real light sl —sleeper I— you know I was in the military a few years [ and I—
148	H9	SS1	P1	0	Q1	S [ & But you're living in a state of siege is this— is this II
149	G25	HG	SE	0	A1	M Oh of course. Of [ course.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
150	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ This is] — Katherine when did you know something was going on with Shauna?
151	G26	HG	SE	0	A1	K At fourteen when she turned fourteen. It was almost overnight. It scared me really bad I mean all of a sudden she was just never there, and the people she was bringing home were awful. She was a straight A student. She i— is still now but— (+) She was little Missy Prissy. <i>[audience reaction]</i> [ She was little Missy Prissy =
152	G23	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	SH [ You don't know about me so shut up.] <i>[audience reaction]</i>
0	0	0	0	0	0	K = and [ she was my <i>[audience reaction]</i>
153	G23	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	SH [ You shut up!]
0	0	0	0	0	0	K = little girl. That's my little girl [ you know.
154	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ Now you told] —Katherine you told us that Shauna has physically assaulted you [ and verbally abused you
155	G26	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	K [ Yes she has.]
156	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
157	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Wait wait!
158	G26	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K This is my daughter no matter what. <i>[audience reaction]</i> [ This is my daughter.
159	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ I know but she has] tried to physically hurt you <i>[audience reaction]</i>
160	G26	HG	SE	0	A1	K Yes.
161	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Katherine what's the worst incident for you so far?
162	G26	HG	SE	0	A1	K Having a gun held to my daughter's head.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
163	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Who held a gun to her head?
164	G26	HG	SE	0	A1	K I believe it was somebody in the same gang that didn't know that [ <i>audience reaction</i> ] she was, saying are you down with blood? are you down with blood? and before they even had a chance to get it out of their mouth he had a gun to her head and— II
165	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Why— what was happening Shauna?
166	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Oh no we were just at this place you know and we were just like kicking it [ and—=
167	G26	SS2	P2	0	Z2	K [ Just at a place.]
168	AZ9	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
169	G26	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K A ba::d place a very [ bad place.
170	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ What does kicking it] mean?
171	G23	HG	SE	BC1	A1	SH We were just chilling there you know like hanging out you know. <S- OK> And then we were just you know
172	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S OK. sh— and what happened? Why did [ somebody put a gun to your head?
173	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH [ Oh— an— e] oh. Well cos we— he—he was like drunk you know. [ <i>acc</i> ]And they're about— we were about to do a drive-by right so they were all pumped up you know [ and and we just roll—[ <i>acc</i> ]
174	H9	SS1	P1	0	Q1	S [& They were all pumped up because they were going to shoot somebody]
175	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH [ <i>acc</i> ] Yeah. We just rolled up you know like — you know like it was nothing you know. And then we were there and they didn't know who we were you know. So they just rushed up to the car and was like you know. [ <i>acc</i> ]

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
176	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Was he from the same gang you're in?
177	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH Yeah but then they figured it out but that— you know that wasn't bad I mean I didn't get hurt or nothing. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
178	G26	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K OK OK [ That wasn't bad. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
179	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ If he was drunk enough] to pull the trigger what would have happened?
180	G23	HG	SE	0	A1	SH I would have died.
181	A14	HA	SE	0	Q3	A6 This is to the parents. If you love your little girls so much as you say why don't you get her off the streets and get her some help?
182	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applause</i>
183	G26	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	K You don't think [ we've tried? <i>[audience reaction]</i>
184	A14	SS3	F2	0	Q3	A6 Δ [ Why don't you do something? <i>[audience reaction]</i>
185	G26	SS2	F2	0	A3	K Δ [ We've tried every single day. <i>[audience reaction]</i> <i>[Crosstalk. The confrontation starts here, A is screaming yealling]</i>
186	A14	SS3	F2	0	Z3	A6 Δ [ you're sitting there not bothered. It's bull <i>[censored] [crosstalk]</i> [ You're wasting your life. You shut up you shut up. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
187	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH Δ [ Shut up you shut up old bitch. Get some earrings. OK. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
188	A14	SS3	F2	0	Z3	A6 Δ [ You shut up you shut up. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
189	AZ9	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>Audience yelling really loud .</i>



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>For 26 sec. everybody is yelling and screaming at each other, including members of A who are shouting extremely loud.</i>
190	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH [Shut up you old bitch. <i>[audience reaction]</i> ]
191	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [Michael what is the worst thing that's happened to you] What did— <i>[audience reaction]</i>
192	AZ9	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
193	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH [(XXX) respect him at all <i>[audience reaction]</i> ]
194	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [what is the worst thing] that happened to your daughter [so far?
195	G26	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K [X X X <i>[audience reaction]</i> ]
196	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH [Mama!]
197	G25	SS2	SE	0	Z2	M Can I say something right here? OK. I sympathize I really do in what you said. What they're saying is bull <i>[censored]</i> . I agree. [But no no wait =
198	A14	SS3	OVL3	0	Q3	A6 [Why don't you get her help?]
0	0	0	0	0	0	M = Wait, wait wait wait. OK.] Calm down. The point is [if you got to—
199	A14	SS3	F2	0	Q3	A6 [People are getting killed and you're telling me to calm down? <i>[yelling at him]</i> ]
200	G25	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [Wait wait wait wait You can— I can (XXX) too.
201	G26	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K [ <i>p</i> I've been through everything.
202	G23	SS2	SE	0	Z2	SH I've been to anger management I've been throughout all that. It don't work.
203	G26	SS2	SE	0	Z2	K Their court system [ (X X X)
204	G25	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M [We need answers.] We need answers. We need <i>[audience reaction]</i> [involvement. You can't (X)—

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
205	A14	SS3	P3	0	Z3	A6 [ Well there's a way you get her to court.] [audience reaction] You get this girl you get her into an educational program and erase all this other [yelling ] [ baloney because = [confrontation: crosstalk]
206	G25	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	M [(X X X. We do all that.)
0	0	0	0	0	0	A6 = it's just going to kill you little [ girl =
207	G24	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	ST [ I am in school.
0	0	0	0	0	0	A6 = and you.
208	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH [ We're at school.
209	G25	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [ No way. We do all that!
210	G24	SS2	F2	0	Z2	ST I'M IN school.
211	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH We're in school!
212	G26	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K [ You don't know us. You don't know what you're ta::lking about.
213	H9	SS1	F2	0	Z1	S [ Yeah but you know what she's right to being upset—
214	G25	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [ I agree I agree—
215	H9	SS1	F2	0	Z1	S [ There's some young people here who are saying oh well I'll just kill a few [ people =
216	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH [ Shut up]
0	0	0	0	0	0	S = oh well I'll just get shot.
217	G26	SS2	F2	0	Z2	K [ You're a sick woman.
218	G25	SS2	F2	0	Z2	M [ No.]
219	H9	SS1	SE	0	Z1	S This is (( )) I mean [ that's very scary
220	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH [ You (XX) respect to my mom all right [audience reaction]
221	H9	SS1	F2	0	Z1	S [ very scary, scary [audience reaction]

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
222	G23	SS2	F2	0	Z2	SH You know nothing about it. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
223	H9	SS1	F2	0	Q1	S [ Scary OK?
224	G25	SS2	F2	0	A1	M [ Scary is not even the word <i>[audience reaction]</i> <i>[crosstalk]</i>
225	AZ9	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
226	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S Wait wait wait [wait wait <i>[audience reaction]</i> =
227	G23	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	SH [ Show respect to mom! <i>[audience reaction]</i>
0	0	0	0	0	0	S = The parents- Sshsh. The parents wouldn't be here if they weren't upset as we are. Katherine what scares you the most?
228	G26	HG	SE	0	A1	K Her dying.
229	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Her dying
230	G26	HG	SE	0	A1	K Her killing somebody else. Er— we've had gang members pull up in front of our home in car loads and I've had to tell everybody to get down so they don't get shot you know. My husband's got out the door y—and— it— it's he could be shot to tell them to get out of here. He's called the police you know—er it II
231	A15	HA	SE	0	Z3	A7 When you said this makes me upset. I'm sorry when you shoot people I'm the one who cleans up the mess. I'm the one who takes care of those people and I think it's a disgrace that you take human life so [ (X) —
232	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Q2	SH [ So you don't [ like your job is what you're saying?
233	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	S [ What do you do?] She's a nurse. And you've seen [ people shot =
234	G23	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	SH [ Don't be a nurse then.] <i>[audience reaction]</i>
235	H9	SS1	SE	0	Q1	S Have you ever seen — <i>[audience reaction]</i>

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
236	G26	SS2	P2	0	Z2	K Shauna!
237	G23	SS2	SE	0	Z2	SH You're going to see this kind of stuff if you're a nurse.
238	AZ9	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
239	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S But wait a minute she doesn't want to see that kind of thing—
240	A15	SS3	K3	0	Z3	A7 Not that kind of thing you don't know I mean the— they're kids I mean babies. I call you a baby. And I see that and it hurts because it's not necessary. It's— it's totally not necessary.
241	AZ9	SS3	OVL3	0	Z3	<i>audience applaud</i>
242	H9	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	S This young man says he's been in a gang since he was TEN. Now he says he'd like out. He doesn't think they'll ever let him out alive. We'll find out why when we return.

**Extract 10 (EXT10). Geraldo Meth Madness: Poor Man's Cocaine**

Participants	Statistical-notation
Audience-group	AZ10
Cleo (C)	G27
Pablo (P)	G28
Brooklyn (B)	G29
Geraldo (G) (Host)	H10
Toni (T)	G30
Peter (PE)	G31
Angel (A)	G32
Whisper (W)	G33
unknown female voice	V1
unknown female	V2
unknown male	V3
Pablo in the video clip	V4
Cleo in the video clip (only hands seen)	V5
male voice	V6

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H10	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G In the sixties, millions were turning on to pot and LSD. The disco seventies saw the advent of cocaine. Crack, as you know, devastated the inner cities in the eighties. And now it's in the midnineteennineties and a deadly new old drug is placing its icy grip on the young people of this country. It's called crank or ice, but it's best known as crystal meth. And the young people on our panel today are playing real life Russian rou—roulette with this drug of the moment. Now we're gonna meet these youngsters shortly, but, first take a look at this background piece of video. .

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
0	0	0	0	0	0	G I caution you right now out front that this piece of video was actually shot by I—I guess you used to call them speed freaks by the crystal meth junkies themSELVES. The video is unsettling to say the least. Let's— watch
VC	V4	HG	SE	0	Z3	V1 Is it good?
VC	V5	HG	SE	0	Z3	V2 Oh woo!
VC	V6	HG	SE	0	Z3	V3 Something like that.
VC	V7	HG	SE	0	Z3	V4 Dare to keep kids off of drugs. How dare they say that? No, I'm only kidding. I'm not into kids doing drugs, but only if they know how to do it right OK? Our more experienced people are tending to go to different methods. We have the smokers. And you know <i>[censored]</i> take from here.
VC	V8	HG	SE	0	Z3	V5 And this is crystal meth, — er the type of drug we'll be doing. It's a com. Don't try it at home. God I'm so nervous <i>[laughs]</i> OK. Here we have crystal meth. We have water. We can mix it with in your dish. Here is your point or whatever you wanna call it. There's several names for it. Just rinsing out blood— my blood. This is what? I guess maybe a tenth and a half of crystal meth, and you usually just add the same amount of water and stir it up. Make sure that it dissolves all the way. Otherwise, it's going to clog inside the needle. It won't even go up the needle, actually. Again, do not try this at home. Now you'll probably have to excuse me as I finish because when I hit myself I get horny right afterwards so I usually kick everybody out out of my room. Save it for later. Leftovers.
VC	V9	HG	SE	0	Z3	V6 Ri::ght
VC	V8	HG	SE	0	Z3	V5 Refrigerate unused portions.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
2	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G OK there's Pablo. That candle you can put out. He's the ringleader of the folks in the video—er— He hails from the West Coast. A::nd do you think that the crystal meth is a good thing Pablo?
3	G28	HG	SE	0	A1	P Well it depends on what standpoint you take. It's certainly gonna— it's a spiral downward. I mean, along the way, you learn as the body ravaged, the spirit grows stronger. And some people, it seems who have goals, they seem to be able to pull themselves back from it. It seems that some of them get lost in it and they start scuttling.
4	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Are you lost?
5	G28	HG	SE	BC1	A1	P I'm on my way back now.< G- Uh-uh> I went over the ed (h)ge.
6	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G OK. Cleo is— I think fair to say, hooked on crank. It was Cleo in the video who was shooting up. She has been hooked for a while but interestingly enough she thinks that crank is beautiful and wonderful and not addicting. Is—is that so Cleo?
7	G27	HG	BT2	0	A1	C * Well er—[ it's—
8	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G [ & Tell us] your story.
9	G27	HG	SE	0	A1	C It's not beautiful. I mean I wouldn't really suggest it to anybody but alcoholics so you now cause people who use speed or crank whatever they don't drink. I drunk before I started to use speed and my very first line I have not touched a drink since. [ And—
10	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G [ How much do you spend on regular basis?
11	G27	HG	SE	0	A1	C None.
12	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G On a day
13	G28	HG	SE	0	A1	C You don't need much. The beauty of it you don't need money to buy speed [ e:r—
14	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G [ It's not expensive

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
15	G28	HG	SE	0	A1	C We barter. You trade. It's the same price as cocaine OK? I assume. I haven't touched cocaine again in like ten years. But er it's—it's fre—it's(h)—you go—you find things outdoors and—and—and that people are throwing away=
16	G28	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	P [ Dumpster divers.
17	0	0	0	0	0	C = [ And you keep them] and you trade them off somebody for speed and they take them and there you go. It doesn't —I haven't spent any money. I don't have any money. So I haven't spent any [ money in years.
18	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ How's your health?] How is your health, Cleo?
19	G27	HG	SE	BC1	A1	C I think it's pretty good. I'm very active and very er— I never get sick.< G- Uhuh > I just get sleepy if I don't have anything [ I—I get sleepy.
20	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	G [ You get sleepy] er— Brooklyn the next member of our panel, short of death I guess you'd say she paid the second or third highest price for messing with crank er— Brooklyn did jail time.
21	G29	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Yeah. Er—I just got out of jail in November recently, and er— I was arrested for possession and for receiving stolen property and for commercial burglary. I was dumpster diving though [ I wasn't —



N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
22	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G	[ & Dumpster diving]—why don't you describe what that is?
23	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	Er— dumpster diving — it's not jumping into a dumpster like everybody thinks. Er—you go out and you scuttle through the trash kind of er— in Hollywood there's a lot to be found and a lot of stuff we have found er—has been worth a lot of money. But a lot of the people— I've kind of started going out of it, but a lot of people go out and they find things in the trash that are worth things, and then they have yards sales or they trade them for dope [ er—
24	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G	[ Are—are] you a tweak dealer? They call it tweak, right?
25	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	I have sold—I have sold methamphetamine before, yeah.
26	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	Can you tell us who the customers are? generally speaking
27	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	The customers range from er— people on the stage to people in that audience to er—sherifs =
28	G27	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	C	[ Right.
29	G28	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	P	[ Absolutely yes.
0	0	0	0	0	0	B	= [ And—an —and people—people in the higher up are probably more into it than er—these kids [ you know.
30	G28	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	P	[ Keep on talking.
31	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	What happened [ when you got out of jail?
32	G27	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	C	[ Everybody does it.
33	G28	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	P	[ Professionals game.

TRANSCRIPT						
Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	
34	G29	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	B [ Er—when I got out of jail I was— everything I owned was sold at a yard sale down to my photo albums, thrown away in the trash.
35	G27	SS2	K2	0	Z2	C Σ Every time you leave people take your [ things.
36	G29	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	B [ Er— somebody was trying to steal my car legally. I ended up sleeping in my car with my three cats. And er— since I've gotten out of jail I've started kind of back on the right track. I'm not saying I'll— I'll never party again I have a couple of times, but I know that my mind is a lot clearer and I think a lot different [ now—
37	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ When was the last time you used? honestly
38	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B This morning.
39	H10	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G OK.
40	AZ10	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
41	G29	SS2	SE	0	Q2	B Honestly?
42	G27	SS2	SE	0	Z2	C I'm going to kill you.
43	G29	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B [ I did a line.
44	H10	SS2	F2	0	Z1	G [ Well good I'll—I wan—
45	G27	SS2	F2	0	Z2	C [ It's my line.
46	G29	SS2	F2	0	Z2	B [ (X) I know he does]
47	H10	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G I want honestly. That's— that's what it's about. we're trying to understand.
48	G29	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Er—I did a line this morning. I did a line last night. Before that it was probably maybe two weeks [ before I partied.
49	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G [ Now credit card fraud] is— is your specialty

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
50	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	Yeah, kind of when—I'm a dancer er— and I've been dancing for years [ a::nd—
51	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G	[ You a::re a stripper
52	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	Yeah. A::nd last year I was getting so high and so messed up that I caught up with the wrong people that in order to get money and to get out of the hole that I was in— which in a way it got me out of it I ended up going to jail. But er— I would do er —cash checks and do credit card fraud. And that's basically what got me by.
53	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	Do you think crank is a good thing?
54	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	I think that anything is fun and good in moderation but I think that it's when it's used for an everyday way of life, [ then there's a problem.
55	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G	[ But—how did you use it?] Did you shoot up the way Cleo does?
56	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	I—I shot up for the first time maybe five or six months ago and I've shot up maybe fifteen to twenty times since then. And it's very rare And I—usually when I do it I eat it.
57	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	You eat it
58	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	Yeah.
59	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	Actually consume it
60	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	Yeah.
61	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	You chew it and eat it
62	G28	SS2	SE	0	A1	P	In your coffee.
63	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	B	Yeah or whatever.
64	H10	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G	OK. All right. Let's go to Tony now drugs have torn this young fellow's life apart [ for—
65	AZ10	SS3	P3	0	Z3		<i>audience laughs</i>

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
66	H10	SS1	OV1	0	Q1	G I don't know what what's funny about that. This guy thought his girlfriend or fiancée was dead. Why? Why did you think she was dead?
67	G30	HG	SE	0	A1	T Well er—we were both strung out on the streets of Hollywood, er—speed or heroine. A::nd she developed a heart disease called endocarditis. A::nd I actually brought her home and we got in a fight and bla blah blah. I called her friend er—and it wa— it was no shock to me because I was kind of expecting it but I was— and then her mom told me too.
68	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Her mom told you that she was dead
69	G30	HG	SE	0	A1	T Right.
70	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Is she dead? Is she alive?
71	G30	HG	SE	0	A1	T No.
72	H10	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	G [ * But she—
73	G29	SS2	P2	0	A1	T [ & For a month I believed that.
74	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Is she still with you?
75	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	T She—I don't know—she—the last thing I heard she's in Memphis coming to New York.
76	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Uh—hu. Now you're still doing crank
77	G29	HG	SE	0	A1	T Yeah.
78	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G Yeah. OK. Let's go on the next. I'm—I want to show you the range of young people using it. Peter, no stranger to crystal meth either, now Peter says that he's seen to many horror stories to remember. Try your best Peter.
79	G31	HG	SE	0	A1	PE Er— the first time I saw crystal meth —I'm from the East Coast so er—
80	H10	SS1	K1	0	Z1	G That's rare. It's usually the West Coast. [ I mean it's big in Seattle=
81	G31	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	PE [ * Yeah. It was big—I was inv—]
0	0	0	0	0	0	G = It's big in Phoenix, huge in Los Angeles.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
82	G31	SS2	SE	0	A1	PE	The first time I saw it and — and it was diff — a totally different thing because it was — it just appeared a lot cleaner. I was involved in cocaine really heavily er— you know I was in— I was in high school, good student, college, the whole deal, great parents. I was a—I don't even know even what I was looking for. I was [ just—
83	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G	[ & And how—] how are you now Peter?
84	G31	HG	SE	0	A1	PE	I've been clean five years.
85	H10	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G	Oh good for you. Good for you.
86	AZ10	SS3	SE	0	Z3		<i>audience applause</i>
87	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G	The next stories will definitely upset you. These two lovely young ladies are sisters, Angel on your left is just fourTEEN years old. She started doing drugs at the age of thirteen. Er— her sister Whisper er— is just out of prison er— she's twenty two years old. Er— Angel, now your mom—your mom is or was a—a prostitute?
88	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A	Yeah. She was.
89	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	Now did she take you out on the streets with her? How did it [ happen?
90	G32	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	A	[ Yeah.
91	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	Why don't you tell us about your life? Tell us.

92	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A	Well, I don't know where she's at right now because— er—but like when I was age zero to four I lived on the streets with her but er— she abandoned me you know because she shot up heroin and she like slept with all these men all these chicks. And er—just like stuff like that. I became a mother at the age of two because she had another one and I had to take care of him. But he was taken away from me so that's like when basically my life just stopped. [ I didn't care.
93	H10	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	G	[ Did your parents] one of them shoot you?
94	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A	No, they shot Whisper.
95	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	They shot Whisper. Whisper tell us about that.
96	G33	HG	SE	0	A1	W	My dad was a heroin freak and he was shooting heroin into me from when I was a little kid up to five years old. And I —ever since then I became a heroin addict. Er— he had—I mean he had — he was so strung out one night that he had shot me in my foot and tried to kill me. And then— Π
97	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	And how old were you then?

TRANSCRIPT						
Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	
98	G33	HG	SE	0	A1	W Er—I was only four.
99	H10	SS1	SE	BC2	Q1	G Now in your case Angel you—you had stopped tweaking for a while <A- Yea:h > But then something horrible happened to you. What happened to you?
100	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A Well because I'm—I'm adopted now, and er— just like she— I've been through so much you know a::nd foster homes and everything And when—when they adopt me, it was just like (( )) you know what I'm saying? They— they put me in placement because they couldn't handle me. You know she wanted me to be like her birth daughter, you know what I'm saying? she—to— she called me a whore [ <i>laughs</i> ] am I allowed to say that? you know what I'm saying? just all this stuff. And you know she would hit me all this— this just you know [ ju::st—
101	H10	SS1	P1	0	Q1	G [ & Were you raped recently?
102	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A Yeah.
103	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G What happened?
104	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A The seventh the first day I came out to Hollywood.
105	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G The [ first day
106	G32	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	A [ Twenty-five guys yeah.
107	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G What did you say?

108	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A	Twenty five guys. What happened was I went out to Hollywood you know gonna go to a shelter or what not but you know some home boys came up to me saying whooptiwhoop you want to party this and that I said yeah I'm down. You know first day out here you know I got to know some people. So I went and they got me drunk you know off —off cisco and then (( )) you know so I—they —they said yeah we're going—we went to —we ended up in east LA me not knowing how. But er—we ended up in east LA and then er—(( )) they took me to a: hotel a motel whatever you wanna call it. They raped me there er—then they took all my stuff all my jewelry I had a nose ring they just yanked it all out. Just everything was gone. That's—my poems. They took my poem book not even knowing why they would do that you know what I'm saying? er—so I just sat there and like counted the condoms on the floor.
109	H10	SS1	SE	0	Q1	G	And twenty five fellows you counted them?
110	G32	HG	SE	0	A1	A	I— probably more than that but I just counted the condoms. I made a full police report and everything. Now they're after them (( )).
111	H10	SS1	SE	0	Z1	G	<i>hh</i> All right. Let me —let me pass on introducing the rest of the panel. I'll get to them after this commercial break. But it's er—it's meth madness. It's new speed freaks. It's coming to a neighbourhood near you and it's the focus of this edition of Geraldo.



## Extract 11. Maury Povich. Cheating Boyfriends

Participants	Statistical-notation
Maury Povich (M) -Host	H11
Melissa (L)	G34
Shakir (S)	G35
Sarah (R)	G36
audience-group	AZ11
member of audience (A1)	A16
member of audience (A2)	A17
member of audience (A3)	A18

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT	
1	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M	What would you do if you found out that the love of your life is cheating on you, sleeping with another woman? Melissa found out her boyfriend, Shakir, was cheating on her. So how do you feel—how—how did you feel about all this?
2	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L	I felt hurt and betrayed. I was with this man for three years— put three years into him. I mean, I found out he was cheating on me within the first two months of our relationship. But—
3	H11	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	M	* But— =
0	0	0	0	0	0	L	= yet— and still, I stayed with him for three years thinking that he would change.
4	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M	Why did you stay?
5	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L	I thought he would change, and plus— because I had just had my daughter when I met him.
6	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M	Right. Now, he's not the father of your daughter
7	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L	No, but she's— he's the only daddy she's ever known.
8	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M	And she's very close to him
9	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L	Yes.
10	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M	And you felt that you could be a family
11	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L	Yes.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
12	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Uh-huh. And then—were you suspicious all the time? I mean, sometimes, Melissa, when women find out that their guys are messing around on them, you know, they reel in the leash. They don't— you know, they— they don't let them go around much, they don't like to let them out with their boyfriends. I mean, what's the story?
13	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L It's kind of hard to put a leash on a mad dog, and that's just what he was.
14	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Oh, I see. So that's how you— so— so you went on with this relationship for three years
15	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Yes.
16	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M OK. And what was the final straw?
17	G34	HG	SE	BC1	A1	L I got out of work one night, and one of his females was outside waiting for me.< M- right> And we talked and found out that he was telling me a lot of things and telling her a lot of different things, we compared notes and I decided that was it. I couldn't take it no more.
18	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M So you— you— you ended up talking to one of his girlfriends
19	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Yup.
20	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Right. And this is your, I guess, boyfriend. Is— was he living with you?
21	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L No, he wasn't living with me.
22	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M OK. But you felt like you were— for three years you two were an item
23	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Yeah.
24	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M You were as close as two people could be
25	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Yup.
26	H11	SS1	SE	0	Z1	M Here's your boyfriend, Shakir. Here's Shakir. OK. Go right up there.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
27	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
28	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M Well, wait a minute now. Let the man— let the man speak for himself. Were you hearing that backstage?
54	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Three. [ And—
55	H11	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & So you were seeing three
56	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Yes. Yes. [ And I didn't—
57	A16	SS3	PR3	0	Z3	A1 [ He's a dog!
58	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Who said he was a dog?
59	G34	SS2	SE	0	Z2	L Thank you!
60	A16	SS3	SE	0	A1	A1 I did.
61	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Huh?
62	A16	HA	SE	0	A1	A1 Yes.
63	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M What's wrong with him?
64	A16	HA	SE	0	Z3	A1 Dating three girls in, like, one week? You need to keep your pants up.
65	G34	SS2	SE	0	Z2	L Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.
66	G35	SS2	SE	0	Z2	S It was— it w— it was never about sex, and nev—
67	H11	SS1	K1	0	Q1	M Σ What was it about? [ <i>audience reaction</i> ] Wait a second.
68	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S I— I enjoyed the companionship. I never wanted to— I— I n— I n—
69	AZ11	SS3	P3	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
70	G35	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	S * And and—
71	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M Shakir, let me ask you about the companionship you had here with Melissa
72	G34	SS2	SE	0	Z2	L Thank you.
73	G35	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	S * Well—
74	H11	SS1	K1	0	Q1	M Σ What— what was that like?
75	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S I guess it wasn't enough.
76	G34	SS2	SE	0	Q2	L Oh, it wasn't?
77	G35	GG	SE	0	A2	S I guess it wasn't enough.
78	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Did you love her child?
79	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Yes, I did. I still do. I'm very close to her.
80	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Did that— did you get the feeling that that child considers you her dad?

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
81	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Yes, I do.
82	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Right. Er—there's another— there was another girl that came into the picture. Who wants to talk about Sarah?
83	G35	SS2	SE	0	A1	S Let her tell you.
84	G34	GG	SE	0	A1	L Well er— I went to junior high school with Sarah. And she— she might not— she might pretend like she don't remember, but I know she know who I am. And, er —she decides that she wants to m— find herself a man which is already taken, and so they go together Π
85	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M And she was still in high school?
86	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Yup. And she still is in high school.
87	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M And she and Shakir got it on?
88	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Mm-hmm.
89	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
90	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M How about that, Shakir?
91	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S It's true.
92	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M It's true?
93	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Yes. [ A::nd—
94	H11	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & OK] We might as well meet the third part of this triangle. Here's Sarah. Here's Sarah. Come on out, Sarah.
95	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience booing for 15 sec.</i>
96	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M Wait a second. Wait a second. Wait a second. Wait a second. Sarah, did you think Shakir and Melissa had something going?
97	G36	HG	SE	0	A1	R No, because you told me you weren't with nobody. And I asked you many times if you were, and you said no.
98	G35	SS2	SE	0	Z2	S I'm supposed to tell you that.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
99	G36	SS2	SE	0	Z2	R He— he de— he denied that he was ever with you. He said he broke up with you a long time ago. Liar!
100	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
101	G35	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	S I did what I had to do.
102	G36	SS2	SE	0	Z2	R And I heard you said you can get any one of us back? Well, you can go ahead and try because you ain't getting me. You ain't getting me.
103	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
104	G35	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	S * That's—
105	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M Well, wait a second. What are you so upset about?
106	G36	HG	SE	0	A1	R Him.
107	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Why?
108	G36	HG	SE	0	A1	R I've been with him for a year, not knowing he was with her for three years. There's no need for that.
109	H11	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	M * So when you met him a year ago—
110	G36	SS2	K2	0	Z2	R Σ And I wouldn't have wanted him if I knew he had a girl because I don't want no dog, I wanna a man.
111	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applauds cheers =</i>
112	G35	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	S * Maury-
0	0	0	0	0	0	<i>= audience applauds</i>
113	G35	SS2	SE	BC1	Z2	S The stories that you— all you guys are hearing from both these girls today— < M- right> is different than what they told me the other day.
114	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Well, tell me what th— they told [ you—
115	G34	SS2	P2	0	Q2	L [ & What did I tell you the other day?
116	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Er— as far as Sarah [ goes—
117	G34	SS2	P2	0	Z2	L [ & Let me know!

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
118	G35	SS2	SE	0	A1	S As far as Sarah is, she:: lets me know that she does wanna be with me still. They both want to be with me and le— if I change. [ There's— they—
119	H11	SS1	P1	0	Z1	M [ & I get the feeling] you think you can have either one of [ them anytime
120	G35	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	S [ I can.] I have either one of them and—
121	G34	SS2	F2	0	Z2	L [ I don't think so. I don't think so. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
122	G36	SS2	F2	0	Z2	R [ Yeah. You could if you hadn't been ste— stepping out because you'll be there for a long time.
123	G35	SS2	F2	0	Z2	S [ I can probably have half the girls in here if I wanted to.
124	G34	SS2	F2	0	Z2	L Oh, please!
125	AZ11	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
126	G35	SS2	F2	0	Z2	S * That's that's—that's— that's— see— see—
127	AZ11	SS3	F2	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
128	G35	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	S [ * They—
129	H11	SS1	P1	0	Q1	M [ & What is it] they love so much about you?
130	G35	HG	BT2	0	A1	S * Simple fact is— it's not that— it's not that [ I'm—
131	H11	SS1	P1	0	Z1	M [ & Besides your smile, which— you have a great smile.
132	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
133	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M Wait a second.
134	G35	SS2	SE	0	A1	S I'm not— I'm not— I'm not conceited or anything. It— it's just that I'm very confident and I know I look good. A::nd [ these—
135	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M You know what the [ definition of confidence is, don't you, Shakir?
136	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Yes, I do.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
137	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M You know what it is?
138	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Yes.
139	H11	SS1	SE	0	A1	M It's that feeling you get just before you learn more.
140	G34	SS2	SE	0	Z2	L [ Mmmm.
141	G35	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	S [ True.
142	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Right?
143	G35	HG	SE	0	Z2	S But simple fact is her or her never had a better looking man than me. I'm the best thing they [ ever had.
144	G36	SS2	F2	0	Z2	R My man is in the audience. [ Stand up.
145	G34	SS2	F2	0	Z2	L [ I know all about—
146	G35	SS2	F2	0	Z2	S [ I— I—
147	G36	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	R [ Where's my man? He's in here somewhere. He can stand up. Bruce, stand up, wherever he's [ at somewhere in here.
148	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ OK. Melissa] Do you have anything to say to Sarah? <i>[audience reaction]</i>
149	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L I— I did have something to say to her because the way that Shakir— the way that Shakir would talk to me about the girls is, like, they wanted him so much. It wasn't really him, you know? And so I had a lot to say. I'm not [ gonna lie.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
150	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	M [ So, in other words, you think] that they were pulling him [ away from you?
151	G34	SS2	OVL2	0	A1	L [ Yes. They were— yes.
152	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M So you would blame the women?
153	G34	HG	SE	0	A1	L Yes.
154	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M So do you blame her?
155	G34	HG	SE	0	Q2	L Now that I hear what she's saying, I don't blame her, you know, because—wha— the only thing I wanna know is that— you never knew about me?
156	G36	GG	SE	BC2 BC2	A2	R Well, I heard— see, I knew you were living with him for a while. And then I met you that day in school, and you asked me if I went with him and I said yes. And I assumed that you weren't, so I thought he was my man. < L- Mmm> But now he ain't got a < L- yeah, that's right> girl, so he ain't nobody's man. He just ain't a man, so—II
157	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applause</i>
158	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M OK. Here we go. Stand right up.
159	A17	HA	SE	0	Z3	A2 Well, Shakir, I don't care how good looking you are. You took advantage of two beautiful [ young ladies =
160	G36	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	R [ Oh, there's more. There's more of them, too.
161	G34	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	L [ Yeah. There's more.
0	0	0	0	0	0	A2 = [ Well, ] God knows how many. But I don't care how good-looking you are, if you act like that, you are the biggest piece of trash that ever walked the earth.



Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
162	AZ11	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
163	A18	HA	SE	0	Q3	A3 You say that you kn— thought that they knew that you were— what the situation was. You thought. You weren't sure or II?
164	G35	TAG	SE	0	A3	S Well, they knew.
165	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M They knew the kind of guy you were
166	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S They knew— they knew that I had other girls, but they didn't know to what extent. <i>[audience reaction]</i> And they— they accepted that as it was.
167	G36	SS2	SE	0	Z2	R No.
168	H11	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M So in other words, you— you kind of gave them the feeling that the relationship that they had with you was more important than the relationship you had with any other girl?
169	G35	HG	SE	0	A1	S Pretty much.
170	H11	SS1	SE	0	Z1	M Yea (h) h. Right.
171	G35	SS2	SE	0	Z2	S Yes, [ it— it was— <i>[censored]</i>
172	G36	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	R [ Yeah, but ain't this some <i>[censored]</i> You had three girls a week ago, now you ain't got jack. <i>[audience reaction]</i> So you can have your good looks if that's what you think you got. [ So go ahead with your bad stuff because I don't want you.
173	H11	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M [ When we come back— when we come back,] the woman who got the shock of her life when she opened the door to her boyfriend's bedroom. And you won't believe who was in there with him. We'll have that story next.

**Extract 12 (EXT12). Montel Williams. Men and women torn between two lovers**

Participants	Statistical-notation
Audience-group	AZ12
Brian (B)	G37
Trina (TR)	G38
Tanya (T)	G39
Montel Williams (M)	H12

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	W Welcome, welcome, and thank you so much for joining us today. You know, today is just going to be one of those days. You know how in war they call it a D-day, when there's a day that a decision has to be made? It's that date that things go down. And today we have some guests here that need something to go down. They say that they are torn between two lovers, <i>[audience reaction]</i> and they don't know what to do. And guess what. Both lovers are here today.
2	AZ12	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
3	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W And in some cases— in one case, the lovers know that the other lover exists. In other cases, lovers don't know anything. And then in one case, both love— lovers are with child <i>[audience reaction]</i> one two months, one four months. Mm, mm mm mm mm. We may as well get busy because someone's got to make a choice today. We may as well start with our first guest. Please welcome Brian to the show.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
4	AZ12	HA	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applause</i>
5	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W Brian, you have been dating two women at the same time for—let's see—What— about five six months right?
6	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Mmhmm.
7	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Really almost eight months
8	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah. [ Going on—
9	H12	SS1	P1	0	Z1	W [ & If you count up the right way
10	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
11	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Eight months. Off and on both people and neither of them—
12	G37	SS2	K2	0	A1	B Σ No. Both of them at the same time.
13	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Yes. But do either of them know about the other?
14	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B They don't even know— really know each other.
15	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Don't have a clue. Now you must — there's got to be some unique was to get away with this right? you work with one right?
16	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah, I work with one of them.
17	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W What time do you work with her?
18	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Er—in the morning, we work first shift and then my— the other girl she works third shift so— Π
19	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Third shift
20	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B [ It kind of works out.
21	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W [ So wait, excuse me.] So the third shift lady works at night
22	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
23	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W So you get off your work you duck over the third's shift's house
24	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
25	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And you stay there until she goes out to work
26	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B To work.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
27	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Then you jump back in the car and slide over to first shift's house
28	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
29	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W And who takes the shift with you— I mean ho— are you— you handle two, three shifts a day?
30	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Sometimes.
31	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Sometimes. Mhmm. Well now it's time for you to like come clean. Now, how long has this been going on again? Eight months?
32	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah. Well I've been going out with one girl for about three and a half [ years.
33	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W [ And that is
34	G37	HG	F2	0	A1	B [ Trina.
35	H12	SS1	F2	0	Z1	W [ Trina
36	G37	SS2	F2	0	Z2	B [ Trina.
37	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You've been dating Trina for —What? three and a half years?
38	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Three and a half years.
39	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W High school sweetheart
40	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B High school sweetheart.
41	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Met her in the 10th grade
42	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
43	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Wild at a party saw her and said boom this is the girl for me
44	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
45	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Been together for three years
46	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
47	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Now why would you take your high school sweetheart — you've been going out with the same girl for three and a half years and then all of a sudden you see Tanya walk by— Tanya walks by— and what happened?
48	G37	HG	SE	BC1	A1	B E::r— We just started— well I— I met her at work <W- Mhm> We work together. We just started talking and then er—Trina moved to Kentucky— about a half-hour away from me. And things weren't going real well with me and her. And the more me and Tanya talked the more I liked her. But don't get me wrong. I like Trina too.
49	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You like Trina too
50	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
51	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W So now you have been intimate with both women at the same time?
52	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
53	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W So when you say she moved away— Is where— a half-hour away it wasn't so far away you couldn't see her right?
54	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Right. [ But—
55	H12	SS1	P1	0	Q1	W [ & So why would you have to fool around if you have a girl right there backing you up? She's— you were going to get married, right?
56	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B We're talking about it.
57	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You were talking about it
58	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
59	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Are you talking about marriage with Tanya?
60	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B No not— II
61	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W No?
62	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Not anything serious.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
63	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Who is it that you want to be with?
64	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B I don't know.
65	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W Well you know today you're not gonna have— you have [ to decide
66	G37	SS2	F2	0	Z2	B [ I know. =
0	0	0	0	0	0	W [= or you may go home alone
0	0	0	0	0	0	B [= I've got to decide today.
67	H12	SS1	F2	0	Q1	W You [ probably are going home alone anyway but =
68	G37	SS2	F2	0	Z2	B [ Probably going home alone anyway. <i>[audience reaction]</i>
0	0	0	0	0	0	W = But who is it— if you could say today— perfect world, Tanya or Trina Trina or Tanya Tanya or Trina— where's it end up?
69	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Right there in the middle.
70	AZ12	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
71	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W Well you know what? I think it's time for you to let them know that you intend to stay in the middle. And maybe they'll make a decision for you.
72	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B I'm sure they will. <i>[laughs]</i>
73	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You're sure they will. So I guess— really I think out of def— preference and deference the lady that you've been with the longest time you should probably talk to Trina first don't you think?
74	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
75	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W OK. So why don't we do it? Trina's in the sound-proof booth right? Good I'm going to count them— one two three four five. Got her out of the booth. Is she ready? OK Good. Please welcome Trina to the show.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
76	AZ12	HA	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applause</i>
77	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W Trina right over here. Yes. excellent. Now Trina just so — because I know people at home are sitting there saying I can't believe Montel is doing this. He got the girl here and she doesn't know what she's goinNA hear. You do know that-that-Brian has a little surprise for you today right?
78	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Yeah.
79	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Yes, and you agreed to come here and hear the surprise right here on stage?
80	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Mhmm.
81	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W OK. So Brian
82	G37	HG	SE	0	Q2	B I guess it's my turn huh?
83	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Yeah. It's your turn. Now wait. How long have have the two of you been going out, Trina?
84	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Probably about three and a half years.
85	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Three and a half years
86	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Almost.
87	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Well, how's the relationship?
88	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Right now.
89	G38	HG	SE	0	Q2	TR Right now?
90	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Yeah, well how has it been in the last three and a half years?
91	G38	HG	SE	BC1	A1	TR Well it was like really good in the beginning. And then I moved to Kentucky now. And I live with my grandparents.<W- Mhm> And now we don't see each other as much because I work third shift and he works first.
92	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W But how often do you get to see him?
93	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR What? Probably two three days a week. Always— one day on the weekend always.

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
94	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W One day on the weekend always and two other days of the week
95	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Yeah.
96	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Have you guys been talking about— I'm just asking a few questions before you start— you've been talking— I mean how serious is this relationship?
97	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR I don't know. (h) It's— it's pretty serious. I—
98	H12	SS1	K1	0	Q1	W Σ Pretty serious.
99	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Yeah.
100	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W OK. I just wanted to make sure we've got that all clear. So, Brian you want to tell Trina something.
101	G37	HG	SE	0	Z2	B Thanks Montel.
102	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W Yes sir you're welcome.
103	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Well Trina (( )) I don't really know how to tell you this.
104	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Do want me to help you a little bit?
105	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah. Help me.
106	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W You think so?
107	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Yeah.
108	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W OK. Can I help a little bit? Please welcome Tanya to the show.
109	AZ12	HA	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
110	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W I'm just trying to help you a little bit er—
111	G37	SS2	K2	0	Z2	B Σ Doesn't help.
112	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Is that OK? It's not going to help? Oh well Tanya how long have you and Brian been going out together?
113	G38	SS2	SE	0	Z2	TR Brian! [ <i>Very surprised, she puts her hand over her mouth and her hand is shaking</i> ] .[ <i>audience reaction</i> ]
114	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Thanks Montel.



N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
115	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W You— I was trying to help you.
116	G39	HG	SE	0	A1	T For about four or five months going out.
117	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Four or five months. So Brian why don't you explain what's going on?
118	G37	HG	SE	0	Z2	B You were doing a good job.
119	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W I— you slowed down so I didn't— the ladies both came because they wanted to hear what's going on in this=
120	G37	SS2	BT2	0	Z2	B * Well—
0	0	0	0	0	0	W = relationship
121	G38	SS2	SE	0	Z2	TR (( )) I didn't know she existed that's for sure.
122	G39	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T No doubt.
123	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W Did you know that Trina Existed? I'm sorry. Tanya this is Trina.
124	G38	SS2	SE	0	Z2	TR Hi.
125	G39	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T Hi.
126	G38	SS2	SE	0	Z2	TR It's real nice to meet you.
127	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Trina— well let's see. Let's put it this way. You want me to help you some more? Should I help you some more?
128	G37	HG	SE	0	Z2	B Well Trina I know we've been going out a long time and I'm sorry to have to do it like this. But I met her at work. And I'm sorry I didn't tell you that I was going out with her. But— II
129	G39	SS2	SE	0	Q2	T How long have you been doing this?
130	G37	GG	SE	0	A2	B I've been going out with her for three and a half years.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
131	G39	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T You told me you weren't seeing her anymore.
132	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Help me. <i>[laughs nervously]</i>
133	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W You know I didn't get you there. You know what I'm saying? I just flew you here. I just— now I'll help you. Now the problem is— and Brian is the— is the kind of guy— he asked for the assistance of being able to explain this to you is that he feels for both of you, he say. Correct? [ You stop me when I'm wrong.
134	G38	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	TR [ Well he can have her because] I don't feel for him no more.
135	AZ12	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience applause</i>
136	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	W And he was trying— he wanted to figure out what he was going to do. So he wanted that both of you to be here sit down and talk this thing out and see if he could come to some decision today. And I told him before the show that— well before you came out that possibly a decision might be made for him.
137	G37	SS2	SE	0	Z2	B Probably is.
138	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Is the decision made?
139	G38	SS2	SE	0	A1	TR It's made by me. I ain't taking him. I don't want him.
140	G39	SS2	SE	0	Z2	T I don't want him either.

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
141	G38	SS2	SE	0	Z2	TR I don't want nothing to do with him.
142	AZ12	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
143	H12	SS1	OVL1	0	Q1	W Now I got to— I— I'm—I've go to—I've got to tell you something. Now I know that you're sitting home and you're saying, now why would I do this to Brian this way? And I'll tell you why. Because Brian's a young man and I think that at this point in time there are a lot of young men out here doing this. And before these two ladies become pregnant, one of these two ladies by mistake sometime happens or goes awry, a::nd one ends up being stuck in the relationship it's time that young men step up to the table and start exercising the responsibility that they have, and that's coming clean when your feelings change or if you start— you're in a relationship that's supposed to be monogamous. It's a monogamous relationship on your part, is it not?
144	G38	HG	SE	0	A1	TR Yeah.
145	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W Has it been a monogamous relationship on your part?
146	G39	HG	SE	0	A1	T <i>Nods yes</i>
147	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W So when you know that two people think that you're being monogamous one of the things that you have to do if you want be a player is try not to play them, just play yourself. You know what I mean?

N <sup>o</sup> T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/ A	TRANSCRIPT
148	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Mhmm.
149	AZ12	SS3	SE	0	Z3	<i>audience reaction</i>
150	H12	SS1	SE	0	Q1	W I'm going to take a little break. I'm going to take a little break. And I'm going to have the three of you go backstage for a few minutes. And there's somebody backstage that I want the three of you to talk to. And then we can talk to them alone— that person alone, and then what we'll do is maybe whoever decides that they want to talk a little bit more together with Brian I'll give you the opportunity to do that OK? But I think that looking at both of them backstage I knew that both of them were at a point where they didn't have any knowledge of what was going on and wanted to be able to at least decide for themselves. So ladies you go backstage and you'll decide what you really want to do on your own. And then Brian this ought to be the biggest lesson in your life because guess what? Since I'm standing right behind you that means the camera on both of us. < B- Mhm> Every woman in your hometown sees your face. <i>[audience reaction]</i> You try to do this again I don't care if they move 15 hours away you're a marked man OK?
151	G37	HG	SE	0	A1	B Mhmm.
152	H12	SS1	SE	0	Z1	W When we come back we're going to meet a guy who's going to tell his girlfriend that his ex-girlfriend says she's pregnant by him. We'll be back right after this.

## 10.2. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

The interpretation of the data can be twofold. On the one hand, the results and data can be interpreted as the outcome of individual participants taking part in a certain type of speech event. On the other, one may interpret the results by grouping participants according to their roles (guests, hosts, audience etc.). The latter is more relevant for the purpose of this study; however, in situations in which the mean (e.g. taking into account number of G-males; G-females; H-males, etc.) may enlighten and clarify participation frameworks, this kind of information is also provided.

### 1. Number of turns corresponding to the extracts analyzed

#### 1.1. Total number of turns in each of the extracts analyzed<sup>1</sup>.

Table 1. Turns in each extract

N° Extract	Freq.	Percent.
EXT1	96	5.9%
EXT2	204	12.4%
EXT3	68	4.1%
EXT4	121	7.4%
EXT5	93	5.7%
EXT6	50	3.0%
EXT7	218	13.3%
EXT8	114	6.9%
EXT9	242	14.7%
EXT10	110	6.7%
EXT11	173	10.5%
EXT12	152	9.3%
Total	1641	100%

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of those 10 turns that correspond to video-clips.

Table 1 above illustrates the number of turns analyzed for each extract as well as the percentage that each extract represents in relation to the entire analyzed corpus.

*1.2. Male-female participation*

Table 2 provides a classification of participants according to the sex of the participant. The participation of AZ (audience-group) could not be classified in terms of sex since it is not possible to count, and, accordingly, classify the people attending the TTS as audience. The general impression is, however, that there are more women than men attending TTSs as studio-audience.

Table 2. Participation of male and females

Male (Host)	Male (Guest)		Female (Host)	Female (Guests)			Audience Female	
H1/ H12	G6	G27	H2	G1	G13	G23	A1	A11
H4/ H11	G8	G28	H3	G2	G14	G24	A2	A12
H7	G10	G31	H5/ H9	G3	G16	G26	A3	A13
H8/ H10	G15	G35	H6	G4	G17	G27	A4	A14
	G18	G37		G5	G20	G29	A5	A15
	G19			G7	G38	G32	A6	A16
	G25			G9	G39	G33	A7	A17
				G11	G21	G34	A9	A18
				G12	G22	G36	A10	
Total 7	Total 12		Total 5	Total 27			Total 17	

In terms of sex, there were 49 female-participants and 19 male-participants. Regarding category and sex, there were 12 G-males and 27 G-females. The number of H-males was 7 and of H-females 5. The individual members of the audience who participated were all female, 17 participations from female individual members of the audience were registered.

### 1.3. Degree of participation of each category

Table 3 displays the frequency of participations by each of the categories, and the percentage figures for the total number of turns analyzed. The mean is calculated according to the number of individual participants for each category (see table 2 for details).

Table 3: Degree of participation of each category

Speaker-category	Freq.	Percent	Mean
<b>AU (audience-indiv.)</b>	34	2.1%	1.9
<b>AZ (audience-group)</b>	84	5.1%	7
<b>G (guest)</b>	874	53.3%	22.4
<b>H (host)</b>	649	39.5%	54.1
<b>Total</b>	1641		

Chi-square = 118.74      degrees of freedom = 33      p. value = 0.00000000

The percentage figures in table 3 indicate a higher degree of participation for Gs. In fact, in TTSs, where there is one H for a number of Gs that varies from 1 to 8 or 10, this seems reasonable. However, and taking into account the rate number of Hs and number of Gs, one realizes that there are only 12 Hs but 39 Gs: the mean indicates that it is really H who participates the most since H's participation, at least in number of turns, is more than double the number for G (54.1 for H and 22.4 for G).

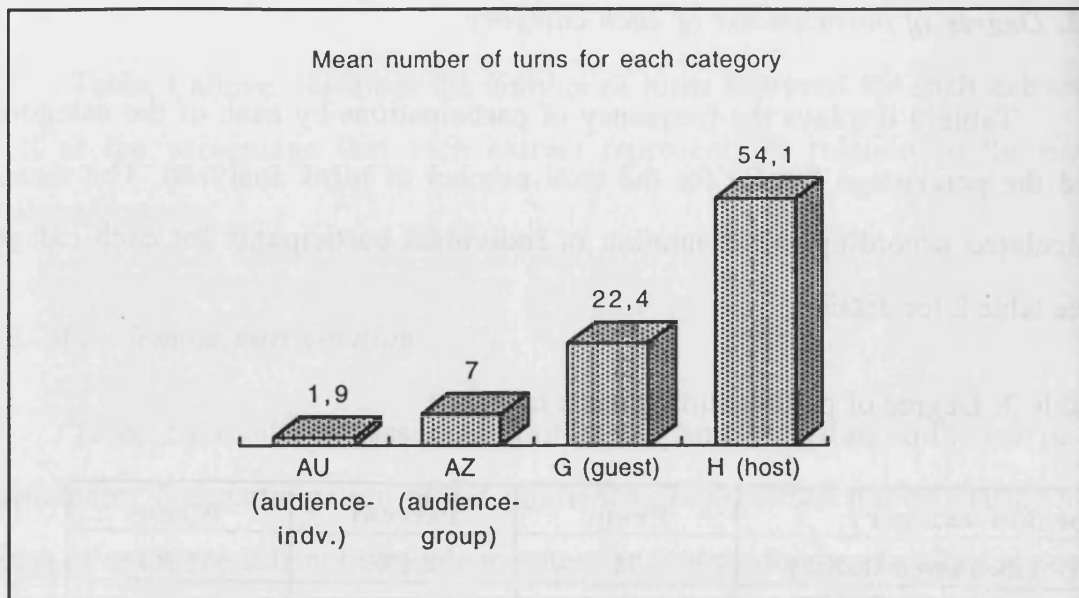


Fig. 1. Mean number of turns for the different categories

Additionally, as displayed in Fig. 1, we see that participation from audience (individual as well as group) is much lower if compared with the other two categories. We are analyzing opening phases in TTSs, in which there is usually less audience participation. In some extracts (cf. section 1.6 below) AZ does not participate at all.

#### *1.4. Number of turns according to category and sex.*

The table illustrating the number of turns for each category and sex has been interpreted in two ways- both horizontally and vertically: 1.4.1. interprets the table horizontally and displays the frequency of female and male turns and their distribution across the different categories while 1.4.2. interprets the same data vertically, that is, the number of turns for each category and whether these are uttered by male or by female. Finally, in section 1.4.3., the mean for the same data has been calculated.



1.4.1. Male-female turns and category

As displayed in table 4 below, 901 turns are by female and 656 by male. In percentages, 57.8% of all contributions come from women and 42.1% from men. In female-turns, the highest participation comes from G (70%) followed by H (26.2%). In male-turns, the highest participation is by H (63%) These data are illustrated in Fig. 2 below.

Table 4. Male-female turns and category

Speaker	Female	Male
AU (audience-indiv)	3.8%	0.0%
G (guest)	70%	37%
H (host)	26.2%	63%
Total	901	656

Chi square = 221.45      Degrees of freedom = 2      p-value = 0.00000000

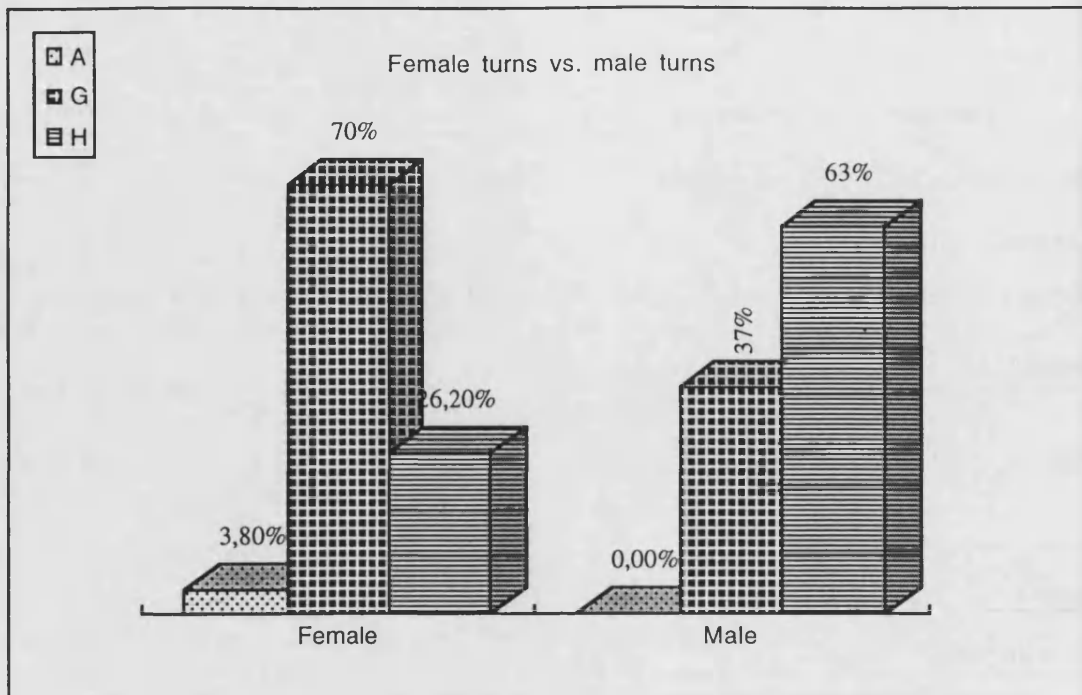


Fig. 2. Percentages for female-turns and male-turns for each category.

1.4.2. Table 5. Number of turns for each category and sex.

	AU (audience-indiv)	G (guest)	H (host)
<b>Female</b>	100.0%	72.2%	36.4%
<b>Male</b>	0.0%	27.8%	63.6%
<b>Total n<sup>a</sup> of turns</b>	34	874	649

Chi square = 221.45      Degrees of freedom = 2      p-value = 0.00000000

One of the most noticeable results is that participation from individual members of the studio-audience all comes from females, 100% of AU-turns are by females, and there is 0% participation from males.

In G-turns, there is also a prevalence of female-turns: 72.2.% of the turns were by females while merely 27.8% were by males: female-Gs participate more than male-Gs. On the contrary, the results for H's contributions indicate that male-

Hs participate more than female-Hs: only 36.4% of the contributions come from female-Hs, while 63.6% are by H-males. Fig. 3 below illustrates these results.

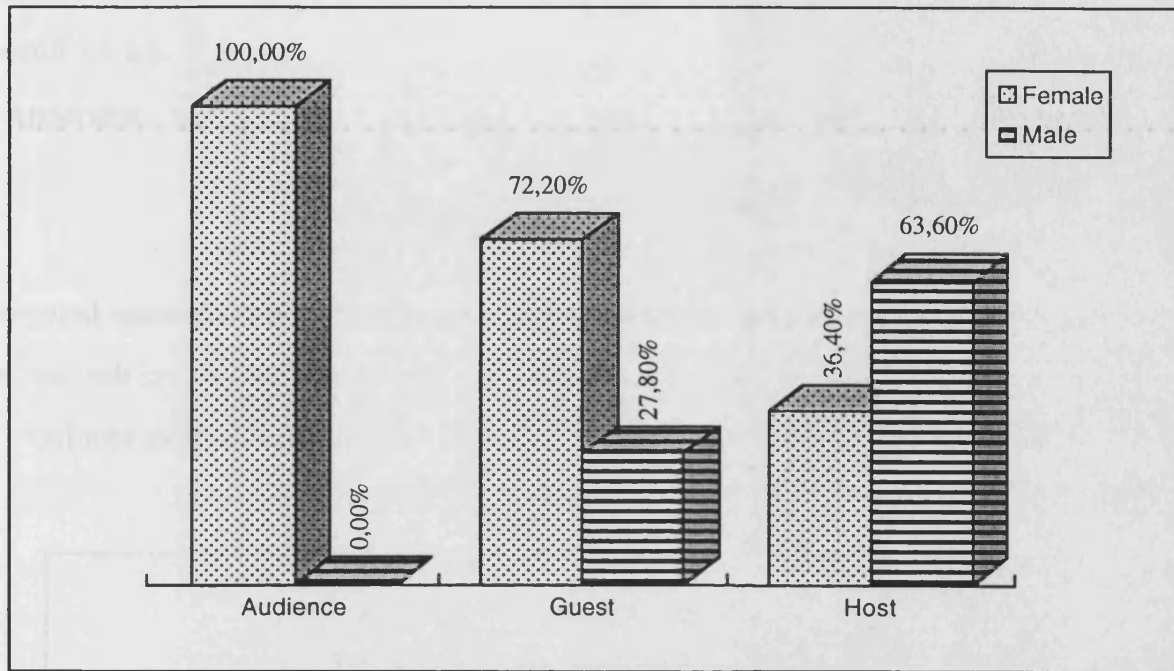


Fig. 3. Percentages of number of turns according to sex and category

1.4.3. Table 6. Mean for the number of turns for H and G according to sex.

These results have also been contrasted with the mean of the number of turns for male-female G and H. The mean indicates that G-females participate slightly more than males: the difference is only 3 turns more in favour of females. In H's contributions, however, there is a difference of almost 10 turns between male-female, in favour of males. Table 6 below and figure 4 show the results.

Table 6. Mean number of turns for male and female guests and hosts.

	N° of turns	Mean
<b>G-female</b>	631	23,3
<b>G-male</b>	243	20,25
<b>H-female</b>	236	47,2
<b>H-male</b>	413	59

The mean indicates that there is hardly any perceptible difference between G-male and G-female. In H, however, higher participation is shown on the part of H-male (59) as opposed to H-female (47,2). Fig. 4 below illustrates these results.

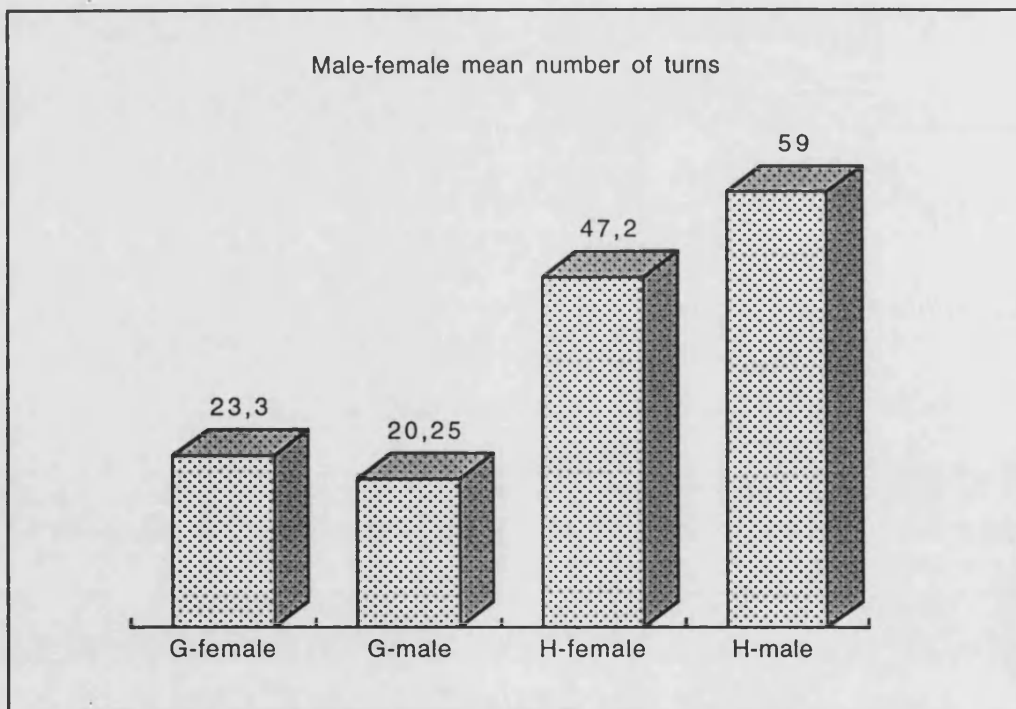


Fig. 4. Mean number of turns for H and G according to sex.

*1.5. Participation in each of the extracts*

Table 7 below provides details for the participation of each category in each of the different extracts analyzed here (detailed description of the participation of each of the individual members taking part in the interactions can be found in Appendix 1 table ⑧ ). A description of each of the extracts analyzed follows.

Table 7. Total participation of each category and extract

N° Ext.	A (audience-indiv)	AZ (audience-group)	G (guest)	H (host)	Total
1	0	3	45	48	96
2	3	5	127	69	204
3	0	0	38	30	68
4	2	4	57	58	121
5	2	9	46	36	93
6	1	4	23	22	50
7	0	5	131	82	218
8	0	4	64	46	114
9	20	26	117	79	242
10	0	3	58	49	110
11	6	13	92	62	173
12	0	8	76	68	152
Total	34	84	874	649	1641

Chi square = 118.74      Degrees of freedom = 33      p-value = 0.00000000

Extract 1: *Men who con women into relationships.*

Table 8. Frequency of participation in EXT1. *Men who con women into relationships.*

Participants	Speaker	Freq.	Percent.
Audience-group	AZ1	3	3%
Brandie (B)	G1	22	23%
Danielle (D)	G2	12	12%
Brandie Ann (BR)	G3	10	12%
Montel Williams (W)	H1	48	50%
<b>TOTAL</b>		96	

In EXT1 the participation of Gs is entirely guided by H. The fact that G1 participates more than the others is because Williams has decided to ask her more questions. Notice, however, that most of G1's turns are one-word answers. H1 participates more than any other participant.

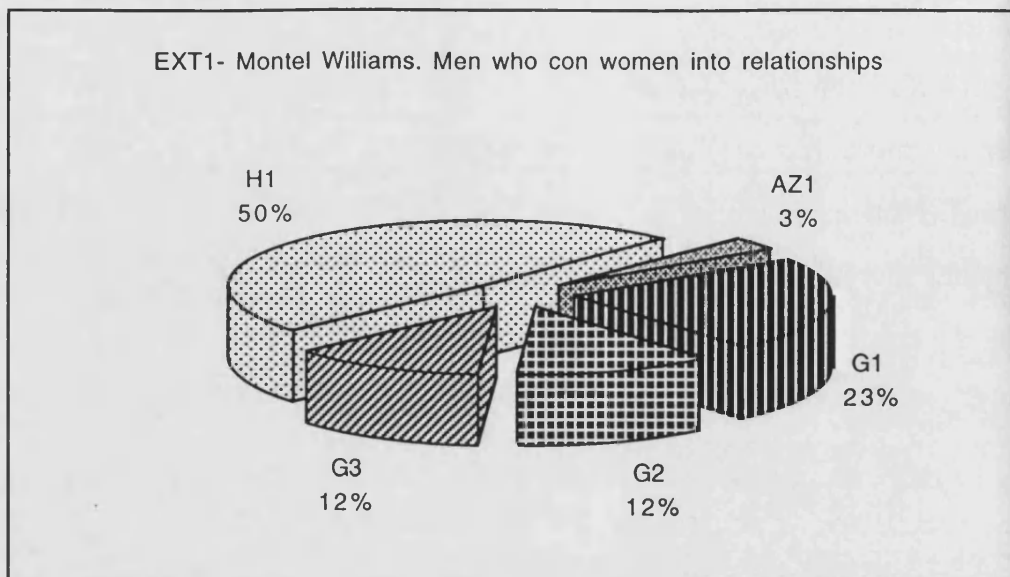


Fig. 5. Individual participation in EXT1. Montel Williams. *Men who con women into relationships.*

Extract 2: Confronting unfaithful spouses.

Table 9. Frequency of participation in EXT2. *Confronting unfaithful spouses.*

	Speaker	Frequency	Percentage
member of audience	A1	1	0.5%
member of audience	A2	1	0.5%
member of audience	A3	1	0.5%
Group-audience	AZ2	5	2.4%
Dori (D)	G4	57	27.9%
Theresa (T)	G5	40	19.6%
Ken (K)	G6	30	14.7%
Jenny Jones (J)	H2	69	35%
<b>TOTAL</b>		204	100%



These results have been illustrated in Fig. 6 below. We see that the highest participation is from Jenny Jones, the host, who produces 35% of all turns; and from Dori, who produces 27.4% of all turns. Regarding the other G, Theresa utters 19.6% of all turns and Ken 14.7%. There are three turns (1.5%) by individual members of the audience, and five by the audience acting as a group (2.4%). It has to be noticed that Dori, who produces more turns than the other two G, is the guest that is risking more in appearing on television, since it is her who lost face because of the affair between her husband (Ken) and her neighbour (Theresa). In the programme, Dori's behaviour is clearly that of a hurt G who wants to save face and make the other two, in particular Theresa, lose face in front of an audience.

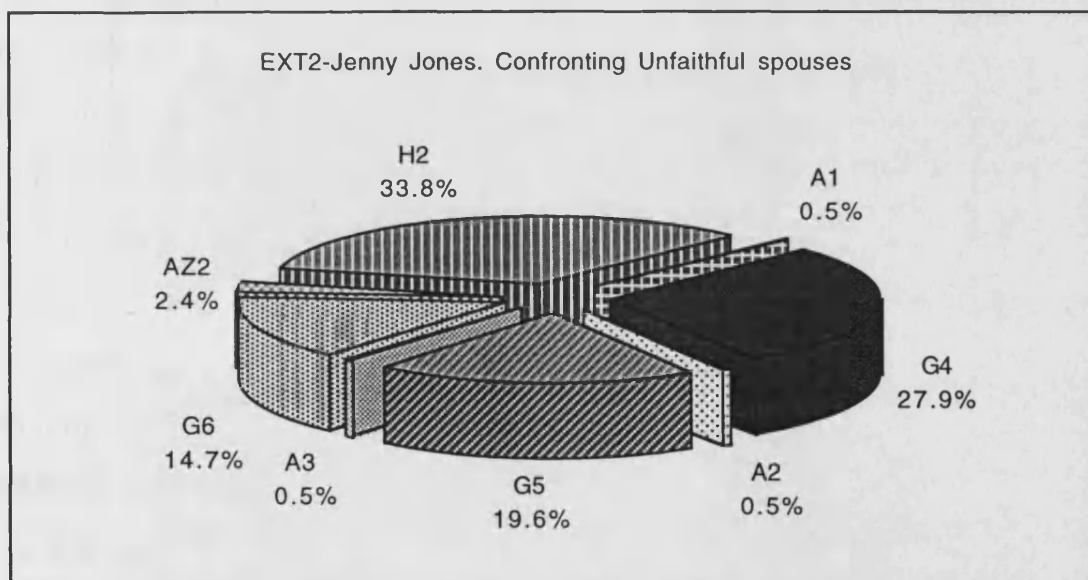
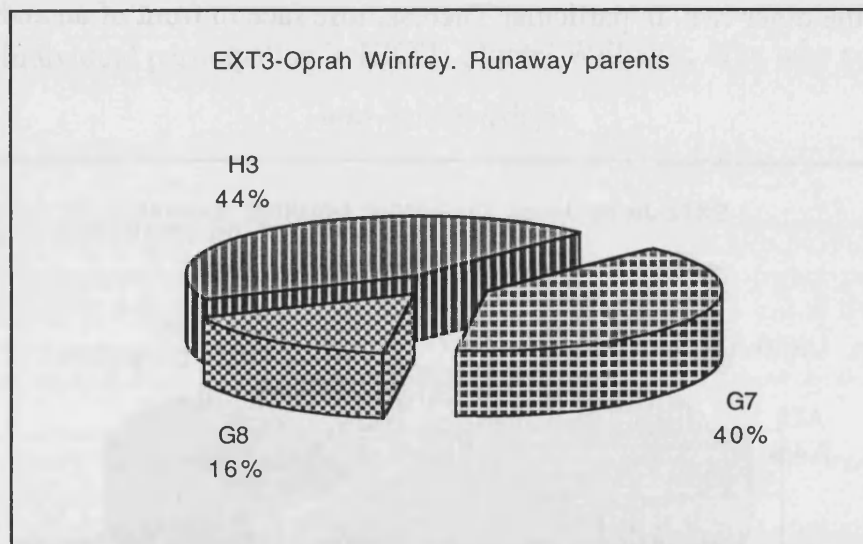


Fig. 6. Individual participation in EXT2. Jenny Jones. *Confronting unfaithful spouses.*

Extract 3: Oprah Winfrey. *Runaway parents.*

Table 10. Frequency of participation in EXT3. *Runaway parents*

	Speaker	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Audience</b>	AZ3/AU3	0	0%
<b>Diana Hicks (D)</b>	G7	27	39.7%
<b>Stephen Hicks (D)</b>	G8	11	16.1%
<b>Oprah Winfrey (O)</b>	H3	30	44.1%
<b>TOTAL</b>		68	

Fig. 7. Percentages of individual participation in EXT3. Oprah Winfrey. *Runaway parents*.

As indicated by figure 7 above, most of the interaction takes place between Diana Hicks (G7) and Oprah Winfrey (H3). When the interview started it was Diana who answered right from the beginning. She continues intervening more than her husband, either by self-selecting herself to answer or being allocated the turns by Oprah. It is worth mentioning that she seemed 'worried' every time her husband spoke (she nudges his elbow a couple of times and squeezes his hand in an attempt to make him to intervene less). She seems afraid of committing an

indiscretion during the interview. They are going to jail in two months time and this is one of the last chances they have to gain support from the media and the people. The opening sequence analyzed develops smoothly. However, later on there are highly confrontational moments in which members of the audience, and the audience as a group reacts against the two couples on stage who have been accused of abandoning their children and scream and yell at them.

In this programme Oprah is presenting two couples of parents who have problems with their children, teenagers both of them. The first couple interviewed has been already sentenced to jail for child abandonment. During the interview, it is mainly the mother who answers the questions, the step-father participates very little. From the way in which the interview proceeds- and always intuitively- one may argue that they have been advised to be very cautious. It may not so obvious in this in this first part of the TTS as is later on, when they are asked questions from A, the step-father answers, and his wife tries him not to talk by elbowing him, touching his hand, squeezing his hand, etc. trying him to go quiet.

She is, obviously, very conscious of the fact that there is an audience listening and that whatever it is said in the programme may cause them more problems, or may even be used against them. So she is very careful about what she says and speaks very slowly as if she was actually thinking of every word she says.

One feature which clearly stands out in this transcript, when compared to the others is the total lack of audience participation. It seems as if the programme itself were distinct from the others. However, later on in the show, however, when A is allowed to participate, there are highly confrontational moments between Gs,

members of A among themselves, etc., where they scream and yell at each other for quite a while.

Extract 4. Maury Povich. *How hard can married life be*

Table 11. Frequency of participation in EXT4. *How hard can married life be*

	Speaker	Frequency	Percentage
member of audience	A5	2	2 %
Audience-group	AZA	4	3 %
Owen (O)	G10	21	17 %
Karie (K)	G9	36	30 %
Maury Povich (M)	H4	58	48 %
<b>Total</b>		121	

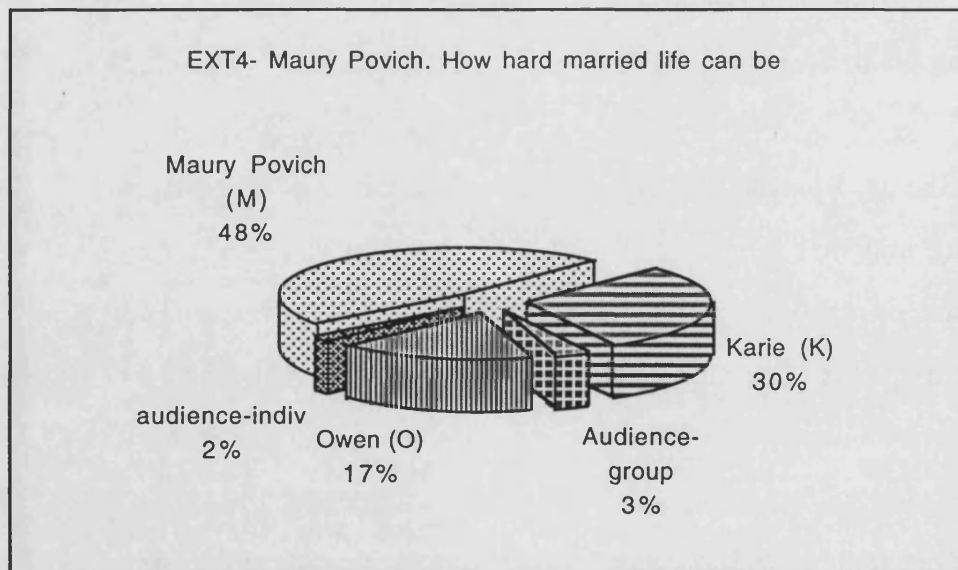


Fig. 8. Individual participation in EXT4. Maury Povich. *How hard married life can be.*

As illustrated by the data above, it is the host who participates more than any other participant. 48 % of all uttered turns are by H4. The second participant

who has more turns is Karie (30 %) and the Owen (17%). Audience participation is low. There are only two turns coming from individual members of the audience. The first turn is an answer to the host and the second one is a comment addressed to Owen.

Extract 5: Sally J. Raphael. *I'm fed up with my teen*

Table 12. Frequency of participation in EXT5. *I'm fed up with my teen*

	Speaker	Frequency	Percentage
member of audience (A1)	A6	1	1 %
member of audience (A7)	A7	1	1 %
Maria (M)	G11	29	31 %
Jessica (J)	G12	17	18 %
Sally (S)	H5	36	39 %
Audience-group	AZ5	9	

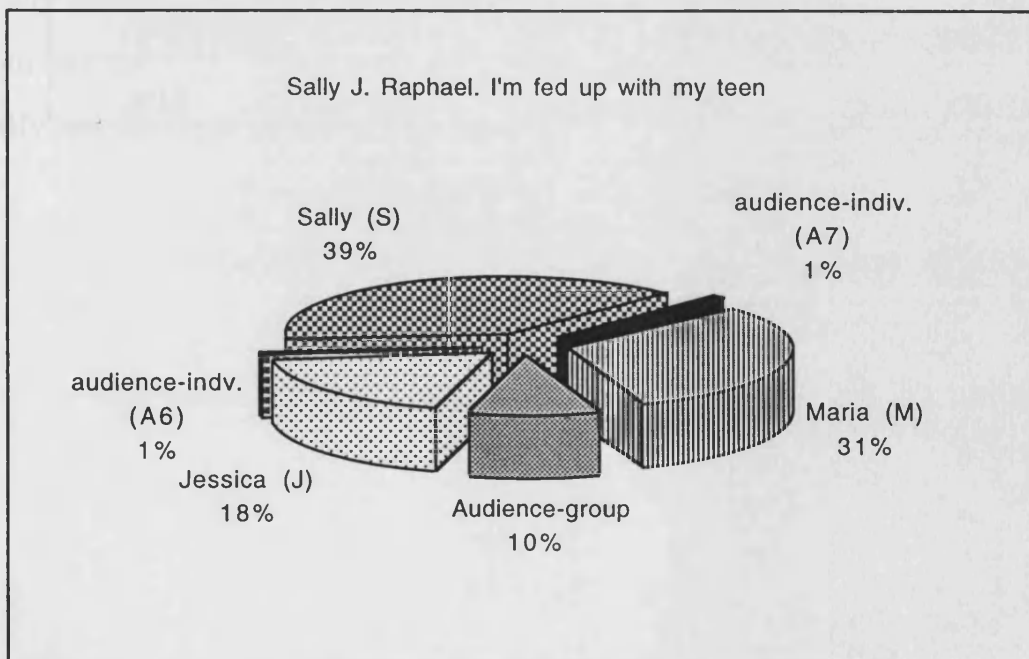


Fig. 9. Individual participation in EXT5. Sally J. Raphael. *I'm fed up with my teen*.

In this extract it is also the host, Sally, who shows the highest number of contributions. There are two individual members of the audience who are allowed to participate and 10 % is the figure percentage for the audience-group's occupation of the floor . There is more participation from Maria (31 %) than from Jessica (18 %). The relation between the two of them is mother daughter. The attitude of the audience towards Jessica is pretty hostile since they do not approve of her behaviour. During this opening sequence we learn that Jessica does not go to school, drinks, beats her mother, wants to get in a gang, etc.

Extract 6: Ricki Lake. *I drink and drive. So what.*

Table 13. Frequency of participation in EXT6. *I drink and drive. So what.*

	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>member of audience (A1)</b>	A4	1	2 %
<b>Valery (V)</b>	G13	13	26 %
<b>Patsy (P)</b>	G14	10	20 %
<b>Audience-group</b>	AZ6	4	8 %
<b>Ricki Lake (R)</b>	H6	22	44 %

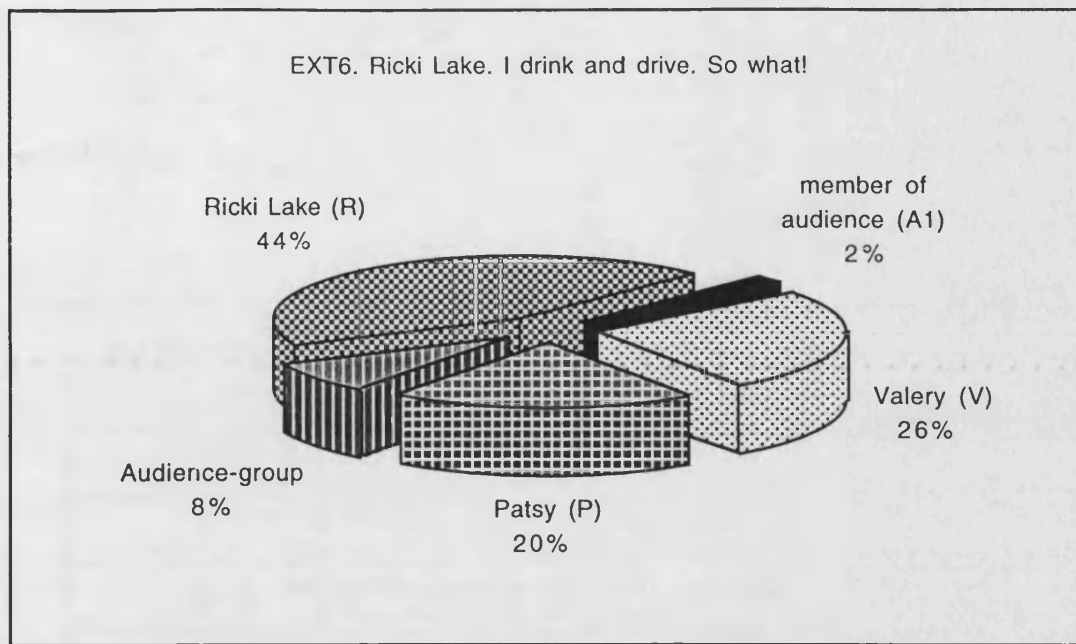


Fig. 10. Individual participation in EXT6. Ricki Lake, *I drink and drive. So what!*

In this extract the participation of the host is again higher than that by the rest of the participants. Ricki Lake in this case doubles the number of turns uttered by the guests. In this sequence, Ricki Lake introduces first Valery, whose sister usually drinks and drives. She is on her own on stage and after she has been asked about her sister's behaviour, Patsy is called to come to the stage. Patsy is asked to justify her conduct : why she drives when she is drunk.

Extract 7 *The problem of being an effeminate man or a masculine woman*

Table 14. Frequency of participation in EXT7. *The problem of being an effeminate man or a masculine woman*

	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Audience-group</b>	AZ7	5	2 %
<b>Luke Sissy Fag (F)</b>	G15	50	23 %
<b>Louise (L)</b>	G19	4	2 %
<b>Devon (D)</b>	G16	18	8 %
<b>Anita (N)</b>	G17	17	8 %
<b>Donahue (D)</b>	H7	82	38 %
<b>Kim (K)</b>	G18	7	3 %
<b>Joan (JO)</b>	G20	35	16 %



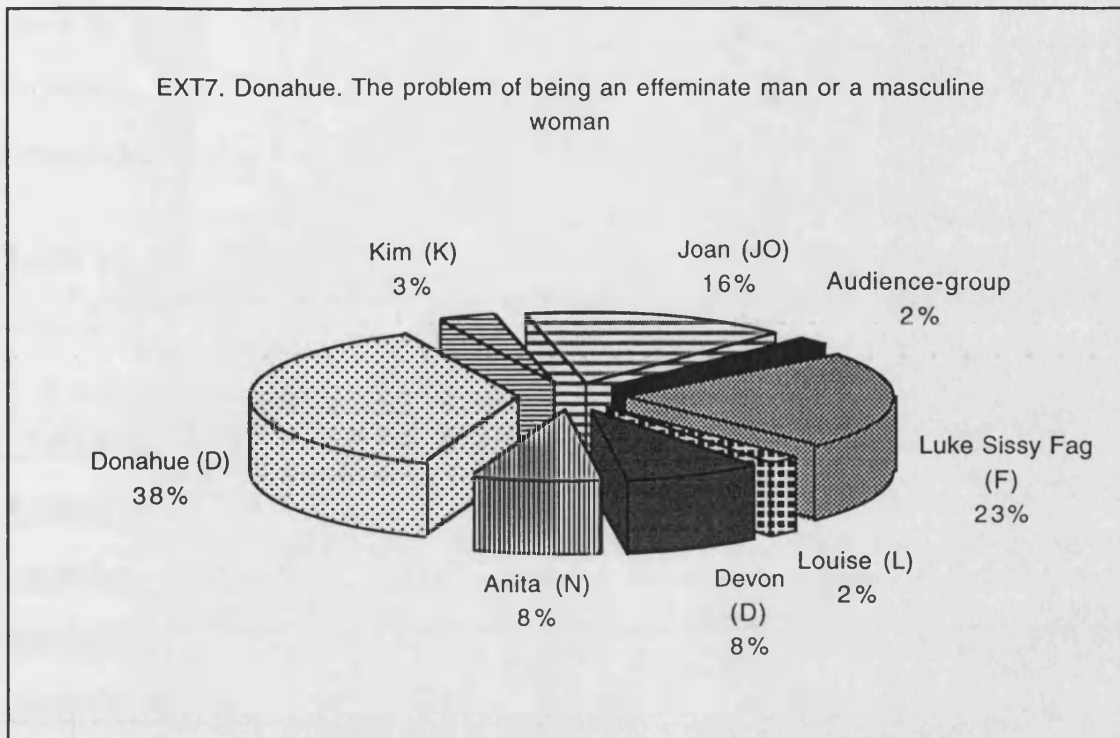


Fig.11. Individual participation in EXT7. Donahue. *The problem of being an effeminate man or a masculine woman*

In this extract it is the host who participates more than any other participants. 38 % of all turns are by the host. There is no participation at all from the audience. The other participants show more or less similar Except for F who utters 23 % of all turns and Jo (16 %). This opening sequence is quite conflictive mainly because of the presence of F. F has been a polemic gay activist and he seems to have come to the programme with the intentions of proving that. He interrupts and tries to get the floor very often. This is not accepted by JO, who also wants to speak. There is confrontation between the two of them. F, however, manages to get long turns and hold the floor for quite a number of times.

Extract 8: *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word.*

Table 15. Frequency of participation in EXT8. *Please Forgive me when sorry is the hardest word.*

	Speaker	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Audience group</b>	AZ8	3	3 %
<b>Geraldo (G)</b>	H8	46	41 %
<b>Darcey /D)</b>	G22	24	21 %
<b>Melissa (M)</b>	G21	40	35 %

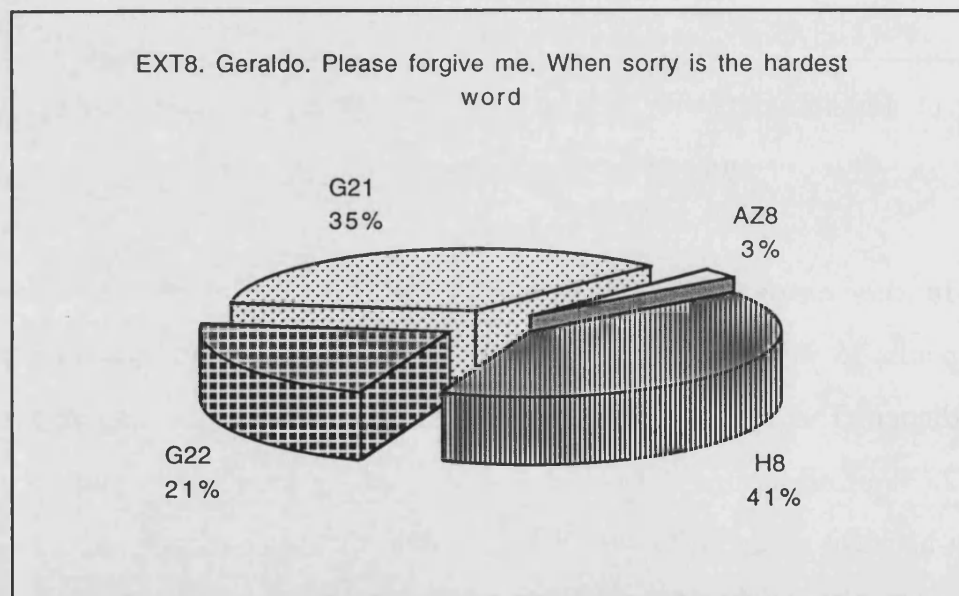


Fig. 12. Individual participation in EXT8. Geraldo. *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word.*

This opening sequence goes smooth. It starts with quite a long dialogic interview between Geraldo and Melissa. She respects and follows the question-answer format and the host's guidings. When Darcey comes on stage, the interaction continues functioning quite smoothly, except for a few turns in which

there is overlapping between the two (M and D) at the end of the opening sequence. When this occurs, the host will intervene to restore order.

Extract 9: Sally J. Raphael. *Suburban gang kids*

Table 16. EXT9. Sally J. Raphael. *Suburban gang kids*

	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Audience-group</b>	AZ9	26	10,7 %
<b>Katherine (K)</b>	G26	19	7,8 %
<b>member of audience (A1)</b>	A9	5	2 %
<b>member of audience (A2)</b>	A10	2	0,8 %
<b>member of audience (A3)</b>	A11	2	0,8 %
<b>member of audience (A4)</b>	A12	1	0,4 %
<b>member of audience (A6)</b>	A14	7	2,8
<b>member of audience (A7)</b>	A15	2	0,8 %
<b>member of audience (A5)</b>	A13	1	0,4 %
<b>Michael (M)</b>	G25	12	4,9%
<b>Sally J. Raphael (S)</b>	H9	79	32,6 %
<b>Shauna (SH)</b>	G23	74	30,5 %
<b>Stephanie (ST)</b>	G24	12	4,9 %

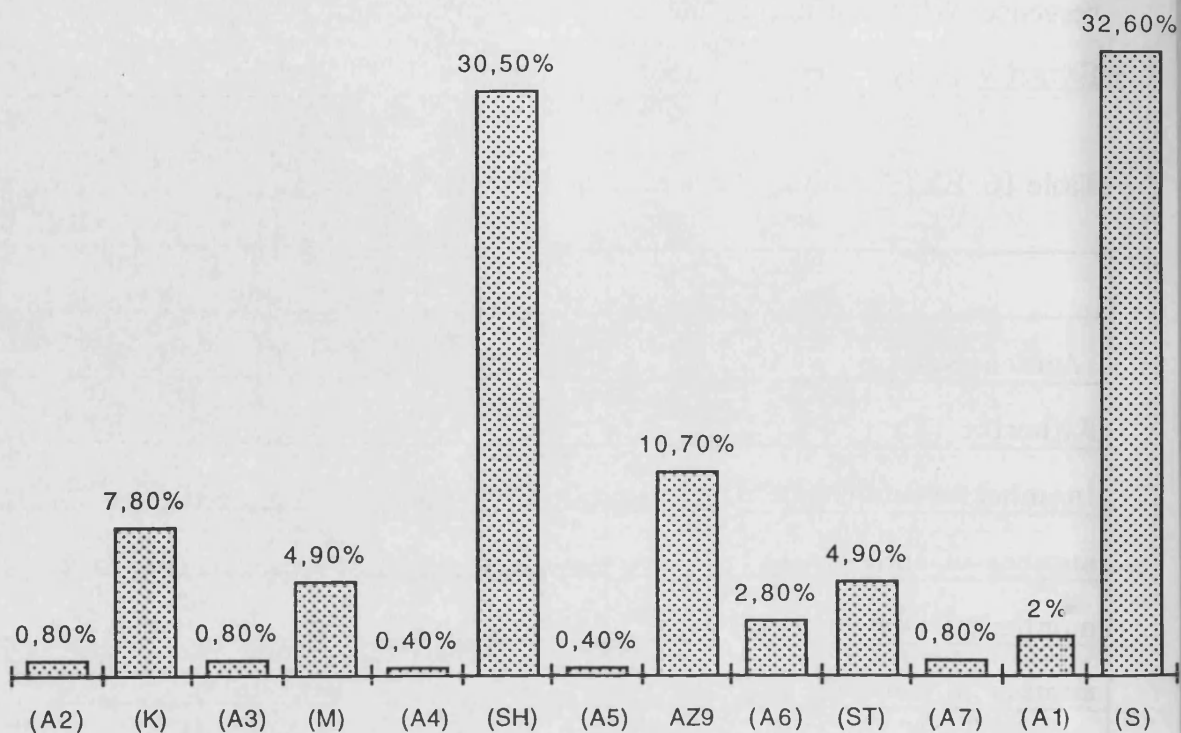


Fig. 13. Individual participation in EXT9. Sally J. Raphael. *Suburban gang kills*.

In this extract, the most noticeable feature is that the host and one of the guests (SH) participates almost the same as the host. This is a highly confrontational segment in which everybody, including the audience (notice that the audience group shows 11 % of participation) shows a hostile attitude towards SH and ST. Both of them are teenagers who belong to a suburban gang and, during the interview, they have both affirmed that they do not care about people being killed or if they themselves get killed. SH seems to be the one who answers for both of them (herself and ST) and she is the one who answers almost all questions and who confronts the audience.

Extract 10: Geraldo. *Meth Madness: Poor Man's Cocaine*

Table 17. EXT10. Geraldo. *Meth Madness: Poor Man's Cocaine*

	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Audience-group</b>	AZ10	3	3 %
<b>Cleo (C)</b>	G27	9	8 %
<b>Pablo (P)</b>	G28	9	8 %
<b>Brooklyn (B)</b>	G29	21	19 %
<b>Toni (T)</b>	G30	3	3 %
<b>Peter (PE)</b>	G31	4	4 %
<b>Angel (A)</b>	G32	10	9 %
<b>Whisper (W)</b>	G33	2	2%
<b>Geraldo (G)</b>	H10	49	44 %

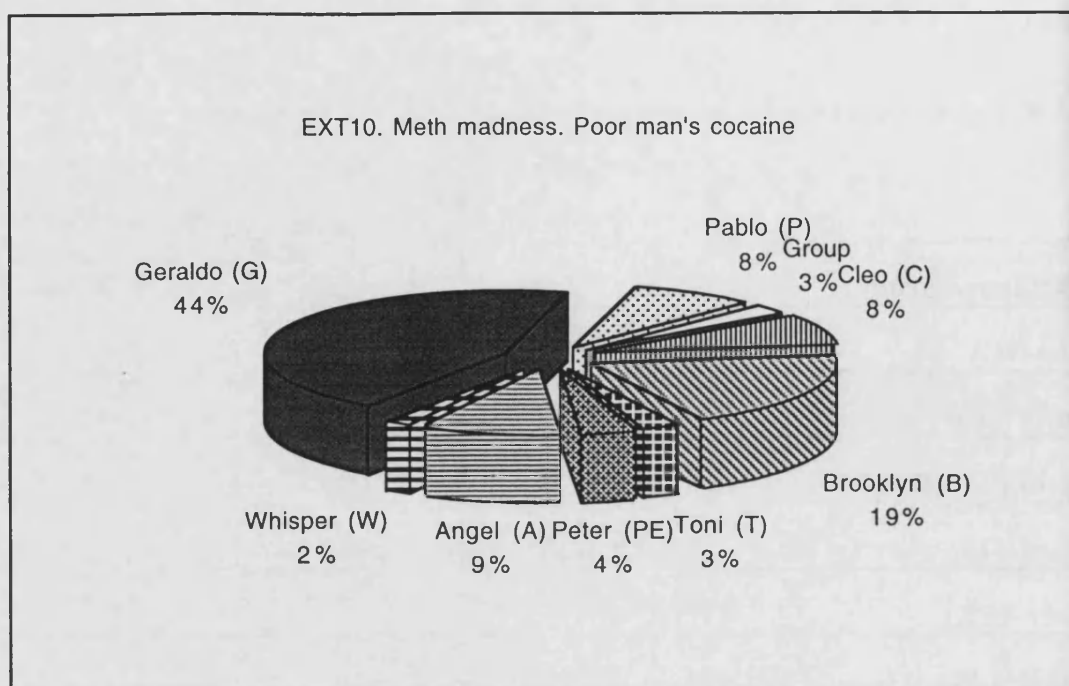


Fig. 14. Individual participation in EXT10. Geraldo. *Meth Madness. Poor man's cocaine.*

In this extract there are 7 guests on stage right from the beginning. As displayed in the table and graphic above, it is the host, Geraldo, who shows a higher number of turns. It is Geraldo who establishes the order of participation. After his first turn they show a video-extract in which one of the guests, Cleo, shows how to prepare crank. It is Geraldo who establishes the order of participation. In fact, it is not until he introduces Angel and Whisper, for example, that we realise they are on stage.

Extract 11: Maury Povich. Cheating *boyfriends*

Table 18. EXT11. Maury Povich. Cheating *boyfriends*

	Speaker	Frequency	Percentage
member of audience (A1)	A16	4	2%
member of audience (A2)	A17	1	1%
member of audience (A3)	A18	1	1%
Audience group	AZ11	13	8%
Melissa (L)	G34	34	20%
Shakir (S)	G35	45	25%
Sarah (R)	G36	13	8%
Maury Povich (M)	H11	62	35%

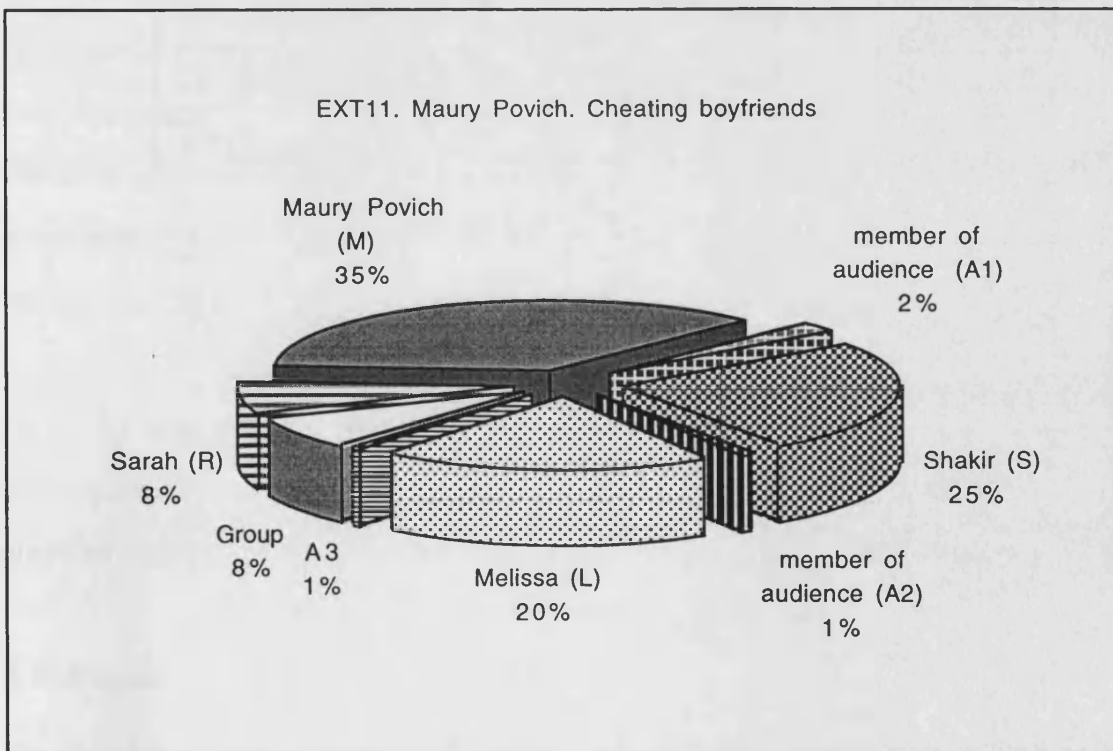


Fig. 15. Individual participation in EXT1. Maury Povich. *Cheating boyfriends*

In this extract, it is also the host, Povich, who shows the highest number of turns. At the beginning we only have Melissa on stage. Povich asks her about her relationship with Shakir and the problems they had. Then Shakir is called on stage and finally Sarah is. The participation of the audience-group is quite high because they react against Shakir's words. It is Shakir, in fact, who provokes them.

Extract 12: Montel Williams. *Men and women torn between two lovers*

Table 19. Participants in EXT12. Montel Williams. *Men and women torn between two lovers*

	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Tanya (T)</b>	G39	7	5 %
<b>Trina (TR)</b>	G38	18	12 %
<b>Audience-group</b>	AZ12	8	5 %
<b>Brian (B)</b>	G37	51	34 %
<b>Montel Williams (M)</b>	H12	68	44 %



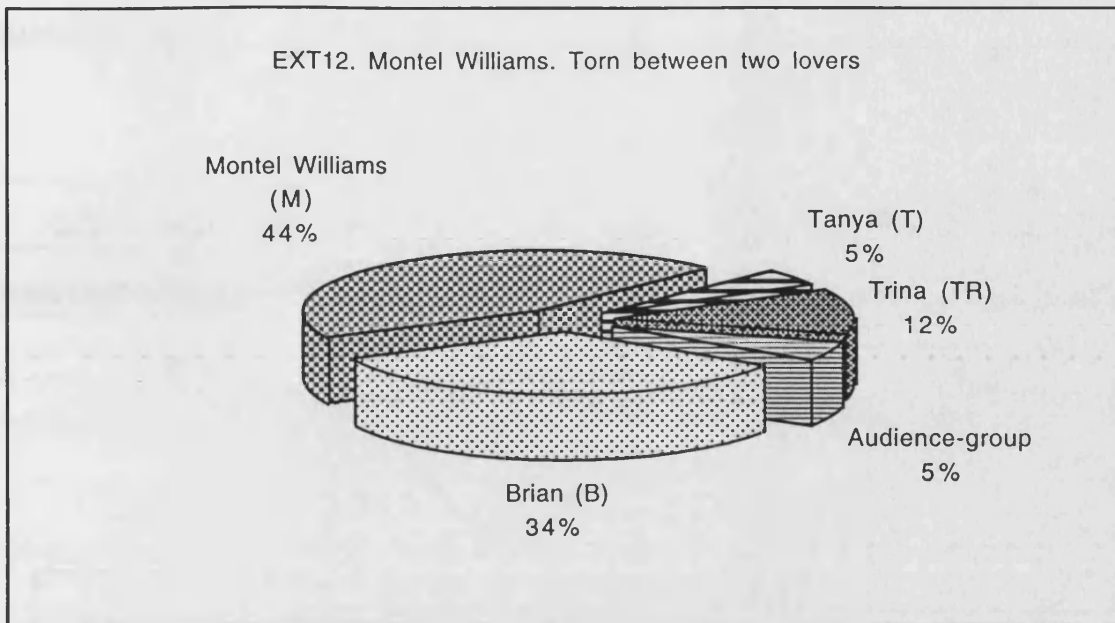


Fig. 16. Individual participation in EXT12. Montel Williams. *Torn between two lovers.*

In extract 12, again, it is the host, Montel, who participates more than any other participant. Out of the three guests, it is Brian who participates the most. It is comprehensible because he is the one who came to the show clear out the situation with his two girlfriends. The two girls appear to be shocked with the news and upset with Brian, and do not really say anything unless Montel asks them a question.

As we have seen in the tables and graphics that illustrate individual participation, it is the host who more often has the floor. This indicates that he plays an important role in organizing the interaction and the order of participation.

## 2. Self-selected vs. Non-self-selected turns

The endings exposed in this section derive from the data in the column "type of turn-taking" which classifies turns in terms of self-selection vs. non-self-

selection. Table 20 below displays the frequencies and percentages that result from this cross-comparison

*2.1. Total number of Self-selected turns vs. Non-self-selected -turns*

Table 20. Frequency and percentages of self-selected and non-self-selected turns.

<b>Turn-taking</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Self-selected (SS)	1202	73.2%
Non-self-selected (NSS)	439	26.8%
Total	1641	100.0%

73.2% of all turns are self-selected and 26.8% of turns are non-self-selected ( i.e. turns allocated by current-speaker-select-next techniques). The difference in favour of non-self-selection is quite significant, and it indicates that a certain degree of freedom concerning the choice of the next speaker is present. Regarding male and female participation, no significant differences were apparently visible in terms of self-selection vs. non-self-selection. Table 21 below illustrates these results.

*2.2. . Male-female self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns*

As displayed in table 21 below, both male and female seem to prefer self-selection. In the case of male-turns, 80.3% of the contributions are self-selection; as for female-turns, the percentage of self-selection is 66.1%, a figure lower than that of the male. In non-self-selection, however, female percentage is higher (33.9% ) than male-percentage (19.7%).

Table 21. Male-female self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns

	Female	Male
Self-selected (SS)	66.1%	80.3%
Non-self-selected (NSS)	33.9%	19.7%
Total	901	656

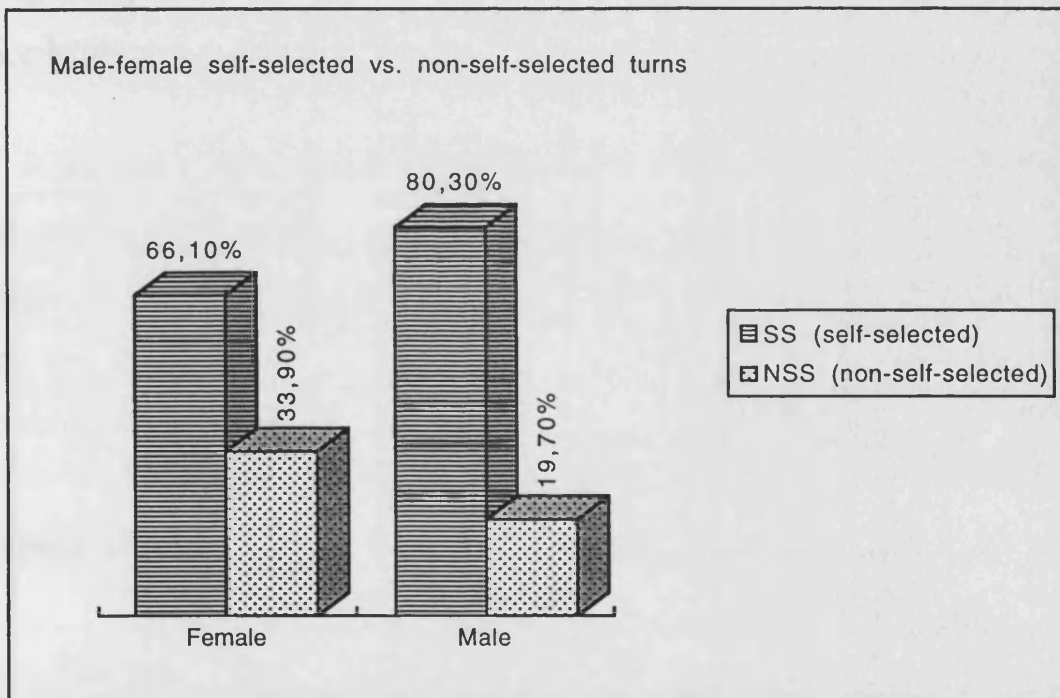


Fig. 17. Male-female self-selected turns

### 2.3. Mean number of turns for male-female

The mean was also calculated considering the total number of males vs. the total number of females. Table 22 below illustrates the results.

Table 22. Mean for male-female self-selected turns

Turn-taking	Female	Male
Self-selected	12,1	27,7
Non-self-selected	6,2	6,7

As illustrated by the results in table 23 and Fig. 18 below, the mean confirms the percentages of the categories: both sexes make use of self-selection more than non-self-selection (NSS is 6.2. for females and 6.7 for males). Regarding self-selection, males show higher amount of self-selected turns than females (males 27,1 and females 12,1).

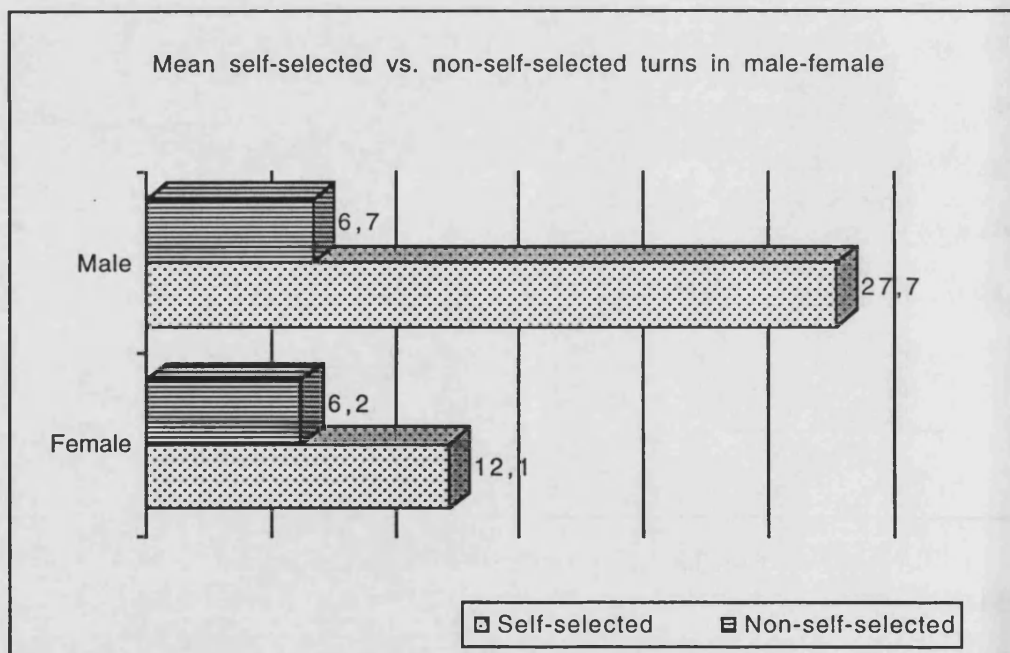


Fig. 18. Mean number of self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns for male-female participation.

2.5. Male-female turns, self-selection and category.

Table 23. Male-female self-selection and category

	Guest			Host	
	Female	Male		Female	Male
<b>Self-selected (SS)</b>	54.7 %	47.3 %	<b>Self-selected (SS)</b>	98.7 %	99.8 %
<b>Non-self-selected (NSS)</b>	45.3 %	52.7 %	<b>Non-self-selected (NSS)</b>	1.3 %	0.2 %
<b>Total</b>	631		<b>Total</b>	243	

As illustrated in the table above, the percentages of self-selection vs. non-self-selection for each sex does not show significant differences regarding categories. In guests, their contributions seem to be almost fifty per cent of each type for both male and female. In hosts, it is self-selection what clearly predominates in both male and female.

3. Speaker category and type of turn-taking

The endings discussed in this section cross-compare two columns: speaker category, which specifies the category that has produced the turn, and type of turn-taking in terms of self-selection vs. non-self-selection.

3.1. Self-Selection vs. non-self-selection for each category

Table 24 below provides the number of self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns for each category. The percentages in table 25 and table 26 derive from these figures.

Table 24. Number of self-selected turns and allocated turns for each category

	AU (audience- indv.)	AZ (audience- group)	G (guest)	H (host)	Total
<b>Self-selected</b>	18	79	460	645	1202
<b>Non-self-selected</b>	16	5	414	4	439
<b>Total</b>	34	84	874	649	1641

Chi square = 441.51      Degrees of freedom = 3      p value = 0.00000000

Table 24 above can be interpreted in two ways: horizontally and vertically, the outcomes of both interpretations are explained in 3.1.1. and 3.1.2. below.

*3.2. Self-selected and non-self-selected Turns distributed among categories.*

Table 25. Number of self-selected and non-self-selected turns distributed among categories

	AU (audience- indiv.)	AZ (audience- group)	G (guest)	H (host)	Total
<b>Self-selected</b>	1.5%	6.6%	38.3%	53.7 %	1202
<b>Non-self-selected</b>	3.6%	1.1%	94.3 %	0.9%	439

*Distribution of NSS turns*

94.3% of all non-self-selected turns correspond to G, while the other categories show truly low percentages of turns allocated to them. This contrasts with the percentage of H's non-self-selected turns, 0.9%.

The percentage of non-self-selected turns of AZ are low in our data, only 1.1%. Participation from individual members of the audience is slightly higher; the total number of individual members allocated a turn accounts for only 3.6% of all turns. However, the difference between AU and AZ cannot be said to be significant. Fig. 19 below illustrates these figures.

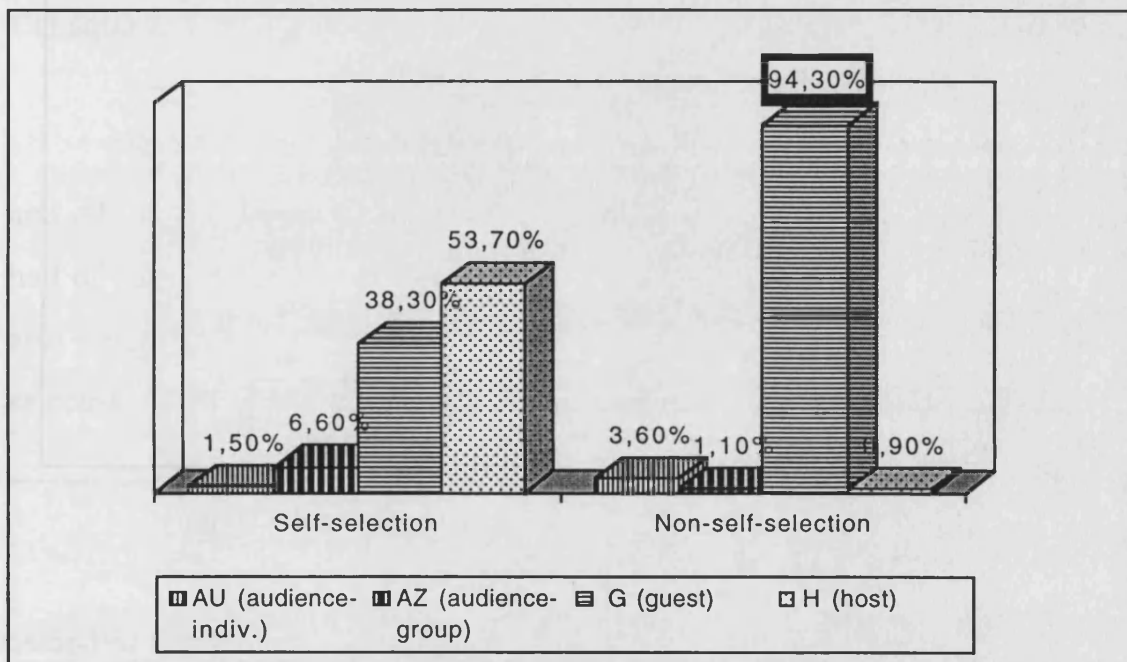


Fig. 19. Distribution among categories of self-selected and non-self-selected turns.

*Distribution of self-selected turns*

As illustrated in Fig. 19 above, the lowest percentage of self-selected turns is for individual members of the audience (1.5%) and for the audience-group (6.6%). More than fifty per cent of all self-selected turns correspond to H (53.7%) who, in number (there is usually one H and two or three Gs), are much lower than the rest of the categories. The fact that G also covers a large percentage of the SS turns (38.3%) indicates that, although they are allocated the most turns, G also

enjoy the freedom of self-selecting themselves and participating without waiting to be allocated the turn.

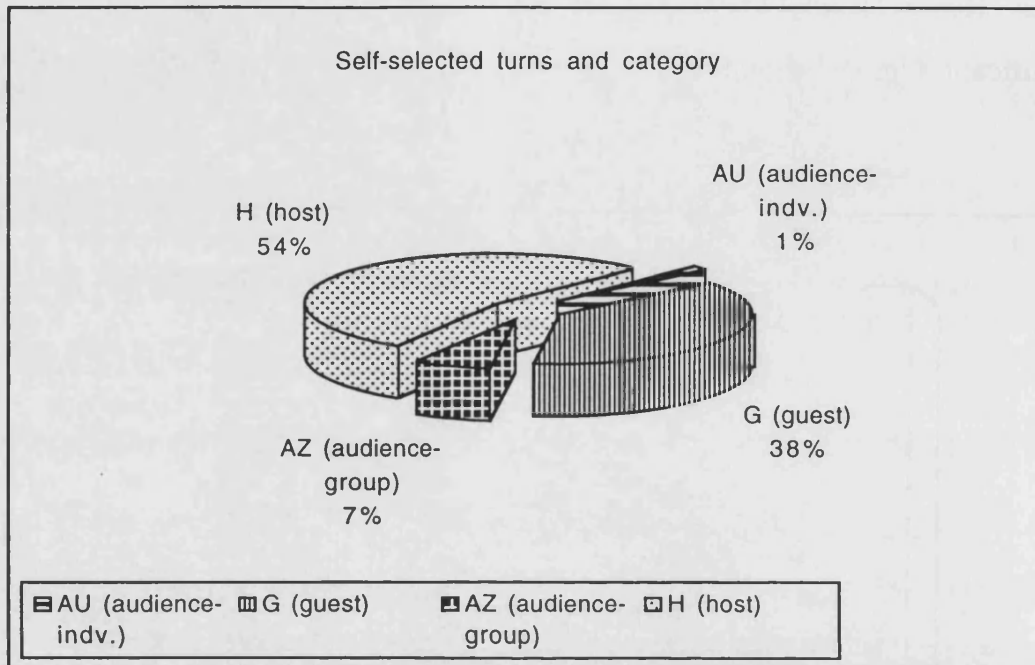


Fig. 20. Distribution of self-selected turns for each category.

So far, the results of the analysis show that H is the category that self-selects more and more often than any other participant, followed by G since AZ is only responsible for 6.6% of the self-selected turns and AU's for 1.5%.

### 3.1.2. Nature of turns in each of the categories

The vertical interpretation of table 24 above displays the nature of the turns for each individual category. Table 26 below shows the percentages of self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns for each of the four categories.



Table 26. Percentages for self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns in each category

	AU (audience-indiv.)	AZ (audience-group)	G (guest)	H (host)
<b>Self-selected</b>	52.9%	94.0%	52.6%	99.4%
<b>Non-self-selected</b>	47.1%	6.0%	47.4%	0.6%
<b>total</b>	34	84	874	649

Chi square = 441.51      Degrees of freedom = 3      p. value = 0.00000000

The percentages in table 26, display similar results regarding attitudes of G and AU towards self-selection processes. That is, both categories produce almost half of their contributions through self-selection and half allocated. Similarities are also perceived between AZ and H; in both, more than 94% of their turns are self-selected, as illustrated in fig. 21 below.

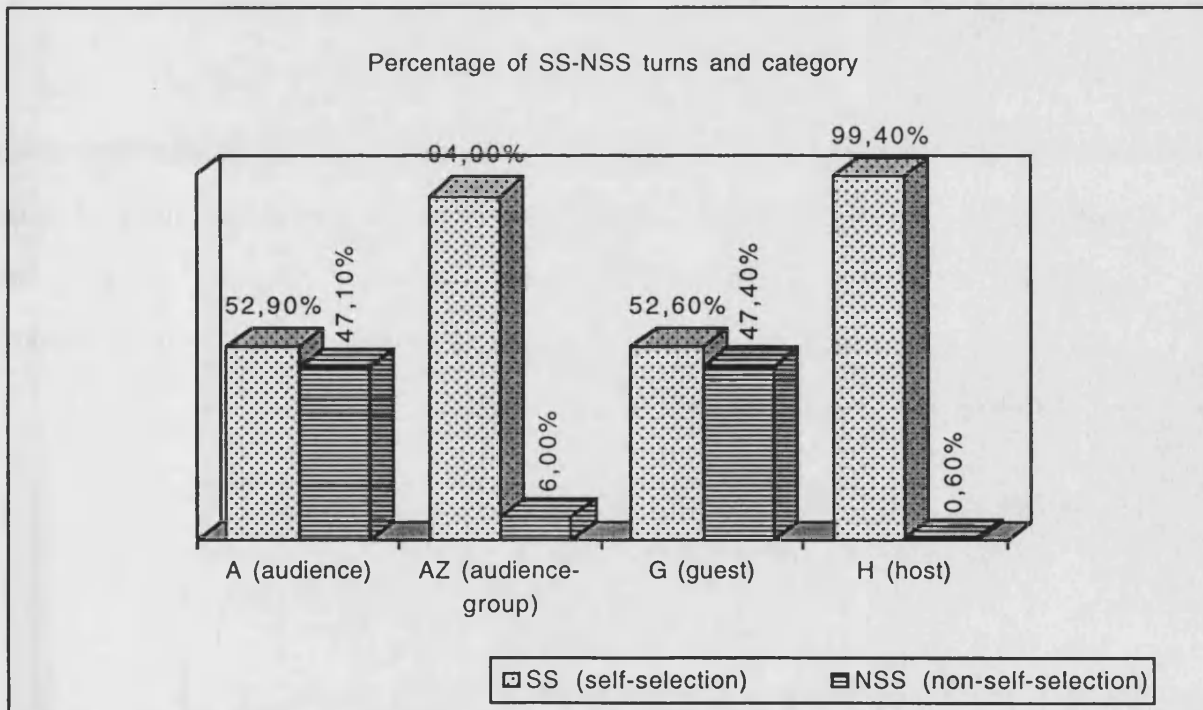


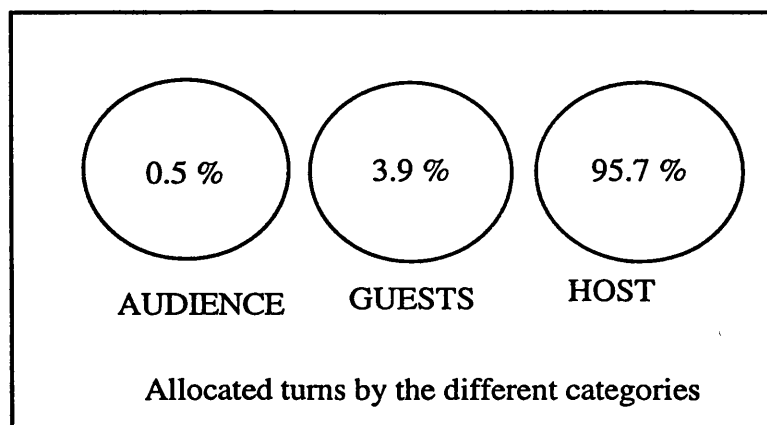
Fig. 21 Percentages of SS-NSS turns for each category.

As illustrated in Fig. 21, AU produces 52.9% of self-selected turns and 47.1% non-self-selected. This indicates that individual members of the audience, in our data, have used both techniques almost indistinctly. Notice, however, that 20 out of the 34 turns by AU are located in EXT9. EXT9 is a highly confrontational show in which members of A intervene freely in order to 'attack' Gs and recriminate them for their behaviour. G's behaviour is very similar since they have 52.6% of turns which are self-selected and 47.4% of non-self-selected. Their participation is controlled in almost fifty per cent of the cases.

On the other hand, practically all H's and AZ's self-selection turns: 94.0% of all AZ's turns are accomplished by self-selection, for H this percentage is even higher, 99.40%. Comparing the total number of turns by H (649) and by AZ (84), however, the balance of freedom clearly tips in favour of H, who has more turns.

#### **4. Nature of allocated turns**

Allocated turns were distributed among the four categories. Above, we pointed out how Gs were the category that had the highest number of turns allocated to them. Now we look at the distribution of allocated turns to test whether all the participants were equally free to assign turns to another speaker. We illustrate some results in Fig. 22.



**Fig. 22. Total percentages of allocated turns by the categories participating in the TTS**

Figure 22 shows that 95.7% of all turns are allocated by H. The allocation by other participants is very low in comparison with H. The audience only allocates 0.5% while G only allocates 4.5% of all turns. The consequences of this distribution are, basically, that speaker participation is highly determined by H's contributions. Table 27 below shows in detail the nature of those allocated turn.

**Table 27. Nature of allocated turns**

<b>Types of allocated turns</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
AH (audience to host)	0	0%
HG (host to guest)	399	90.9%
HA (host to audience)	21	4.8%
GH (guest to host)	4	0.9%
GG (guest to guest)	13	3.0%
AG (audience to guest)	2	0.5%
Total	439	

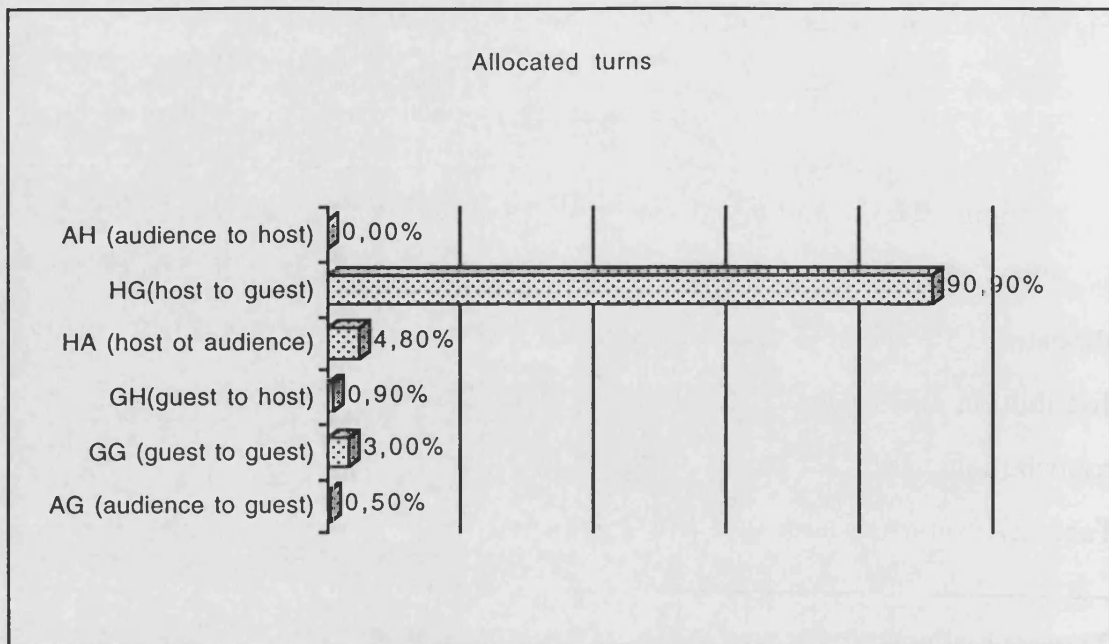


Fig. 23. Percentages for the different types of allocated turns

Types of turns are differentiated according to the speaker who allocates the turn. 94.8% of all allocated turns are by H (HG+ HA): 90.9% of those turns are allocated to G (HG) while only 4.8% to the audience (HA). It is worth mentioning that the nature of turns in each case is different, since in the case of the audience H self-selects the audience to allocate a turn, that is, to give them permission to make their contribution. In the case of G however allocation of turn usually implies a demand of information.

The figures for allocated turns by H contrast strongly with the fact that G allocates only 4 turns to H (0.9%), which correspond to requests for clarification (EXT9-48). The number of turns Gs allocate to each other is also very low: 3.0% of all non-self-selected turns. This shows that G's freedom to interact among themselves is clearly limited and that they are not working under the same conditions as H regarding turn-allocation.

Finally, only 0.5% of all turns are allocated by the audience: individual members of the audience are not given much chance to participate. Notice also that there is not even a single case in which a member of the audience allocates a turn to H (AH).

Regarding categories and sex, we looked at the results for male-female in H and G (A was not relevant since all As are female in our data) and we cross-compared sex, speaker and self-selection vs. non-self-selection. The results show no significant differences between male-female behaviour for both Gs and Hs.

## 5. Exchange type

### 5.1. Smooth speaker-switch vs. Intervened exchanges

The results in the tables that follow come from the data appearing in the column that classifies turns according to type of exchange. First we look at the percentages of smooth speaker-switch (SE) vs. non-smooth speaker-switch or intervened turns.

Table 28. Smooth speaker-switch vs. intervened exchanges

Type of exchange	Freq.	Percent
ITV (intervened exchange)	652	39.7%
SE (smooth speaker-switch)	989	60.3%
<b>Total</b>	1641	

Type of exchange, or speaker-switch was first considered in terms of smooth speaker-switch (SE) vs. possible ITV ( unsmooth speaker-switch or intervention in the current speaker's turn). As illustrated in Fig. 24 below, a great deal of speaker-

shift, a total of 60% of all exchanges, is reached through smooth-exchanges. 40% are intervened exchanges in which the next speaker intervenes in the current speaker's turn. The high percentage of intervened turns indicates that participants intervene in each other's turns rather frequently.

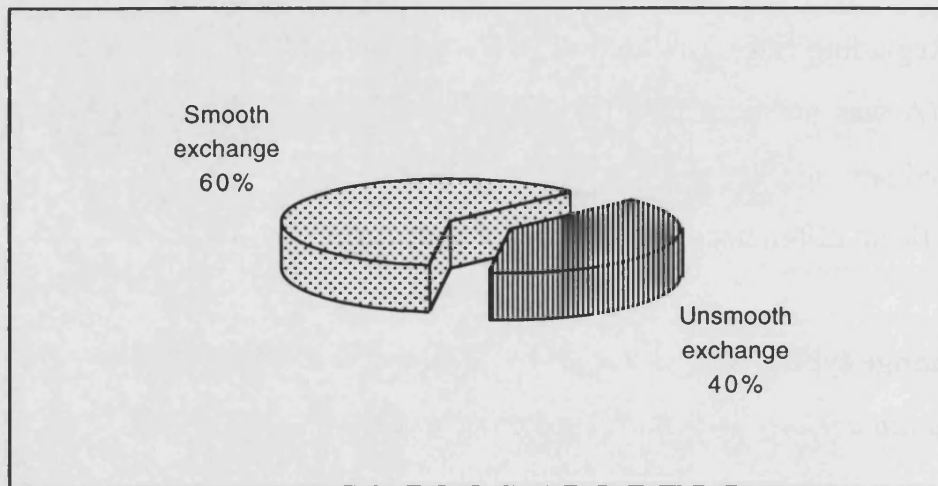


Fig. 24 . Percentages for smooth exchange vs. unsmooth speaker-switch

Regarding categories it was observed that all participants had around 60 % of their exchanges smooth and 40 % of intervened turns. See the results in the table below.

Table 29a. Intervened turns and smooth exchange for each category.

	<b>AU</b> (audience-indiv.)	<b>AZ</b> (audience-group)	<b>G</b> (guest)	<b>H</b> (host)
<b>ITV (intervened exchange)</b>	44.1%	35.7%	37.8%	42.7%
<b>SE (smooth speaker-switch)</b>	55.9%	64.3%	62.2%	57.3%
Total	34	84	874	649

As observed in the table above, the results are very similar for all categories. However, the individual members of the audience participate in 44.1 % of intervened turns and 60 % of smooth exchanges, number more similar to those for H (42.7 % of intervened exchanges and 57.3 % of smooth exchanges). The audience-group participates in 64.3 % of smooth exchanges and 35.7 % of intervened exchanges, these results are more similar to Gs who display 57.3 % of smooth exchanges and 42.7 % of intervened exchanges. However, let us observe the mean for those same results:

Table 29b. Intervened turns and smooth exchange for each category.

	<b>A U</b> <b>(audience-indiv.)</b>	<b>A Z</b> <b>(audience-group)</b>	<b>G</b> <b>(guest)</b>	<b>H</b> <b>(host)</b>
<b>ITV (intervened exchange)</b>	0.8	2.5	8.4	23.03
<b>SE (smooth speaker-switch)</b>	1	3.9	13,9	31

### 5.2. Type of exchange for male-female participants

A cross-comparison was carried out between male-female participation smooth exchange vs. unsmooth speaker-switch. The results are presented in table 30 below.

Table 30. Female-male types of exchange

Type of exchange	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
ITV (intervened exchange)	41.1%	38.4%
SE (smooth speaker-switch)	58.9%	61.6%

Total	901	656
-------	-----	-----

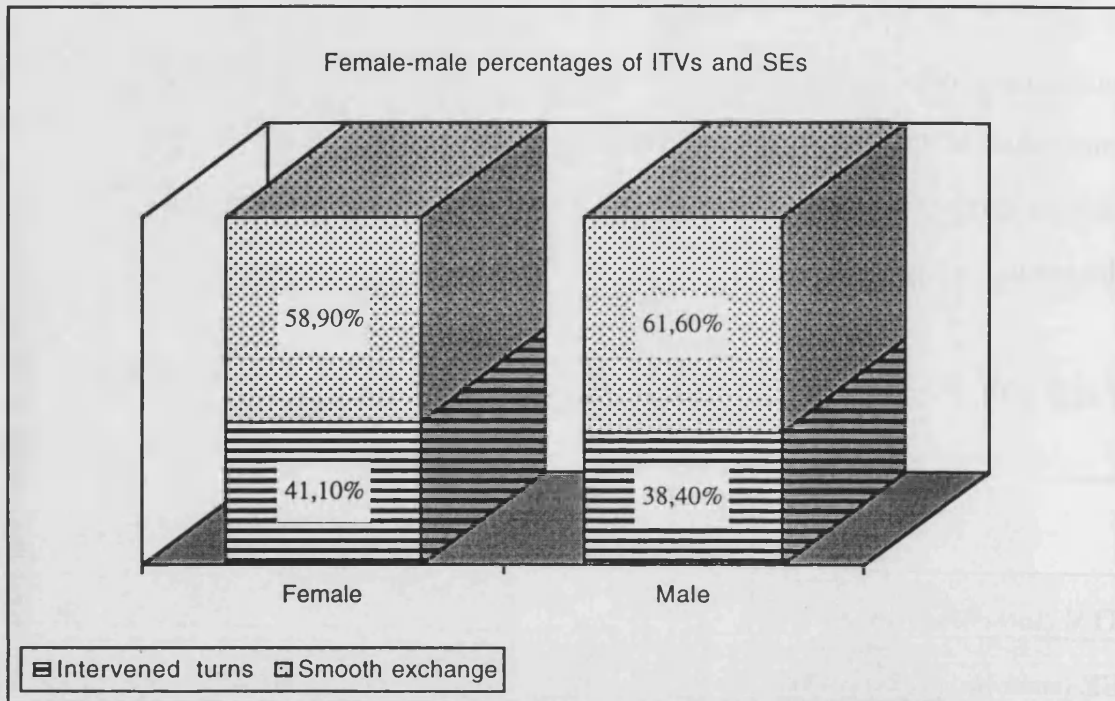


Fig. 25. Male-female percentages of intervened turns and smooth exchanges.

In female-turns, 41,1% of the turns are accomplished by intervened turns while 58.9% are accomplished by smooth exchange. In male-turns, 61.1% of the exchanges are smooth, while 38.40% are through an ITV. There is a predominance for smooth speaker-switch in both male and female participants.

If we interpret the table horizontally ( see table 31 below) of all intervened turns the difference between female-male use of both types of exchanges is not indeed significant. In the intervened turns almost 60% is by females and 41% by males. In the case of smooth exchanges it is also very similar: 56.8% by females and a 61.6% by males.



Table 31. Distribution between male and female of intervened turns and smooth exchanges

	Female	Male	Total
ITV (intervened exchange)	59.5%	40.5%	622
SE (smooth speaker-switch)	56.8%	61.6%	935

### 5.2. Types of intervened turns

Table 32 displays the frequency and percentages of the different types of intervened turns that appeared in our data.

Table 32. Types of intervened turns

Types of intervened turns	Freq.	Percent.
BT (butting-in interruption)	55	8.4%
F2 (floor-sharing) <sup>2</sup>	157	24.1%
K (silent interruption)	55	8.4%
OVL (overlap)	255	39.1%
P (simple interruption)	86	13.2%
PR (parenthetical remarks)	44	6.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>652</b>	

The table above shows that the most common type of intervened turn is the overlap which accounts for 39.1% of all intervened turns. F2 situations add up to 24.1% of all intervened turns, and butting-in interruption, 8.4%. Silent

<sup>2</sup> These cases were turns that formed part of highly confrontational segments in which the floor was shared by many participants at the same time (see section on methodology for more details).

interruptions account for 8.4% of all exchanges of turn and simple interruptions, 13.2%. Finally, parenthetical remarks account for 6.7% of all exchanges. These results are illustrated in Fig. 26

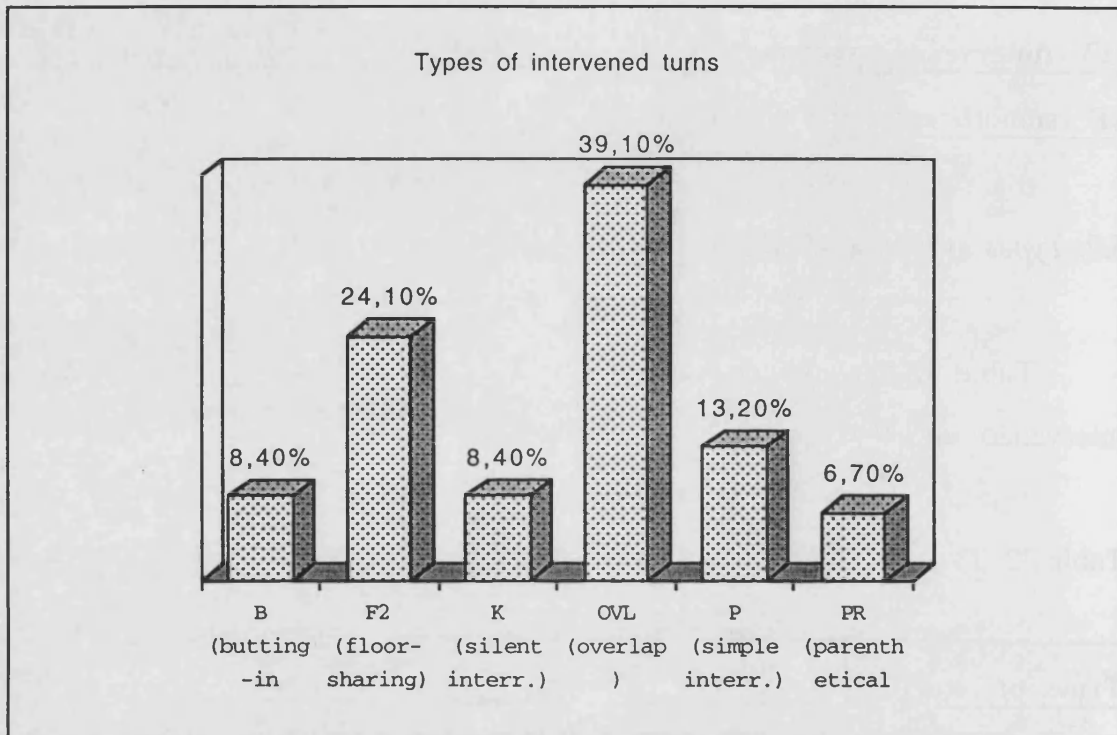


Fig. 26. Percentages for the types of intervened turns in our data.

A more meaningful interpretation of the results above is possible if we consider that these types of intervened turns can be internally grouped according to what they may do and signal to the current speaker:

a) Overlaps, silent interruptions and simple interruptions result in the current speaker giving up the floor. All together they add up to 60.7% of the intervened turns.

b) Parenthetical remarks and butting-in interruptions can also be grouped together, because in both types of intervention the current speaker does not give up the turn. All together they add up to 15,1% of the cases.

c) Finally, F2-turns are considered separately since in these segments all the participants are consciously sharing the floor, invading each other's territory and causing confusion as well as confrontation at all levels. F2-turns add up to 24% of all intervened turns.

So far, high percentages of a), 60.7% and of c) 24. 0% indicate that TTSs are dynamic, in the sense that there is hardly any time for silence and that moments in which many participants are attempting to communicate at the same time are more than common.

*5.3. Types of unsmooth/ intervened turns and sex*

The different types of intervened or unsmooth turns were cross-compared according to sex. The results are displayed in table 33 below

Table 33. Types of intervened turns according to sex.

	Female	Male	Total
<b>BT (butting-in interruption)</b>	50.9%	49.1%	55
<b>F2 (floor-sharing)</b>	65.3%	34.7%	147
<b>K (silent interruption)</b>	50.9%	49.1%	55
<b>OVL (overlap)</b>	57.8%	42.2%	244
<b>P (simple interruption)</b>	50.6%	49.4%	77
<b>PR (parenthetical remarks)</b>	86.4	13.6	44
<b>Total</b>			622

Chi square = 22.15      Degrees of freedom = 5      p value = 0.00048974

The figure percentages for male-female use of the different types of intervened turns are very similar in most cases. Far as butting-in interruptions is concerned, 50.9% of the total number is by females and 49.1% by males. 50.9% of all silent interruptions are by male and 49.1% by females.

However, parenthetical remarks and F2-turns are used more by females. 86.4% of the parenthetical remarks are produced by females and 13.6% by males. These differences were checked against the mean and the results show a slight difference in favour of females: 0.7 parenthetical remarks for females and 0.4 parenthetical remarks for males. There is also higher participation of women in F2s, 65.3% female as opposed to 34.7% by males.

*5.4. Most frequent types of intervened turns for male and female.*

The same table was also interpreted vertically to see what was the most common type of intervened turns for male-female. Table 34 shows the results:

Table 34. Types of intervened turns according to sex

	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
BT (butting-in interruption)	7.6%	10.7%
F2 (floor-sharing)	25.9%	20.2%
K (silent interruption)	7.6%	10.7%
OVL (overlap)	38.1%	40.9%
P (simple interruption)	10.5%	15.1%
PR(parenthetical remarks)	10.3%	2.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>252</b>

Chi square = 22.15

Degrees of freedom = 5

p value = 0.00048974

As indicated by the results in table 34, the differences between male-female are not significant in terms of types of intervened turns used in their discourse. However, the total number of intervened turns is higher in females (370) than in males (252). Fig. 27 illustrates the percentages exposed above.

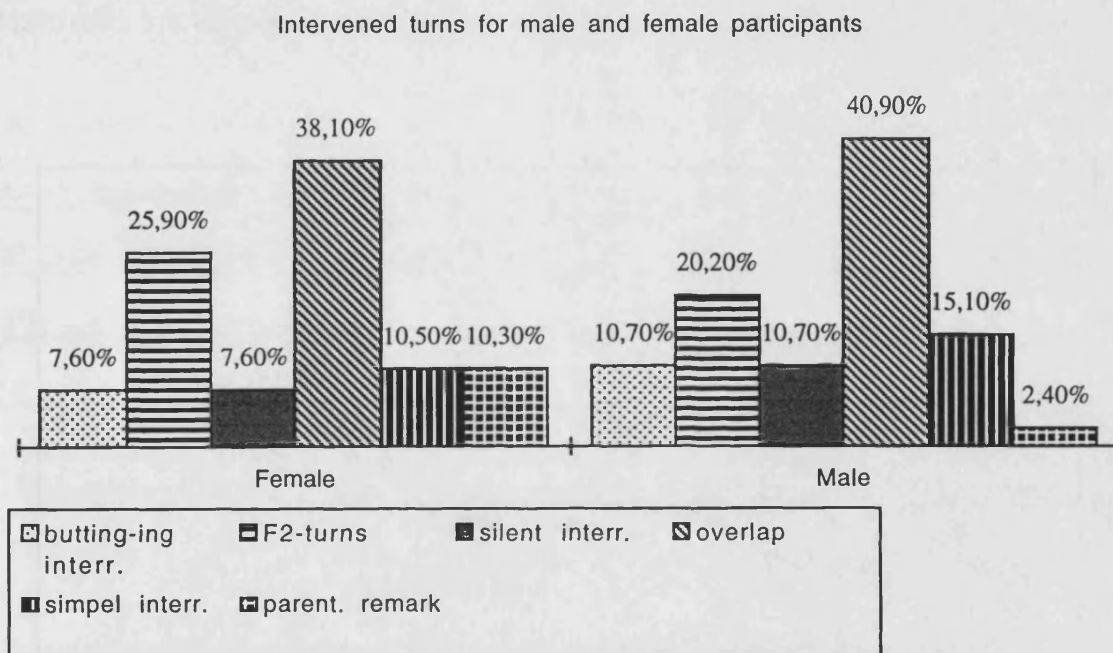


Fig. 27. Percentages for male and female types of intervened turns.

Both male and female show very similar percentages for almost all types of intervened turns. Butting-in interruptions occupy 7.6% of all female-turns and 10.7% of male-turns. F2-turns occupy 26% of the female turns and 20% of those by males. Simple interruptions are 15% of the male-turns, that is, approximately 5% more than by females (10.6%). Parenthetical remarks, on the other hand account for 10.3% of female-urns and 2.4% of male-turns. Finally, overlaps accounted for 38.2% of the intervened turns in females, and 40.7% of all male-intervened turns. Overlaps are the most common type of intervened turn for both male and female

The similarities shown between male and female in the percentages of intervened turns were confirmed by the calculation of the mean .

## 6. Unsmooth speaker-switch and speaker category

Speaker category and types of intervened turns were cross-compared. First, the total percentages of intervened turns for each of the categories are illustrated in Fig. 28 .

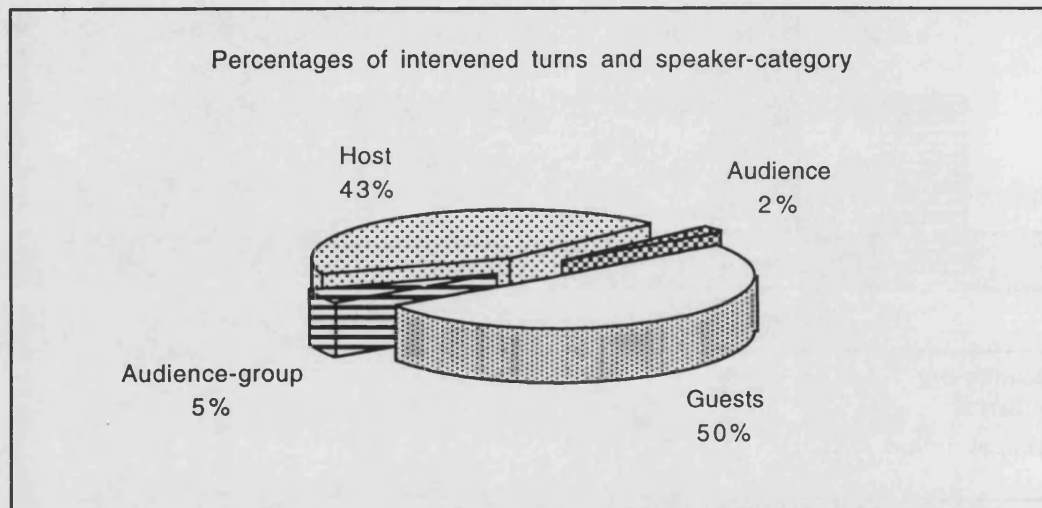


Fig. 28. Percentages of intervened turns distributed among categories.

So far, G is the category that performs most intervened turns (50.6%) followed by H (42.5%). Intervened turns coming from individual members of the audience are only 2.3% while those by AZ are 4.6%- very low percentages when compared to G and H.

### 6.1. Intervened turns for each category

A vertical interpretation of the table cross-comparing intervened turns with speaker category, allowed each category to be examined in detail to see what type

of intervened turn had been chiefly used by each of them. Table 35 shows the results:

Table 35. Intervened turns and speaker category.

	<b>AU</b> (audience-indiv.)	<b>AZ</b> (audience-group)	<b>G</b> (guest)	<b>H</b> (host)
<b>BT (butting-in interrup)</b>	0.0%	0.0%	8.2%	10.1%
<b>F2 (floor-sharing)</b>	33.3%	33.3%	34.8%	9.7%
<b>K (silent interrup)</b>	6.7%	0.0%	5.2%	13.4%
<b>OVL (overlap)</b>	33.3%	36.7%	31.8%	48.4%
<b>P (simple interrup.)</b>	20.0%	30.0%	7.6%	17.7%
<b>PR (parenth. remarks)</b>	6.7%	0.0%	12.4%	0.7%
<b>Total</b>	15	30	330	277

Chi square = 123.14      Degrees of freedom = 15    p value = 0.00000000

Individual members of the audience show a preference for F2-turns (33.3%) and for overlap (33.3%). As for the different types of interruptions, they do not perform any butting-in interruption; only 6.7% of their intervened turns are silent interruptions and 6.7% are parenthetical remarks. The number of simple interruptions however is rather high: 20% of the total number of AU's intervened turns.

AZ (audience-group), on the other hand, does not make use at all of silent interruptions, but out of their total number of intervened turns, 36.7% are overlaps and 30 % are simple interruptions. The rest (33.3%) are F2-turns.

G's total number of intervened turns is 330. In performing those, G shows a preference for F2-turns (34.8%) and for overlaps (31.8%). After those two types, G

also uses parenthetical remarks which account for 12.4% of all G's intervened turns; 8.2% are butting-in interruptions and 7.6% are simple interruptions.

H's total number of intervened turns is 277. H shows a preference for overlap (48.4%), which represents almost fifty per cent of all H's intervened turns, and for simple (17.7%) and silent (13.4%) interruptions. 10.1% corresponds to butting-in interruptions and 9.7% to F2-turns. The lowest percentage corresponds to parenthetical remarks (0.7%).

*6.2. Distribution of intervened turns across categories*

The cross-comparison was also interpreted horizontally to find out the distribution of intervened turns across categories.

Table 36. Types of intervened turns for each category.

	AU (audience-indiv.)	AZ (audience-group)	G (guest)	H (host)	Total
BT (butting-in interrup.)	0.0%	0.0%	49.1%	50.9%	55
F2 (floor-sharing)	3.2%	6.4%	73.2%	17.2%	157
K (silent interruption)	1.8%	0.0%	30.9%	67.3%	55
OVL (overlap)	2.0%	4.3%	41.2%	52.5%	255
P (simple interruption)	3.5%	10.5%	29.1%	57.0%	86
PR (parenthetical remarks)	2.3%	0.0%	93.2%	4.5%	44

Chi square = 123.14      Degrees of freedom =15      p value = 0.00000000

As illustrated in table 36 above, butting-in interruption is produced in our data only by G and H. G's butting-in interruptions account for 49.1% of all butting-in interruptions (55) and H's amount to 50.9%. In F2 segments all



participants take part: 3.2% of turns by individual members of audience, 6.4% by the audience-group and 17.2% by the host. The highest participation in F2 comes from guests, who perform 73.2% of all F2-turns.

Once more, the use of overlaps is mainly by H (52.5%) and G (14.2%) with, the balance slightly tipped towards H. In the case of overlaps, AZ's percentage of overlaps (4.3%) is more than double the number produced by individual members of the audience (2%).

On the other hand, 67.3% of all silent interruptions are by H. The rest of those silent interruptions are primarily by G (30.9%) since AZ produces zero and AU only 1.8%. Simple interruptions are largely produced by H: 57% of all cases; and by G who produces 29.1%. The audience-group performs 10.5% of these simple interruptions and individual members of the audience only 3.5%. Finally, parenthetical remarks are almost exclusively used by G who produces 93.2% of all cases.

A stratified analysis was carried out to detect any possible differences regarding male-female use of the different types of intervened turns. The results show that Gs showed similar percentages in male-female use of different types of interventions, except for Female-G's use of parenthetical remarks: 15.1% as opposed to 5.4% by males. In H, the most noticeable feature was that male-H used a slightly higher amount of simple interruptions, 20.6% compared to 13.7% by females.

*6.3. Mean number of intervened turns for male and female.*

The mean for the total number of intervened turns for male-female G and H was calculated. Tables 37 and 38 display the results:

Table 37. Mean number of intervened turns for male and female

	<b>N° of intervened-turns</b>	<b>Mean</b>
<b>Host</b>	277	23
<b>Guest</b>	330	8.4

The mean indicates that H intervenes in turns almost three times more than Gs. Regarding male-female use, the tables below show the results:

Table 38. Stratified analysis. Man number for female-male number of intervened turns.

	<b>Guest</b>		<b>Host</b>	
	<b>N° of intervened turns</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>N° of intervened turns</b>	<b>Mean</b>
<b>Female</b>	238	8.8	117	23.4
<b>Male</b>	92	7.6	160	22.8

As indicated by the mean calculated above, there are no significant differences between male-female regarding number of intervened turns.

## **7. Type of turn-taking and type of exchange**

Type of turn-taking in terms of self-selection non-self-selection (SS vs. NSS) has been cross-compared with the column that classifies turns in terms of intervened turn vs. smooth speaker switch. The most relevant results are discussed below.

### *7.1. Self-selection in host*

The total number of turns by H is 649. As illustrated in table 38 below, in self-selection, the most common type of speaker-switch was that the speaker self-selected himself in a situation that allowed smooth speaker-switch, which accounts for 56.7% of all H's contributions (368 turns out of 649). More than half of the contributions by H would start smoothly, without having to fight for the floor or intervene in another speaker's turn. In relation to the total number of types of exchange analyzed here (1641), this situation occurs in approximately 23% of the exchanges (see complete table in appendix 1), a figure relevant enough if we consider that the number of potential possibilities in a situation with so many potential participants present is quite large. Let us look in detail at the rest of the types of turn uttered by H in self-selection. Table 39 below illustrates those cases of self-selection combined with the type of speaker-switch that appear in our data.

Table 39. Types of turns uttered by H.

<b>Turn-taking</b>	<b>Type of exchange</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Perc.</b>
SS1 (self-select. by H)	BT1 (butting-in interr. by H)	28	4.3%
SS1 (self-select. by H)	F2 (partic. in floor-sharing)	27	4.1%
SS1 (self-select. by H)	K1 (silent interr. by H)	37	5.7
SS1 (self-select. by H)	OVL1 (overlap by H)	134	20.6%
SS1 (self-select. by H)	P1 (simple interr. by H)	49	7,5%
SS1 (self-select. by H)	PR1 (parenthetical remarks by H)	2	0.3%
SS1 (self-select. by H)	SE (smooth exchange by H)	368	56.7%
GH (G allocates turn to H in smooth exchange)	SE (smooth exchange)	4	0.6%
Total		649	

The first type, as we said, was smooth speaker-switch (SS1-SE) in which H would self-select him/herself for the next turn. The second most common type of turn for H is that in which H would get the turn by overlapping with the current speaker (SS1-OVL1), those cases add up to 20.6% of all speaker-switch turns in which H participates

Cases in which H makes a butting-in interruption (BT1) are only 4,3% of those cases of self-selection. H uses as well other types of interruptions: H self-selects himself to produce a silent interruption in 5.7% of his/her turns, 7.5% for simple interruptions and 4.1% for F2-turns. The high percentages of self-selected turns contrast strongly with the 0.6% of turns that are allocated to H by other participants; it is only G who allocates turns to H.

7.2. Self-selection by Guest

Table 40. Types of turns by G

Turn-taking	Type of exchange	Freq.	Percent.
SS2 (self-selection by G)	BT2 (butting-in interrup.by G)	21	2.4%
SS2 (self-selection by G)	F2 (participation in floor-sharing)	110	12.5%
SS2 (self-selection by G)	K2 (silent interr. byu G)	17	1.9%
SS2 (self-selection by G)	OVL2 (overlap by G.)	105	12%
SS2 (self-selection by G)	P2 (simple interruption by G)	25	2.8%
SS2 (self-selection by G)	PR2 (parent. remark by G)	41	4.6%
SS2 (self-selection by G)	SE (smooth exchange)	141	16.1%
HG (H allocates turn to G)	BT2/ F2/ SE	399	45.6%
AG (AZ/AU gives turn to G)	SE (smooth exchange)	2	0.2%
GG (G gives turn to G)	BT2/SE/F2	13	1.4%
Total		874	100%

The most common type of turn for both G's and H' is (in self-selection) in self-selection smooth speaker-switch. For G, however, the second most common would be participation in F2 situations (12.5% of all turns by G). This difference in F2-turns was tested against the mean and the results showed strikingly similar endings of participation for both (i.e. the mean for the F2s in relation to H and G participation is 2.25 for H and 2.8 for G). G and H also coincide in the high number of overlaps (12% for G). Other types of interruptions occupy lower percentages, only 1.9% of all G's turns are silent interruptions and 2.8% are simple interruptions. The number of parenthetical remarks is slightly higher (4.6%).

Regarding non-self-selected turns, and as explained above in section 4, the most common type of non-self-selection is that in which H allocates the turn to a

specific G, it occurs in 45.6% of the turns by G which are allocated to them by H. Allocation by Gs (1.4%) show very low percentages.

*7.3. Self-selection by audience*

Table 41. Types of turns uttered by the audience

Turn-taking	Type of exchange	Freq.	Percent.
SS3 (audience self-selection)	F2 (floor sharing)	15	12.7%
SS3 (audience self-selection)	K3 (silent interruption)	1	0.8%
SS3 (audience self-selection)	0VL3 (overlap)	16	13.5%
SS3 (audience self-selection)	P3 (simple interruption)	12	10.1%
SS3 (audience self-selection)	PR3 (parenthetical remark)	1	0.8%
SS3 (audience self-selection)	SE (smooth speaker-switch)	52	44%
HA (host gives turn to audience)	SE (smooth speaker-switch)	21	17.7%
Total		118	

Most of the self-selection turns by the audience come from the audience as a group (AZ): 79 cases out of the 97 of all self-selected turns. The most common type of exchange is also the self-selection in a smooth exchange: 44% of all audience's turns (118 if we add allocated and non-allocated) are like this. After those, the highest percentages of audience-self-selection are overlaps (13.5%) and F2-turns (12.7%), followed by simple interruptions (10.1%). Figure percentages for other types of interruption are lower: parenthetical remarks (0.8%) and of silent interruptions (0.8%) are much less. On the other hand, all turns allocated to the audience come from H (17.7% of turns are HA); and while none of them comes from G.

Self-selected turns by individual members of the audience need special comment since out of the total number of 18 cases of self-selection by an individual member of the audience, 12 correspond to the same extract and take place in an interval of around one hundred turns.

## 8. Question-answer sequences

Table 42 below shows the results obtained from classifying all turns in terms of question, answer or comment (Z)<sup>3</sup>.

Table 42. Classification of turns according to question-answer format.

	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Perc.</b>
<b>Answer</b>	511	31.1%
<b>Question</b>	536	32.7%
<b>Z (comment)</b>	594	36.2%
<b>Total</b>	1641	

Chi square = 968.73      Degrees of freedom = 2      p value =0.00000000

The total number of questions, answers and other types of contributions are surprisingly equal. Such degree of similarity was unexpected except for question-answer adjacency pairs. These results indicate that most of the time the interaction takes place in blocks of sequences formed by a question- answer format. There are 32.7% of the turns that are questions, 31.1% answers and 36.2% comments. The percentages above also indicate that most questions do get answered, that is, only 1.6% of the questions is left unanswered. Fig 29 below illustrates these percentages.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 9 on methodology for a detailed description of "Z."

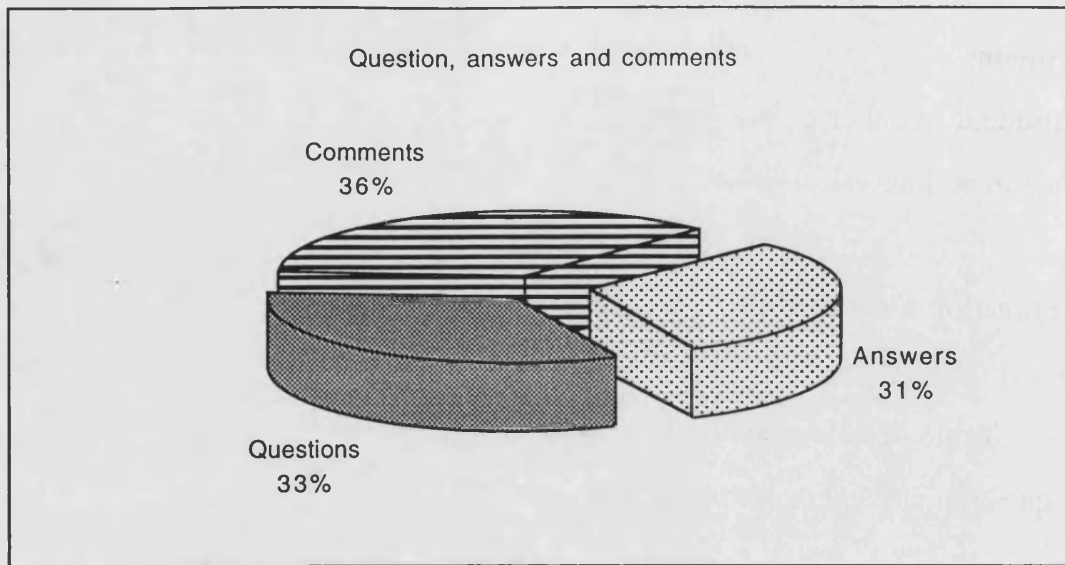


Fig. 29. Percentages of number of turns classified as question, answer and comments.

### 9. Question-answer format and speaker category

Table 43 below cross-compares speaker categories with the results that classify turns in terms of Q, A, Z.

Table 43. Contributions for each category in terms of Q-A -Z.

Question-answer	A (audience-indiv.)	AZ (audience-group)	G (guest)	H (host)
Answer	11.8%	1.2%	56.8%	1.5%
Question	38.2%	0.0%	4.6%	74.4%
Z (comment)	50.0%	98.8%	38.7%	24.0%
Total	34	84	874	649

As displayed in table 43 above, 50% of the contributions by individual members of the audience are comments; 38.2% are questions and only 11.8% are



answers. Half of audience-individual's types of utterances are therefore statements which are other than question-answer (advice, warning, etc.). Answers are not common in individual member of the audience since we only register 4 answers.

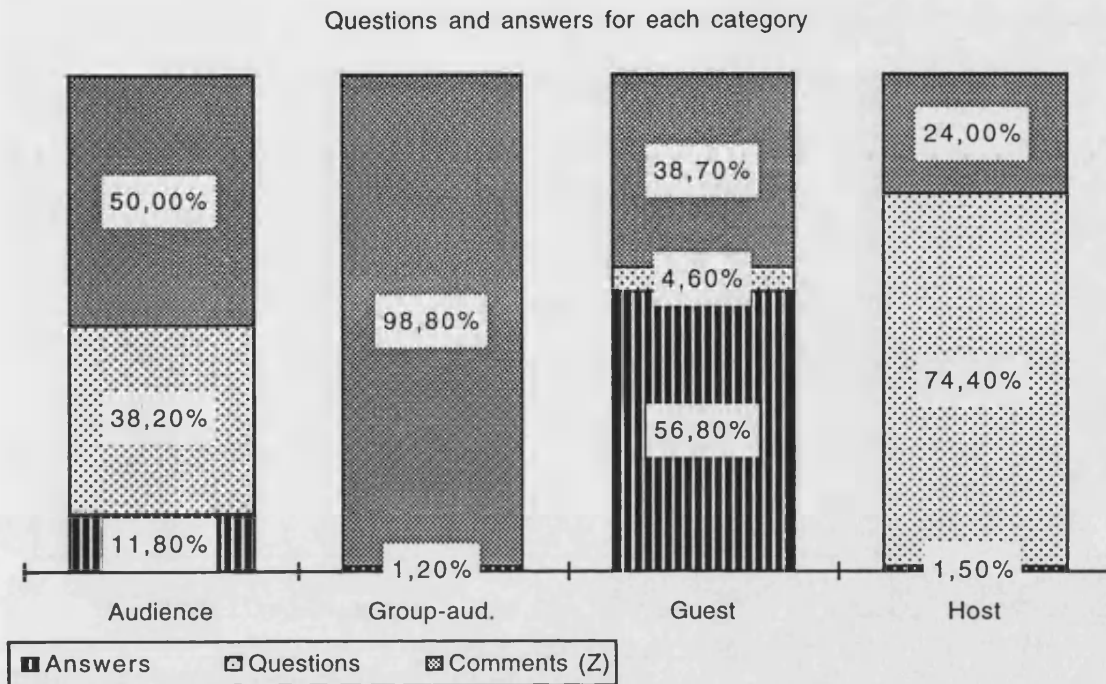


Fig. 30. Percentages of questions, answers and comments for each category.

99% of the turns by the audience-group are comments <sup>4</sup>. and only 1.2% of answers. This coincides with H, whose answer-turns are only 1.5% of his/her total number of contributions.

G's main activity is answering, since 56.8% of its turns are answers, 38.7% are Zs, and 4.6% questions. H, on the other hand, produces mainly questions (74.4%) and Zs (24%), very rarely hosts answer questions. This indicates that it is mainly within a question format that H achieves actions such as challenging, accusing, doubting, etc. (cf. Hutchby, 1996: 30).

<sup>4</sup>The methodology itself already explains why, since it is almost imposible to fully classify AZ's reactions in terms of question-answer. A lot of members, if not all, of the audience react together. This reaction has to be interpreted as a shared utterance of the whole group.

**10. Question-answer format and self-selection**

In this section we cross-compared question-answer and self-selection vs. non-self-selection. Table 44 below shows the results.

Table 44. Questions and answers in relation to self-selection

	SS (self-selection)	NSS (non-self-selection)	Total
Answer	22.7%	77.3%	511
Question	97.6%	2.4%	536
Z (comment)	94.8%	5.2%	594
			1641

Chi square = 968.73      Degrees of freedom = 2      p value = 0.00000000

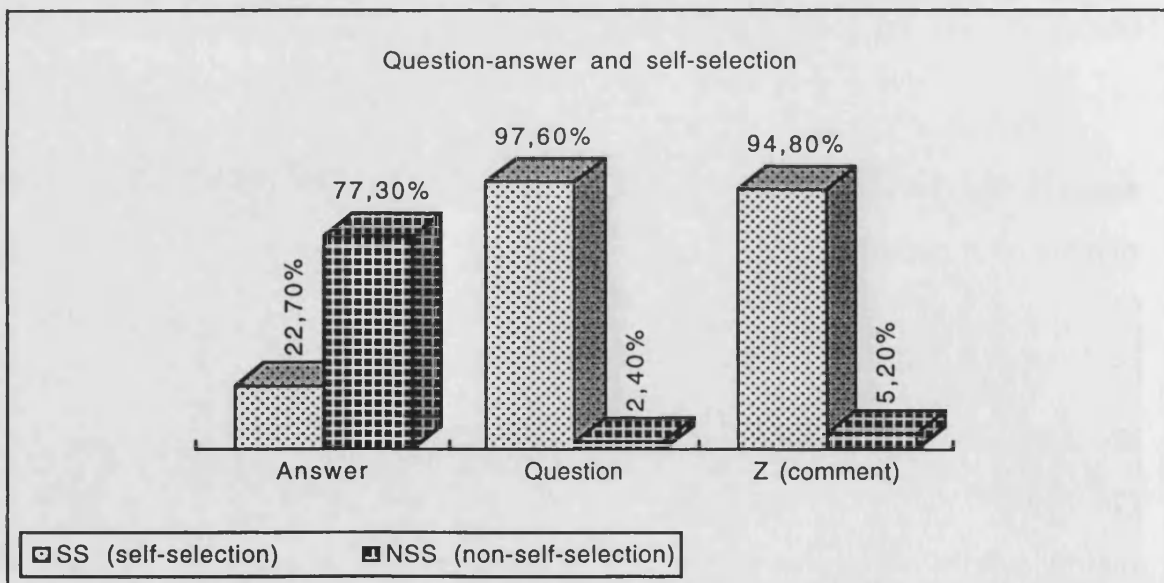


Fig. 31. Self-selection in question-answer processes.

The results show that, first of all, in answers, 77.3% are not self-selected, that is, the current speaker selects the person who is to provide the answer. There are, however, 22.7% of the answers which are self-selected, that is, the speaker self-selects him/herself to answer a question that is not directly allocated to him/her. These results seem to indicate that, most frequently, questions are answered, and that the questioner does not ask open questions but addresses it to a particular participant. On the other hand, questions are 97.6% self-selected, and 2.4% non-self-selected. The percentages for comments are very similar to those of questions: comments are 5.20% non-self-selected and 98.4% self-selected.

A stratified analysis was done to see how these results affected each of the categories in terms of self-selection and number of questions and answers and Zs for each of them. Table 45 below displays the results.

Table 45. Stratified analysis for each category in relation to question-answer.

	A (audience-indiv.)			AZ (audience-group)			G (guest)			H (host)		
	SS vs. N-SS			SS vs. N-SS			SS vs. N-SS			SS vs. N-SS		
	SS	NSS	Total	SS	NSS	Total	SS	NSS	Total	SS	NSS	Total
A	50%	50.0%	4	100%	0.0%	1	21.6%	78.4%	496	60%	40.0%	10
Q	61.5%	38.5%	13	0.0%	0.0%	0	80%	20.0%	40	100%	0.0%	483
Z	47.1%	52.9%	17	94.0%	6.0%	83	95%	5.0%	338	100%	0.0%	156

In the case of individual members of the audience (AU) and AZ the number of answers is very low; AU only answers 4 questions (50% through self-selection and 50% through self-selection) and AZ only answers one question.

Regarding the number of questions, AU asks only 13 questions: 61.5% of their questions occur through self-selection and 38.5% through non-self-selection.

AU also produces 17 comments: 47.1% through self-selection and 52.9% through non-self-selection. Turns by the audience-group are mainly to produce comments; 83 out of the 84 turns have been classified as Z.

The number of questions from G is low when compared to the number of answers, G asks only 40 questions, i.e. 4.6% of his/her turns are questions. It seems that G's main activity is answering since 496 out of 874 of G's turns are answers. The degree of self-selection for Gs in order to answer possible questions is low if compared with non-self-selected answers. Only 26.6% of the answers by G are self-selected while the rest (78.4.%) are the result of turn-allocation by the current speaker. Notice, however, that the number of comments by Gs is quite high (3338 turns): 38,7% of all G's turns.

Finally, regarding H's behaviour, it is clear that his/her way of taking the turn is primarily through self-selection, all H's turns are achieved through self-selection, except for 4 answers which are responses to requests for clarification. 100% of H's questions and Z-types (comments) are reached through self-selection. Additionally, 90 % of all questions (483 out of 536) are by H. This clearly shows that there is an unreciprocal continuum in the talk format since one of the speakers, H, almost never gets selected by others, while the rest of the categories do. 100% of the questions from H are accomplished by self-selection and so are the comments. Answers are 60% through self-selection and 40% non-self-selection.

Regarding male-female in relation to question-answer, the only significant difference found in our analysis concerns Gs. G-females seem to produce a higher number of Zs than G-males. As for questions and answers, both male and female Gs show similar results.

Table 46. Stratified analysis for each category in relation to question-answer.

	A (audience-indiv.)		AZ (audience-group)		G (guest)		H (host)	
	SS vs. N-SS		SS vs. N-SS		SS vs. N-SS		SS vs. N-SS	
	SS	NSS	SS	NSS	SS	NSS	SS	NSS
A	11.1%	12.5	1.3%	0.0%	23.3%	94.0%	0.9%	100%
Q	44.4%	31.3%	0.0%	0.0%	7.0%	1.9%	74.9%	0.0%
Z	44.4%	56.3	98.7%	100%	69.8%	4.1%	24.2%	0.0%
	18	16	79	5	460	414	645	4

### 11. Detailed analysis of type of turn and speaker-category

In the analysis, as shown in column question-answer each, of the turns was classified not only as a question (Q), answer (A) or comment (Z), but additionally, a number was given that indicated who asked the question to whom and who answered whom (see section on methodology); Zs were classified in terms of who uttered them. The purpose of this classification was to find out. Table 47 below shows the results:

Q1 in relation to A1, that is, how many questions asked by H were answered?;

Q2 in relation to A2: how many questions asked by G were answered?;

Q3 in relation to A3: how many question asked by A were answered

Table 47. Questions and answers for each of the categories

QA	Freq.	Percent
Q1 (question by host)	483	29.4%
A1 (answer to Q1)	478	29.1%
Q2 (question by guest)	40	2.4%
A2 (answer to Q2)	22	1.3%
Q3 (question by audience)	13	0.8%
A3 (answer to Q3)	11	0.7%
Z1 (comment by host)	156	9.5%
Z2 (comment by guest)	338	20.6%
Z3 (comment by audience)	100	6.1%
Total	1641	

These results are illustrated in Fig. 32 below.

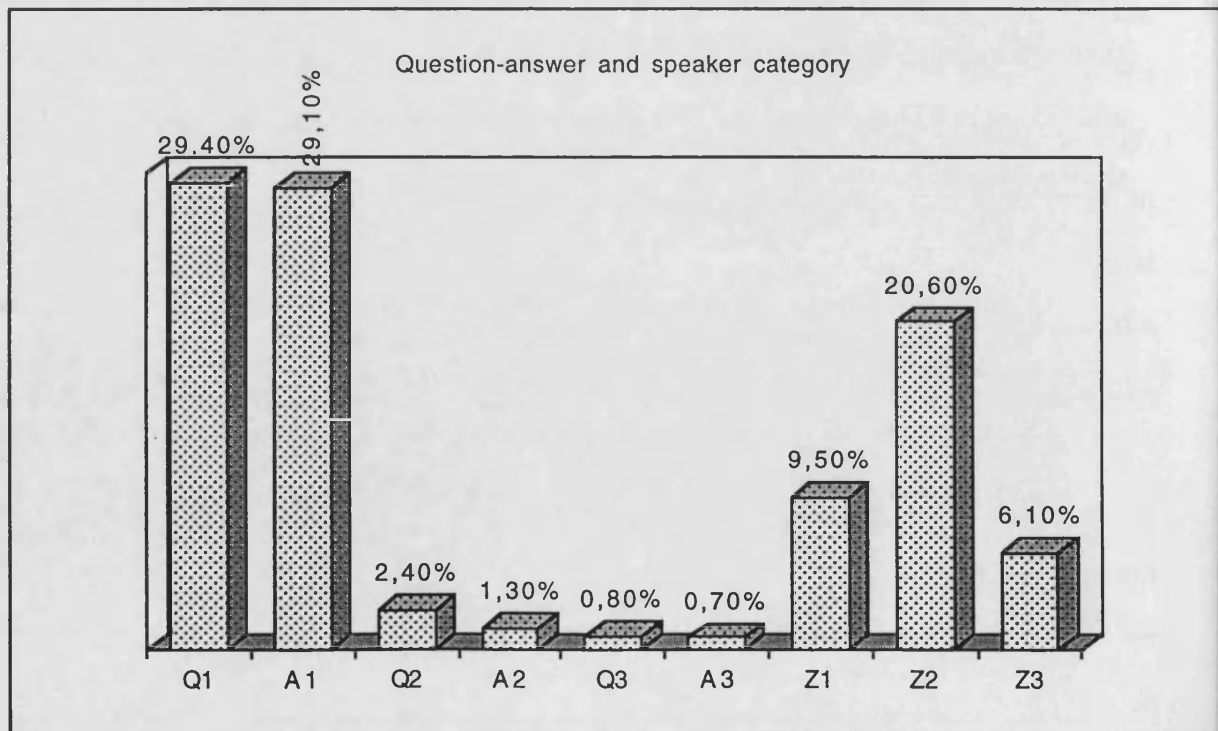


Fig. 32. Questions and answers in relation to speaker category

The results show that, on the one hand, more than fifty percent of the turns are monopolized by H's questions: that is, a total number of 29.4% are Q1 (questions from H) and 29.1% of turns are A1 (i.e. answers to questions from H). Most questions from H are answered, as only 0.5% of H's questions are left unanswered.

Turns initiated by Q2 (that is questions from G) account for 2.4% of the turns and only 1.3% of answers to those questions. It means that 29% of all questions from G are left unanswered. Turns initiated by Q3 (questions from audience) are only 0.8% of the total number of turns; 8.3% of these questions from the audience are left unanswered.

Regarding Z-types (comments) of turns, Gs utter the highest number of Z-turns (20.6% of all turns are Z2). It seems then that Gs make use more often of these type of turns. However, if we consider the mean, the results are 8.6 for Gs as opposed to 13 for Hs, so individually, H produces more comments than G.

A cross-comparison was made between this information and speaker category to determine exactly the kind of acts that each category realized and who was the destinatory of these acts. Table 48 <sup>5</sup> shows the results.

---

<sup>5</sup> The empty boxes with shading are those cases which cannot occur for a certain category, because of the methodology. So for example, AZ can never produce Q1 because number 1 right next to it means that H is uttering it.

Table 48. Whom were question and answers addressed to ?

	A (audience-indiv.)	AZ (audience-group)	G (guest)	H (host)
Q1 (question by host)				74.4%
A1 (answer to Q1)	11.8%	0.0%	54.0%	0.3%
Q2 (question by guest)			4.6%	
A2 (answer to Q2)	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	1.2%
Q3 (question by audience)	38.2%	0.0%		
A3 (answer to Q3)	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%
Z1 (comment by host)				24.0%
Z2 (comment by guest)			38.7%	
Z3 (comment by audience)	50.0%	98.8%		
Total	34	84	874	649

Chi square = 3717.23      Degrees of freedom = 24    p. value = 0.00000000

50% of the turns by audience-individuals are to make comments (Z3), 38% to ask questions (Q3) and the rest, 11.8%, are to answer questions from H; notice that audience-individuals do not answer any questions from G (0.0% of A2). AZ's turns are almost exclusively for comments (98.8%), and 1.2% which corresponds to answers to G (A2) by AZ.

The results for G show that 54% of G's turns are to answer questions to the host (A1); 4.6% is to ask questions and 38.7% for comments (Z2). Additionally, there is only 1.5% of questions answered to another G (A2) and 1.3% questions answered to the audience (A3).



H, on the other hand, shows that most of his/her activity is to ask questions (Q1) and that only occasionally answers some; 0.3 to answer his/her own questions (A1), in this case H is the only category who answers his/her own question; 1.2% to answer questions from G and 0% of answers to the audience (A3)

## **12. Type of exchange in question-answer frames**

*12.1. Do questions, answers and Zs occur with smooth exchange or unsmooth speaker-switch ?*

A cross-comparison between speaker, type of exchange and QA was made to look at how Q-A- and Zs were introduced. The most relevant results are showed in the tables below.

Table 49. Intervened turns vs. smooth exchanges

	ITV (intervened turn)	SE (smooth speaker-switch)	Total
A1 (answer to Q1)	13.2%	86.8%	478
A2 (answer to Q2)	40.9%	59.1%	22
A3 (answer to Q3)	54.5%	45.5%	11
Q1 (question by host)	36.0%	64.0%	483
Q2 (question by guest)	60.0%	40.0%	40
Q3 (question by audience)	61.5%	38.5%	13
Z1 (comment by host)	63.5%	36.5%	156
Z2 (comment by guest)	68.6%	31.4%	338
Z3 (comment by audience)	37.0%	63.0%	100
			1641

Chi square = 308.92 Degrees of freedom = 8 p value = 0.00000000

The results displayed in table 47 above show that answers to H (A1) are primarily carried out by smooth speaker-switch (SE); 86.8 are through SE and 13.2 intervened turn or unsmooth speaker-switch. In answers to G, 40.9% are intervened turns, while 59.1 are smooth exchange. In answers to the audience it is also almost fifty-fifty. This indicates that most speakers would wait till the current speaker finishes uttering the question.

Questions from the host are also largely through smooth exchange: 64.0% as opposed to 36% cases of intervened turns. Questions from G show the opposite, since 60% are intervened while 40% are smooth exchange; the same occurs with questions from the audience (Q3) who also shows a similar proportion: 61.5% of audience's questions are intervened and 38.5% are smooth exchange.

Comments (Z) are generally introduced through intervened turns, 63.5% of H's comments are intervened turns, and 68.6% of G's comments are intervened turns. However, for the audience, it is the other way round; 63% of their comments are smooth speaker-switch. Additionally a stratified analysis was carried out for each speaker. In tables 48 and 49 the results for H and G are displayed.

*12.2. Types of exchange for G*

Table 50. Stratified analysis. Type of exchange and question-answer in guests.

Question-answer	Type of exchange for G		Total
	ITV intervened exchange	SE smooth speaker-switch	
A1 (answer to host)	13.3%	86.7%	472
A2 (answer to guest)	38.5%	61.5%	13
Q2 (question by guest)	60.0%	40.0%	40
Z2 (comment by guest)	68.6%	31.4%	338
A3 (answer to audience)	54.5%	45.5%	11

G seem to answer most of the questions to H with SE (86.7%). That is, they would wait till H finished uttering the question to start answering. This is also the case with answers for questions from another G (A2); 61.5% are smooth exchanges. Questioning on the part of Gs, however, seems to be done by intervening in another participant's turn (60% as opposed to 40% for smooth exchange). Finally, comments (Z2) by G are chiefly reached by intervening in the current speaker's turn, 68.6% are intervened turns and 31.4% are smooth exchange. Answering questions from the audience is also performed with a 54.5%



of smooth exchange and a 45.5% of intervened turns. Fig. 33 below illustrates these results.

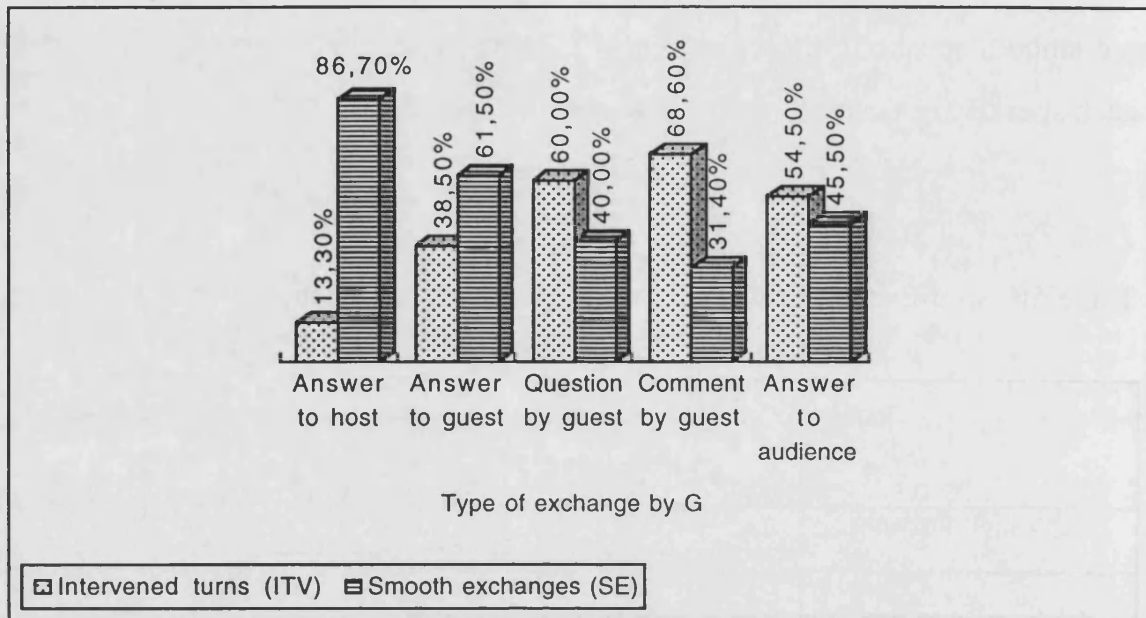


Fig. 33. Percentages of the type of exchanges by G in relation to question and answers to other categories.

### 12.3. Types of exchange for H

Table 51. Stratified analysis. Type of exchange and question-answer in hosts

	Hosts		
	ITV (intervened turns)	SE (smooth exchanges)	Total
A1 (answer to host)	0.0%	100.0%	2
A2 (answer to guest)	50.0%	50.0%	8
Q1 (question by host)	36.0%	64.0%	483
Z1 (comment by host)	63.5%	36.5%	156

Participations of H are primarily questions (Q1) followed by comments (Z1) in which H may give advice, make a comment, etc. Questions are largely accomplished in smooth exchanges(64% of the times), while Z1s are characterized by unsmooth speaker-switch, 63.45% of comments by H are intervened turns while only 36.5% are smooth exchanges. Fig. 34 below illustrates the results:

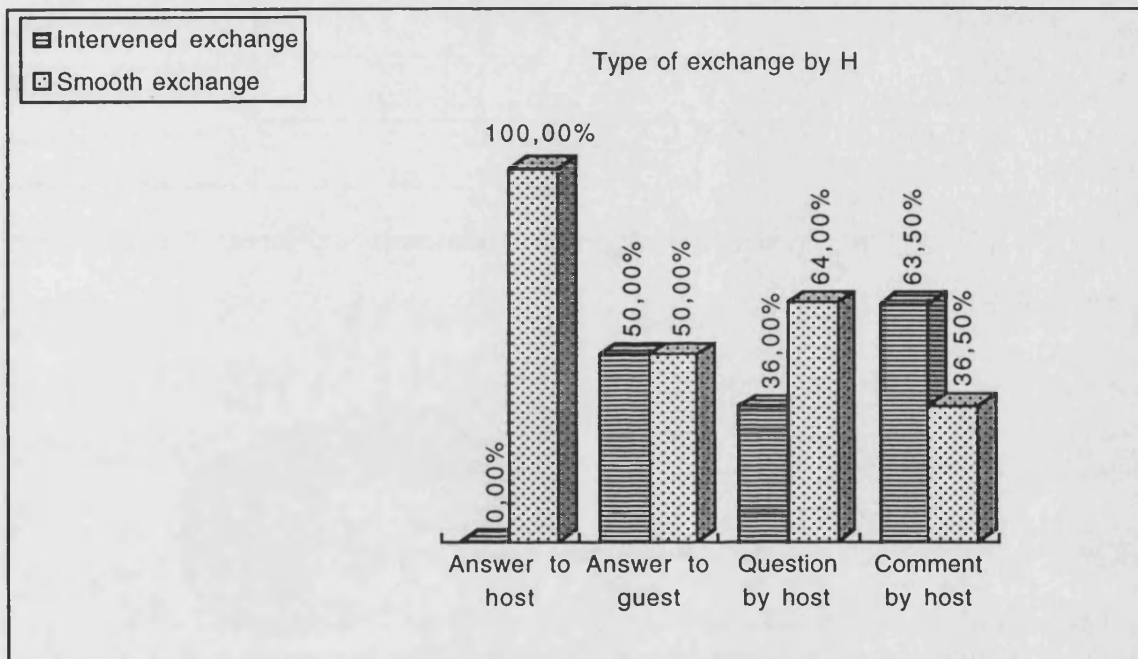


Fig. 34

The mean for the use of intervened turns was calculated for each of the categories. The table below shows the results.

Table 52. Mean number of turns in relation to category and unsmooth vs. smooth type of exchange.

	ITV unsmooth speaker-switch	Mean
AU (audience-indiv.)	15	0,8
AZ (audience-group)	30	2,5
G (guest)	330	8,4
H (host)	277	23,1

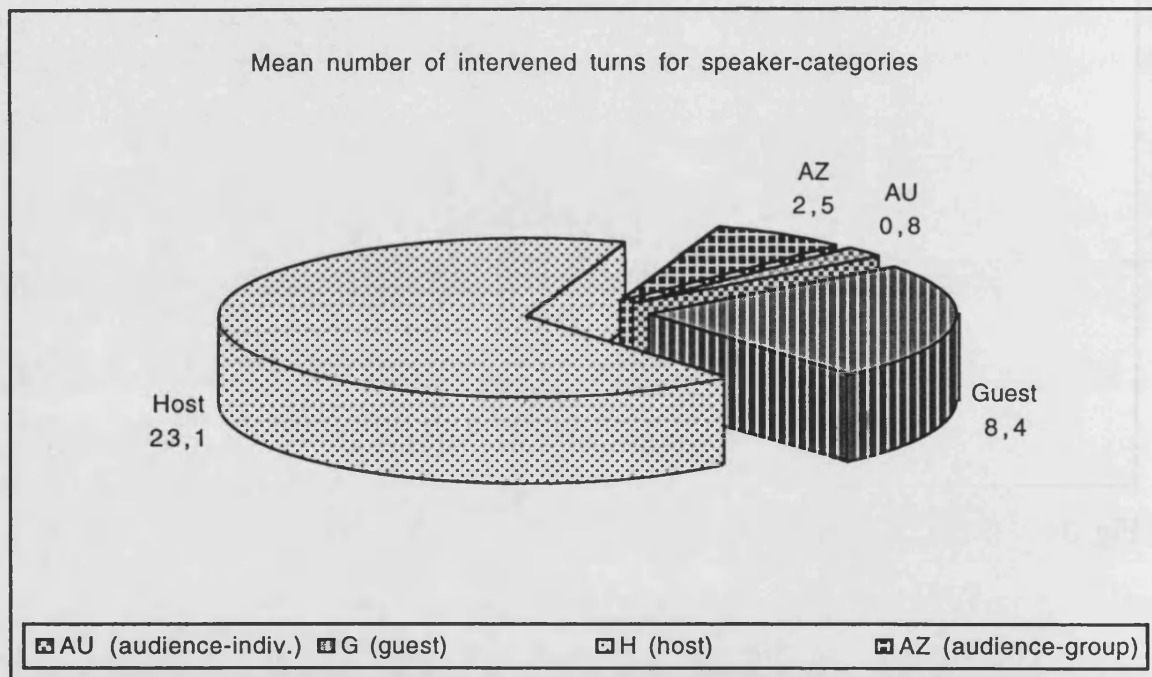


Fig. 35. Mean number of turns for H in relation to other speaker categories.

The mean indicates that H performs 67% of the total number of intervened turns. That is, it is H who intervenes more in other speaker's turns. The mean for H is 23.1 while it is only 8.4 for G and 2.5 for audience-group; and only 0.8 for individual members of the audience.

**13. Unsmooth speaker-switch in question-answer.**

In order to find out the nature and determine with what purpose the speaker produced an unsmooth speaker-switch or intervened turn a stratified analysis was done cross comparing three columns; speaker-category, type of exchange and question-answer

*13.1. Types of intervened turns for Guests*

Table 53. Intervened types of turns and question-answer to each category

	Type of exchange for G					
	BT butting-in interrup.	F2 floor- sharing	K silent interrup.	OVL overlap	P simple interrup.	PR parenthetical remarks
A1 (answer to host)	14.8%	3.5%	29.4%	40.0%	16.0%	9.8%
A2 (answer to guest)	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%
A3 (answer to audience)	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	2.4%
Q2 (question by guest)	0.0%	3.5%	17.6%	6.7%	32.0%	4.9%
Z2 (comment by guest)	85.2%	88.7%	52.9%	48.6%	52.0%	82.9%
Total	27	115	17	105	25	41

Out of the total number of intervened turns by G (330), the results show that G intervenes more frequently in the current speaker's turn in F2-segments, 115 turns which are 34.8% of all G's intervened turns. It follows those cases in which G overlaps with the current speaker, 31.8% of all intervened turns. The other types of interruptions, silent and simple (K and P) add up to 13.8% of the intervened cases, while parenthetical remarks (PR) add up to 12.4%.

In F2-segments the most common type of utterance is a comment (Z2): 88.7% of F2-turns are comments rather than question-answer sequences. F2-

segments are, usually, highly emotional and give Gs the chance of expressing their own point of view, of saving face by "accusing" others for their wrongdoing. The next most frequent intervened turn in G is overlap. Overlaps are used 40% of the times, by G, to answer a question by the host (A1), and 48.6% of the times to utter a Z2. 6.7% of the overlaps are produced to ask a question (Q2).

In addition, Simple interruptions (P) are largely produced, to make comments (Z2); 52% of the cases of P are to produce a Z2. Additionally, 32% are produced to ask questions, and 16.% to answer a question by the host (A1). Silent interruptions are also used similarly; in 52.9% of the cases in which guests use a silent interruption it is to make a comment, while 29.4% of the cases are to answer a question by the host (A1) and 17.6% to ask a question (Q2).

Butting-in interruptions appear in answers to the host (A1), which means that someone would interrupt him/her while answering the host in 14.8% of the occasions and the guest would give up his/her turn. Other cases in which guests would give up their turn when interrupted have been classified as Z2 since the analyst was not sure about the nature of the turn itself (85.2% of the butting-in interruptions).

In fact, looking at the results, it is noticeable that the highest percentages of intervened turns used by Gs are in order to produce a Z-type utterance. This seems to indicate that those cases in which G 'escapes' from the QA format imposed by H's questions have to be performed in the form of an intervened exchange: that is, Gs intervene in the current speaker turn most frequently to produce a Z-type utterance. In fact, the data shows that there are a total of 106 comments by G that are uttered in smooth exchanges, while there are 232 (68.6%) of those that occur in the form of an intervened turn. Notice, however, that the number of overlaps in



order to answer to a question by H is also high. Fig. 36 below illustrates these percentages.

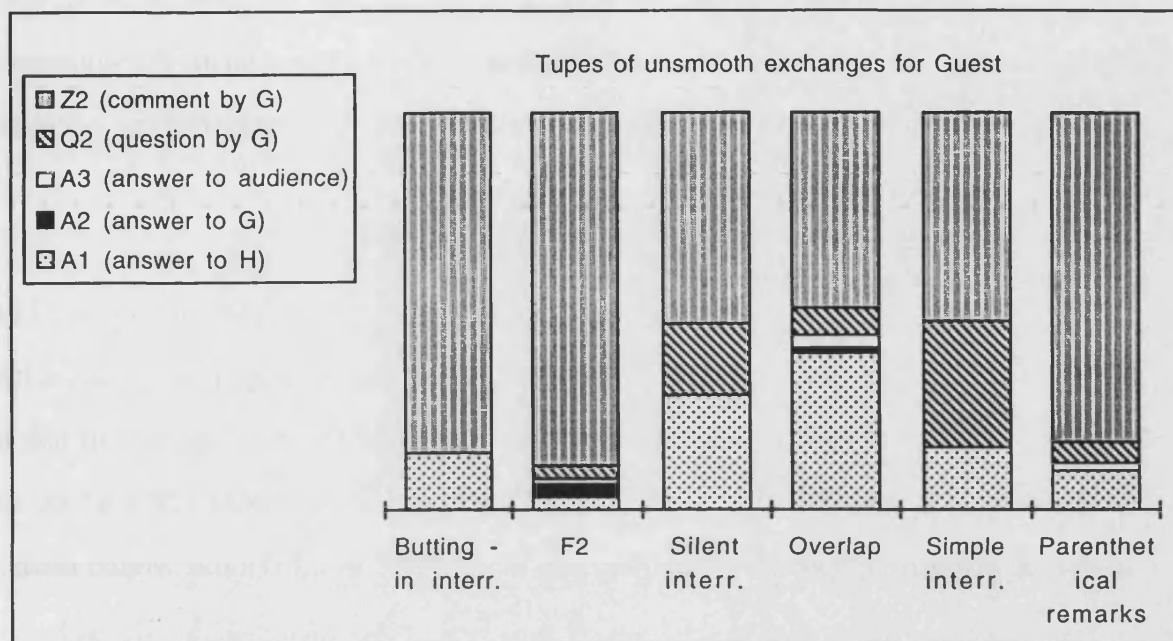


Fig. 36. Intervened turns for G and in relation to the other categories.

### 13.2. Types of intervened turns for Hosts

Table 54. Intervened turns and type of intervened turns for H in relation to other categories.

Question-answer	BT butting-in interrup.	F2 floor- sharing	K silent interrup.	OVL overlap	P simple interrup.	PR parenthetical remarks
A2 (answer to guest)	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Q1 (question by host)	3.6%	25.9%	86.5%	69.4%	83.7%	0.0%
Z1 (comment by host)	96.4%	70.4%	13.5%	28.4%	16.3%	100.0%
Total	28	27	37	134	49	2

The most common type of intervened turn in H is overlaps: 134 turns (48.4%) out of the 277 intervened turns are overlaps. The next most frequent is simple interruption (P) which accounts for 17.7% of all intervened turns by H, and silent interruption (K), 13.% of all intervened turns. Participation in F2 segments adds up to 9.7% of all intervened turns and parenthetical remarks merely account for 0.7% of all cases.

Overlaps, the most common type of intervened turn for H, are mainly used in order to ask questions (62.8%). In other words, the reason why H overlaps with the current speaker is to introduce questions (69.4% of the overlaps are to ask a question). The rest of the overlaps are to introduce a comment (28.4%) or to answer a question by G (A2), the latter only being 2.2% of all H's intervened turns.

Simple and silent interruption are also principally produced to ask questions: 83.7% of all simple interruptions and 86.5% of all silent interruptions are done with the purpose of asking a question. In F2-segments, however, H's participation is primarily done in terms of comments: 70.4% of all H's turns in F2 are comments (Z1), while only 25.9% are questions (Q1). Let us illustrate these results graphically.

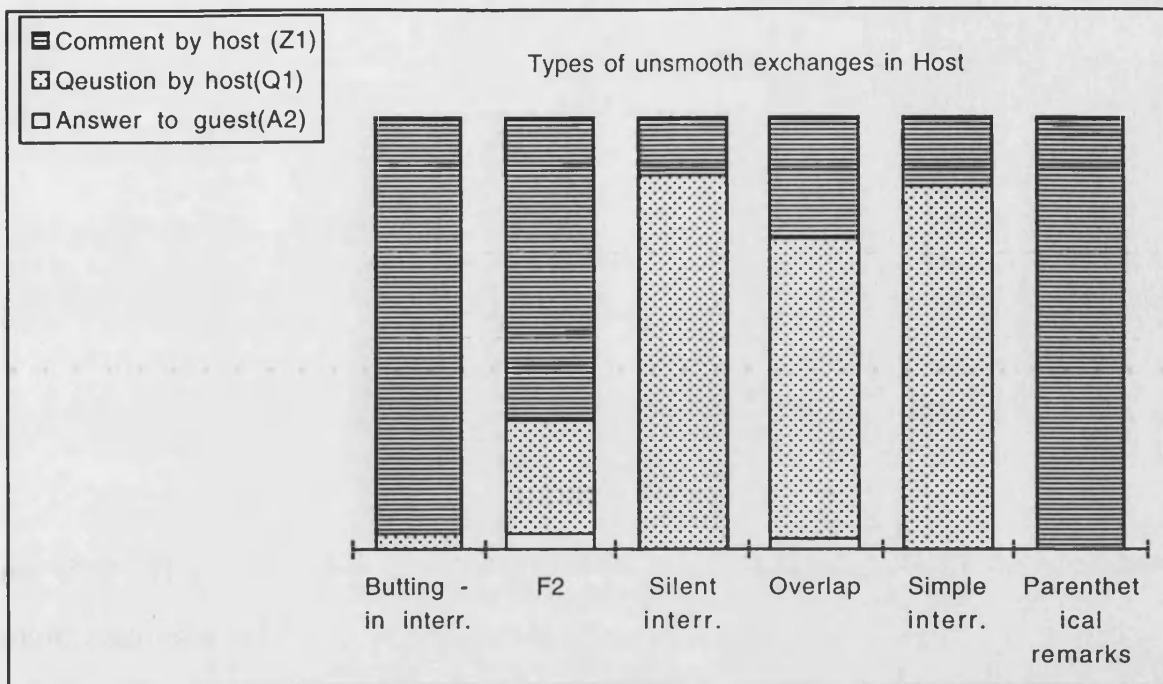


Fig. 37. Percentages of intervened turns by H in relation to other categories.

#### 14. Backchannels

The results of the use of BCs is presented in table 55 below. Only those verbal BCs by H and Gs which were audible have been registered. However, in our opinion, the number of BCs is not sufficient to draw any definitive conclusions. A total of only 61 BCs were registered for Hs and 10 for Gs. As for the audience, we believe that it might be arguable that some of the audience reactions may well be considered BCs. Deciding on such an enterprise, however, went far beyond the purposes of this study.

	Freq. of backchannels
Donahue (EXT7)	16
Geraldo (EXT8)	2
Geraldo (EXT10)	0
Jenny Jones (EXT2)	2

Maury Povich (EXT4)	2
Maury Povich ((EXT11)	2
Montel Williams (EXT1)	4
Montel Williams (EXT12)	2
Oprah Winfrey (EXT3)	30
Sally (EXT5)	0
Sally ((EXT9)	1
Ricki Lake (EXT6)	0
Total	61

It is worth mentioning that out of those 61 BCs registered for Hs, 50% are uttered by one H in particular, Oprah Winfrey. The second host who uses more BCs is *Donahue*: 26.2 % of all BCs. The rest of hosts do not use many BCs, however, the results indicate that in our data, men use them more than women (Sally and Ricki Lake use zero).

**CHAPTER 11.**  
**CONCLUSIONS**

In this study, we have considered the TTSs as a social institution *sui generis*, constituted by a configuration of normative conventions that is distinctive both from ordinary conversation and from other forms of interaction (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991: 130). We have attempted to outline its generic features and its turn-taking system by comparing it to conversation and to institutional talk, in order to show the distinctive character of the TTS turn-taking system in relation to both practices.

Two were the principal aims of the present study. First, we wanted to describe the type of interaction present in TTSs genre and to explore its institutional as well as its conversational features: it was argued that the TTS genre had a quasi-conversational nature. Second, we wanted to explore the relationships emerging between the participants in the TTS as a social setting and a public context where polemical topics are discussed. Thus, the analysis was centred on turn-taking procedures as the point of departure that would allow a description of the nature of the genre and of the conduct of the participants in such context.

The empirical analysis of turn-taking in opening sequences of TTSs was carried out with the purpose of finding out, as argued by Hutchby (1996: 112), "how institutional interactional frameworks function to distribute verbal resources asymmetrically so that different categories of participants end up with significantly different interactional prerogatives." The statistical analysis revealed institutional imperatives and systematic asymmetries which allow now discussing the generic features of TTS and the hypotheses exposed in section 9.4. In what follows we discuss the most relevant results.

*Number of turns*

The number of turns by each category shows that all in all guests participate more than hosts: the guest category produces 53% of all turns while the host category produces 39.5% of all turns. This is, however, in general terms, since the results obtained from the individual analysis of each extract display that hosts perform between 30 to 50% of all turns. The mean number of turns calculated for each category also confirms these results: it is the host who participates more often than anyone else. The implications are that it is the host who has more chances to guide the interaction, since it is s/he is the one who holds the floor more often than any other category. This confirms hypothesis number 3: *that analysis of the turn taking shows who has the power to guide and what factors contribute to the structuring of the whole interaction. This, we believe, will be mainly in the hands of the host.*

On the other hand, guests' participation seems to be equally distributed. As observed in section 1.2., there are no significant differences among individual participation of the guests (obviously some participate more than others) and they all show similar percentages regarding number of turns. This, together with the information discussed above, confirms hypothesis number 4: *that the host should guarantee fair participation to all speakers, so that their case is clearly stated to the audience to avoid misunderstandings concerning guests.*

The audience shows a lower degree of participation if compared with the other two categories. This may indicate that a) on the one hand, the audience is not allowed to participate much, and b) that they did not self-select themselves (Sacks et al, 1974; Wilson 1991) to participate more in opening sequences. This such low degree of participation, however, is not permanent. Audience participation rate has been observed to vary in different programmes and in different phases of the same

programme. Very often, it depends on the will of the host and of that particular TTS juggernaut. In this sense, some programmes allow audience participation right from the beginning (e.g. Jenny Jones *Confronting unfaithful spouses* ) while others wait until almost the end (e.g. Montel Williams *Torn between two lovers* )

These facts reveal two important TTS features of opening sequences. First, that audience participation is somehow restricted in opening sequences, a strategy that may be used by the host to exert control over the topic and the opening of the programme. Second, that by not self-selecting themselves to participate more, the audience is orienting to and reproducing the asymmetrical distribution of participation rights in opening sequences.

#### *Male and female number of turns*

Male female participation was considered from two perspectives: first a) in relation to total number of participants; and second b) the sex of participants in relation to the mean number of males and females.

a) In the extracts analysed there were 49 female participants and 19 male-participants. That is more women than men participated as guests in corpus A. On the one hand, this may be indicative of a higher pre-disposition of women to take part in TTSs, a type of programme which originated (see chapter 2) as talk-service for women; as a type of talk that wanted to air "light, humorous conversations about the relationships between men and women.... only calls from young women who remained anonymous were accepted... It marked the beginning of the talkshow's intensely interpersonal focus, now epitomised by *Oprah* and *Donahue* " (Munson, 1993: 48-50).



Although things have changed and TTSs are no longer programmes for women only (men participate both as guests and audience), it seems that there are still more women attending and that TTSs are women oriented. As reported by Livingstone and Lunt (1994: 42), the topics have been often labelled as 'women issues'; and TTSs are frequently scheduled for housewives in the daytime, and they are concerned with gossip and story-telling, women talk: relationships, problems with children, jealousy, etc. These topics attract more women than men, both as audience and as participants. Fischhoff (1995: 41) also reports that 70% of the audience are women.

b) In terms of male-female number of turns, 57.8% of all contributions come from women and 42.1% from men. The difference is not that significant, except for the individual participation from members of the audience, whose participation comes 100% from women.

In female-turns, the highest participation comes from guests (70%) and in male-turns the highest participation comes from hosts (63%). There were 12 male guests and 27 female guests. The number of male hosts was 7 and of female hosts 5. The mean indicated that guests-female participate slightly more than guests-males (only 3 turns more in favour of females), while there is a difference of almost 10 turns between male-female hosts in favour of male-hosts <sup>1</sup>.

The mean number of turns for male-female demonstrates that there is not much difference in male-female participation for the category of guests. That is, male and female guests contribute equally in number of turns. The difference is more noticeable for the hosts since the mean shows a higher number of

---

<sup>1</sup> Remember that the number of guests is random, that is, we did not know, previously to analysing the extracts, how many men or women we were going to find while the number of male-female hosts is such because the extracts were selected according to who the host was and according to availability of programmes.

participations for individual male hosts. Thus, those programmes hosted by men are more host-centred than those hosted by women. The former would be, therefore, characterised by heavier participation control on the part of the host.

*Self-selection vs. non-self-selection*

Self-selection was one of the key features to test the degree of conversationalization, since institutional styles of interaction are characterised by a high degree of pre-allocation. Generally speaking, self-selection prevailed in the interaction, as 73% of all turns were self-selected. This therefore denotes a certain degree of freedom concerning choice of next speaker. However, the nature of those cases of self-selection needs to be discussed in detail.

In general, male and female participants both seem to prefer self-selection. Nevertheless, the figure percentages for male self-selection (as illustrated in section 2.2) are slightly higher than those for female; females were allocated more turns than males. The mean confirms those results, as it displays 27,1 self-selected turns for male and 12,1 for female.

As regards self-selection and category, the highest degree of self-selection is displayed by the host, whose total number of self-selected turns is 99.4% of all host turns. This represents 54% of all the total number of self-selected turns in our data. Similar behaviour is observed in the audience-group: 90% of their turns are self-selected; nevertheless, contrary to hosts, they only add up to 6.6 % of all self-selected turns.

Although guests also cover a great percentage of self-selected turns (38.3%), they behave more similarly to individual members of the audience. In the sense that half of the total number of guests' turns are allocated by current-

speaker-selects-next techniques and half are self-selected (see table 26). Out of all guests' turns, 52.6% are self-selected and 47.4% non-self-selected. Individual members of the audience show a similar conduct: 52.9% of their turns are self-selected and 47.1% non-self-selected.

Thus, so far we can affirm that the host and the audience-group seem to be equally comfortable in self-selecting themselves in order to take part in the TTS-interaction, while individual members of the audience and guests would be somehow limited by other factors; they only enjoy partial freedom. The degree of audience-group self-selection may be explained by the fact that TTSs are audience-participation programmes in which the audience-group represents the *vox-populi*. As the data indicate, the audience-group openly manifests its position by taking the floor, whenever it believes their voice should be heard, without waiting for the host to grant them the floor<sup>2</sup>. It can also be the result of a *silent* turn-allocation by the host to the audience: it has been observed that hosts suspend their fast pace of questioning from time to time to allow open reactions from the audience (in a way, these brief periods of silence act as prompts for a turn by the audience) before they initiate a new exchange. They do this on purpose, since reactions from the audience in response to either hosts or guests' talk are a generic feature of TTSs' juggernaut and of the role of the audience.

So far, the results reveal that self-selection is more commonly used as a resource by the host rather than for any other category, since s/he performs more than half of all self-selected turns. Taking into consideration the host-guest rate (1 host and 3 guests) the difference is quite notable and it indicates that the host is provided very often with open opportunities to take the floor. Greatbatch (1988:

---

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, we want to point out here that different results may be obtained if the methodology (see section included what, in terms of Goffman (1979: 9) would be *subordinate communication*. If this were included, some overheard comments that do not influence the main talk may well be classified as self-selection by individual members of the audience.

413) argues that news interviews, like mundane conversation, involves the use of both current speaker selects next speaker or next speaker self-selects turn-allocation techniques. However, he affirms, contrary to mundane conversation, "the news interviews turn-taking system does not provide speakers with equal use of these techniques." The same can be said to occur in TTSs, where self-selection, therefore, seems to be a resource from which guests and individual members of the audience refrain more often than the rest.

In turn, it was noticed that 94.3% of all non-self-selected turns correspond to guests, while the other categories show truly low percentages of turns allocated to them. A fact that contrasts, specially, with the low percentage of the host's non-self-selected turns (0.9%). On the one hand, this indicates that guests are the category which is asked to participate more often than any other: this is supposed to be a generic feature of TTSs, since guests are there to answer questions and to tell their story. On the other, these figures indicate that hosts' turns are not usually much determined by any previous speaker's demands.

The percentage of non-self-selected turns of the audience-group are very low in our data, only 1.1%. Hence, the audience as a group is hardly ever explicitly asked to participate. Participation from individual members of the audience is slightly higher (3.6% ). However, the difference between audience-individual and audience-group cannot be said to be significant. Both figures reveal low demand for contributions by individual members of the audience as well as by the audience as a group in opening phases.

The results of non-self-selection display that the guest is the category whose participation is most in demand. The guests come to the TTS to tell it all: to answer questions, to discuss their most intimate feelings, to tell about private-life events, to be judged, etc. in front of an audience. They are the target of all the discourse. The

reason why all these people have gathered is to discuss the guests' private lives. That is why guests are the category which gets the highest number of turns allocated to them.

*Nature of self-selected turns*

The cross-comparison of self-selected turns with type of exchange displayed smooth exchanges and self selection as the most common situation in which speaker-switch occurred. Hence, regarding speaker-switch TTS talk is mostly perceived as smooth. On the other hand, these results indicate that if a participant wishes to self-select her/himself, s/he would have the chance to do so, more often than not, without intervening in the current speaker's turn. So, TTS allow segments in which participants can freely contribute to talk without having been allocated the turn. This is one of the features which exhibits the quasi-conversational character (Drew and Heritage 1992) of the TTS genre .

Regarding categories, all of them showed smooth exchange and self-selection as the most common type of exchange in which they participated. The percentages of smooth exchange and self-selection were 62% for the guests, 44% for the audience and 56.7 % for the host. These percentages mean that participants find slots in which they can self-select themselves without intervening in someone else's turn.

*Self-selection in relation to type of exchange*

Self-selection was cross-compared with type of exchange and speaker category in order to find out what was behind self-selection. The question was in what circumstances did a speaker self-select and what were the consequences in the current speaker's turn, if any.

The second most common type of intervened turn for hosts was overlap. Overlaps indicate those cases in which the incomer voluntarily interferes in the current speaker's turn. Host's overlaps add up to 20.6% of all speaker-switch turns in which the host participates and 8 % of all analysed exchanges. It was noticed that the difference between the percentage of overlaps for hosts and for the guests (6% more in favour of hosts) is not that significant; however, the nature of overlaps by guests is different and it will be dealt with in relation to question-answers (see discussion below).

The second most common type of intervened turn for guests was participation in F2-segments (12.5% of all turns by guests). However, the number of F2-turns for guests and hosts was tested against the mean and the results showed strikingly similar percentages of participation for the guest and host ( 2.25 was the mean number of F2-turns per host and 2.8 for guests). Turn-design however was different (see discussion below on the nature of F2-turns for hosts and guests).

*Nature of allocated turns*

When we looked at allocated turns, we did it from two perspectives. On the one hand we wanted to see if all the categories had the same freedom to allocate

turns to others. On the other, we wanted to study the nature of allocated turns for each category.

First, it was observed that 95.7% of all turns were allocated by the host. The allocation by other participants was very low compared to this figure. The audience allocated only 0.5 % turns and the guests 3.9 %. From those results, it derives that variety in turn allocation is clearly non-existent since participation is highly determined by the host's contributions. The guests' freedom to interact among themselves is clearly limited because they merely allocate 3% turns to other guests. This is a very unlikely situation if guests were not reproducing a TTSs since guests are directly (if their case is being discussed) or indirectly (they are all somehow related with the topic of the day) involved in what is being said and surely they have a lot to say. By not allocating the turn to others, they are orienting to the particular activity of hosts to allocate the turn. If guests do not use their turn to initiate a new course of action or select someone else as next speaker, nor does any other party select himself (Sacks et al, 1974; Wilson 1991), as a result the next turn falls of the host, who is then in a position to select the next speaker

The same can be said to apply to the audience, since they barely allocate 0.5% of all turns. It should be remembered that in order for individual members of the audience to hold the floor, permission from the host is required. The results indicate that the audience respects this fact by not self-selecting themselves. Thus, audience participation is low only because the host distributes participation of categories at his/her own will and he chooses to keep the audience out.

Moreover, 90.9 % of all allocated turns are to guests (399 out of 439), 4.8 % ( 21 turns) from the host to the audience and only 3 % from guest to guest. The high figures of turn-allocation by the host to guests contrasts with the fact that guests allocate only 4 turns to the host (0.9%). The capacity to allocate turns in

mainly in the hands of the host who, in turn, will allocate the turn almost invariably to guests.

The qualitative difference between turns allocated to the audience and turns allocated to the host, reveals another important generic feature which adds information to the profile of the different categories and their participation frameworks. Considering turn-design, turn-allocation for guests implies usually a demand for information. However, in the case of individual members of the audience, turn-allocation is only a formal device to allow them to occupy the floor.

The above discussion shows that in the activity framework for TTSs, guests and audience refrain (or are not allowed) from allocating the turn to other speakers, leaving this specific task to the host. They do not refrain 'indefinitely', as the percentages of allocated turns by other categories indicate, but it can be said to be the trend in the opening sequences analysed; turn-allocation appears to be constrained to all categories but the host. The cross-comparison carried out between sex of participants, speaker category and self-selection did not display significant differences between male-female. These results confirm hypothesis 2 which claims that *turn-taking organisation would, at the same time, produce and reproduce the institutional rules which applied in the interaction; and that this would, in turn, be shown by the orientation of the different parties towards the internal identities assigned to them by the TTS juggernaut.*



*Exchange-type: smooth exchange vs. intervened turns*

The results indicate that speaker-switch was 60% carried out smoothly and 40% through intervened turns. Regarding male-female differences, both of them seemed to prefer smooth exchanges; however, women showed a slightly higher number of intervened turns.

Regarding categories, the percentages (see table 28) indicate that the relation intervened vs. smooth exchanges is very similar for all of them. An average of 55 % of the turns produced by each category was achieved through smooth exchange and 40 % through intervened exchange. It is noteworthy that all the categories show similar percentages in both types of exchanges out of their total number of turns. To be even more precise, individual members of the audience and the host show a similar conduct; and on the other, the audience-group and guests behave similarly.

So far, we may posit that regarding types of exchange, all categories seem to be equally comfortable in producing similar numbers of intervened turns, which implies that all categories seem to feel equally free to intervene in the current speaker's turn. On the other hand, however, some differences are observed concerning the number of intervened turns. It is the host who realises the highest number of intervened turns compared to the other categories(see discussion below for speaker category and types of intervened turns): e.g. the host number of intervened turns is three times the amount displayed by guests. The results show that by orienting to particular patterns of conduct, the categories in TTSs can intervene in the current speaker's turn, an action which is allowed but at the same time constrained in terms of number, and according to the internal identity and status of the speaker. That is, all categories can intervene in turns but there are limitations depending on the participant's status.

In conversation, the fact that people intervene in each others turn may reflect friendship, closeness etc. As Stainton (1987: 108) concludes, "different degrees of social distance may influence the frequency of interruptions" In TTSs, the social distance comes with the internal status, which places the host in a privileged position from which he can choose the degree of conversationalization. In respecting this, participants in the TTS are reproducing the quasi-conversational character of the interaction and reproducing the asymmetry existing between the participants regarding allowable contributions.

Finally, it is this high percentage of intervened turns what gives the TTS the appearance of an incursive event in which participants give the impression of intervening in each others' turns quite frequently. This feature emerges from the analysis of the turn-taking system and it determines the generic structure of TTSs. This supports hypothesis number 1: *that an analysis of the structure of the turn-taking system for TTSs will show what factors determine their generic structure.*

#### *Types of intervened turns*

In discussing the nature of intervened turns, the attitudinal dimension on the part of both the interventor and the intervenee has to be considered. That is, all types of intervened turns are initially daring, in the sense that they imply voluntary and openly manifested inattention on the part of the incomer to intervene in the current speaker's turn (there is always the option of refraining from interrupting). On the one hand, the individual can easily avoid the initiation of his/her turn before the completion of the other's in-progress turn or, in realising of the intervention, they can stop (e.g. by self-interrupting immediately) and avoid open interruptions. It is in this respect that different types of intervened turns differ.

The types of intervened turns analysed here (overlaps; simple, silent and butting-in interruptions; parenthetical remarks and F2-turns/ segments) can be split into three groups according to their function:

a) Overlaps, silent interruptions and simple interruptions may be classified as types of interruptions proper. Both, overlaps and interruptions, signal a conscious, voluntary and openly manifested inattention on the part of the interventor to take the turn. They start in a sequentially incursive position and disrupt as well as interfere with the projected form and content (Goldberg, 1990: 884) of the turn unit. This action results in the current speaker giving up the floor. The overlap proved to be, on its own, the most common type of intervened turn: overlaps add up to 39.1% of all intervened turns, and interruptions (silent and simple) account for 21.6%. All together they add up to 60.7% of all intervened turns.

The difference between both is that in overlaps, the interventor finds a certain degree of resistance from the current speaker, as s/he continues the utterance to completion. In the case of interruptions, the current speaker does not offer resistance when being interrupted, but gives up the floor almost immediately, leaving his/her turn incomplete.

b) F2-segments include a mixture of all types of intervened turns; (Guzman (1996) refers to these segments as "fighting matches." In F2-segments, participants do not respect any rule, they are all consciously sharing the floor, invading each other's territory and causing confusion as well as confrontation at all levels. Linguistically, F2-segments are difficult for the listener, since it is more difficult to follow the discourse. Interactionally, they indicate that institutional roles and functions are momentarily forgotten. F2-turns add up to 24% of all intervened turns.

The results from the analysis displayed higher percentages of F2-turns in three of the four categories taking part in the interaction: individual members of the audience, audience-group and guests. The host seemed to intervene less in F2-segments: the total number of host's F2-turns is 27 while those of the guests numbered 115. Initially, these results seemed to suggest that in those moments of confrontation, the host retired, somehow leaving the rest of the participants to confront each other. However, this difference in number of F2-turns was tested against the mean and the results showed strikingly similar endings of participation for both (i.e., the mean for the F2s in relation to the hosts and the guests participation is 2.25 for the host and 2.8 for guests).

Yet, the activity of the host's participation in F2-segments is qualitatively different: the host's participation in F2-segments is almost exclusively re-introducing moves (Goldberg 1990: 891) which only try to restore order. The guest's turns, however, show deep involvement. Thus, hosts' participation in F2-segments is more form-oriented while guest's turns are more content-oriented. This, in turn, means, that the host is practically an outsider in F2-segments while the guests and audience are deeply involved.

F2-segments are confrontational moments in which participants seem to forget their orientation to the institutional setting and invade each other's territory, causing confusion and confrontation. The existence of these confrontational segments is a generic feature of TTSs and is fostered by the producers, by the host and by the audience itself.

Intervened turn-types in groups a and b can be joined together. If the floor is a psychologically-developed interactional space among interactants (Edelsky, 1981), F2 turns as well as interruptions and overlaps reflect situations in which speakers consciously bet for floor-sharing.

c) Finally, parenthetical remarks and butting-in interruptions can be grouped together, because in both types of intervention the current speaker does not give up the turn. Both types of intervened turns indicate that the intervener does not want to take the floor or, at least, that s/he refrains from doing so. In butting-in interruptions, the intervener, in realising that the current speaker has not finished his/her turn, gives up and retires leaving his/her talk incomplete. In parenthetical remarks, the speaker makes a comment without intention to take the floor. All together they add up to 15,1% of all intervened turns.

In summary, the percentages of intervened turns display a predominance of what I consider open incursive actions (overlaps, interruptions and F2-segments add up to 84.8 % of all intervened turns) over more restricted types of interventions (parenthetical remarks and butting-in interruptions). This confirms the tendency that TTSs tend towards including confrontational segments as part of the interaction. It also indicates that participants, having the choice of one or another, will choose open incursions into someone's talk rather than refraining from using them.

These results take us back to hypothesis number 1: *that an analysis of the structure of the turn-taking system for TTSs will show what factors determine their generic structure*, as the analysis of turn-taking has brought out a crucial feature that determines the TTS structure: the existence of confrontational talk and confrontational sequences. The implications are that confrontational and intervened exchanges disrupt the dominant smoothness to which the TTS seems to be oriented toward (60 % of the total exchanges are smooth) and oblige the generic structure of TTSs to accommodate and deal with unsmooth speaker-switch.

F2-segments and intervened exchanges are practical and generic TTS resources by which the participants can frame their talk as confrontational (cf.

Hutchby 1996: 92). At content level, interruptions and F2-talk reflect the controversy and conflict between opposite views: it is because such interactional strategies and processes interplay with the institutional setting that the social structure TTS is reproduced and created.

*Speaker category and types of intervened turns*

The types of intervened turns were cross-compared with the different categories and the results showed higher percentages in the total number of intervened turns for the guests (who accounted for 50.6%), followed by the host (42.5%). The percentages of intervened turns for the audience were very low. Regarding male-female, the percentages were similar for both male-female hosts and male-female guests.

These results were contrasted with the mean, which displayed 0.8 of intervened turns for individual members of the audience, 2.5 for the audience-group, 23 for the host and 8.4 for guests. This means that, for example, hosts were found to intervene in the current speaker's turn 23 times as opposed to 8.4 by guests, that is, almost three times more than guests.

This fact features TTSs as a setting in which guests and audience show an orientation towards a host-centred talk which allows the host to intervene in their turns far more often than they intervene in his/hers. On the other hand, they indicate that the host exerts his power and control over both, the discourse and the participants, by intervening in their turns and constraining their participation options.

As explained above, individual members of the audience show a preference for F2-turns (33.3.%) and for overlap (33.3.%); and so does the audience-group, in

this order: overlaps and F2-turns. The guests' highest percentages of intervened turns are also F2-turns (34.8%) followed by overlaps (31.8%). The host, on the other hand, uses more overlaps (48.4%) than any other type of intervened turn, but the second highest percentage is displayed by simple (17.7%) and silent (13.4%) interruptions. It seems therefore, that in intervening in current speaker's turn, one of the most common forms for the host is through overlap and then interruptions. 67.3% of all silent interruptions were by the host. The rest of those silent interruptions are mostly by guests (30.9%) since audience-groups produce zero and individual members of the audience only 1.8%. Simple interruptions were mostly produced by the host: 57% of all cases; and by guests who produce 29.1%. The audience-group performs 10.5% of these simple interruptions and individual members of the audience only 3.5%. Other types of interruptions occupy lower percentages: only 1.9% of all G's turns are silent interruptions and 2.8% are simple interruptions.

The interpretation of those percentage figures has to depart from an initial assumption: any turn-intervention can potentially develop into any kind of intervened type of turn. The factors that determine the final product depend on both, the incomer and the current floor-holder. In that sense, the high percentage of overlaps shows that both guests and host are reluctant to leave their contribution incomplete, either in form or in content. Although overlaps result in the current floor-holder giving up the floor, they show determination to complete the turn before deferring to the interventor. In our data, it was the host who produced the highest number of overlaps, followed by Gs.

The figures for other types of interruption allow interesting comparisons concerning host and guests relationship<sup>3</sup>. The number of immediate interruptions

---

<sup>3</sup> Due to the low participation from the audience the most relevant results are in relation to guests and hosts.

on the part of the host (that is simple and silent interruption, in which the current speaker gives up his or her speech) doubles the number produced by guests (the host produces 86 silent and simple interruptions; the guests only 42). The fact that this occurs indicates clearly that in interrupting, if the interruptor is the host, the current floor-holder would seem more ready to relinquish his /her turn. If, on the contrary, the guest were the interruptor, s/he would find that the possibilities of reaching an immediate control of the floor are reduced by fifty per cent. These data clearly show the orientation and respect towards the figure of the host and towards his role as topic-controller and organiser of turn-taking in the interaction.

Regarding male-female use of intervened turns, the results display no significant differences (cf. Beattie 1982; Zimmerman and West 1975), both males and females display similar numbers of interventions, with the mean indicating a slightly higher number for males (7,5 for females and 13 for males). A stratified analysis (see table 38) shows that, as regards categories, the difference is not significant either. In hosts it was 23.4 for females and 22.8 for males. In the guests, it was 8.8 for females and 7.6 for males. Hence, the sex of the participant appears to count for little as regards intervened turns (cf. West and Zimmerman, 1983).

So far, we can claim that in TTSs the semi-specialised turn-taking system (cf. Hutchby 1996; Greatbatch and Heritage 1992) distributes, among the institutional identities taking part in the interaction, specialised turn-forms: i.e., TTS interaction places specific constraints on turn-forms for its participants. However, the fact that in TTSs all activities and turn-forms are, in principle, available to all categories indicates a turn-taking style far more conversational than others in formal institutional types of disputes, such as courtroom discourse, news interviews, etc. in which distinctive sequential constraints operate. Hutchby reports this conversational style as a characteristic of talk radio disputes (1996: 110).



Thus, the particular TTS identities taking part in the interaction show differential orientations towards types of turn-taking, types of exchange and types of intervened turns, as well as towards total number of turns in the interaction. The empirical analysis of those differential orientations shows the structural asymmetries emerging from the interaction, which can be resumed as one main feature which underlies the turn-taking organisation: the position and activity of the host turns out to be different from all other participating categories. This difference is based on structural asymmetries to which the participants orient by selectively using certain turn-taking resources and refraining from others. By doing so they are producing and reproducing the overall TTS structure.

#### *Questions and answers.*

As argued by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 95), the institutional character of the interaction is embodied foremost in its *form* - most notably in turn-taking systems. These turn-taking systems depart substantially from the way in which turn-taking is managed in conversation. In the sections above, we discussed several features related to turn-taking in TTSs, which revealed the quasi-conversational or non-formal nature (Drew and Heritage, 1992) of the TTS genre. The analysis also classified turns in terms of question, answer and comment, to determine the degree of turn-type pre-allocation (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Greatbatch 1988, 1992; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1992); since the question-answer format is the typical turn-taking format for formal institutional genres.

In our empirical analysis, the number of questions, answers and comments are surprisingly equal (somewhat over 30 % for each type). Such a degree of similarity was unexpected, except for question-answer adjacency pairs. These results indicate, that for the most part, the question-answer sequence represents the most important framework for contributions: 32.7% of the turns that are questions,

31.1% answers (i.e. over 60 % between the two). The percentage figures indicate that most questions do get answered, only 1.6% of the questions is left unanswered. On the other hand, however, the percentage figure for comments (36.2%) establishes similarities with conversation, since the presence of comments indicates that the question-answer sequentiality is not always present and that a certain relative freedom of turn-exchange is embedded in the TTS activity framework. We will now proceed to outline the activities in which the different categories engage.

#### *Question-answer and speaker category*

50% of the contributions by individual members of the audience were comments, 38.2% were questions and only 11.8% are answers. In other words, the audience, when taking a turn, engages in types of activities other than questions, such as giving advice, censoring the guest's behaviour or threatening guests, blaming guests, etc.

The results for the audience-group display a total of 99% of comments. This has to do with the methodological procedure by which we argued that audience-group participation would be classified generally as comments expressing a variety of meanings such as rebuttal, anger, support, challenge, etc. Generally speaking, audience questions as well as comments, have been observed to fall into the challenging category. Our findings coincide with Guzman's (1996: 56) who claims "that the most common role characteristic of the studio audience is to "comment" on anything that is said, discussed, or argued by guests or other members of the show."

The host's main activity is questioning, since 74.4% of his/her contributions are questions. Hosts rarely produce answers: only 0.6% of the hosts' turns are answers to requests for clarification about his/her previous question; that is, such

questions were not really a demand for content information from the host. The fact that the percentage of questioning by the host is so high indicates that it is mainly within a question format that the host achieves actions such as challenging, accusing, doubting, attacking, eliciting information, etc. (cf. Hutchby, 1996: 30). Thus, in the host's patterns of activities, answering questions comes last.

Finally, the guests display 56.8% of answers, 38.7% comments and 4.6% questions. The guests' activities are, therefore, mainly answering and commenting while questioning is almost excluded. Nevertheless, unlike other more formal settings in which turn-type pre-allocation format restricts one participant to ask questions, and the other to answer (e.g. courtroom interaction), the activity pattern of the guests in TTSs is less restricted and allows a wider variety of activities. These results confirm hypothesis number 5: *that guests will mainly restrict themselves to answer questions, although they are allowed other types of activities* .

However, the fact that guests do not engage in other activities more often speaks of the institutional character of the interaction: guests show an orientation towards the specialised turn-taking system as well as towards the constraints imposed on their identity as guests (the same has been observed with the audience). That is, although there are no official rules forbidding guests to ask questions, they refrain from doing so, hence reproducing the TTS structure. As a consequence, the host is allowed to play his/her role as the institutional representative present in the TTS interaction.

#### *Question-answer and self-selection*

77.3% of all answers were non-self-selected which means: a) that open questions are not frequent at all, b) that questions were specifically addressed to a

particular speaker and c) that the other guests usually respect the fact that a question has been allocated to a particular guest and do not answer.

In answers by guests, the degree of self-selection is very low: only 26.6% of the answers are self-selected; the rest, 78.4.% are the result of turn-allocation by the current speaker. Notice, however, that the number of comments by guests is also quite high (338 turns i.e., 38,7% of all the guests' turns). The results for guests indicate that their main activity is answering questions allocated to them, which coincides with the institutional role assigned to guests by the TTS juggernaut.

In the case of individual members of the audience and of the audience-group, the number of answers is very low. Individual members of the audience only answer 4 questions (50% through self-selection and 50% through non-self-selection) and the audience-group only answers one question. Regarding the number of questions, individual members of the audience ask 13 questions: 61.5% of their questions through self-selection and 38.5% through non-self-selection.

Participants also engage in other types of activities such as commenting, which are usually carried out through self-selection: 38% of all guests' contributions are comments. Guests' comments account for 20.6% of all analysed turns, while comments by hosts account for only 9 % of all turns. The mean, however, balances in favour of the host: 13 as opposed to 8. 6 for individual guests. The audience produces 47.1% of all their comments through self-selection and 52.9% through non-self-selection. In contrast with these results is the fact that all the hosts' questions and comments are 100% accomplished by self-selection, and so are the great majority of the audience-group's turns.

The variety of activities used by all the categories seems to indicate that, at least apparently, there is no rule or process which disables other participants from

self-selecting in order to perform any kind of activity or break the rules of turn-allocation. An example is the figure percentage of answers to questions addressed to another participant: this feature constitutes almost 30% of the answers by guests; those were the cases in which the guests intentionally decided to answer a question not addressed to them.

These results support hypothesis 7 in which we stated *that the turn-taking is also clearly influenced by the guests' private agendas which may differ from those which are dictated beforehand by the production team*. That is, the guests may feel the need to express their own opinions and/or views, and self-select themselves; these actions disrupt the question-answer format and alter the institutional agenda for the TTS.

#### *Question-answer format in relation to type of exchange*

The results show that 64% of all questions by hosts are found in smooth exchanges, questions by guests and the audience show the opposite: 60% of all guests questions are intervened, so are 61.5% of those by the audience.

As far as answers is concerned, 86.8% of answers to the host are carried out through smooth speaker-switch. This contrasts with the figure percentages for answers to those questions by guests, 40.9% are intervened turns. Answering questions from the audience is also performed 45.5% of the times through intervened turns. Finally, comments by both guests and hosts are accomplished mostly through intervened turns.

These differences between the host and the rest of the categories are reproducing the institutional character of the interaction. They prove respect for the status and role of the host by allowing him to complete his/her questions, while

the other categories are often interrupted before they actually complete their turn (86.8% of the questions by the host are in smooth exchanges). Concentrating on the results obtained for intervened turns, I will now discuss how the host uses interruptions to exert control over speaker participation as well as control over topic development.

*Unsmooth speaker-switch in question-answer by guests*

Interruptions have been traditionally considered as signs of power and dominance. Goldberg (1990), however, distinguishes between interruptions that are interpretable as power, rapport, or neutral acts (Goldberg 1990: 883ff) and differentiates between power and non-power interruptions. Hutchby also departs from the standpoint that interruptions have a "sequential" as well as an "interactional" dimension, a perspective that enables him to differentiate between "co-operative" and "confrontational" interruptions (Hutchby 1996: 77). It is the principles underlying these classifications of interruptions that we extend to the use of other types of incursive actions and that serve to explain the nature of such actions in the TTS context. We paid special attention to the type of intervened turns by guests and hosts.

The highest percentages of intervened turns by guests are used in order to produce comments (70.3% of all guests' intervened turns), only 7.3% are to ask questions and 1.5% to answer questions from other guests. This high percentage of comments in guests' intervened turns (38.7% of all the guest's turns) indicates that the guests' private agendas are not totally coincident with the questions by the host and so they express the contents of their agenda through comments.

However, the highest percentage of intervened turns for guests appear in F2-segments. F2-segments display the quasi-conversational character of the TTS

interaction and its permeable boundaries (Drew and Heritage 1992: 28) as they allow a relatively unconstrained exchange of personal opinions. However, F2s have to be allowed by the host: guests usually respect the hosts' order to stop the verbal duel.. That is, F2-segments are brief and they "stop" whenever the host wants them to. Additionally, the nature of F2-segments, as argued above indicates that they are really guest-oriented in the sense that they confront guests (and maybe audience) between them rather than confronting the host.

So, even if there is a certain degree of freedom to interact, this may be apparent since it really depends on the institution to allow such freedom. The participants in the interaction orient themselves towards the institutional character of the interaction by compelling themselves to "be free" only when they are allowed to do so. This made us question whether those actions which seem to be examples of categories behaving off-role were really reproducing the deviant institutional character of the interaction and if those actions were co-operative with the structure itself rather than disrupting.

#### *Co-operative intervened turns by guests*

We noticed that the next most frequent intervened type of turn in guests (after F2-segments) was overlap. However, it was noticed that 40% of all guests' overlaps were used to answer questions from the host. The same process occurred with simple interruptions (16% are produced to answer a question from the host). Adding up those percentages, we have that all in all 20% (63) of the total number of all incursive turns by guests (330) are produced to answer a question from the host. Examples are those cases in which the speaker anticipates the end of the current speaker utterance and starts to give an appropriate response (e.g. in cases where the host repeats the same question twice; where the main part of the content of the utterance has been already uttered, etc.). Oreström (1983: 160/164))

describes those situations as follows: "many answers to question were also uttered before the question was completed. One probable reason for this was often that the question was longer than expected.. or 'editing redundancy'. Along the same lines, Goldberg (1990: 887) claims that these among other pressures may be sufficiently strong to induce a listening party to initiate a turn before the speaker has finished.

Thus, incursive or intervened turns by guests are many times performed to answer questions from the host. They could be classified as co-operative since: a) these overlaps are sometimes involuntarily produced because of miscalculation of the end of the host's turn: for example, the machine-gun-question style, repetition and rephrasing of questions on the part of the host foster these cases; b) the guests, in compliance with their institutional role in the interaction, may feel that it is an interactional requirement for him/her to answer quickly, no matter how.

Hence, most overlaps initiated by guests are brief and come at the very end (the last word or even a couple of syllables before turn-completion), and thus showing the guests will to co-operate with the host by answering the questions as quickly as possible. In this respect, Ferguson (1977:300) observes that overlaps and interruptions are often produced because speakers may be anticipating either possible completion points within utterances or the ends of utterances. In our data, if these *co-operative* intervened turns were added to non-selected turns, the number of non-self-selected turns in guests would surpass the number of self-selected turns. The reason for doing so, it might be argued, could be that these could be considered considered as *fake* cases of self-selection, or unintentional intervened turns.



*Intervened turns by the host*

The use of intervened turns by the host is of a very different nature. The host intervenes in the current speaker's turn with the purpose of asking questions: 62.8% of the overlaps, the most common type of intervened turn for the host, are produced to ask questions. The host also uses simple and silent interruption, frequently in order to ask questions: 83.7% of all simple interruptions and 86.5% of all silent interruptions by hosts are realised with the purpose of asking a question. The host, on interrupting a turn with a question, is re-orientating talk, changing topics, re-organising story-telling, and even forcing speaker-switch (the host may address the next question to a different participant). These, using Goldberg's (1990: 890) terminology, are examples of power oriented interruptions since the questions introduced by the host usually reflect "divergent in goal orientations... [and] individual interests and wants regardless of their partner's interests and wants... and are designed to wrest the discourse from the speaker by gaining control of the conversational process and/or content."

It has been tested in our data, that the host uses both types of interruptions: *process control* interruptions by which he organises the order of participation of the participants in the TTS and *content control* interruptions. The latter are used to guide and structure the narratives by the guests as well as to avoid side sequences. Interruptions usually go back to previous questions avoided by the guests, or re-direct talk towards the most relevant or sensational details of the stories, etc. In turn, most host's interruptions are face-threatening; although occasionally *rapport type interruptions* may be used with those guests presented as victims, who show difficulties in talking about a certain problem, etc. Interruptions which cause change of topics, re-organising etc. are less used by guests. Furthermore, if guests try to use them, they may be hindered by the host.

Methodologically, intervened turns were classified as cases of self-selection, independent of their nature, i.e., co-operative or uncooperative. However, in looking at turn-design, those cases of brief overlaps or even interruptions which were produced to answer questions had to be reconsidered; since rather than being interpreted as incursive, may well be perceived, instead, as a co-operative act on the part of the speaker (e.g. answers to questions) meant to contribute to the progress of the interaction (cf. Oreström 1983: 176)

Goldberg (1990) notices, however, that what may be perceived by one participant as co-operative can be interpreted by others as uncooperative or as a token of dominance or power. Stainton (1987) also classifies interruptions as incursive and to be avoided. To these arguments we add that although one speaker, on hearing that talk is being addressed to him/her, interrupts and/or overlaps with the intention of being co-operative, s/he is intentionally intervening in the current speaker's turn with the intention of taking the floor. The interruptor can never be sure that, if not interrupted, the current speaker would have finished allocating the turn to him/her or if, on the contrary s/he may have allocated the turn to another participant. Accordingly, the host will sometimes interpret guests' or audience tries to intervene as a threat to the institutional agenda and may try to stop them as it is the host's responsibility to make sure that guests and/or audience remain on task within the bounds of what programme makers and viewers expect.

The discussion above clearly shows that turn-taking in TTS reproduces the asymmetric use of self-selection as regards question and answer activities. The host is the one who seems to guide the interaction because 90 % of the questions are asked by the host, and only 10 % by the other three categories. However, in the case of the host, what may seem as freedom to interact is also the result of specific constraints imposed by the institution itself and of the orientation of participants towards these constraints. The fact that 74.4 % of the hosts' turns are questions

indicates the existence of turn-type pre-allocation, as defined by Hutchby (1996: 29) who claims that "turn-type pre-allocation means that participants, on entering a setting are normatively constrained in the types of turns they may take according to the particular institutional identities in which they are incumbent for the purpose of the encounter." These results support hypothesis number 6 which claims *that the host's participation is dictated by an agenda setting which in turn also limits and constrains his/her own participation.*

*Question and answers: how, why, to whom, by whom.*

The results indicate that more than 50% of the turns are monopolised by the host's questions: that is, 29.4% of the total number of turns (1641) are questions by the host and 29.1% of turns are answers to questions by the host; which means that only 0.5% of the host's questions are left unanswered.

The results for the audience indicate that 50% of turns by audience-individual are to make comments, and 38% to ask questions. The rest, 11.8%, are to answer questions from the host. It was noticed that audience-individuals do not answer any questions by guests. As regards guest's activities, 54% of their turns are to answer host's questions, 4.6% are to ask questions and 38.7% for comments. Additionally, guests only answer 1.5% of questions from another guest and 1.3% questions from the audience. The host, on the other hand, shows that most of his/her activity is to ask questions and that only occasionally will s/he answer some: 0.3 % correspond to answers to his/her own questions (the host is the only category who answers his/her own questions), and 1.2% to answer questions from guests. The host never answers questions from the audience.

In contrast with these results are the percentage figures for unanswered questions for the guests: 29%, and for the audience: 8.3%. It is clear, therefore, that the participants in the interaction are clearly more oriented to answer questions by

the host and less by the other participants. These results indicate that the host monopolises the interaction among the participants as well as the orientation of participants to the institutional setting and institutional identities and status, since the other participants mainly answer questions from the host and not by others.

The implications of the results obtained for question-answer processes can be measured by considering three general differences between questions and answers, with respect to the turn allocation procedures, stated by Greatbatch (1988: 413) for news interviews. Greatbatch claims that:

1. By virtue of the fact that they project and require the occurrence of answers, questions can be used to select next speakers. Hence, by addressing a question to a specific party, a current speaker selects that party to produce an answer and thus speak next.
2. Answers, by contrast, cannot be used to allocate a next turn... if the recipients of questions confine themselves to answering, next turns are left to be allocated through self-selection.
3. Speakers may self-select in order to produce a question without some other activity having had to have been done first by a co-participant. However, they can only self-select in order to produce an answer if a co-participant has first produced a question and done so without selecting a specific party to answer it.

Our data has proved that guests and audience do not use the opportunity to ask questions as often as the host does. That is, although they have access to all types of activities, they avoid questioning. Hence, reproducing the generic conventions of the TTS.

In our data, observation of turn-design indicates that almost invariably guests do not exceed the propositional content of questions; but, almost invariably, answers match such content. Additionally, in merely answering without allocating the turn, guests create an empty slot which will have to be filled by the host, as the category institutionally responsible for topic management and participation control. In this way, the guests are restricting their activity to answering and refraining from the activity of questioning, therefore producing and orienting their talk to activity patterns that conform to the asymmetrical relationship somehow present in the TTS. The participants respect, to a certain extent, the fact that the distribution of turns is almost in the hands of the host. This is more obvious in opening sequences such as the ones analysed here, because guests wait till they are introduced to participate in the conversation. It all indicates that one of the conventions of the TTS genre is an implicit agreement between guests and hosts which manifests in the fact that Gs do not speak until introduced and given the turn by the host.

Hosts also take an active part in reproducing the institutional framework through their routine way of conducting talk, by using, among other techniques, what Tannen (1981) referred to as the *machine-gun-question technique*. That is, hosts do not allow for many slots or possible empty spaces in talk but fill the conversational space with so many questions that little is left for possible free contributions unrelated to his/her previous questions. The use of this type of resource, to control talk, is only used by the host, not by the other participants. In respecting this resource as part of the hosts' activity patterns, other participants are structurally constrained: such organisational pattern situates the participants in a structurally asymmetrical relationship (Hutchby 1996: 113). Furthermore, although comments by other categories may indicate free participation, they can ultimately be related to questions by the host. This feature proves, once more the institutional character of the interaction. As expressed by "these challenges and responses

overwhelmingly remain packed within turns that remain minimally recognisable as questions and answers respectively." (1991:99).

### *Backchannels*

The registered number of backchannels was not as large as expected. However, and as we argued in section 5.7, there exists the possibility that they were not audible. We know that hosts use backchannels, and that TTS do not prevent the host from expressing his/her own opinion; as observed in talk radio where "unlike other institutional agents [the TTS hosts] are free to express their own opinions" (Hutchby 1996: 39).

The interest in the analysis of backchannels was in relation to the question of what, or who the host represented. Does the host represent him/herself or the institution? We argued in section 5.7. that the analysis of backchannels, that is whether they were used or not in the interaction, would add more information about the institutional character of the interaction. That is, if the host considered him/herself as the primary recipient of talk or if, on the contrary, he reproduced the institutional character of the interaction by acting only as a mediator between the guests and the audience.

Although the low number of backchannels seemed to indicate that the host was "being institutional", the incertitude of the results (cf. section 5. 7) made us consider other aspects and conclude that in TTSs, the way in which the hosts manages the interaction leaves this aspect conveniently ambiguous. That is, the host alternates between personal and impersonal remarks, expresses neutral and biased positions, and seem to alternate between institutional and more personal roles. The host does so by combining backchannelling with other means: s/he Sometimes s/he speaks about his/her personal life while others s/he presents himself

as an impersonal "I" who represents the people, the audience, the ordinary citizen, i.e., "detaching him/herself from his/her discourse, as if reporting on morally and socially accepted norms of conduct" (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). The host also alternates between using first names, approaching guests by padding them on the shoulder, sitting right next to them, etc. or keeping a distance. In short, the host alternates between the two positions.

The use of backchannels is related with the exposed above, since hosts will use backchannels when they want to show themselves as the primary recipients of talk. However, at least from what we hear, backchannels were not common in our data. The registered number of backchannels is very low: 61 in total, which may well indicate that hosts do not often show themselves as the receivers of talk and that they try to remain neutral (cf. Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991).

As displayed in the results, 50 % of all backchannels are uttered by the host *Oprah*. Furthermore, the use of backchannels has been observed to be present in most of her productions. The second host who uses more backchannels is *Donahue*: 26.2 % of all backchannels. The rest of hosts do not use many backchannels.

Although the numbers are too low to draw any relevant conclusions, it is noteworthy mentioning that Oprah Winfrey's show has been rated the first for many years now, and is one considered to get closer to ordinary people; and that Donahue's show has been on almost daily for 23 years now. Whether the use of backchannels might be related to audience's positive reaction or contribute to give an image of the host as a real person recipient to their talk, or if backchannels have something to do with the conversational nature of TTSs goes, however, beyond the purposes of this study. With this aspect we finish the discussion of the statistical results and we will now introduce our final remarks.

It was our intention to provide statistical support to the explicit and/or tacit comparison which is at the base of the present study and which claims TTSs to share characteristics attributed to both conversational and institutional talk. The hypotheses set up in section 9.4 have been supported, since the results of the analysis of the turn-taking system have provided valuable information about the generic features of the TTS, especially about the behaviour of the participants and their orientation towards the semi-institutional character of the interaction.

We feel that a limitation of this study was that of applying statistical analysis only to structural features and only to opening sequences. We assume this to be a limitation of the present study, at the same time that, as argued in the introduction, it is the structural properties of TTSs what we were interested in looking at; as stated in our first hypothesis which says: *that as a genre, TTSs should own a set of characteristics that can be accounted for by a unique configuration regarding the turn-taking mechanism.*

The main hypothesis underlying this study was that TTSs were a hybrid discourse genre with a set of characteristics that could be explained by analysing turn-taking procedures. The analysis of the turn-taking system was carried out by focusing on the number of contributions by each of the participants, the capacity of speakers to self-select in order to make a contribution, and how speaker-switch took place. The results revealed that the participants' conduct in TTSs displayed an orientation towards the institutional identities, roles, and internal status assigned to them by the TTS juggernaut. As argued by Hutchby (1996: 36) for talk radio, in TTSs the local negotiation of roles is far freer than in formal types of institutional interaction and participants are not so constrained as regards turn-type and turn-order restrictions that operate in more formal settings such as courtrooms and news interviews.



The discussion of the results provides a framework in which we can understand TTSs as a non-formal type of institutional genre (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). The analysis of turn-taking procedures and of question-answer sequences proved to be essential factors in determining the hybrid nature of TTSs: the results proved that the TTS interaction can be said to progress thanks to a sequencing and repetition of the question-answer process organised through turn-taking procedures that are different from conversation and that indicate similarities with institutional discourse. This supports hypothesis 2 which stated that *the turn-taking procedures, although normatively oriented, show similarities with ordinary conversation. Consequently, the turn-taking system will not develop naturally if compared to conversational style but show orientation towards the institutional constraints*

The classification of data in terms of question-answer sequences showed that most of the interaction took place in question-answer format. However, the high number of contributions which fell outside such framework indicated the capacity of TTSs to differ from the distinctive sequential constraints operating in more formal institutional styles of talk.

Hence, the final configuration of the TTS turn-taking system revealed itself to be dual in nature, in the sense that it used normatively oriented procedures which pointed out the similarity between the TTS genre and other types of institutional genres; at the same time that it also used procedures very common in ordinary conversation. This indicated that although the power to guide the interaction is mostly in the hands of the host (hypothesis 3), the TTSs is more flexible, as regards types of activities allowed to categories, than those genres classified as "formal" (e.g. courtroom interaction, by s/he).

The TTS communication structure has been proved to be determined by the status adopted by the participants in the communicative event. By respecting the provisions of the turn-taking system, the participants display both an orientation toward the institutional character of the TTS and the relevancies of their internal status and discourse identities as host, guest or audience, respectively. In that way, they are producing their talk as TTS on a recursive turn-by-turn basis and reproducing the TTS as a hybrid institutionalised form of social interaction.

The non-formal or quasi-conversational (Drew and Greatbatch, 1992: 27) character of the interaction, likewise that reported by reported by Hutchby (1996) in relation to talk radio, lies in the fact that TTS are an "intermediate" category that manifests many of the sequential features of conversational argument in parallel with some relatively specialised institutional features.

TTSs are distinctive in a number of respects from both institutional and ordinary talk. Although TTSs take place in a public context, and the talk is clearly institutional "in that official task-based or role-based activities occur... turn-taking procedures approximate conversational or at least "quasi-conversational models"; when considered in turn-taking terms at least, the boundaries between these forms of institutional talk and ordinary conversation can appear permeable" (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 28). Hence, the TTS is an institutional setting that does not involve strict institutionalised constraints on turn-order and turn-type. However, institutional features are woven in and out of the interaction in terms of the activity patterns that characterise TTS interaction (Hutchby, 1996).

In the introduction, we argued in favour of a comparative perspective which complemented the statistical approach. The comparative dimension provided the information that may be less present in the formal approach. In chapters 4, 5 and 6, we characterised the TTS as genre which is at the borders of society and at the

boundaries of TV programming, and we introduced some of the elements taking part in the TTS interaction. In chapters 7 and 8, we reviewed some relevant literature on turn-taking at the same time that we gave a preliminary description of turn-taking in TTSs. Both, the comparative analysis and the study of the sequential organisation of TTSs have contributed to show a clear picture of what a TTS is.

As argued in chapter 4, the origin of TTSs can be found in women's magazines and radio talk service for women. It was *Donahue* who first adapted them from radio to television and this gave birth to daytime talk. It is this daytime talk what has derived today in what we called here, following Fischhoff (1995), TTS. The medium of the TTSs is US television which is often conceived as an ongoing transmission which the viewer watches intermittently and often with low-level attention (Morse, 1985: 5).

Nowadays, TTSs are described by many as a genre notorious for generating controversial and confrontational talk and have evolved into what many would condemn as "bizarre talk." Their topics are personal, intimate and highly controversial; as such they divide public opinion. Two opposite viewpoints emerge: one which defends TTSs and does so because they argue that TTSs may well reveal the way US society works, their faults and virtues and reflect the ideological struggle that exists in the US. The other is against and claims that they debase human condition.

The outcomes of the comparison between characteristics of TTSs, conversation and those characteristics attributed to institutional talk confirmed the duality of the TTSs itself and its flexible nature. It was clear, however that the balance tips in favour of the institutional. Nevertheless, the duality of the TTS is latent rather than always present . That is, therein the TTS interaction is always the possibility of including conversationalization or conversational practices in the development of the main talk without those being perceived as a misfit or a

disruption: It is the capacity to fit smoothly "deviant" institutionalised practices into its framework what is unique about TTSs and what confers upon TTSs the nature of a quasi-institutional genre.

The conversational nature of the interaction was manifested by features such as a certain degree of self-selection in the guests and audience, the existence of free comments outside the question answer format, the F2-segments, the manifestation of private agendas which show guests behaving linguistically off-role, the emergent status which stretches the institutional norms by allowing some kind of negotiation of internal status between the categories and negotiation of and of frameworks, among others.

The predominant institutional character of talk was, in turn, revealed by features such as: the fact that the TTSs interaction is public, that the focus of the interaction is guided rather than spontaneous, that the topic and the number of participants are pre-specified in advance, that there is an agenda which dictates order of participation, structure of the interaction and pre-allocation of turns, that the discourse is goal-oriented and has certain tasks to fulfil, and that most of the interaction took place in question-answer format which is the typical turn-taking format for formal institutional genres.

It can not be ignored, however, that TTSs are a television genre whose features will vary to maximise profit (cf. White, 1985). As many other television genres, the TTSs undermines the norm of generic unity (cf. vande Berg 1991) and can be said to be always in a state of change. On the one hand, history suggests that the TTS has evolved and developed from its earliest times. On the other, the TTS's schematic structure (Downing, 1996:15) is, still today, in constant evolution, therefore allowing for occasional readjustments of almost every one of its features:

the "physical" features ( number of participants, the setting, etc.)as well as the linguistic ones.

It is therefore the TTS's flexibility, its ability to alter any of its generic features at any time, what brings TTS closer to conversation. As it occurs with conversation, TTSs will adapt to socio-cultural demands and will progress and/or change according to these demands. In this sense, although institutional elements certainly exercise centripetal force on the participant's behaviour, the door to negotiation is always open in the TTSs. As argued in section 2.6, forms of talk emerge rather than pre-exist. TTSs do not show a monotonous distribution of elements in our analysis, but there is evidence that the participants behave off-role and that such behaviour has changed and developed from its earlier manifestations into something different, nevertheless still recognisable as a TTSs. This is because, as argued by McCarthy (in press, chapter 2), the participants are unique individuals with certain expectations and private agendas which may result, over longer periods of time, in generic shift.

In the TTS, different from other more formal types of talk, the participants are found to negotiate frameworks within which their goals can be pursued. Furthermore, we claim that in TTSs the expectations and private agendas of the guests and audience as well as of the host provoke day-to-day alterations in the genre which are not only allowed but encouraged by the same nature of the television medium. Hence, TTSs are in constant evolution and this evolution includes a certain degree of *conversationalization* (Fairclough, 1995) which manifests in the functioning of the turn-taking.

We will conclude the characterisation of TTSs by paraphrasing Heritage and Greatbatch's (1991: 131) concluding remarks for news interviews which can apply to TTSs, hence we claim that the TTS conventions we have described here and the

properties they sustain bear all the hallmarks of a social institution as traditionally conceived within the discipline of sociology. The TTS's conventions are culturally variable, they are somehow subject to legal constraints and subject to processes of social change at the same time that are object of social debate and discursive justification. The comparative and historical study of TTSs has yet to be developed, specially in cultures where this genre has been recently imported (e.g. in Spain TTSs are an evolving genre). Likewise it may be observed in news interviews, the impact of technological change, of political pressures, of economic competition between broadcasting organisations, and of institutional dynamics within TTSs has yet to receive assessment. Similarly, the impact of these changing practices on the shifting political cultures of contemporary societies awaits investigation. It is here that the study of TTSs as a social institution will intersect with the study of social structure.

The present study has tried to illustrate one of the many possible ways of analysing a television genre which is itself a social institution. Combining the comparative perspective outlined by CA with a statistical analysis for turn-taking has brought our aims to fruition, since we have shown the adaptability, dynamism and genre-embedding of TTSs. The characteristics outlined for the TTSs suggests this to be a genre which is at the border of the institutional and conversational, with a predominance of the latter. Hence, TTSs could be classified as a quasi-conversational genre or as an institutionalised example of conversation. For this reason the TTSs may be an example of a basic framework in the talkshow's family, by reference to which more formal types of discussion programmes could be described.

I hope this dissertation raises new questions about the nature of television and its effects, and in particular of the role of TTSs. As for future research, what made this study very difficult for me was that every time that I have returned to the writing of this report, I find other approaches that could be applied, other points

that should be made and more and more information that could be included. I feel that there is still so much work to be done for a genre that is in the public sphere, that, chaotic and undetermined as it may be, has a role in the development and the moral of society. The study of linguistics and media is a combination that no doubt opens and questions innumerable aspects, in both fields, that are still being neglected. I am personally interested in pursuing this approach, since this dissertation has showed me that as one starts looking at one particular feature another one stands up right next to it willing to be given the same attention.

## **CHAPTER 12.**

# **BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES**



**Bibliography**

- Abercrombie, D. 1968. Paralanguage. In J. Laver and S. Hutchesson (Eds.) 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 64-70.
- Adams, K. L. 1981. Question/answer adjacency pairs in a performance appraisal interview. *Journal of Applied Communications Research*, 9 (2), 72-84.
- Aijmer, K. 1996. *Conversational Routine*.
- Ajami, F. 1996. Virtues not found on the talk shows. *U.S. News and World Report*, 120 (15) 65.
- Alcaraz E. 1994. *El Inglés Jurídico*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Allen, R. (Ed.) 1987/1992. *Channels of Discourse*. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Altenberg, B. 1986. Contrastive linking in spoken and written English. In G. Tottie, and I. Bläcklund (Eds.) *Studia Anglistica Upsalensia 60. English in Speech and Writing: A Symposium..*
- Altman, R. 1984. A semantic/syntactic approach to film genre. *Cinema Journal* 23 (3), 6-19.
- Aston, G. 1995. Say 'thank you': some pragmatic constraints in conversational closings. *Applied Linguistics*, 16 (2), 57-85.
- Atkinson, J. M. 1982. Understanding formality: notes on the categorisation and production of "formal" interaction. *British Journal of Sociology*, 33, 86-117.

- Atkinson, J. M. 1984. Public speaking and audience responses: some techniques for inviting applause. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action..* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Atkinson, J. M. 1992. Displaying neutrality: formal aspects of informal court proceedings. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 199-211.
- Atkinson, J. M., and P. Drew. 1979. *Order in Court; the Organisation of Verbal Interaction in Judicial Settings*. London: Macmillan.
- Atkinson, M. 1984. Public speaking and audience responses: some techniques for inviting applause. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action..* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Austin, J. L. 1961. *Philosophical Papers*. In J. O. Urmson and G. L. Warnock (Ed.) Oxford: O. U. P.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1976/86. The problem of speech genres. In C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Eds.) *Speech genres and other essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 60-112.
- Ball, P. 1975. Listener' responses to filled pauses in relation to floor apportionment. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 14, 423-4.
- Beattie, G. W. 1981. Interruption in conversational interaction, and its relation to the sex and status of the interactants. *Linguistics*, 19, 15-35.

- Beattie, G. W. 1981. The regulation of speaker turns in face-to-face conversations: some implications for conversation in sound-only communication channels. *Semiotica* , 34 (1/2), 55-70.
- Beattie, G. W. 1982. Turn-taking and interruption in political interviews: Margaret Thatcher and Jim Callaghan compared and contrasted. *Semiotica*, 39 (1/2), 93-114.
- Bell, A. 1996. The talking wounded. *Sassy*, 9 (2), 74-77.
- Bell, P., and Leeuwen, T. van. 1994. *The Media Interview*. Australia: University of South Wales Press.
- Bennet, A. 1978. Interruptions and the interpretation of conversation. *Proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Berkely Linguistic Society*, 557-75.
- Benwell, B. 1996. The University Tutorial as a Genre. *Unpublished PhD dissertation*. University of Nottingham.
- Berens, J. 1986. Conversational control in doctor patient interaction. In Ensink, T.A. van Essen, and T. van der Geest. (Eds.) *Discourse Analysis and Public Life*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Bernárdez, E. 1996. Pragmatics as self-regulation of behaviour. In B. Penas (Ed.) *The Intertextual Dimension of Discourse.*, 1-15.
- Bernstein, B. 1970. Social class, language and socialization. In P. P. Giglioli (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* , 157-78.
- Berrier, A. 1997 Four-party conversation and gender. *Pragmatics* 7 (3), 325-66.

- Berry, M. 1981. Polarity, ellipticity and propositional development. In *Nottingham Linguistic Circular*, 10 (1),
- Berry, M. 1987. Projects for modern English language courses. Unpublished handout. Nottingham University.
- Bertrand, J. C. 1989/92. La televisión en Estados Unidos. ¿qué nos puede enseñar? Madrid: Ediciones Rialp.
- Biber, D., and E. Finegan, 1989. Drift and the evolution of English style: a history of three genres. *Language*, 65 (3), 487-517.
- Biber, D., and E. Finegan. 1988. Historical drift in three English genres. In T. J. Walsh (Ed.) *Synchronic and Diachronic approaches to Linguistic Variation and Change*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 22-36.
- Block, H. & Tynan, W. 1995. Talking trash. *Time*, 145 (Jan. 30), 76-8.
- Bloomfield, L. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Blum-Bulka, S. 1983. The dynamics of political interviews. *Text*, 3(2), 131-153.
- Boden D., and D. H. Zimmerman (Eds.) 1991. *Talk and Social structure*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 138-63.
- Bogoch, B., and Danet, B. 1984. Challenge and control in lawyer-client interaction: a case study in an Israeli legal aid office, *Text*, 4 (1-3), 249-75.
- Bou Franch, P., and P. Garcés Conejos. La presentación de la imagen en conversaciones entre hablantes nativos y no nativos en inglés. *Pragmalingüística*, 2, 37-61.

Bou P., P. Garcés, and C. Gregori. 1993. Secuencias tópicas, marcadores conversacionales y cambios de tópico en conversaciones entre hablantes nativos y no nativos: I/ Organización de contenido conversacional. Actas del XI Congreso de AESLA, (Universidad de Valladolid), 165-71.

Bou, P. y C. Gregori Signes (in press). Pragmática intercultural: emisiones del oyente en inglés británico y español peninsular. *Quaderns de Filologia*.

Braxton, G. 1995. They may be done talking; television: growing protest over the content of talk shows is causing some station managers to demand changes. *Los Angeles Times*, 11-15.

Broadcasting and Cable. 1989. Broadcasters, others talk trash. *Broadcasting and Cable*, 116 (19), 69-70.

Broadcasting and Cable. 1996. A class act. *Broadcasting and Cable*, Jan 22, 126(4), 146.

Brown G, and Yule, G. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P., and S. C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, R., and A. Gilman. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In P. P. Giglioli (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* , 252-82.

Buchman, C. 1995 The television scene. *Films in Review*, 46, 71.

Burton, D. 1980. *Dialogue and Discourse*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Burton, D. 1981. Analysing spoken discourse. In M. Coulthard and M. Montgomery (Eds.) *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Button, G. 1992. Answers as interactional products: two sequential practices in job interviews. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 101-36.
- Button, G., and J. Lee. 1987. Moving out of closings. In G. Button and J. Lee (Eds.) *Talk and Social Organisation..* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Button, G., and J. Lee. 1987. Moving out of closings. In G. Button and J. Lee (Eds.) *Talk and Social Organisation..* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Buxton, R. A. 1991. The late-night talk show: humor in fringe television. In Vande Berg, L. R., and L. A. Wenner (Eds.) *Television Criticism. Approaches and Applications*. London: Longman, 411-41
- Calsamiglia, H., J. M. Cots, et al. 1996. Communicative strategies and saucultural identities in talk shows. *Pragmatics*, 5(3), 325-41.
- Carbaugh, D. 1988. *Talking America: Cultural Discourses on Donahue*. Norwood: N.J.: Ablex.
- Carter, R. A., and M. J. McCarthy. 1995. Grammar and the Spoken Language. *Applied Linguistics*, 16 (2), 141-58.
- Carter, R. A., and P. Simpson (Eds.) 1989. *Language Discourse and Literature*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Channell, J. 1985. Vagueness as a conversational strategy. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular*, 14, 3-24.

Cheepen, C. 1988. *The Predictability of informal conversation*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Cheepen, C. 1994. The pragmatics of friendliness and user-friendliness. *Pragmatics*, 4 (1), 63-79.

Chidley, J. 1996. Taking in the trash. *Maclean's*, Feb 19, 109 (8), 50-3.

Chomsky, N. 1957. *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Christie, F. 1985. Language and schooling. In Tchudi, S. (Ed.) *Language, Schooling and Society*. New Jersey: Boynton Cook.

Cicourel, A. V. 1980. Three models of discourse analysis: the role of social structure. *Discourse Processes*, 3, 101-132.

Clark, H. H. 1996. *Using Language*. Cambridge: C.U.P.

Clark, H. H., and C. R. Marshall. 1981. Definite reference and mutual knowledge. In H. H. Clark and C. R. Marshall (Eds.) *Elements of Discourse Understanding*. CUP

Clayman, S. E. 1988. Displaying neutrality in television news interviews. *Social Problems*, 35, 474-92.

Clayman, S. E. 1989. When the medium becomes the message: the case of the Rather-Bush encounter. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 22, 241-72.

Clayman, S. E. 1992. Footing in the achievement of neutrality: the case of news-interview discourse. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 163-98.

- Coe, S. 1995. 'Donahue' loses New York. *Broadcasting and Cable*, August 21, 125 (34), 29-30.
- Conte, R. 1981. Aspects of interaction in a medical interview. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 5, 113-144.
- Cook, G. 1990. Transcribing infinity. Problems of context presentation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 1-24.
- Cook, M., and M. Lalljee. 1970. The interpretation of pauses by the listener. *British Journal of social and clinical Psychology*,
- Corliss, R. 1996. The host man's burden. *Time*, Jan. 8, 72.
- Coulmas, F. (Ed). 1981. *Conversational Routine*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Coulthard M., and M. Montgomery (Eds.) 1981. *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Coulthard, M. 1977. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Coulthard, M., and M. Ashby. 1975. Talking with the doctor, 1. *Journal of Communication*, 25 (3), 140-147.
- Crabtree, S. 1995. Trash TV pulls America down the tubes. *Insight on the News*, 11 (46), 8-10.
- Craig, R. T. 1990. Multiple goals in discourse: an epilogue. In Tracy ,K., and N. Coupland (Eds.) *Multiple Goals in Discourse*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 163-70.



- Crystal D., and D. Davy. 1969. The language of conversation. *Investigating Language Style*. London: Longman.
- Danet, B., and B. Bogoch. 1980. Fixed fit or free-for-all? An empirical study of combativeness in the adversary system. *British Journal of Law and Society*, 36-60.
- Davis, Flora. 1994. *La comunicación no verbal*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Deane, R. 1996. Are we talking too much on TV? *Essence*, 27, 190.
- Deming, R. H. 1985. Discourse/ talk/ television. *Screen*, 26, 88-92.
- Denny, R. 1985. Marking the interaction order: the social constitution of turn exchange and speaking turns. *Language and Society*, 14, 41-62.
- Dettmer, J., and M. Rust. 1995. Talkers talk the talk. *Insight*, July 17, 4.
- Dijk, T. A. van. 1990. The growth of discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 1 (1), 5-16.
- Dittman, A.T. and L.G. Llewellyn. 1967. The phonemic clause as a unit of speech decoding. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 6, 341-49.
- Dolón Herrero, R. 1995. Agenda Meetings. Progresión Tópica en al Conducta Interactiva de la Negociación. *Unpublished PhD dissertation*. Universitat de València.
- Downing, A. 1996. Register and/or genre? In I. Vázquez and A. Hornero (Eds.) *Current Issues in Genre Theory*. Zaragoza: Mira Editores, 11-29.

- Downs, V. C., L. L. Kaid, and S. Ragan. 1990. The impact of argumentativeness and verbal aggression on communicator image: the exchange between George Bush and Dan Rather. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 54 (Winter 1990), 99-112.
- Drew P., and J. Heritage. 1992. (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Drew, P. 1985. Analyzing the use of language in courtroom interaction. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.) *Handbook of discourse analysis*, vol.III: *Discourse and Dialogue*. London: Academic Press,
- Drew, P. 1987. Po-faced receipts of teases. *Linguistics*, 25, 2
- Drew, P., and J. Heritage. 1992. Analyzing talk at work: a introduction. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 3-65.
- Dudley-Evans, T. 1989. An outline of genre analysis in LSP work. In C. Lauren, and M. Nordman. (Eds.) *Special Language from Human Thinking Machines*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Duncan, S. D., Jr. 1972. Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in Conversations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 23(2), 283-92.
- Duncan, S. D., Jr. 1973a. On the structure of speaker-auditor interaction during speaking turns. *Language in Society*, 2, 161-80.
- Duncan, S. D., Jr. 1973b. Toward a grammar for dyadic conversation. *Semiotica*, 9, 29-46.

- Duncan, S. D., Jr. 1975. Interaction units during speaking turns in dyadic, face-to-face conversations. In Kendon, A et al. *Organization of Behavior in Face-to-Face Interaction..* Paris: Mouton Publishers.
- Duncan, S. D., Jr., and G. Niederehe. 1974. On signalling that it's your turn to speak. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 10, 234-47.
- Edelsky, C. 1981. Who's got the floor? *Language and Society*, 10, 383-421.
- Edmondson, W. 1981. *Spoken discourse*. London: Longman.
- Emerson, T. 1996. Bigger than Oprah! Hotter than Geraldo! *Newsweek*, April 1996, 127 (14), 52.
- Emery, E, Jr. 1995. Tales from the TV talk shows. *Skeptical Inquirer* May/June, 12-13.
- England, D. 1980. Television and politics. The politics of television. *Media and Methods*: October 1980
- Erickson, F. 1996. Ethnographic microanalysis. In S.L. McKay and N.H. Hornberger (Eds.) *Sociolinguistics and language teaching*.
- Erickson, F., and W. Rittenberg. 1987. Topic control and Person control: A Thorny Problem for Foreign Physicians in Interaction with American Patients. *Discourse Processes*, 10, 401-415.
- Fairclough N.1989/94. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough N.1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ferguson, N. 1977. Simultaneous speech, interruptions and dominance. *British Journal of social and clinical Psychology*, 16, 295-302.

- Fernández Fernández, F. 1980. Los Conectores de frase en inglés y en castellano. *Separata de la Revista de Filología Moderna* , 68-70, 157-223. Madrid: Edit. de la Universidad Complutense.
- Fields, S. 1995. TV trash talk: What a revolting development. *Philadelphia Business Journal*, 14, 21.
- Fischhoff, S. 1995. Confessions of a TV talk show shrink. *Psychology Today*, 28 (5), 38-45.
- Fisher, S. 1991. A discourse of the social: medical talk/power talk/ oppositional talk? *Discourse and Society*, 2 (2), 157-182.
- Fiske, J., and J. Hartley. 1994. *Reading Television..* London: Routledge.
- Ford, C., B. A. Fox, and Thompson, S. A. 1996. Practices in the construction of turns: the "TCU" revisited. *Pragmatics*, 6 (3), 427-54.
- Fraser, B. 1996. Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics*, 6(2), 167-91.
- Galasinski, D. 1996. Pretending to cooperate. How speakers hide evasive actions. *Argumentation*, 10,375-88.
- Gamson, J. 1996. Do Ask, Do Tell. TV Talk shows may be crass and voyeuristic, but they give a voice to those who have been silenced. *Utne Reader*, 73, 78-83.
- Garfinkel, H. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Gelles, R. J. 1974. The television news interview: a field study. *Journal of Applied Communications Research* , winter-spring 1974, 31-44.

- Ghadessy, M. 1994. *Register Analysis. Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter Publishers.
- Gibbs, R. 1987. Mutual knowledge and the psychology of conversational inference. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 11, 561-588.
- Giglioli, P. P. (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* . London: Penguin.
- Gillespie, M. A. 1995. Cheap talk. *Madamoisselle*, May/June 1995, 1.
- Goatley, A. 1994. Register and the redemption of relevance theory. *Pragmatics*, vol. 4 (2), 139-82.
- Goffman, E. 1955, 1972. On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. In J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (Eds.) 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction..* Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Goffman, E. 1957. Alienation from interaction. In J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (Eds.) 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction..* Middlesex: Penguin Books, 347-63.
- Goffman, E. 1964. The neglected situation. P. P. Giglioli (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* , 61-6.
- Goffman, E. 1967. *Interaction Ritual*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday Anchor.
- Goffman, E. 1976. Replies and responses. *Language in Society*, 5, 257-313.
- Goffman, E. 1979. Footing. *Semiotica*, 25 (1/2), 1-29.
- Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goffman, E. 1983. Felicity's condition. *AJ S*, 89 (1), 1-51.

- Goldberg, J. A. 1990. Interrupting the discourse on interruptions. *Journal of Pragmatics* , 14 (6), 883-905.
- Golding, J. M., A. Graesser, and K. K. Millis. 1990. What makes a good answer to a question?: Testing a psychological model of question answering in the context of narrative text. *Discourse Processes* , 13, 305-325.
- Goodwin, C., and J. Heritage. 1990. Conversation Analysis. *Annual Review of Antropology*, 19, 283-207.
- Goodwin, Ch. 1984. Notes on story structure and the organization of participation. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greatbatch, D. 1986. Aspects of topical organization in news interviews: the use of agenda-shifting procedures by interviews. *Media, Culture and Society*, 8, 441-455.
- Greatbatch, D. 1988. A turn-taking system for British news interviews. *Language in Society* , 17, 401-430.
- Greatbatch, D. 1992. On the management of disagreement between news interviews. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 101-36.
- Green, M., and K. Pitzer. 1995. Talking Back. *People Weekly* , July 17, 44 (3), 81-2.
- Gregori Signes, C. 1996. Bueno, hasta luego: el uso de *bueno* en conversaciones. *Miscelánea* , 17, 157-70.

- Gregori Signes, C. and I. Marqués. 1993. Coping with Cupid: film and the mixture of genres. In M. Aguirre, M. Bengoechea, R. K. Shepherd, (Eds.) *Marginal Discourse*. Universidad de Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones, 139-152.
- Gregori Signes, C., and A. Sanz Bisquert. 1996. Cohesion and the translation of ESP texts. En J. Piqué, *English in Specific Settings*,
- Gregori Signes, C., B. Pennock, P. Bou. (in press) The Use of Humour and Wit in an American Sitcom.
- Grice, H. P. 1957. Meaning. *Philosophical Review*, 66, 377-88.
- Grice, H. P. 1967. Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J. Morgan, (Eds.) 1975. *Syntax and Semantics, volume 3: Speech acts*. New York: Academic Press.
- Grice, H. P. 1978. Further notes on logic and conversation. In P. Cole, *Syntax and Semantics, Volume 9 : Pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press.
- Grimshaw, A. D. 1990. Research on conflict talk: antecedents, resources, findings, directions. In A.D. Grimshaw. *Conflict Talk*. Cambridge: C.U.P, 281-325.
- Grizzutti Harrison, B. 1992. Why talk shows won't shut up *Mademoiselle*, 28-30.
- Gronbeck, B. 1979. Television criticism and the classroom. *Journal of the Illinois Speech and Theatre*, 33, 1-12.
- Gronbeck, B. 1988. Rev. of The Academic Practise of Television Criticism. *Quaterly .Journal of Speech*, 74, 334-47.

- Gumperz, J. J. 1968. The speech community. In P. P. Giglioli (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* , 219-31.
- Gumperz, J. J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. 1992. Interviewing in intercultural situations. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 101-36.
- Gumperz, J. J. and D. Hymes (Eds.) 1972. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: the Ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gundel, J.K. 1985. Shared knowledge and topicality. *Journal of Pragmatics* , 9, 83-107.
- Günthner, S., and H. Knoblauch. 1995. Culturally patterned speaking practices- the analysis of communicative genres. *Pragmatics*, 5 (1), 1-32.
- Guzman, P. S. 1996. *The Studio Audience in Television Talk Shows: a qualitative study*. Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1973. The functional basis of language. *Explorations in the functions of language*, 22-24. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1975/85. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1976. Anti-Languages. *UEA Papers in Linguistics* 1. Norwich: University of East Anglia.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.



- Halliday, M. A. K. 1989. *Spoken and Written Language*. Oxford: OUP.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1992. Language as system and language as instance: The corpus as a theoretical construct. In J. Svartvik (Ed.) *Directions in Corpus Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Halliday, M. A. K., and R. Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. English Language Series 9. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K., and R. Hasan. 1985. *Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hammer, M., and I. Rudolph. 1995. A daytime talk show goes on trial. *TV Guide* , 43(38), 41-42.
- Harris, S. 1984. Questions as a mode of control in magistrates' courts. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 49, 5-27.
- Harris, S. 1987. Court Discourse as a genre: some problems and issues. *Nottingham: Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics* , 2, 35-75
- Harris, S. 1991. Evasive action: how politicians respond to questions in political interviews. In P. Scannell (Ed.)
- Harris, S. 1995. Pragmatics and power. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 23, 117-35.
- Harris, Z. 1952. Discourse Analysis. *Language*, 28, 1-30.
- Hasan, R. 1978. Text in the systemic-functional model. In W.U. Dressler (Ed.) *Current Trends in Textlinguistics* , 228-46.

- Hasan, R. 1978. Text in the systemic-functional model. In W.U. Dressler (Ed.) *Current Trends in Textlinguistics* , 228-46.
- Hasan, R. 1979. On the notion of text. In J. S. Petöfi (Ed.) *Text vs. Sentence: Basic Questions on Text Linguistics. Second Part*. Hamburg: Buske, 369-91.
- Hasan, R. 1984. The Nursery Tale as a genre. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular*, 13.
- Hasan, R. 1992. Rationality in everyday talk: From process to System. In J. Svartvik (Ed.) *Directions in Corpus Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Have, P. ten. 1991. Talk and institution: a reconsideration of the asymmetry of doctor-patient interaction. In D. Boden and D. H. Zimmerman (Eds.) *Talk and Social structure*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 138-63.
- Hayashi, R. 1991. Floor structure of English and Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 16, 1-30.
- Heath, C. 1984. Talk and reciprocity: sequential organization in speech and body movement. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, C. 1992. The delivery and reception of diagnosis in the general practice consultation. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 235-67.
- Heaton, A. 1996. Tuning in Trouble: Talk TV's destructive Impact on Mental Health.

- Henson, J. 1996. A tribute to the father of all talk shows. *TV Guide*, 44 (5), 43.
- Heritage, J. C. & Greatbatch, D. 1991. On the institutional character of institutional talk: the case of news interviews. In D. Boden and D. H. Zimmerman (Eds.) *Talk and Social structure*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 93-137.
- Heritage, J. C. 1984. *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heritage, J. C. 1985. Analyzing news interviews: aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, vol. III: *Discourse and Dialogue*. London: Academic Press, 95-116.
- Heritage, J. C., and D. R. Watson. 1979. Formulations as conversational objects. In G. Psathas (Ed.) *Everyday Language Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York: Wiley.
- Hoey, M. 1983, 1991. *On the Surface of Discourse*. Nottingham: Department of English Studies.
- Hoey, M. 1991. Some Properties of Spoken Discourses. In Brumfit (Ed.) *Applied Linguistics and English Language Teaching*.
- Houtkoop, H., and Mazeland, H. 1985. Turns and discourse units in everyday conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 9, 595-619.
- Houtkoop-Steenstra, H. 1991. Opening sequences in Dutch telephone conversations. In D. Boden and D. H. Zimmerman (Eds.). *Talk and Social structure*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Hutchby, I. 1996. *ConfrontationTalk*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hymes, D. 1964. Toward ethnographies of communication: the analysis of communicative events. In P. P. Giglioli (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* , 21-58.
- Hymes, D. 1967. Models of the interaction of language and social setting. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (2), 8-28.
- Hymes, D. H. 1964. Towards ethnographies of communication: the analysis of communicative events. In P. P. Giglioli (Ed.) 1972. *Language and Social Context* , 21-64.
- Hymes, D. H. 1971. Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking. *Social Antropology and Linguistics*, monograph 10, 47-93.
- Hymes, D.H. 1974. The Ethnography of Speaking. In B.G. Blaunt (Ed.) *Language, Culture and Society: A Book of Readings*. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers, Inc. 189-223.
- Impoco, J. 1996. Trash TV gets the message- sort of. *U.S. News and World Report*, 120 (1), 50-1.
- Jefferson, G. 1972. Side Sequences. In D. Sudnow (Ed.) *Studies in Social Interaction..* New York: New York Press.
- Jefferson, G. 1973. A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: overlapped tag-positioned address terms in closing sequences. *Semiotica*, 9, 47-96.

- Jefferson, G. 1978. Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.) *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction..* New York: Academic Press.
- Jefferson, G. 1979. A technique for inviting laughter and its subsequent acceptance declination. In G. Psathas (Ed.) 1979. *Everyday Language Studies in Ethnomethodology.* New York: Wiley.
- Jefferson, G. 1984. On stepwise transition from talk about a trouble to inappropriately next-positioned matters. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jefferson, G. 1984. On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jefferson, G. 1987. On exposed and embeded correction in conversation. In G. Button and R.E. Lee (Eds.) *Talk and Social Organization..* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Jefferson, G., Sacks, H., and Scheggloff, E. 1987. Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy (ch.6). In Button, G and Lee, R.E. (Eds.) *Talk and Social Organisation.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, LTD.
- Jucker, A. H. 1986. *News Interviews.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kasper, G. 1989. Interactive procedures in interlanguage discourse. In W. Olesky (Ed.) *Contrastive Praagmatics,* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 189-229.
- Kempson, R. 1977. *Semantic Theory.* Cambridge: C.U.P.

- Kendon, A. 1967. Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica*, 26, 22-63
- Kowal, S. and C. O. O'Donnell. 1997. Theoretical ideals and their violation: Princess Diana and Martin Bashir in the BBC interview. *Pragmatics* 7 (3), 309-23.
- Kramer, E. 1963. Judgement of Personal Characteristics and Emotions from Non-Verbal Properties of Speech. In J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (Eds.) 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction..* Middlesex: Penguin Books, 172-88.
- Kurzon, D. 1996. The maxim of quantity, hyponymy and Princess Diana. *Pragmatics*, 6(2), 167-91.
- Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the Inner City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Labov, W., and D. Fanshel. 1977. *Therapeutic Discourse : Psychotherapy as Conversation*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lakoff, R. T. 1990. *Talking Power*. United States: Basic Books.
- Larrue, J. and Trognon, A. 1993. Organization of turn-taking and mechanisms for turn-taking repairs in a chaired meeting. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 19, 177-96.
- Laver, J. 1975. Communicative functions of phatic communion. In A. Kendon, R. Harris, and M. Key (Eds.) *The Organisation of Behaviour in Face to Face Interaction*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Leech, G. N. 1983. *The Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Levinson, S. C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. C. 1992. Activity types and language. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U., 66-100.

Lewis, D. 1969. *Convention. A Philosophical Study*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Lewis, D. 1972. General Semantics. In D. Davidson and G.H. Harman. *Semantics of Natural Language*. Dordrecht: Reidel, 169-218.

Lier, L. van 1984. Analysing interaction in second language classrooms. *ELT Journal*, 38 (3), 160-9.

Littleton, C. 1995. P & G, Sears cut back ads on talk shows. *Broadcasting and Cable*, Nov. 20, 10.

Littleton, C. 1996. 'Elliott,' 'Walberg' renewed. *Broadcasting and Cable*, 126 (2), 40 & 44.

Littleton, C. 1996. 'Gabrielle', 'Charles Perez' talked out *Broadcasting and Cable*, 126 (2), 40 -42.

Littleton, C. 1996. 'Walberg' exit makes it seven down. *Broadcasting and Cable*, 126(13), 34.

Littleton, C. 1996. 'Walberg' exit makes it seven down. *Broadcasting and Cable*, 126(13), 34.

Littleton, C. 1996. Geraldo takes the pledge. *Broadcasting and Cable*, 126 (2), 40.

Littleton, C. 1996. Phil departing; Maury returns. *Broadcasting and Cable*, Janu. 22, 126 (9), 119.

- Littleton, C. 1996. Talk TV toughs it out. *Broadcasting and Cable*, Jan 15, 126(3), 59-66.
- Littleton, C. 1996. The remaking of talk. *Broadcasting and Cable*, Jan 22, 126(4), 46-50.
- Livingstone, S., and P. Lunt. 1994. *Talk on Television*. London: Routledge.
- Luchjenbroers, J. 1997. 'In your own words...': questions and answers in a Supreme Court trial. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 27, 477-503.
- Malinowski, B. 1923. Phatic Communion. In J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (Eds.) 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 146-52.
- Marc, D. 1989/1992. *Comic Vision. Television Comedy and American Culture*. Media and Popular Culture, 4. London: Routledge.
- Martí Viaño, M. y C. Gregori Signes. 1997. La estructura del discurso en el aula. En J. Cantero, A. Mendoza y C. Romea. *Didáctica de la Lengua y la Literatura para una Sociedad Plurilingüe del Siglo XXI : Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Didáctica de la Lengua y la Literatura*, 533-538.
- Martin, J. R. 1984. Language, register and genre. In F. Christie (Ed.) *Language Studies: children writing reader*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press, 21-9.
- Martin, J.R. and J. Rothery. 1980. "Writing project. Report nº 1". *Working Papers in Linguistics nº 1*. Linguistic Department: University of Sidney.



- Maynard, D. W. 1991a. Interaction and asymmetry in clinical discourse. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97, 448-95.
- Maynard, D. W. 1991b. The perspective-display series and the delivery and receipt of diagnostic news. In Boden, D. & Zimmerman, D.H. (Eds.) *Talk and Social structure*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Maynard, S. K. 1986. On back-channel behaviour in Japanese and English casual conversation. *Linguistics*, 24, 1079-118.
- Maynard, S. K. 1986. On back-channel behaviour in Japanese and English casual conversation. *Linguistics*, 24, 1079-118.
- McCarthy, M. J. (in press). *Spoken Language and Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: C. U. P.
- McCarthy, M. J. 1990. Issues in Grammar and Discourse. To be Published in F. Fernández (ed) *Proceedings of the Jornadas de Inglés, 1990*. Valencia: University of Valencia.
- McCarthy, M. J. 1991. *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, M. J. 1993a. Grammar, Discourse and the Fanzine. In Ikegami, Y. and M. Toyota (Eds.) *Aspects of English as a World Language*. Tokyo: Maruzen Co., Ltd.
- McCarthy, M. J. 1993b. Spoken Discourse Markers in Written Text. In Fox, G., Hoey, M., and J. Sinclair (Eds.) *Techniques of Description*. London: Routledge.

- McCarthy, M. J. and R. Carter. 1994. *Language as Discourse*. London: Longman.
- McConville, J. 1995. Cable talk shows avoid outcry. *Broadcasting and Cable*,
- McHoul, A. 1978. The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society*, 7, 183-213.
- McHoul, A. W. 1979. The organization of repair in classroom talk. *Language in Society*, 19, 349-77.
- McLuhan. *Understanding Media*. The medium is the message; the spoken word; television;
- Mehan, H. 1985. The structure of classroom discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.) *Handook of discourse analysis*, vol.III: *Discourse and Dialogue*. London: Academic Press,120-32.
- Miller, G. A. 1963. Review of Universals of language. *Contemporary Psychology*, 8, 417-8.
- Milroy, L. 1987. *Observing and Analyszing Natural Language*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Mincer, R. 1982. *The Talk Show Book*. N.Y.: Facts on File Inc.
- Mitchell, T. F. 1957. The language of buying and selling in Cyrenaica: a situational statement. *Hesperis*, 44: 31-71. Reprinted in T.F. Mitchell. 1975. *Priciples of Firthian Linguistics*. London: Longman, 167-200.
- Moerman, M. 1996. The field of analyzing foreign language conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics* , 26, 147-58.

Morse, M. Talk, Talk, Talk. The Space of Discourse. *Screen*, 26, 2-15.

Munson, W. 1993. *All Talk*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Newcomb, H. M. 1984. On the Dialogic Aspects of Mass Communication. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 1, 3 4-50.

Newcomb, H. M. 1987. *Television. The Critical View*. New York: O. U. P.

O'Connell, D. C., S. Kowal and E. Kaltenbacher. 1990. Turn-taking: a critical analysis of the research tradition. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 19(6), 345-73.

Ochs, E. 1979. Transcription as theory. In Ochs, E. and B. Schieffelin (Eds.) New York: Academic Press, 43-72.

Ochs, E., and B. B. Schiefflin (Eds.) 1979. *Developmental Pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press.

Oreström, B. 1983. Turn-taking in English Conversation. In C. Schaar & J. Svartvik. *Lund Studies in English*. C W P Gleerup: LiberFörlag Lund.

Penz, H. 1996. *Language and control in American TV talk shows*. Tübingen: Narr.

Petöfi, J. S. (ed). 1979. *Text vs. Sentence: Basic Questions on Text Linguistics. Second Part*. Hamburg: Buske.

Petrakos, C. 1996. Trashing talk. *Quill*, March 1996, 84 (2), 36-7.

Philips, S. U. 1984. The social organization of questions and answers in courtroom discourse: A study of changes of plea in an Arizona court. *Text*, 4 (1-3), 225-48.

- Philips, S. U. 1990. The judge as third party in American trial-court conflict talk. In A. D. Grinstead. *Conflict Talk*. Cambridge: C.U.P, 197-209.
- Polanyi, L. 1982. Linguistic and social constraints on storytelling. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 6, 509-24.
- Pomerantz, A. 1981. Pursuing a response. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, A. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, A. 1984. Giving a source or basis: the practice in conversation of telling 'How I know.' *Journal of Pragmatics* , 8, 607-25.
- Pomerantz, A. 1987. Descriptions in legal settings. In G. Button and J. Lee (Eds.) *Talk and Social Organisation..* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 226-43.
- Power R. J. D., and M. F. D. Martello. 1986. Some criticisms of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson on turn taking. *SEmiotica*, 58 (1/2) 29-40.
- Pratt, J. 1995. I am a talk-show-host survivor. *Glamour*, , 93 (10), 173 & 273.
- Psathas, G. (Ed.) 1979. *Everyday Language Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York: Wiley.
- Psathas, G., and T. Anderson. 1990. The practices of transcription in conversation analysis. *Semiotica*, 78 (1/2), 75-99.
- Raab, S. 1995. The Guests. *GQ: Gentlemen Quaterly*, 65 (8), 186-91.

Reynolds, M. 1990. Classroom Power: some dynamics of classroom talk. In R.Clark et al. (eds.) 1990. *Language and Power*. Papers from the 22nd Annual meeting of the BAAL. Lancaster University. London: Centre for information on Language Teaching and Research.122-66.

Rivera, G. 1995. I was going to hell. *Newsweek*, July 15, 48.

Rivera, G. 1996. New take on talk. *Broadcasting and Cable*, April 1, v126n14, 35.

Sacks, H. 1972. An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. In D. Sudnow (Ed.) *Studies in Social Interaction*. New York: Free Press, 31-74.

Sacks, H. 1984. On doing "being ordinary". In J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action..* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,413-430.

Sacks, H. 1987. On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. In G. Button and R.E. Lee (Eds.) *Talk and Social Organization..* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Sacks, H., and E. Schegloff. 1979. Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. In G. Psathas (Ed.) 1979. *Everyday Language Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York: Wiley.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E., and G. Jefferson. 1974. A Simplest Systematics for the organization of Turn Taking for Conversation. *Language* 50 (4), 696-735. Reprinted in (Ed.) J. Schenkein (1978), 8-55.

Scannell, P. (Ed.) 1991. *Broadcast Talk*. London: Sage Publications.

- Scardino, A. 1989. A debate heats up: is it news or entertainment? *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 29.
- Schank, R. C. 1977. Rules and topics in conversation. *Cognitive Science*, 1, 421-42.
- Schegloff, E. A. 1968. Sequencing in conversational openings. In J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (Eds.) 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction..* Middlesex: Penguin Books, 374-405.
- Schegloff, E. A. 1987. Between micro and macro: contexts and other connections. In J. Alexander et al. (Eds.) *The Micro-macro Link*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. 1992. On talk and its institutional occasions. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 101-36.
- Schegloff, E. A., and H. Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 7, 289-237.
- Schegloff, E., G. Jefferson, and H. Sacks. 1977. The preferences for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 53, 361-82.
- Schenkein, J. (Ed.) *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction..* London: Academic Press.
- Schiffrin, D. 1977. Opening encounters. *American Sociological Review*, 4 (5), 15-35.
- Schiffrin, D. 1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: C.U.P.

- Schiffrin, D. 1987. Toward an empirical base in pragmatics. *Language in Society*, 16, 381-396.
- Schiffrin, D. 1990. The management of co-operative self during argument: the role of opinions and stories. In A. D. Grimshaw (Ed.) *Conflict Talk*. Cambridge: C.U.P, 241-59.
- Schiffrin, D. 1990. The principle of intersubjectivity in communication and conversation. *Semiotica*, 80 (1/2), 121-51.
- Schiffrin, D. 1991 Conversational Analysis. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 11, 3-16.
- Schramm, W., and D. F. Roberts (Eds.) 1971/1974. *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication..* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Searle, J. R. 1969. *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Selting, M. 1996. On the interplay of syntax and prosody in the constitution of turn-constructural units and turns in conversation. *Pragmatics*, 6 (3), 371-88.
- Shimanoff and Brunak. 1977. Repairs in planned and unplanned discourse. In E.O. Keenan and T.L. Bennett (Eds.) *Discourse Across Time and Space*. California: Department of Linguistics.
- Shuy, R. W. 1996. *Language Crimes. The use and abuse of Language Evidence in the Courtroom*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Simpson, P. 1984. Talking Heads. *Screen*, 25, 80-84.
- Sinclair, J. McH., and R. M. Coulthard. 1975. *Towards an Analysis of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Speier, M. 1972. Some conversational problems for interactional analysis. In D. Sudnow (Ed.) *Studies in Social Interaction..* New York: New York Press.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. 1996. Reconsidering power and distance. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 1-24.
- Sperber, D. and D. Wilson. 1982. Mutual knowledge and relevance in theories of comprehension. In N.V. Smith (Ed.) *Mutual Knowledge*. New York: Academic Press.
- Sperber, D., and D. Wilson. 1986/ 90. *Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stainton, C. 1987. Interruptions: a marker of social distance? *Nottingham: Occasional Papers in Systemic Linguistics* , 2, 75-135.
- Stalpers, J. 1988. The maturity of discourse analysis. *Language in Society*, 17, 87-9.
- Stark, P. 1996. Direct action against trash TV *The American Enterprise*, 7 (1), 10-11.
- Stasio, M. 1995. When talk shows become horror shows. *Cosmopolitan*, 219 (84), 250.-3.
- Stenström, A. B. 1984. *Questions and Responses in English Conversation*. Lund: Lund University Press.
- Stubbs, M. 1987. *Discourse Analysis. The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Stubbs, M., Robinson, B., and S. Twite. 1979. *Observing Classroom Language*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.



Swales, J. 1990. *Genre Analysis :English in academic research settings*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. 1981. The machine-gun conversation style. *Journal of Pragmatics*.,  
5, 383-97.

Tannen, D. 1989. *Talking voices. Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in  
conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. 1993. *Framing in Discourse*. Oxford: O.U.P

Thomas, J. 1984. Cross-cultural Discourse as an 'Unequal Encounter': Towards  
a Pragmatic Analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, 5, 226-35.

Thomas, J. A. 1985. The language of power: towards a dynamic pragmatics.  
*Journal of Pragmatics*, 9, 765-84.

Tobenkin, D. 1995. 'Ricki' moves up in early fringe. *Broadcasting and Cable*,  
May 29, 125 (22), 15.

Tolson, A. 1991. Televised Chat and the Synthetic Personality. En P. Scannell  
(ed)

Tottie, G. 1991. Conversational style in British and American English: the case  
of backchannels. In K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg (Eds.) *English Corpus  
Linguistics*. London: Longman, 254-71.

Tottie, G., and I. Bäccklund (Eds.) 1986. *English in Speech and Writing: a  
Symposium*. Upsala: Studia Anglistica Upsalensia.

Tracy, K., and N. Coupland. 1990. Multiple goals in discourse: an overview of  
issues. In Tracy ,K., and N. Coupland (Eds.) *Multiple Goals in Discourse*.  
Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1-14.

- Turner, R. 1970. Words, utterances, and activities. Reprinted in R. Turner (Ed.) 1974. *Ethnomethodology*. Penguin: Harmondsworth, 197-215.
- Tyler Eastman, S. 1993. *Broadcast/Cable Programming*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- US News. 1995. Trash TV takes a Hit. *U.S. News and World Report*, Dec. 18, 8.
- Vande Berg, L. R., and L. A. Wenner. 1991. *Television Criticism. Approaches and Applications*. London: Longman.
- Vázquez Horta, I. 1996. Register, Genre and Linguistic Choice. In I. Vázquez and A. Hornero (Eds.) *Current Issues in Genre Theory*. Zaragoza: Mira Editores.
- Ventola, E. 1979. The structure of casual conversation in English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 3, 267-98.
- Ventola, E. 1984. The dynamics of genre. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular*, 13, 103-23.
- Ventola, E. 1987. *The Structure of Social Interaction..* New York: Pinter Publishers.
- Ventola, E. 1989. Problems of modelling and applied issues within the framework of genre. *Word*, 40 (1/2), 129-59.
- Ventola, E. 1995. Generic Register Qualities of Texts and Their Realization. In Fries, P.H. and M. Gregory *Discourse in Society: Systemic Functional Perspectives* . Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Ventola, E. 1996. Genre Theory, Academic Writing, and English Language Teaching. In I. Vázquez and A. Hornero (Eds.) *Current Issues in Genre Theory*. Zaragoza: Mira Editores.

Wartik, N. 1995. Talking trash. *American Health*, 14 (10), 38.

Wechsler, P. 1995. Phil Donahue gets the last laugh. *New York*, Aug. 21, 28 (33), 11-2.

Weiss, M. 1996. Oprah Made Me Do It. *The Washingtonian*, 31 (5), 50-3.

West, C., and D. Zimmerman. 1983. Small insults: the study of interruptions in cross-sex conversations between unacquainted persons. In B. Thorne, C. Kramerae, and N. Henley /EDs.) *Language, gender and society*. Rowley: Newbury House, 102-117.

White, M. 1985. Television Genres: Intertextuality. *Journal of Film and Video*, 37 (3), 41-9.

White, M. 1987,/1992. Ideological Analysis of Television. In R. Allen (Ed.) *Channels of Discourse*. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 161-202.

Wiemann, J. M. and Knapp, M. L. 1975. Turn-taking in conversations. *Journal of Communication* , 25 (2), 75-92.

Wilson, T. P. and D. H. Zimmerman. 1986. The structure of silence between turns in two-party conversation. *Discourse Processes*, 9, 375-90.

Wodak, R. 1980. Discourse analysis and courtroom interaction. *Discourse Processes*, 3, 369-80.

Wolcott, J. 1993. They talk by night. *The Newyorker*, 69, (Apr.12), 99-100.

Yngve, V. H. 1970. On Getting a Word Edgewise. In *Papers from the 6th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Zimmerman, D. H. & Boden, D. 1991. Structure-in-Action: An Introduction. In Boden, D. & Zimmerman, D. H. (Eds.). *Talk and Social structure*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

