



UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE.

Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades.

Departamento de Lingüística.

Turn-taking markers in political television interviews

Arantxa Amaia Irizar Santander

Tesis para optar a grado de Licenciado en Lengua y Literatura Inglesas

Profesor: Hiram Vivanco

<u>Acknowledgment</u>	1
1. Intro.....	3
2. Objectives.....	6
2.1 Research questions.....	6
3. Lit. Review.....	7
3.1 Discourse Analysis.....	18
3.2 Political Interview and its features.....	21
3.2.1 Political News Interview.....	25
3.2.2 Potential Conflict.....	29
3.3 Conversational Analysis.....	30
3.3.1 Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's turn-taking model.....	34
3.3.2 The turn- constructional component.....	39
3.3.3 The turn-allocation component.....	41
3.4 Turn-taking cues.....	44
3.4.1 Turn-yielding cues.....	44
3.4.2 Turn-maintaining cues.....	45
3.5 Turn-taking in the News Interviews.....	46
3.6 Adjacency pairs.....	47
3.7 Back channels: listener activity.....	51
3.8 Overlaps.....	54
3.9 Interruptions.....	56
3.10 Illocutionary force.....	61
3.11 Cohesion Hypothesis.....	63
3.12 Body language.....	66
3.12.1 Head nodding.....	66
3.12.2 Hands and arms gestures.....	66
3.12.3 Smiles and laughs.....	67
3.12.4 Postural shifts.....	67

4. Methodology.....	68
4.1 Description of the corpus.....	68
4.1.1 Data.....	69
4.1.2 Procedure.....	69
4.2 Charts and its description.....	71
4.2.1 Items.....	71
5. Results.....	76
5.1 Quantitative analysis.....	76
6. Discussion.....	84
7. Conclusions.....	92
8. References.....	95
Appendix A	
Appendix B	

Eskerrakak

Nire familia eskertu nahi nuke, bereziki Miguel eta Ivonne nire gurasoak, nire anaia Iñaki ikasteko ordurako preparatutako gosari eta bazkariengatik, eta bereziki nire amona Sonia animo guztiagatik, irribarre guztiengatik eta nire bizitzan helburutzat hartutakoa lortzeko emandako indar guztiengatik, eskerrik asko ere Margarita andereari hoberena izateagatik, eguna zoriontzen ninduen irribarre, broma edo anekdota batekin itxarroteagatik. Eskerrik asko karrerako bost urte hauetan jasotako berme eta euskarri emozionalagatik, egunero nik lortu ahal nuela esateagatik, eta nigan sinestutako momentu guztiengatik.

Horrez gain, nire gida-irakasle izandako Hiram Vivanco Irakaslea eskertu nahi nuke, nire lanean lehenengo momentutik sinesteagatik, asko motibatzen ninduen gai baten inguruan lan egiteko aukera emateagatik eta pertsonalki zein akademikoki hainbeste hazteko aukera eskaintzeagatik. Bera gabe, guzti hau ez litzateke posible izango. Marco Espinoza Irakasleari ere eskertu nahiko nioke urte honetan zehar irakatsitako guztiagatik, nigan ikasle eta pertsona bezala sinesteagatik, ikasketen mundutik haratago joateko aukera emateagatik eta nirekiko konfidantza izan eta nigan etorkizuneko profesional bezala sinesteagatik.

Azkenik, Universidad de Chile-ko Linguistika eta Literatura Saileko akademiko bakoitza eskertu nahi nuke, eskerrik asko bost ikasturte hauetan emandako guztiagatik, eta gizarte zilegiago bat lortzeko apostua eta aportazioa egingo duten pertsona eta

profesional nagusiak prestatzeagatik. Nire lagunei eskertzen diet, bereziki María Belén, Kati eta Charlie Brown-i emandako animo guztiagatik eta guzti hau lortuko nuela eta aurrera egingo nuela esateagatik. Eskerrik asko nire lagun Uri eta Joni, zeintzuei esker maitemindu ninduten hizkuntza eta kultura bat ezagutu nuelako, hoberenak direlako eta urte honetan zehar nire estres guztia jasan behar izan zutelako. Eskerrik asko “pollo”-ri azken hiru urte hauetan aguantatzeagatik, nire alboan egoteagatik eta zenbaterainoko obsesiba izan naitekeen ulertzeagatik.

Esker mila Juanito, nire Don Quijoteari, eta Carlos Zenteno Irakasleari, nigan sinesteagatik ezagutu nuen lehen egunetik, partekatutako pizza guztiengatik eta emandako aholkuengatik. Hemendik aurrera datorrena zuentzako da.

1. Introduction

Political discourse is nowadays a ground of prodigious attention amongst linguists in several directions, predominantly in the field of pragmatics and discourse analysis, as well on semantics and rhetoric. This is due to the fact that social influence of such convincing speech and character, but also for the linguist, due to the unquestionable abundance of discursive and linguistic procedures as well as the adaptability that these processes offer for the analysis. From a critical discourse approach, linguists have been interested in divulging the persuasive and devious feature of political discourse; moreover they have described the technique in which political speakers used this type of discourse in order to communicate an ideological messages (Blas Arroyo 2001). From another point of view, a number of linguists perceive that discursive and rhetoric procedures used by politicians do not significantly differ from the ones used by other types of speakers in other professional circumstances (Chilton 2004), while the political word is collected and dispersed by the journalist, consequently it is continuously an arbitrated word.

Being well-versed is the most significant thing nowadays. Everybody wishes to be acquainted with everything about present events and their settings, future circumstances concerning politics, etc. and also be competent to discuss them with other people. This regularly involves having a lot of background information. However as the facts are habitually too multifaceted and not all information needed is available to each and every person, there has to be some method to simply update all people who are

involved in a intelligible manner. Now the interviewer in a TV-show or on the radio, he one who gets the information from politicians who are involved or in charge, in so doing, passes everything that he picks up to the audience who may not merely be made of a third person contributing in the discussion but of thousands or sometimes millions of people.

Therefore news interviews have turned more and more essential as they carry important topics to the public. Since these interviews attempt to get across central facts it is imperative that in no circumstance they are distorted by an unsystematically held conversation. To warrant this, the interview has to follow precise guidelines which preserve its informational character. News interviews often entail an interviewer and one or more interviewee(s) who interchangeably talk in an exact manner: one asks a question and the other person gives a more or less suitable answer. This may change on some circumstances, nonetheless, depending on the number of contributors, their knowledge about the topic or their grade of contribution in the current case.

Pragmatics, as a branch of linguistics, deals with language and communication and offers us the opportunity to examine turn-taking systems in a scientific background. From a linguistic point of view the continuous change of the current speaker may be defined by a turn-taking system.

The study puts forward specific analyses of the speech and turn-taking organization used by three leading political figures: John Browne, Managing Director and Managing Partner of Riverstone Holdings LLC and Member of the House of Lords;

Harold Koh, Legal Adviser of the Department of State; and Henry Winkle, American actor and producer. The corpus on which the investigation is based consists of three televised interviews shown on British television programmes consisting of exhaustive half-hour one-on-one interviews known as *Hardtalk* throughout May 2013.

The analysis presented in this presentation centers on conversational turn-taking in these interviews and a comparative analysis of the interactions among different politicians according to a conversational structural interaction, examining, specially, the organization of turn-taking, along with, the conceivable adjustments that turn-taking system can suffer such as interruptions, overlaps and some others

In this opportunity, the analysis will be particularly keen on deviances from the turn-taking regulation that stipulates that only one party should talk at a time. The original hypothesis is that the interactions amongst politicians and the interviewer are surrounded by general features of the political interview; however these interactions also display certain areas of variability that replicate certain ambiguity about the roles of the interlocutors.

2. Objectives

The main hypothesis of this analysis is firstly that news interviews are overwhelmingly interactional in nature. With regard to this idea, I would like to observe what the interactional course of three selected news interviews looks like. I will concentrate on the interactional features of the interviewer and the interviewee. The emphasis of consideration will be on the interviewer and the interviewee directing role in interaction. It has been generally recognized that the interviewer is the one that controls the interview; “he introduces the object of discussion, present the interviewee and direct the proceedings” (Haarmann 2001:32). This means that, on an interactional level, the interviewer opens, frames and closes the conversation, choosing the topics, assigning the turns, soliciting and managing the interventions through, queries, disruptions and formulations (Haarmann 2001:32). The method in which the conversation is developed is typically the work of the interviewer and this specific interactional style is what interests the spectators.

2.1 Research questions

a) How do politicians and other public figures take the turn and answer to questions in news interviews?

b) Does institutional talk manifesta specialized turn-taking system?

3. Literature Review

Conversation analysis developed as a field of study in the 1960's through intense collaboration among the Sacks, Jefferson and Schegloff. Arising in sociology, it placed an innovative importance on participants' direction to social and cultural constructs. It seeks to illustrate the fundamental social organization, conceived as interactional conventions, techniques, and in which systematic and comprehensible social relations is made achievable. Essentially, Conversation Analysis integrates the investigation of actions, reciprocal knowledge, and social circumstances rather than a pure linguistic outlook. Consequently, Conversational Analysis projected the rising modern curiosity on social interaction as a self-motivated boundary between individual and social cognition on the one hand, and culture and collective reproduction on the other. It is a broad approach to the examination of social communication in the study of everyday conversation, but which has been applied to an extensive field of other forms of talk-interaction varying from courtroom, classroom, news dialogue or possibly political interviews. The major intention of Conversational Analysis is based on the two dissimilar approaches of conversation proposed by Goffman (1974:36): "conversation is a casual talk in everyday settings, and alternatively, the term conversation can be used in a loose way as an equivalent of talk or spoken encounter". Based on this approach, Conversation analysis investigates the structural organization of informal conversation, frequently described as *mundane conversation*, and identifies the features that methodically differentiate it from other forms of talk. It is essential to mention that

Conversational Analysis studies the sequential constructions in conversation as a basis through which social order is created, it deals with the organization of talk bearing in mind issues such as: opening, closings, turn-taking, pauses, repairs, and some others. In relation to this feature, it is indispensable to keep in mind that the objective of Conversational Analysis is to determine how participants comprehend and reply to one another in their turns at talk, with a fundamental focus on how sequences of actions are produced. The importance on studying real instances of social interaction is established in the work of Goffman, who stated that the usual activities of regular life were a significant issue for study. One important matter about Goffman is that he confirmed that it was conceivable to study everyday actions and situations and to determine how human beings involve in society. Goffman sketched his attention to the requirement to study conventional cases of speaking, he argued:

“Talk is socially organized, not merely in terms of who speaks to who in what language, but as a little system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face to face action”.(Goffman,1964)

Conversational analysis is one of the most accurate and efficient of sociolinguistic methodologies, it has well-built theoretical framework, transcriptions, systematic practices, and traditions of theorizing. In fact, it is the link among linguistics, social psychology, as well as, sociology. Conversational analysis studies the order, organization, uniformity of social action, chiefly those social activities that are situated in everyday communications, and specifically in discursive performance.

In several ways, conversational analysis illustrates and grew out of improvements in phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and language philosophy. To cover its assortment of studies, it has had inferences for such areas as communication, pragmatics, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. Largely, Conversational Analysis is the study of talk in interaction. Principally, its goal is to determine how participants recognize and reply to one another in their turns at talk, more rigorous, its resolution is to bare the frequently implicit cognitive procedures and sociolinguistic abilities underlying the creation and explanation of talk in systematized orders of interaction. However, Conversational Analysis is the study not just of talk, but of talk in interaction. At one end, talk involves language; in fact, we can say that talk is the spoken instantiation of language. But Conversational Analysis is merely slightly interested in language as such; its concrete object of study is the interactional organization of social activities.

One important issue related to Conversational Analysis is that emphasizes its attention on the construction and interpretation of talk-interaction as a well-ordered achievement that is concerned with participants themselves. A central feature of Conversational Analysis is the study of turn-taking. The analysis of turn-taking is concerned with how speakers take turns speaking and how they assigned the turn between each other. Early Conversational specialists (Sacks 1974) proposed that at any certain point of feasible turn to handover two prospects exist. Initially, that the existing speaker self-selects and remains speaking, then, the current speaker chooses the next utterer, which would mean the designated utterer could take the next turn and speak or

select an alternative speaker to take the turn. Conversational Analysis pursues to uncover the organization of talk not from any superfluous perspective, but from the standpoint of how the participants display for one another their understanding of what is happening. As Schegloff and Sacks put forward in a brief summary:

“We have proceed under the assumption (an assumption borne out by our research) that in so far as the materials we worked with exhibited orderliness, they did so not only to us, indeed not in the first place for us, but for the co-participants who had produced them. If the materials...were orderly, they were so because they had been methodically produced by members of society for one another and it as a feature of the conversations we treated as data that they were produced so as to allow the display by the co-participants to each other of their orderliness, and to allow the participants to display to one another their analysis, appreciation and use of that orderliness”. (Schegloff and Sacks, 1974)

Emanuel Schegloff and Harvy Sacks recognized an innovative paradigm for examining the organization of human acts in and through talk interaction. This is what encourages their focus on structures: during the course of a conversation or other short period of talk-in-interaction, speakers present in their successively next turns an understanding of what the preceding turn was about. That accepting may turn out to be what the earlier speaker proposed; whichever the situation is, that itself is something which becomes exposed in the next turn in the sequence. One of the most conspicuous features of Conversation Analysis is that utterers change. Indeed, in most cases, merely

one person speaks at a time and shift from speaker to speaker happens sinuously with limited breaks and slight overlap. This is of course not to say that openings and overlaps do not occur. Nonetheless, where gaps and overlaps take place, they can be perceived as doing something of interactional importance, as it will be seen in this investigation. There are instants in which one speaker speaks at a time and this can be understood as a defaulting situation. Gaps and overlaps, though, are expected to be deduced by participants as representing that something supplementary is happening. Turn-taking is a fundamental and ostensibly collective feature of conversation (Miller 1993) that is made indispensable that is why some people find very demanding to talk and listen simultaneously, exclusively when their discourse is moderately complex, there must be some means of distributing turns therefore for some restricted period one person alone takes the floor and acts predominantly as listener. In this sense, turn-taking is a recurrent procedure. It begins with one person speaking, and endures as the speaker gives up control to the ensuing person. The second speaker now has the conversational bottom. When the speaker is ended, he gives control back to another utterer, therefore producing a cycle, as Woodburn and Arnott mentioned *the turn taking cycle stops when there is nothing left to say*. Turn-taking is an elementary form of organization for conversation, transfers from the current speaker to next speaker occur at transition-places, or competition spaces. It is also necessary to be aware of the idea that in ordinary and regular conversation we have overlaps, a phenomenon that takes place when an utterer starts speaking before the turn of the other speaker has ended, is one of the most

significant aspects in the field of turn-taking. One important author who worked with this notion was Ervin Tripp (1979) who observes that overlaps, interruptions or instantaneous speech in turn-taking occur in roughly five per cent of conversations. Tripp (1979) settled by his investigation that the speakers typically know, through intricate verbal and nonverbal gesturing, when a turn is finished. The absence of participation shown by the speakers in the previous turns makes the sudden interest sound involuntary and unusual. Supplementary pointers for turn taking are highlighted by Wardhaugh (1991) who put forward that an alteration in pitch level habitually signs closure or conclusion of a turn. Pauses, on the other hand, are correspondingly used to specify the end of a turn in conversation. Typically, conversation hearers frequently like to display that the speaker is interested, understanding, approving or merely attending to the message by interleaving words such as *sure*, *right* or *yeah*. Furthermore, *back channel* vocalizations such as “hmm”, “ahhh” and “emmm” are normally used by the hearer as non-interrupting indicators to the speaker. Generally, turn-taking length is not static, but fluctuates. From time to time a turn can be a single word, at other times it may be a somewhat long sentence. A sentence cannot be expressed purely on the basis of duration of utterance when a turn will finish. It is likewise not true that the content of turns is stable in advance. It is essential to consider that the types of *turn-taking* models are used in dissimilar forms of human performance, such as fixed turn length in debates or definite content, but they are not the instance for everyday conversation. (Sacks, 2004).

An archetypal model of turn-taking can merely make up the evidences of turn-taking if it deals with the arbitrariness of turn-taking in terms of what is assumed, how extended and by whom. With the aim of attaining this, a model of turn-taking needs to be subtle to each *next bit* of talk, more willingly than trying to describe performance over a whole conversation. Turn-taking works at the level of each *next bit*, not at the flat of the complete conversation. The act of turn-taking scores internally by the speakers themselves; it is systematized when it occurs by the contributors themselves and it is *interactionally managed*, explicitly accomplished surrounded by the process of interaction between the interlocutors.

There is a model of turn-taking which describes the nature of conversation in the work of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), who have suggested that such a model of turn-taking arrangement is based on the analysis of a data spontaneously stirring interactions. With the intention of representing the methods in which speaker change ensues, Sacks offers that two separate, but interconnected constituents are convoluted: *a turn constructional component* and *turn allocation component*. This tender maintains this systematic organization, consequently, that turn-taking in conversation is a well-ordered, ruled-governed procedure.

The turn taking construction component theory regards that the first step to comprehend turn-taking is to keep in mind how turn-taking works in conversation, turns that are made of “stretches of language, but these stretches of language can vary a lot in terms of their structures”. Sacks states that turns are made up of units which they call

turn constructional units and that the conformation of these are exceedingly background reliant on, moreover, he deliberated a number of levels of possible achievement which are pertinent to turn taking units. Firstly, it needs to be grammatically completed; then, it may happen with an intonation delineation which specifies that the unit is now finished and thirdly, the *turn-taking unit* needs to be widespread as an action. Schegloff understands turn-taking as *interactional habitats* in which language is placed and in which the notion of action is at the midpoint of the nature of turn-taking.

As well as the components of syntactic, intonational and pragmatic accomplishment, some non-verbal performances may also be concerned in turn-taking. Goodwin (1981) has confirmed that turn achievement may be connected to an amalgamation of stare and syntax in face-to-face communication. Above all the harmonization of gaze is significant for serving to regulate whether the end of the talk so far has stretched a conceivable completion fact and whether the speaker change would be pertinent currently, taking this into consideration. According to Jury-Vivanco (1980) in their paper “Algunos elementos no lingüísticos de comunicación en la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras” (Jury-Vivanco: 1980), it has been mentioned that when we deal with communication, we must include extra-linguistic elements such as gestures, sounds and paralinguistic tools. However, Sacks outlines a set of *grossly apparent facts* observed in their data which need to be accounted for by the turn-taking model, and they indicate how these facts are addressed by the model they propose.

The influence of Sack's model deceives in the fact that it puts forward a systematic organization for turn-taking, however this model does not make it a predictable significance of the system. Actually the model does not avoid one participant from controlling the conversation nor does it need all those existing to contribute at all times in the conversation. The model offers a set of rules which are similarly pertinent for all participants, but which does not denote parity of participation because the conversation is interactionally shaped by the contributors themselves (Schegloff, 1999). Simultaneously, speaker change is constructed in as a regular part of communication, which works as an opportunity at each turn, since any talk twisted must grasp a turn-taking. Furthermore, Sacks declared that the system assigns to any speaker the select right to speak until he spreads the first potential achievement. According to Sack's model the self-selection rule declares, basically, that if the current speaker has foregone his choice to choose the following speaker, then the first of the other contributors to speak up gets the right to the turn. This regulation has two central consequences: If A initiates an expression, thus deterring another participant B, then B should suspend his utterance and pay attention to A. At this moment, if in this situation B does not listen to A in time to verify his own statement, then B, not A, should remove it. The key frailty of the self-selection model is the consequence that the intention of the next turn should be determined exclusively by who decides to speak first up. There is confirmation that negotiations concerning the next turn can be led by nonverbal features throughout the current statement. For instance, Duncan (1974) set up that when the listener creates

an answer of “mm-hm”, the speaker is more likely than usual to produce floor-retaining gestures such as gaze dislike and gesticulation; this advises, as Rosenfeld (1977:314) indicates, that an initial listener reply is taken to mean that the hearer has already assumed what the speaker is going to say, and may be formulating to speak himself. The model in this case makes concurrent starts an opportunity, but correspondingly offers a way to cope with them. Moreover, the turn-taking organization affords for the chance of overlap among current speaker and next speaker. Since speakers count on forecasts of conceivable completion rather than definite completion, dissimilarity in the form or distribution of final mechanisms can lead to covering talk between the end of one turn and the beginning of the next. As there are places where speaker change could or should occur, the model runs for determination of such overlaps. Therefore, the features of the model which produce overlaps also deliver for the opportunity of resolving overlapping talk speedily.

The turn talking model by Sacks clarifies how talk can be organized in a conversation, but also affords the option that talk may conclude for a time throughout a conversation. This means that when a current speaker rests and has not designated a next speaker, it is probable that no speaker will self-select to jump or remain to speak and an interval in the talk fallouts. At one fell swoop, if the current speaker picks out a next speaker, a silence would be challenging, because both deliberate the right to speak and a duty to speak. The scheme therefore, runs for situations in which silences will be perceived in a different way. In some sequential situations a silence will be blamed as a

lack of talk from that participant. In other sequential locations, a silence will not be hearable as someone's precise silence but as a gap in the conversation as disjointedness in the talk. Once a conversation has become sporadic, it can be revitalized by any contributor self-selecting as next speaker.

The model system proposed by Sacks (1974) is susceptible to troubles in its organization, such as overlapping talk or silences, and because the system is interactionally accomplished by participants in conversation, violations of the system must inevitably occur. If the turn-taking system is to function, there must be mechanisms by which the normal functioning of the system can be restored.

In English, there are a number of unequivocal strategies intended explicitly for mending problems of turn-taking. These comprise procedures like *Who me?* For fixing problems when the current speaker selects next, or *Excuse me* for revamping speaker change at points in the talk where such modification is liable. Furthermore, there a variety of less clear interactional performs concerning to dealing with problematical instances of overlapping. For example, false starts, recapping or reprocessing speech which has ensued in overlap and several complications in the distribution of talk in overlap can be arranged by speaker to overhaul turn-taking glitches.

3.1 Discourse analysis

To begin with a narrow definition of discourse, one could describe this field as the study of grammatical and other relationships between sentences. However, when we speak of discourse analysis, we are dealing with the idea of how people use the language and what they do with language, considering, for instance, the way in which people use their own language. In fact, the assertion that discourse analysis is recognized as one of the most wide areas in linguistics has been established by Schiffrin (1984), Schiffrin states that modern conception of discourse is grounded on the awareness and discoveries of a diversity of disciplines which may change from one another to an excessive degree. The scope of discourse analysis in quite a broad way is language in use; we use language in order to do things and to perform actions. This field involves what the speaker is doing, what the listener's reaction is. Discourse analysis integrates language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing and valuing. It defines who you are and what you are doing because by language, you project yourself as a certain kind of person. In a certain way, discourse exists before each of us. Recognition and discourse, in this sense, go hand in hand, each creates the other and there are not boundaries in between. Therefore discourse analysis takes diverse theoretical standpoints and systematic methodologies such as speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography, pragmatics, and conversational analysis. Although each line puts emphasis on dissimilar features of language in use, each of these disciplines view language as social interaction.

Brown and Yule (1983), on the other hand, define discourse analysis as “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 those forms are designed to serve in human affairs” (1983:1). In addition, they state that some linguists turn on the investigation of formal features of a language, i.e. formalist approach, while discourse analysts concentrate on the study of language in use, i.e. their method can be referred to as functional.

Stubbs (1983) uses the concept discourse analysis to “refer mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse. [...] It refers to attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts” (1983:1). From that it trails that “discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers” (1983:1).

Particularly, the purpose of this dissertation is to focus on what is known as Conversational Analysis as the sequential structures in conversation as bases through which social order is constructed. The organization of talk with issues such as opening, closing, and more precisely turn-taking, pauses and repairs. Discourse analysis involves language form and language functions.

The variety of contexts from which discourse analysts draw data is extensive. As well as the omnipresent and central use of language in face to face conversation, frameworks of language use that discourse analysis studies have encompassed interpersonal interactions, it studies human communication not merely to lighten manners of human performance but also to support to elucidate human problems. In this sense, discourse analysis fetches discernments of linguistics to bear on the bursting assortment of tasks confronting contemporary society. Particularly, discourse analysis and conversation analysis both focus on spoken language; nevertheless in this precise occasion conversation analysis emphasises the interactional and inferential significances of the choice concerning unusual statements, it discerns the organized properties of progressive organization of talk and the methods in which utterances are premeditated to accomplish such sequences. Stubbs (1983) uses the term discourse analysis to “refer mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse [...] It refers to an attempt to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts” (1983). From that it trails that “discourse analysis is also concerned with language in use in social contexts, and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers” (1983). The chief dissimilarity among Discourse Analysis and Conversational Analysis is that the former has a tendency to implement an inferential procedure (reasoning from general to specific), focusing on guidelines for constructing well-rounded units of language larger

than the sentence. Conversation analysts, alternatively, lean to implement an inductive procedure (reasoning from particular to general), being interested in the progressive organization of talk in interaction. Despite the fact that conversation analysis was formerly concerned exclusively with conversational interaction, more freshly non-conversational styles of talk have been scrutinized using conversation analysis ideologies, such as interviews, political speeches, stand-up comedies and task oriented interaction. For all intents and purposes, conversational analysis is just a part of discourse analysis.

3.2 Political Interview and its features

The political interview is a genre that does not have a great tradition, however it has blown out and has imposed in such a way that nowadays, “competes in importance with the parliamentary debate” (Chilton, 2004). Unlike other television genres, the political interview is focused on information, and frequently falls in the news interview (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). In contrast, for some linguists it fits best as a “genre of political discourse as a type of informative speech” (Chilton, 2004), as it is a significant vehicle for the spread of political messages.

In this type of interview, the recognized authority lies with the interviewer or arbiter of the programme, though the politician is the one who undertakes the role of the interviewee: who replies the inquiries and trails the guidelines of the interview. This

official organization produces some discourse asymmetry, as the interviewer of the programme “has the power to initiate and change the subject, so as to start and end of the conversation” (O’Keeffe, 2006). As a matter of fact, this asymmetry along with the conversational format, make of the interview one of the most uncomfortable genres for the politicians (Le Bart, 1998).

From the point of view of the conversational organization, a political interview shows a well-defined structure in which the interviewer and the interviewee follow the format of turn-taking answer-question (Greatbatch, 1988). A number of studies about the political interview (Bull, 1994; Chilton, 2004) show, however, that in this genre are correspondingly interruptions, overlaps, and other occurrences that put forward that there is not an inflexible distribution among the role of the participants. Regardless, it is a functionally specified type of interaction which is steered by a number of established conventions that regulate the structure and development of the interaction.

Another essential feature of the political interview is the functionality of the query. It is extensively believe that politicians avoid replying questions. But, Chilton (2004) contends that we should outline accurately what it is circumventing the answer to a question, since the delinquent may be the enquiry itself. Other studies (Chilton, 2004) demonstrate that despite the interrogative, questions often bring comments and evaluations of the interviewer. Chilton wonders if the interviewer takes really what Heritage and Greatbatch called *neutral position* when talking to the politician and they

speak of *preface hostility* in order to refer to the mode, barely neutral, in which the interviewer frames the questions sometimes.

Indeed, the inquiries regularly are headed by extended and elaborate preambles, which appear in the form of declarative statements. Even though at first sight the preface presents a situation that surrounds the question, implicit evaluations may encompass other speech acts, such as objections, discrepancies or insults that replicate a non-neutral position of the questioner.

Corner claims that “interview is one of the most widely used an extensively developed formats for public communication in the world” (1999:37). There are numerous types of interviews, such as political news interview or survey investigation interviews, whose chief purpose is to gain information, and celebrity talk show interviews, which concentrate on diverting the spectators separately from gaining information (Schiffrin 1994). Notwithstanding, of the dissimilarities, all the categories of interviews share mutual features. “Firstly, all incorporate the discourse practice of questioning and answering which, on structural level, yields question-answer sequences, with or without expansions. Secondly, all are characterized by the same role distribution, all having an interviewer as a representative of a media organization and an interviewee”. (Lauerbach 2007).

Political interviews take place in recognized locations; for instance a TV or radio station. The interviewer is a specialized journalist; the interviewee is a politician who represents

a nation, or his/ her party. The character of the interviewer is to manage the dialogue, request queries that are stimulating and attempt to disclose adverse details of political matters. The interviewer should also turn on questions which the spectators would like to be responded. “The result is a more or less adversarial interview which in one-on-one interviews is characterized by an argumentative structure where politicians defend their standpoints against the interviewers who take the perspective of a critical audience. (Lauerbach 2007).

Interaction consists of a series of questions related to and produced by diverse speakers in a question-answer set-up aimed at the variety of speakers’ thematic sequence that affords different views on the topics.

The interviewer has several functions: (i) opens and closes the interaction, (ii) allocates the turn-taking designating by non-linguistic and linguistic features and delivering the turn. Moreover, (iii) acknowledgments of the participation of the interviewee and (iv) closes a turn-taking when it is conflicting. However, in our corpus, we have perceived at least three different devices of adjustments: interruptions, overlaps and replication.

Interrogators have the privileges to achieve the introduction and organization of themes. Normally, interviewees are not competent to change from one topic to a new one. Nevertheless, there are occasions where the interviewees can encounter the normative question and answer design of the interview with the intention of controlling the discourse. One manner to undertake this is to talk about something else proceeding to

responding an interviewer's enquiry. One way to ensure this is named pre-answer agenda shifting (Greatbatch 1986) and another practice is entitled post-answer agenda shifting (Greatbatch 1986), which permits the interviewees to change the issue after answering a questioner's query. Both moves are permanently formed in combination with a reply. They do not encounter the turn distribution privileges of the interrogators since interviewees do not speak up of turn (Greatbatch 1986).

Interviewees can also regulate the topic of their conversation by overlooking the attention that has been recognized by a foregoing question, meaning they do not yield an answer but talk about something else (Greatbatch 1986). In fact, when the interviewees take a turn that is not an answer to the questioners' inquiries, it represents an exception of the normative question and answer order of interviews (Haworth 2006).

3.2.1 Political News Interviews

Political interviews can be characterized as question-answer interactions between two or more contributors, which are often challenging and interesting in nature, since confrontational and reasonable queries occur regularly. The collaboration is formal and longstanding, shaped for an eavesdropping spectator that does not dynamically contribute (Clayman & Heritage 2002). Political interviews signify, in this sense, a recognized genre; because such communication is dissimilar from regular talk. Ordinary conversation is a form of communication that is not controlled to a precise situation. It is comprised of agreements and performances pertinent to several social goals;

however established communication comprises delimited interactional guidelines (Heritage 2002). It is compulsory to remark that there can be social differences between political interviews in different countries (Lauerbach 2004). When we talk about an institutionalized interaction, we are referring to an idea in which we are persuading the talk of the questioner and the interviewee that can be viewed in countless conducts as diverse from usual conversation. Quotidian conversation is encompassed of settlements and practices applicable to numerous social objectives, whereas institutional interaction implies controlled interactional rules.

Political interviews embody a dynamic and controversial dramatic feature particularly in broadcast journalism, and by its nature are planned to prompt a satisfactory reply from the interviewee who has agreed to be exposed to a media talk for that determination. However, it is often discussed that politicians dodge, deceive and complicate, throughout political interviews.

The organization of a political interview orders that a question must be responded, where the query and the response form two fragments of an adjacency pair. The conventions of the conversation order that an amount of effective answers, where the request for information can be encountered with “acceptance, denial or a counterrequest, a failure to produce at least one of the second parts is noticeable and would merit explanation or action”. (Rosenblum, 1987). However, such rule defilements are ordinary in political interviews, where the interviewees regularly attempt to avoid problematic and politically harmful queries.

Mostly, political interviews can be observed as query and response arrangements. They encompass a normative turn-taking system that limits participants to one or the other inquiring queries or answering them (Clayman 1998, 2000). The interrogator's behaviour is predisposed by the cooperativeness of the contenders. Typically, they work together with the questioner by squashing a reply up until a question is finished; by this means settling the detachment of the turn (Clayman, 1988). Interviewers have the right to possess the floor up to a query is produced; in fact they can achieve a series of actions, such as stimulating or associating. (Clayman, 2010).

Interviewers need to preserve a properly unbiased posture while interrelating with their visitors (Clayman, 2002). If they decide to play their character as interrogators they use certain plans to uphold an impartial attitude (Clayman, 1988). A recurrent procedure is to yield valuations on behalf of others. Another technique named "mitigating" (Clayman, 1988) is used once the examinee yields an evaluative declaration and moderates its strong point. Such practices allow the interviewer to be universally challenging their role as a neutral character in the interview. An additional practice is called "formulating" (Clayman, 2010). Formulations can be used to elucidate, relocate or highlight previous talk, as well as to collaborate or encounter interviewees' declarations. Over again, by using these formulations the interviewer can conserve a neutral position.

The nature of concealed evading is studied by Steven Clayman (1993), who selected a series of query reformulation strategies used for both the authentic purpose of explanation and "managing a response trajectory" and calculating political tactics of

obfuscation. Clayman's investigation displays a number of "covert agenda shifting" strategies such as outline shifting under the pretext of summarizing, where the inquiry is reformulated through a series of indirect deviations away from the original principle; reaching back to a preceding section of a query with the aim of evading replying part of a question, and moving away from the dominant matter, through agreement or discrepancy of a non-essential component entrenched in the chief question.

Interviewees can furthermore make use of query reformulations in order to evade some part of an interviewer's question. Before affording a response they can restate the question that was requested, once reformulating interviewees remain speaking, and such successive talk sizes on the reformulation rather than innovative exchange (Clayman, 1993).

There is plenty of evidence of assessable evasion in political interviews to such a magnitude that it can be claimed that avoidance is a conventional replying stratagem in political talks (Bull and Mayer, 1993; Sally, 2008). Whether evading is a satisfactory method in political interviews, there are not merely interchanges intended to extract information, but dialogues where the guidelines of the discussion offer an occasion for skillful evasion.

3.2.2 Potential Conflict

Typically, political interviews comprise a reasonable possible for struggle. In circumstances where interviewees talk before interrogators have presented the definite question, the notion of the interview breaks down. In such situations, as Schegloff (1989) distinguished of a discussion with the vice-president, George Bush rapidly twisted the interview into hostility. That is when the contributors abandon the principles of political interview interaction and start appealing in a antagonistic conversation, the interview organization is uncontrolled (Schegloff 1989).

Along with Schegloff (1989) the alteration of an interview to confrontation involves two fragments, first the established turn-taking system breaks down and of course, competitive overlaps ensue (Schegloff 1989). Normally, in these situations the interviewee leaves his utterance in evolution to answer something that has been said in the overlaps, the reply, itself being an overlap, and then proceeds to his preceding conversation. This displays that both the interviewer and the interviewee are carefully observing what the other person is saying. Instances in which the interviewees attempt to take the control over the dialoguedemonstrate how the normative turn-taking system of such interviews is unrestricted.

In political interviews, interviewees can interject the continuing discourse to defend their position, to evade replying a question or to face interviewers' proposals. Interruptions signdivergence and refusals usually appear when the interviewees are in a problematic conversational position (Lorde & Miche 2006). Questioners similarly have the privilege to interpose their interviewees. Such disruptions function as a form of

interactional control. However, all contributors need to preserve a slightest agreement with the purpose of avoid a collapse of interview discourse.

As a final point, it is significant to make reference that there is a great potential for struggle in political interview, for example unconcealed competition for turns and fighting for arguments among the participants. Quarrel between interviewers' queries and interviewees' replies (Lauerbach, 2004, 2006; Johansson 2006), there are a number of interactional features for the behaviour of political interviews. The interviewer is made-up to catchphrase from communicating clear personal commentaries and views.

3.3 Conversational Analysis

Within the encompassed studies of conversation, ethnomethodology, which arose throughout the seventies, it seats a very essential role, in which the crucial purpose of this new social science is to examine the development of conversation in a sociological standpoint. They try to describe the different features in which conversation works. For Harold Garfinkel (1967) conversation is a method to preserve social networks deprived of a pre-established illustration. Garfinkel's studies put forward that individuals' comprehension about their environments could help them to consolidate their own social activities and unprompted interaction. Nonetheless, conversational analysis has been developed as a distinguishing area from ethnomethodology. The indispensable approach of conversational analysis is developed by the misgiving of

ethnomethodology. Conversational Analysis is focused on details of different real events such as: the analysis of conversations that have been recorded. According to Heritage (1984), there are three different central premises in order to work with conversational analysis: i) the process of interaction is structurally organized, therefore, the characteristics of social interaction and interaction itself can be analyzed separately, independently from the participants who are involved in this process; ii) contributions to the interaction are contextually oriented, this means that each enunciation of a particular sequence is determined by the preceding context; iii) both properties that have been explained before, are critical aspects of the process of interaction, subsequently any feature of conversation could not be contempt. Conversational Analysis remarks the empirical performance of the speakers as the central foundation that is going to improve its studies. Therefore, the study of social interaction can be achieved in a better way from a specific corpus of interaction that occurs in a natural manner.

Sacks et al (1974) attempt to elucidate how the process of conversation is materialized, they refer to two significant phenomena that account for the organization of conversation: only one person speaks at time and then the change of speaker occurs. These two simple events indicate one of the essential supports of oral interaction: the shift change during the conversation. The study of this phenomenon is fairly motivating because it discloses unpretentious facts as the observation of how the different speakers allocate their turns in the conversation, how they know how much time it is estimated that a speaker talks, how long the other speaker is obliged to remain silent, how does a

person know when to stop talking and when the other speaker has to start to talk, with trifling pauses or overlaps.

Sacks et al (1974) propose that speakers are able to distinguish certain points during the conversation where they can produce the oscillation of speaker, which are called *turn constructional units*. These units are demarcated grammatically as complete units of language, for instances sentences, a clauses or phrases, whose resolution is to characterize the potential moment to change from a speaker to another probable one. The problem of who is going to be the next speaker can be unravelled at least in two different ways: the first leeway is the selection of the next speaker by someone who is ending his turn, throughout vocatives, gestures or merely by the use of different movements or questions. The second possibility is that the next speaker selects himself. Moreover, if there is not any kind of selection of the next speaker, may be the same speaker who is talking can endure using his turn. When this occurs, at the end of this new shift, the current speaker will return to the initial state of the turn constructional unit, with the two possibilities that have been described above. It is noteworthy that the distribution of turn-taking cannot be made in advance, at the beginning of the conversation, but it has to be re-negotiated recurrently by the speakers through the enlargement of the interaction, at the end of each turn. Conversational analysts outline conversation as an immeasurable engine which produces the generation of turn-takings in order to evade overlaps and pauses.

Birmingham School adopts a functional and structural study of conversation, specifically for its studies of the structure of conversational turn-taking, how speakers exchange their turns. Birmingham School emerged from the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1985) originally dedicated to the interaction in the classroom and then extended to the conversation by exponents of the same school. The most important contribution of the functional structuralist approach of Birmingham School of conversation analysis is the study and description of the structure of the exchange. Turn-taking exchange is the unit that captures the sequence discursive shift in the interaction and also shows the expected relationship between statements occurring consecutively. The structure of turn-taking, which Sinclair and Coulthard (1985) proposed to describe the smallest unit of oral interaction, consisted of three parts, initiation-response-monitoring, instead of two, as suggested by the adjacency pair concept of conversation analysis. The last act, monitoring, would have an evaluative nature. Coulthard and Brazil (1979), in an attempt to approach the study of spontaneous conversation, described the exchange as a basically expression intended to convey information. Exchanges in casual conversation, according to these authors, also contained the discourse structure of the classroom, for example, it was perfectly possible to find initiations that will directly tender to answers and even tracking movements similar to those of evaluation. Indeed, these authors proposed a tracking movement that could be answered by another from the same type; some initiation movements marked the beginning of the exchange without necessarily restricting the occurrence of a next element and, sometimes, some moves

could signal the end of an exchange without necessarily tracking movements. Thus, it suggested that a conversational exchange could be constituted by at least seven movements, opening-initiation-reset-response-monitoring-closing. However, in many cases, the identification of the movement is not so simple, because the limits of movement are not always clear; the criteria for designating and then identifying the movements do not offer clear descriptions. Furthermore, the model is too sequenced and does not recognize the fact that some movements appear at any time of the exchange.

3.3.1 Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's turn-taking model

An essential feature of CA is the study of turn-taking. The analysis of turn-taking is concerned with how the speakers take turns speaking and how who speak when is resolved. Early conversational analysts proposed that at any given point of feasible turn transfer two potentials exist. First of all that the current speaker self-selects and remains speaking. Secondly, the current speaker selects the next speaker, which would mean the designated speaker could take the next turn and speak or select another speaker to take the turn. They account for two indications they perceive about spoken cooperative data:

- a) Only one person speaks at a time
- b) Speaker change occurs.

These two facts are related to “turn-taking” and through this research we will attempt to explain or, in any case, give certain clues of how it works in a more specific setting, i.e. political interviews. “Turn-taking” must be understood here as the activity in which the roles of the speakers and listeners change constantly. The person who speaks first turns into a listener as soon as the person addressed takes his/her turns in conversation by beginning to speak. It is significant to draw attention that the guidelines for this activity may vary from one community to another and it may as well be bound to diverse types of “speech events”. This former notion is demarcated as an activity that is directly concerned with the rules for the use of speech; it is a communicative event consisting of one or more utterances, e.g. conversation embedded in a party, a joke, an essay and some others.

The apprehension of these three authors with the organization of turn-taking has the succeeding basis. First of all, the existence of systematized turn-taking is something that the facts of conversation have completed gradually. It has turned out to be noticeable that one party talks at a time, and yet utterers change. Those alterations are outstandingly synchronized; that methods are used for assigning turns, whose classification would be part of any model for recounting some turn-taking resources. These authors have found explanations to revenue seriously the opportunity that a classification of turn-taking organization for conversation could be established which have the essential identical features of being context-free and accomplished to unexpected context-sensitivity. They use the term “turn” indistinctly; from time to time it denotes the right to communicate,

as in the expression “turn-allocation”; at further times it brings up the statement which the equitable speaker crops, as in the expression “turn construction”. The major use is the former; the latter is in fact a condensation of “utterance produced during a turn”. Their model has two parts, “a turn constructional component” and a “turn-allocation component”. In this sense, a turn may be assembled from innumerable syntactic units: it may entail a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence. Formerly, an utterance that is under way, it should be conceivable for spectators to deduce which unit the speaker plans to use, and in this manner to judge at what time the statement is complete. The first probable finishing point of an utterance is called “transition-relevance place” since, when this idea is stretched, the turn is budgeted and may pass to a new speaker.

Currently, when they speak of context-free and context sensitive, they cannot state the possibility of reference of background that is pertinent. For the time being, the notion of framework for these authors is understood inside the social sciences, one which appears to the several places, times and characteristics of parties to collaboration. Major features of the organization of turn-taking are unresponsive to such limitations of context, and are, in that sense context-free. Turn taking, for Sacks et al(1974), looks as an elementary method of organization for conversation, “plain”, in that it would be invariant to parties, such that whatever dissimilarities the parties carried to stand in the conversation would be quartered without change in the system. They observed in several numbers of conversations that:

1. “Speaker-change persists, or at least occurs

2. Devastatingly, one party talks at a time
3. Incidences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but transitory
4. Alternations (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common.
Together with transitions categorized by trivial gap or slender overlap, they structure the immense majority of transitions
5. Turn order is not immovable, but fluctuates
6. Turn magnitude is not immovable, but differs
7. Length of conversation is not quantified previously
8. What parties say is not indicated ahead
9. Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance
10. Number of parties can vary
11. Talk can be uninterrupted or intermittent
12. Turn-allocation practices are noticeably used. A current speaker may hand-pick a following speaker
13. Numerous turn constructional units are hired; e-g-, turns can be projectedly “one word long”, or they can be sentential in length

14. Overhaul mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking mistakes and defilements; e.g., if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop impulsively, thus mending the struggle”.

These authors shall offer and consider a simple systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. They offer two comments on the potential interest of such a model:

- a) “When facts are compared with those which obtain for several of the other speech-exchange systems (e.g. meetings, interviews, debates or ceremonies), differences are readily noted. The size of turns and the ordering of turns in debates, for example, are obviously pre-specified. Those differences suggest that different turn-taking systems are involved. Conversation obviously occupies a central position among the speech-exchange systems; perhaps its turn-taking system is more or less explanatory of that centrality.
- b) Turns are valued, sought, or avoided. The social organization of turn-taking distributes turns among parties. It must, at least partially, be shaped as an economy. As such, it is expectable that, like other economies, its organization will affect the relative distribution of that which it organizes. Until we unravel its organization, we shall not know that those effects consist of, and where they will turn up. But since, all sorts of scientific and applied research use conversation

now, they all employ an instrument whose effects are not known. This is perhaps unnecessary”.

(Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974)

3.3.2 The turn-constructural component

Unit-types for English include sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions. Sacks states that turns are made up of units which they call turn constructional units and that the conformation of these are exceedingly background reliant on, Sacks correspondingly, deliberated a number of levels of possible achievement which are pertinent to turn taking units. First, grammatically complete, then, it may happen with an intonation delineation which specifies that the unit is now completed. Thirdly, the turn-taking unit needs to be widespread as an action: it must amount as having done what needs to have been done at this point in the conversation. Schegloff understands turn-taking as interactional habitats in which language is placed and as such spaces the notion of action at the midpoint of the nature of turn-taking. Example of single-word turns:

a) Guy: Is Rol down by any chance dju know?

Eddy: Huh?

Guy: Is uh Smith down?

Eddy: Yeah he's down,

(Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974)

Example of single-phrase turns:

b) Anna: Was last night the first time you met Missiz Kelly?

(1.0)

Bea: Met whom?

Anna: Missiz Kelly.

Bea: Yes.

(Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974)

Therefore, the turn is the basic unit of conversation; it may encompass several illocutions, what the speaker attempts to communicate throughout a unit of conversation. In this sense, turn-taking ponders as the basic form of organization for conversation in which speaker's change occurs, typically, one speaker talks at a time; transition from one turn to the next without gap or overlap; turn order and size not fixed. The end of each turn construction unit, which can be projected by the participants in the conversation, constitutes a point where speakers may change. This possible completion point is called a transition relevance place, or TRP (cf. Sacks et al. 1978:12). In order to detect a TRP, participants look out for changes in the pitch or volume of the voice, the end of a syntactic unit, a momentary silence, or some sort of body motion, adjacency pairs, changes of speed delivery, intonation or word choice pattern.

3.3.3 Turn-allocation component

Turn allocation element deals with the dissemination of the turn, in fact in more recent literature is likewise mentioned as turn distribution component (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). According to Jeffries and McIntyr, “the turn allocational component regulates turn change and assumes that only one speaker may speak at a time” (2010). The allocation component gates when the current speaker may, if he wishes, pick out the following speaker by using in his present utterance a current speaker chooses next speaker method such as a spoken inquiry. This system of allocating the turn has dominance over the others. If the current speaker relinquishes this decision, the other participants may self-select by opening utterances of their own, the first person to speak out gaining the turn. As a final point, if the other contributors let his occasion pass, the preceding speaker may, if looked-for, take an additional turn. In this case, the same turn-allocation technique befalls at the next transition significance place, up until, sooner or later, the turn is relocated to another participant. There are four techniques by which the current speaker can determine who speaks next:

- a) Adjacency pairs
- b) One word questions referring to the preceding utterance.
- c) Utterances ending in a tag question.
- d) Utterance which, given the social relationships among the participants, could only be appropriately answered by one of them.

Sack *et al.* split the turn-allocational methods in two sets “those in which a next turn is allocated by current’s speaker selecting a next speaker, and those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection (1974). On the other hand, the self-selection method states that if the current speaker has relinquished his option to choice the next speaker, formerly the first of the other contributors to speak up obtains the right to the turn. This practice has two significant repercussions:

- a) If X initiates an utterance, in so doing blocking another participant Y, then Y should reschedule his statement with the intention of listening to X.
- b) If in the equivalent circumstances Y does not pick up X in time to check his utterance, then Y, not X, should pull out. In fact, it is expected in either situation that Y has not superior explanation for interrupting).

This rule-set encompasses cases of what may happen at transition relevance spaces: either the next speaker may be designated or the following utterer can self-select. If none of these selections occurs, the current speaker may endure. The same rule-set smears at the next transition relevance place. These guidelines, then, elucidate how the conversational floor is accomplished throughout a conversation.

This rule gives the impression to us to be a probable suggestion, and I want to begin by mentioning some ideas in its favour. To begin with, it seems to be true that utterances are seldom interjected throughout the first few words, in fact in most circumstances recurrent interruptions of this type would not be considered as suitable.

Correspondingly, there is investigational confirmation (Meltzer et al. 1991) that when overlaps take place the preceding speaker is predominantly operative, much more active than a corresponding increase by the contender. The authors infer this irregularity as confirmation that the person already talking seems to have the more authentic entitlement to the turn.

The chief dimness of the self-selection model is the allegation that the intention of the next turn should hang exclusively on who succeeds to speak up first. There is confirmation that discussions concerning the next turn can be steered nonverbally throughout the existing statement. For instance, Duncan (1974) set up that when the hearer produces a reply of the “mm-hm” category before a phonemic juncture; this proposes as Rosenfeld (1977) points out that a premature listener answer is taken to mean that the listener has previously assumed what the speaker is going to say, and might be formulating to speak himself.

Turn-allocational techniques are distributed into two groups:

- a) Next turn is allocated by current speaker's selecting next speaker
- b) A next turn is allocated by self-selection

The self-selection rule states, in effect, that if the current speaker has foregone his option to select the next speaker, then the first of the other participants to speak up acquires the right to the turn.

3.4 Turn taking cues

While a number of studies have dealt with several behaviours which may be part of the turn-taking mechanism, merely Duncan (1972) has dealt directly with it in its entirety. Taking an inductive approach, Duncan perceived interactions, and then described the behaviour that complemented speaking- role variations.

According to Duncan, in conversation we use turn-yielding cues, back-channel cues, and turn-maintaining cues. Wiemann and Knapp (1975) similarly recognized turn-requesting cues.

3.4.1 Turn-yielding cues

Turn-yielding cues are cast off by speakers to let the hearer know that they have ended what they want to say and that somebody else may possibly speak. The display of a turn-yielding cue does not involve the listener to take the floor; he may keep on silent or support the speaker with a back-channel signal. If the turn-taking device is functioning appropriately, the hearer will take his turn in reply to a turn-yielding cue produced by the speaker, and the speaker will instantaneously yield his turn. Duncan (1972) recognized six turn-yielding cues in conversation. Five are verbal or paralinguistic and diffused through the auditory channel. These consist of:

a) **Intonation:** the use of any pitch-level-terminal juncture combination other than at the end of a phonemic clause refers to a phonemic clause ending on a sustained intermediate pitch level

- b) Intonation on the final syllable, or on the stressed syllable, of a terminal clause
- c) **Sociocentric sequences:** the appearance of one of numerous conventionalized expressions, usually succeeding a functional statement, e.g. "but ah", "you know", etc.
- d) **Pitch / loudness:** a descent in paralinguistic pitch and or loudness in combination with one of the sociocentric sequences. When used, these expressions are characteristically followed by a terminal clause, but did not often share the same paralanguage.
- e) **Syntax:** the completion of a grammatical clause involving a subject-predicate combination.

The sixth turn-yielding cue includes gesticulation and is therefore transmitted via the visual channel.

3.4.2 Turn-maintaining cues

Turn-maintaining cues, in which speaking-turn claims are blocked, are used by speakers to keep their speaking turn. Even though hand gestures may set up the most important nonverbal performance for this determination, some vocal hints may be used alone or may complement hand gestures. These vocal cues embrace increased changes in volume and rate of speech in response to turn-requesting cues from listeners. Using more filled pauses (with some form of vocalization, e.g., "Ah...") than silent or unfilled pauses is a suitable technique of turn-maintaining.

3.5 Turn-taking in the News interview

The organization of news interview discloses dramatic modifications from a conversational outline. In conversation, themes can appear spontaneously and in a variety of ways, the members are able to make contributions to the theme and any person can initiate a new mark of departure. In the news interview, alternatively, the interlocutors are essentially embarrassed. Interviewers confine themselves to inquiry and interviewees limit themselves to responding the questions, or in any case answering to them. This limitation outlines the organization used by the speakers' conversation and the model in which they talk to the next design:

Interviewer: Question

Interviewee: Answer

This system of turn-taking comprises what Drew (1979) has titled "turn-type preallocation" in which the actions of questioning and responding to queries are pre-allocated to the roles of the questioner and the interviewee. However, it is significant to consider the elementary behaviours that are let off. If the interviewers constrain themselves to asking questions, then they cannot express views, or attack, dispute or disapprove the interviewees' opinions nor, on the contrary, comply with, sustain or support them. If the interviewees limit themselves to replies to inquiries, then they cannot query inquiries, nor make uninvited remarks on preceding comments, initiate alterations of theme, or distract the discussion into disapprovals of the interviewer or the

broadcasting organization. It is the interviewer's queries that establish the agenda for interviewees' answers; moreover, it is the interviewer the one who can take the lead in moving to new subjects and in determining when the interview will be closed.

The interviewer's authority throughout the interview is a means of limiting politicians and other qualified interviewees who would if not treat the interview circumstances as a kind of soapbox from which to convey a pre-packaged message. In fact, the rawness of the questioner can be constrained to a schema that is restricted by the resourcefulness and capability of the interviewer. The control exercised through interviewer inquiring is a chief point of roughness with interviewees who object to the schema which an interviewer is following or who needs to enforce their peculiar agenda on the encounter.

3.6 Adjacency pairs

Conversational Analysis envisages conversation from a structural standpoint. That is why it looks for repetitive patterns, distributions and forms of organization in conversation. Coherence of conversation can be perceived as the identification of consecutive rules that the speakers follow since they are part of it. In this sense, one of the first constructions described of conversation, whose identification founds the most substantial contribution to the study of conversation, has been what is known as adjacency pairs, i.e., the succeeding incidence of two statements which are formed by

two different speakers that are relevant bearing in mind that one occurs before the other. Adjacency pairs consolidate the first statement being the first part of the pair and the second, the second part of this. At the same time, a couple may belong to a type that requires the occurrence of a second part in particular or one permitting the occurrence of numerous second parts from a prearranged set of choices. Typical examples of adjacency pairs are: the sequence of question/answer, offer/acceptance, etc. Thus, adjacency pairs are organized patterns of constant and methodical actions that establish and replicate an order within the conversation and are defined according to Coulthard (1977), as the basic unit of conversation.

An adjacency pair entails a first part and a second part which shape a paired statement. Every time that somebody builds up a first part and stops talking someone else has to answer to that by saying a second part that denotes the first. As Levinson states “the existence of such paired utterances is obvious, but a precise specification of the underlying expectations upon which the regularities are based is not so easy.” (1983). Adjacency pairs are a central unit of conversation and some people even contemplate them to be a necessary unit in conversation. Cases of adjacency pairs are question-answer, offer-acceptance, and so on. Nevertheless, there are instances in which a second is not proximately shaped after hearing the first. There may be addition arrangements which delay the utterance of the second though initiations are organized.

The turns in adjacency pairs stand in precise connection of practical correctness. The first turn creates the second pertinent and the second is understood as carried about

by the first turn (Liddicoat 2007). This author contends that adjacency pairs are located next to each other in their elementary token form. Nevertheless, they do not need to be together in the harshest sense of the word. Liddicoat claims that adjacency pairs are well-ordered; one turn permanently arises first and one turn continually comes second. The first turn is intended to start next actions, the second to complete the introduced act. Adjacency pairs are carefully related to the turn-taking organization. As soon as a first part is formed, the current utterer should stop and the following speaker must produce a second pair (Liddicoat, 2007).

Adjacency pairs are associated with the functioning of turn-taking transference; they determine the occurrence of a new turn and the end of a new transition. The relationship between that adjacency pairs support is a relation of expectation rather than determination. Once the first part of the adjacency pair has taken place, there is a strong possibility that the participant who gave the first part, take the turn and produce the second part. However, these second parts not always meet the expectations of the first speaker. In some cases the subsequent statement is not related to the previous one, therefore there is a chance in which the speaker makes a mistake. Conversation Analysis has focused on the sequences that are especially visible, as interruptions, suspicion, or a preparation to the development of the conversation. Although conversations are normally structured in linear sequences, in which a pair follows the other, it is possible to identify some structures embedded within them. Schegloff (1972) called this conversation phenomenon as “insertion sequences”. Other sequences are called “lateral

sequences”, “repair sequences or clarification” and “closing sequences”, all of which account for phenomena that involve more than two consecutive sentences. Each contribution from one speaker to the conversation will be performed under the assumption that the next speaker will perform some action. Adjacency pairs are, therefore, a description of the standard archetypal significant conversational sequence.

Adjacency pairs or pairs of utterances that usually occur together allow speakers to allocate and give up turns. Sacks (1974) identifies adjacency pairs as major turn types. He states that this is one of the most basic forms of speech that is used to produce conversation. They state that this is one of the most basic forms of speech that is used to produce conversation. It is a categorization of two utterances that follow one another, or are ‘adjacent’, and has two parts, a first pair part and a second pair part. What kind of first pair part is used by the speaker regulates the variety of answers that the other contributor in the conversation can give, as merely precise second pair parts relate to each first pair part. A question entails some kind of answer, an invitation needs an acceptance or rejection and an assessment needs an arrangement or discrepancy. It must also be reminded that adjacency pairs merely work for the reason that both contributors in the conversation want them to work. (Heritage, 1984)

Adjacency pairs also replicate how well-ordered speech is, notwithstanding the number of people that are in the conversation, and how this is accomplished through turn taking. This methodical structure would not be conceivable if fixed rules about what happens in conversation were not acknowledged and observed to by all. Sacks,

Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) conceived that turn taking seems to be a significant part of social organization, particularly in official circumstances, where turns have social implication and are assumed worth that is detached between people rendering how the turns in the conversation are disseminated. In their work there is a highlighting on turn distribution mechanisms that permit the person that was talking originally to designate which person in the group desired to reply their first pair part in an adjacency pairing, or the 'first turn' in a conversation. First pair parts can consequently benefit recruit discourse and direct the conversation down a certain track of the motivators selecting through using explicit rules and phrasing.

If we exemplify the notion of adjacency pairs, we correspondingly have to make unblemished the concepts of "preferred second part" as well as "dispreferred second part" as they are narrowly interrelated. The preferred second part occurs, for example, if speaker A initiates with an inquiry, speaker B will reply with and response. The dispreferred second part occurs if the addressee offers a substitute answer. These are typically extended and more complex than preferred parts.

3.7 Back channels: listener activity

While the utterer is speaking, the hearer does not endure as an inactive listener, but affords verbal and non-verbal replies without having a purpose to take the turn. Back channels function as "supports", "exclamations", "sentence completion" and "restatements". (Duncan & Niederehe, 1974). When we speak of response indications,

we refer to replies such as “yes”, “oh” and “really”. As said by Heritage “they are objects whose role in interaction is almost purely sequential. In many cases these objects are non-lexical and they gain much of their interactional significance from their specific placements in sequences talk”. (Heritage, 1989). According to Schegloff, the assignment of these tokens “by reference to the boundaries of turn-constructive units within a segment of talk which permits them to be heard as “continuers”, “acknowledgements” and “agreements” (Schegloff 1982).

Schegloff explains continuers as “behavioral tokens” such as “uh huh”, “yeah” and “mm hm”, these indicators normally produce a transition relevance places throughout the sequence of prolonged elements of talk. (Schegloff, 1982). In fact, continuers point out that the listener is attending and that he is not determined to take the conversational bottom. The term back channel in this opportunity is nearly a synonymy of the notion of response indications, however the idea of back channels was presented by Yngve (1970), Yngve discussed that addressees show “behavior in back channel” (Yngve, 1970). He looked at answers such as “yes”, “ok” and fleeting explanations. On the subject of interjections and exclamatory queries, the most common tone was a falling tone. Some of the back-channels specified the listener’s upstretched interest in enchanting over the turn and some of them were in fact used as eliciting a turn.

Schegloff (1982) reviews the literature on back channels briefly:

“The most common term now in use for such items, “back-channel communication”, was introduced by Yngve (1970), and includes a much broader range of utterance types, including much longer stretches of talk. The term “back-channels” has been adopted by Duncan and his associates. He and Fiske (201-202) include not only expressions as “uh huh”, “yeah” and completions by a recipient of sentences begun by another, requests for clarification, “brief statements” of something just said by another, and “head nods and shakes”.

In face to face conversation, Schegloff puts forward that back channels occur at possible turn-exchange points, until the speaker is obviously done and needing some other response. He considers them “continuers”, since they are “abdicators of the turn exchange that otherwise might occur; they signal from a listener that a speaker may continue with an extended discourse structure, which presumably a listener must recognize is in progress”

To conclude, Schegloff presents that back channels are typically taken to designate arrangement, among other things. He proposes that they entail agreement because they happen in the identical places as other introduced repairs. They occasionally perform as headings or agreement indicators. They are used, in some way, to show consideration, they are best entitlements of attention and correspondingly they are “continuers”, resignations of a full turn from a listener, which is basically, give consent to a speaker to endure increasing his discourse. Each back channel can accomplish diverse roles, however they share some features:

- They are conventional
- Regularly non-lexical
- Define non-linguistic activities (laughter)
- They upsurge when the speaker's degree of speech rises, if not both speakers become very vigorous.

3.8 Overlaps

According to Schegloff (2000) overlap and simultaneous talk are equivalent terms that refer to talk by more than one speaker at a time. In this opportunity, overlap is seen a superordinate concept referring simply to simultaneous talk. In my opinion, the division between competitive and non-competitive overlaps is important to be made when defining overlap in order to capture the essence of the turn-taking system and to account for all cases of simultaneous talk.

Observing oral communication among numerous factors as a structure of single speaker turns is a sturdy supposition, since overlapping speech, i.e. speech portions concurrently concerning more than one speaker is quite common in ordinary communication. Overlaps may involve disfluencies (hesitations, recurrences, and restarts) and are probable to contribute to speaker turn guideline. The concepts of overlaps, overlapping, or synchronized speech are going to be used interchangeably when referring to talk taking place at the same time by two or more speakers.

Moreover, overlaps consist of two fragments: competitive or non-competitive. In the occasion of competitive overlaps, they are created when the current speaker's still incomplete turn to take the bottom precipitately. Non-competitive overlaps imply coinciding talk whose resolution is not to compete for speakership with the present utterer. It is significant to bear in mind that overlap has to be understood as a feature of turn-taking. As said by Sacks overlap arises when an external speaker starts speaking at the probable achievement point of the current turn attempting to evade a break or silence among the two turns (2004).

Competitive overlaps are identified as "turn-competitive incomings" in a more exhaustive system. What makes an external speech as competitive is a mixture of two prosodic characteristics: high pitch and amplified loudness. French and Local (1983) put forward that when an incomer's discourse is discernible by these two features, the turn-occupant makes prosodic variations to his speech. (French and Local, 1983). As for the second foremost kind of simultaneous talk, non-competitive overlap (Schegloff, 2004) states that it refers to events of overlapping talk in which the utterers do not contest for turn space. In other words, the inward speaker displays no disposition to take the ground from the current speaker. The nonappearance of the prosodic amalgamation high pitch and amplified loudness appears to be a fundamental characteristic of non-competitive overlap. Schegloff (2000) suggests four dissimilar kinds of overlapping talk that are non-competitive with respect to turn-taking. The first is called "terminal overlaps" which arises when the next speaker forecasts that the current speaker is to finish his turn in a

little while and starts, consequently, talking at the same time with him. The second kind of non-competitive simultaneous talk is “continuers”. Samples of this are interruptions or back channels and likewise context-fitted valuation terms, for instance Oh wow or Great. By the use of continuers the hearer shows that he comprehends that the current speaker clutches the floor and has not accomplished his turn yet. The third classification of overlaps is recognized as “conditional access to the turn”. This is when the current speaker bounces his not finished turn to another therefore the new speaker could further the original speaker’s activity. The last category of non-competitive overlapping is discussed as “choral” in character. According to Schegloff (2000) laughter is an illustration of this kind of overlapping, similarly collective greetings, leave-takings and congratulations in reply to statements of personal good news. The author remarks that in this type of overlapping contributors seem to be correctly simultaneous occupants of the floor.

3.9 Interruptions

Interruption is defined as the intrusion of one speaker when the current speaker who has the floor has not yet finished his turn (Gallardo Paúls 1993). In several studies about interruption, we could realize that is a subject of debate whether this feature is aggressive or impolite. While some linguists describe the interruption as an aggressive mechanism by which a speaker’s turn is stolen by another, others however, indicate that interruption is common in conversation, and not always disruptive to the discourse.

In line with Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), a perfect conversation is ordered so that no disruptions befalls. The organization between the speaker and listener is flawless in that the speaker sends the correct signals, verbal or nonverbal, to the listener when a turn change is outstanding. The hearer recognizes and takes the indicators for a turn change. Any violation of the neatness of this turn-exchange norm is considered an unfathomable interference of the privileges of the current speaker, besides a severe disturbance of the movement of the continuing conversation. Following this outlook, interruption has been found to be an influence stratagem. All the interruptions are considered supreme displays and conversation is a continuous encounter for control between the speakers (Hawkins, 1991). A number of investigators have planned a more well-adjusted view of interruption (Beattie, 1981). Two extensive categories of interruptions have been well-known, intrusive and cooperative (Murata, 1994), though they are called inconsistently. For instance, Goldberg (1990) distinguished interruptions as power and non-power, Kennedy and Camden (1983) differentiated them as disconfirming and confirming, while Bennett (1981) favored the concepts conflicting and less conflicting.

a. Categories of interruption: cooperative.

In relation to Murata (1994), cooperative interruptions proposed to assist the speaker by managing on the procedure and or content of the current conversation. The cooperative group enclosed three subgroups: assistance, agreement, and clarification. Agreement and clarification were lent from Kennedy and Camden (1983).

- i. Agreement: According to Kennedy and Camden (1983), an agreement interruption permits the interrupter to show consensus, agreement, understanding or sustenance. Occasionally, the interruption also attends as an extension or amplification of the idea being presented by the speaker.
- ii. Assistance: the interrupter observes that the speaker requests support. The interrupter affords the current speaker with a word, phrase, sentence or idea.
- iii. Clarification: this kind of interruption is typically introduced by the listener, with the aim to comprehend the message being conducted by the speaker (Kennedy & Camden 1983). The final aim of the interruption is to have the current speaker elucidate or clarify a formerly provoked piece of information that the hearer is uncertain about.

On the other hand, an intrusive interruption consists mainly of:

- i. Disagreement
- ii. Topic change
- iii. Floor-taking

Interventions indoors numerous forms of talk have conventionally been studied and understood theoretically with the assistance of certain standards such as syntactical, prosodical and semantic-pragmatic turn accomplishment. Those measures have been recognized and defined in advance by the particular experts to further regulate whether a explicit type of intrusion or simultaneous speech has to be either one classified as overlap or interruption. Generally, linguists allocated to interruptions convinced predefined purposes; occasionally interruptions are used by the speakers to determine influence, domination and control. In this particular case, an interruption is demarcated as an interpolation or conversational movement that is metalinguistically patent as dishonest by the current speaker. It has been claimed that coinciding speaking and interruption are not to be fingered as turn-taking mistake, but then again as a conceivable appropriate way of overriding speaker changes and of assigning convinced functions. Interruption comes into being when a new speaker begins purposely speaking surrounded by the current speaker's turn. This means that to intersect is to start talking at a place which is not a transition-relevance place. Therefore, the decisive discrepancies among overlaps as well as interruptions appear to lie, as a result, in the place where instantaneous talk happens.

Interruption is directly related to the way in which the interlocutors could take their turns. West & Zimmerman (1975, 1983) defined interruption as "the potential way to disrupt a speaker's turn and disorganize ongoing construction of the conversational topic

of the first speaker, regarded as a hostile act". They classified different types of interruptions as:

- a) A violation of the first speaker's turn
- b) A device for exercising power and control in a conversation
- c) A deep intrusion of first speaker's utterance.

According to Jennifer Coates, interruption is "a violation of turn-taking rules of conversation. The next speaker begins to speak while the current speaker is still speaking, at a point in the current speaker's turn which could not be defined as the last word". For her, interruptions break the symmetry of the conversational model: the interruption prevents the first speaker from finishing turn, at the same time gaining a turn for oneself. When Coates mentioned "a violation of the rules", she refers to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's rules (1994)

- a) Current speaker selects the next speaker
- b) Next speaker self-selects
- c) Current speaker continues

The violation of the turn-taking model that we are going to consider in this analysis is the ones proposed by Coates:

- Grabbing the floor

- Hogging the floor
- Not responding

3.10 Illocutionary Force

Despite the fact that people communicate, they also use utterances to express what they have in their mind toward the hearer. Utterance produced by speaker does not merely function to clarify the speaker mind toward the listener but also means to display the relationship among them. We want to identify people's connection through their utterances and we can see it from speech act. According to Austin, speech act is a principle of performative language, in which to say something is to do something. The act achieved by generating an utterance will entail three associated acts: locutionary, perlocutionary and illocutionary.

Locutionary act is the action of saying something producing a series of sounds, which mean something, the form of the uttered, and the act of saying something. It is the realization of the speaker's utterance.

The perlocutionary act produces some consequence on the hearers, such as persuading, convincing, irritating, and startling. It is what is done by uttering a word; it is the effect on listener, the listener's reaction.

The concept of illocutionary act is vital in this study, as it is encompassed in the qualitative analysis. Illocutionary act is what is done in uttering a word, the purpose of

the word, the specific goal that the speakers have in mind. The illocutionary act is the action of doing something; it is uttered by the speaker that is not only to say or state something but also

Vanderveken claims that in “uttering sentences within a conversation or dialogue, speakers perform speech acts of a type called illocutionary acts” (1985:181). In Searle’s and Vanderveken’s current accounts of speech act theory, illocutionary acts have been demarcated as “minimal units of human communication. “Whenever a speaker utters a sentence in an appropriate context with certain intentions, he performs one or more illocutionary acts”. (1985:1). Huddleston and Pullum (2002) note that “statement, directive and question are very general categories of illocutionary force, but there are in addition innumerable more specific illocutionary categories. Some of these can be regarded as simply special cases of the more general categories” (2002:858). They demonstrate this with the sentence *Bring the water to the boil*, which may be stated as a command, an appeal, advice or an instruction. But, all of these classes can be comprised in the category of directive, “for they all count as attempts to get you to do something” (2002:859).

Austin’s theory of speech acts state that utterances can perform three kinds of acts: locutionary, perlocutionary and illocutionary act. The locutionary act is the action of saying something producing a series of sounds, which mean something.

3.11 Cohesion Hypothesis

It is associated with the fact that everything that is uttered is expressed in certain method. The speaker's degree of participation in an interaction is designated by a variability of verbal means such as the choice of lexical elements and syntactic constructions, paralinguistic features for example the tone of voice, speed, pitch, intonation and volume, and by nonverbal means like facial expressions, signs, corporal posture, eye contact etc. "All these nonverbal and paralinguistic features reveal the speaker's attitude toward the message [...] and establish cohesion, that is, show relationships among ideas, highlight relative importance, foreground or background certain information, and so on. [...] one cannot speak without showing one's attitude toward the message and the speech activity" (Tannen 1985:130-131).

In contrast to speaking, in written discourse the authors cannot trust in nonverbal and paralinguistic signs. In its place, they make use of strategies such as italics, highlighting, the use of bold and capital letters, Tannen (1985:131) claims. Therefore, the writer's outlook towards ideas uttered and associations among them must be "lexicalized". This is typically achieved in a variation of techniques: by using clear statement, such as *in a humorous way...* or *I don't mean this literally* (1985:131), by cautious assortment of words with the correct connotations, or by using "complex syntactic constructions and transitional phrases" (1985:131).

Tannen precises her outcomes by affirming that the type of discourse where "meaning and attitudes are expressed paralinguistically, nonverbally, or indirectly"

(1985:131), i.e. one typically using plans of face-to-face conversation which utilize interpersonal participation, is spoken discourse. In turn, “discourse that relies on lexicalization of meaning and relationships between propositions either is written or uses strategies that are frequently found in written discourse” (Tannen 1985:131). It is conceivable, however, that the author may aim at crafting the result of face-to-face interaction, consequently, he joins such comments as “She said with a wink” (Tannen 1985:131).

Tannen (2007:25) asserts that there are linguistic and non-linguistic strategies that establish and preserve involvement. Linguistic strategies such as reiteration of words and phrases, dialogue, and the procedure of images that are established in literary discourse are “spontaneous and pervasive in conversation because they reflect and create interpersonal involvement” (Tannen 2007:25).

The schemes that are based on sound include:

- rhythm
- patterns based on repetition and variation of phonemes, morphemes, words, collocations of words, and longer sequences of discourse; and,
- rhetoric figures

(Tannen 2007:32)

Tannen claims that reiteration of specific linguistic units makes the discourse more rhythmical, which grounds the participants in the communication to pay more attention to the subject problem of the discourse. This claim settles the outcome of

Harvey Sacks (1971), who remarked systematicity of the use of alliteration of sounds and words in unprompted conversation. Extensive discourse structures have been the area of attention of the ethnomethodological division of conversation analysis. The study about cross-cultural discourse has confirmed that the incidence of repetition of discourse structures across time. Repetition as a means of producing personal participation, as Tannen (2007:61) clarifies, “accomplishes a conversation, shows one’s response to another’s utterance, shows acceptance of others’ utterances, their participation, and them, and gives evidence of one’s own participation. It provides a resource to keep talk going, where talk itself is a show of involvement, of willingness to interact, to serve positive face.”

Interlocutors commonly report in their conversational interactions the speeches of others as conversation (“direct speech”) instead of third-person report (“indirect speech”) as Tannen (2007:39) asserts. She relies on that conversation is “more vivid” furthermore; conveying ideas throughout citing the speech of others is a substantial means of expressing feelings in discourse (2007:39). As concerns my corpus of political interviews, diverse ways of expressing feelings may be found in this category of discourse as well. A common technique of showing emotionality is the use of prevarication or boosting strategies in a hasty sequence. A methodical study of emotionality is not the main theme of this study but it seems like that emotionality in political interviews is either an effort by politicians to demonstrate authority and

validate their arguments in the presence of their spectators or it may be a mark of indecision and unwillingness of the speaker.

Constructed dialogue needs dynamic contribution of all conversationalists in the procedure of generating linguistic and interactional meaning and this lively impact to the inferring of meaning generates involvement. Every dialogue is exclusive and this exclusivity permits the listeners to form their own understanding on the foundation of their knowledge and experience (Tannen 2007:132).

3.12 Body language

3.12.1 Head nodding

Head nodding seems to play a key role in turn-requesting, while having slight or no implication in turn-yielding. Speakers do not methodically upsurge the amount of nodding as the episode progresses. On the other hand, there is a stagy intensification in nodding by the listener.

3.12.2 Hand and arm gestures

They are well-defined as hand and arm movements usually away from the body, which generally complement it, and which appear to allow a direct association with speech (e.g. an upraised and pointed index finger).

Precisely left out from the meaning of hand and arm gestures are movements in which the hand comes in contact with one's own body. Samples would be rubbing the chin, scratching the cheek, smoothing the hair, picking lint from the socks, etc. Such self-adaptors are quite recurrent for several individuals both while they are speakers and while they are hearers

3.12.3 Smiles and laughs

Notwithstanding the large diversity of features surrounded by the realm of communication, smile and laughter happen in the background of turn-taking. They appear to play a major role in back-channeling (e.g. a silent smile of feedback, perhaps attached to direct eye contact). However, a smile may stand at the end of a speaker's turn as a request for taking over the turn.

3.12.4 Postural shifts

Throughout a conversation, a person may change the position of his legs or may shift his seat in the chair.

The role that shifts of posture play in the turn-taking mechanism is uncertain. But one can undertake that people do not actually sit still in their seats for a significant length of time. Listeners may be resting for a time and then, as they prepare to take the speaking role, move to an upright position or even to a forward-leaning position. On the other hand, speakers at times "punctuate" their yielding of the floor by leaning back in their chairs as they finish their utterances.

4 Methodology

4.1 Description of the corpus

The corpus of this study is made up of three political interviews taken from *British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)'s Programme Hardtalk*. These are formal interviews in which there are one interviewer and one interviewee. *Hardtalk* is a lead television programme, consisting of an exhaustive half-hour one-on-one interview. The interview has been led by Stephen Sackur, an English journalist, who has interviewed significant international characters and a crowd of leaders and politicians from around the world.

In this occasion, we examine three different leaders and politicians in each interview. In one of the videos, Stephen Sackur interviewed Lord John Browne, an English entrepreneur, best known as the leading executive of the energy company BP and the former President of the Royal Academy of Engineering. In 2001, he was crossbench member of the House of Lords.

In the second recording, Stephen Sackuer interviewed the Korean American attorney and legal scholar, Harold Koh. He was the Legal Adviser of the Department of State designated to this role by President Barack Obama. He formerly served in the United States Department of State throughout Clinton's government as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy and Human Rights.

In the last episode analyzed, the interviewer talked to the American actor and author Henry Winkler renowned for his character as Fonzie in the 1970s American sitcom *Happy Days*.

4.1.1. Data

After examining the three episodes, the data to be analyzed in this study was taken from the borders of each intervention completed by either the interviewer or the interviewees.

This information will be appropriate in order to give an explanation about the organization in which these speakers take and give their turns during the progression of the interview.

4.1.2 Procedure

At the beginning of the research, we settled that it was compulsory to construct a table for the taxonomic analysis of the singularities set up in each interview.

Once we had a preliminary diagram, we started the analysis and examination of each episode. As we were doing this, we made modifications to the table as we found more pertinent information.

In relation to the phonological features and in order to examine and study them, the program Waveforms Annotations Spectrograms and Pitch (WASP)

was used as a fundamental frequency track and in certain cases may be used to provide feedback in such cases in which it was difficult to determine the intonation.

In relation to the transcription conventions use, we decided to use the transcription conventions proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Schiffrin in their work "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation" which are the following:

Transcription conventions

(0.5) pauses in tenth of a second, no one thousand

[word] overlaps

= latching

(.) Micropause

. Falling intonation

? Rising intonation

:: prolongation or stretching

Cut off or self-interruption

WOrd loud talk

word stress or emphasis

We did not write the complete utterances when they were lengthy, indeed, we just took into account the beginning and the end of them since the turn-taking and turn-passing are the significant parts.

The next column is labelled the designation of *Form* and it is separated into two key columns: *Linguistic and Non-linguistic*. First the linguistic column is divided into three classes: *morphosyntactic, phonological and lexical*. The morphosyntactic classification can be explained through the next illustration taken from Video 2:

17 S: Can I just stop there and say it is not just about the President (0.1) it is also about you Harold Koh (0.5)

In the example above, it is the pronoun 'you' the one that marks the turn-giving.

The phonological category can be explained by the following example taken from Video 1:

33 B: So (0.1) specialty specialty following specialism is what is happening in industries.

44 S: we should go for it.

In these two different utterances is the use of falling intonation that shows that the current speaker is going to pass the turn.

Finally, the lexical item is explained with the following example taken from Video 1:

1 S: Harold Koh (.) welcome to Hard Talk.

At this point we can realize that the lexical item *welcome* displays that the utterer is about to pass the turn to the addressee of the communicative situation.

The non-linguistic column is divided into *paraphonic* and *body movements*. In the case of *paraphonic* features in the analysis, we found chiefly four of them which were the most common ones in the corpus. These were the use of pauses, cough, laugh as well as whispers. Currently, in the case of *body movements* throughout the communicative situation, these kinds of features were the most prevalent ones in every single video. Instances such as nodding, eye movements as well as eyebrow movements, hand gestures, blinking and pointing were the ones used by the interlocutors in order to be as a supplement in the process of communication.

Turn taking

The last column of the table has the title of *turn-taking* which was allocated into two keystakes: *mainstream* and *parenthetical*. The *mainstream* column encloses the fundamental ideas that are going to be dealt with in this research, and the *parenthetical* is made up of three different classifications which do not distress the course of the conversation, to be precise, they are perceived as digressions in the communicative situation.

The mainstream column is divided into ‘taking’, ‘continuing’ and ‘giving’ types of turn. Regarding the first one, turn-taking can have two different realizations: ‘turn-taking given’ and ‘turn-taking stolen’. In the former one, it is the current speaker the one

who gives the turn to the following speaker. On the other hand, the latter one in this research will have a precise significance mostly for the reason that is a kind of interruption. In this case the current speaker who produces the utterance interrupts or steals the turn from the person who was talking before.

Turn-continuing

The turn-continuing is used to delimit the boundaries between a current turn that is interrupted by a parenthetical turn.

E.g from Video 3

18 H: that was the main thought behind the show hhh -

19 S: pure escapism

20 H: pure escapism and that was what Gary Marshall wants.

E.g taken from Video 1

48 B: what today they call black swan events or thick tail risk and that is where I was mostly focus for the last couple of years -

49 S: but but Lord Brown I mean -

50 B: it was not a black swan event Texas City (.)

E.g taken from Video 2

40 S: the Obama drawn program fails miserable ((pointing))
because the figures suggest that many of those kills were -

41 K: do you know that figures to be true -

42 S:figures soldiers -

In each of the foregoing samples, the current speaker, who has the turn-unit, is going to be interrupted by one of the interlocutors who utter a parenthetical turn and then the turn again is stolen by the first utterer to keep his former turn and in order to finish the intervention.

Parenthetical turns

These turns are classified in the chart into: comment, agreement and reinforcement. The following are examples of these categories which are taken from Video 3:

32 H: you know what (.) it it is a very interesting point that
I have never thought about ((hands))

38 H: yeah (.) go ahead.

51 H: yes they did ((nodding hands)) we lost everybody i i
actually never had a real hhh enter uncle.

65 : yeah it means dumb dog -

5. Results

5.1 Quantitative Analysis

This section puts forward a quantitative analysis of the interviews data. It encompasses the statistical analysis of features from the data. The chief focus is to examine the data so as to offer an overview of the precise interactional features of Stephen Sackur and each of his guests, Lord Browne, Harold Koh and Henry Winkler. It is expected that throughout this analysis it can be displayed how the political interviewees diverge from each other. Currently, we would like to turn on where they vary. This quantitative analysis focuses on the interactional features of the interviewee and furthermore looks at where the interviewer and the interviewee vary from each other.

5.2 Statistical analysis (Video 1)

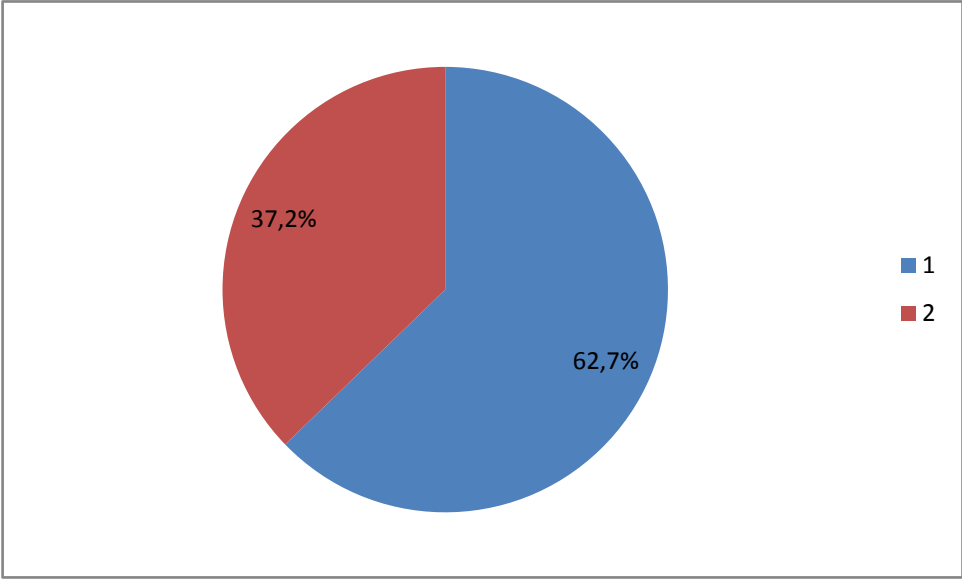
Turns:

%

Turn-takings: 37 62.7

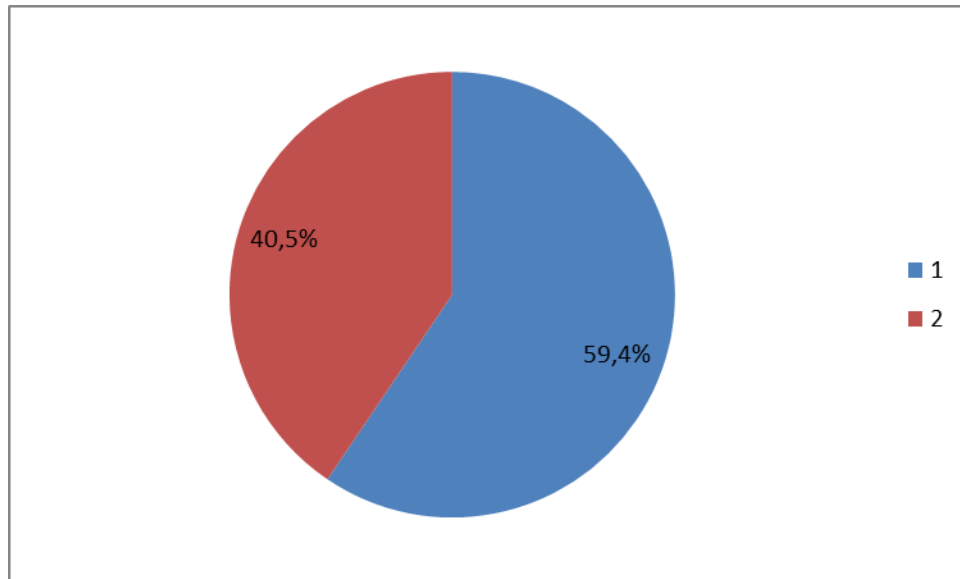
Turn_giving: 22 37.2

TOTAL: 59 100



Turn-taking types:

		%
Given	22	59.4
Stolen	15	40.5
TOTAL	37	100



Turn-taking forms:

<i>Given:</i>		%
Morphosyntactic:	7	20.5
Phonological:	15	41.1
Lexical:	12	35.2
TOTAL	34	100

<i>Stolen:</i>		
Morphosyntactic	3	16.6
Phonological	9	50
Lexical	6	33.3

TOTAL	18	100
-------	----	-----

5.3 Statistical analysis (Video 2)

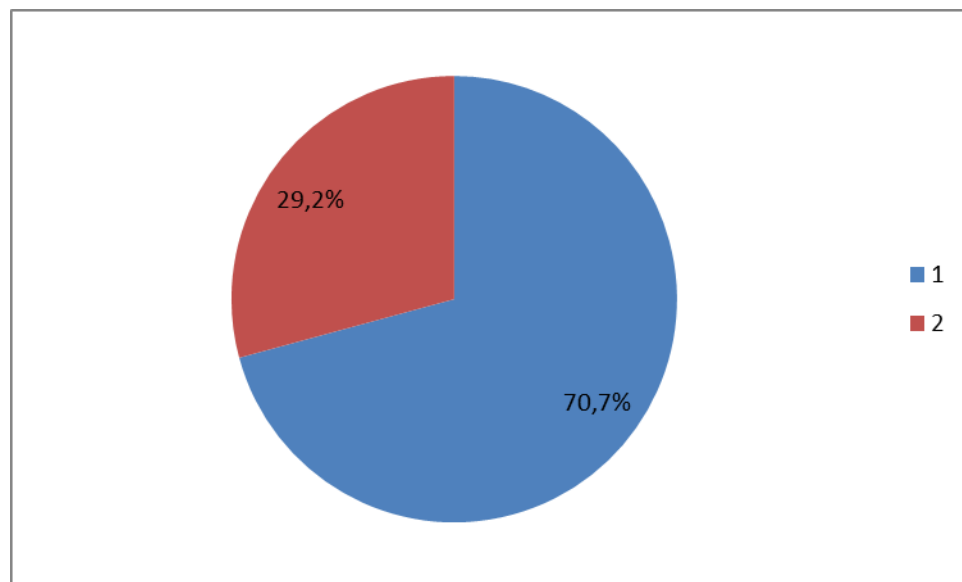
Turns:

%

Turn-takings:	63	70.7
---------------	----	------

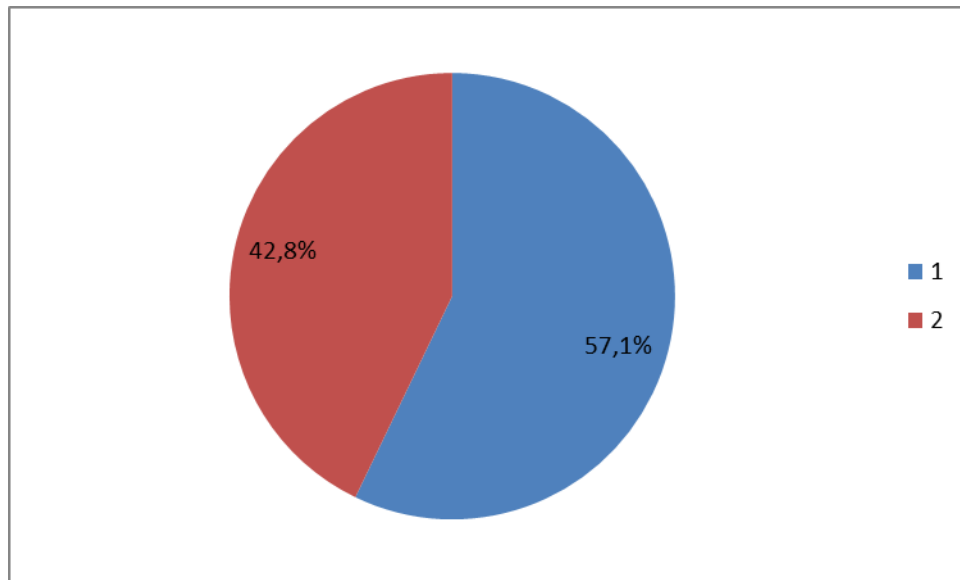
Turn-giving:	26	29.2
--------------	----	------

TOTAL	89	100
--------------	-----------	------------



Turn-taking type:

		%
Given:	36	57.1
Stolen:	27	42.8
TOTAL	63	100



Turn-taking forms:

<i>Given:</i>		%
Morphosyntactic	3	8.5
Phonological	26	74.2

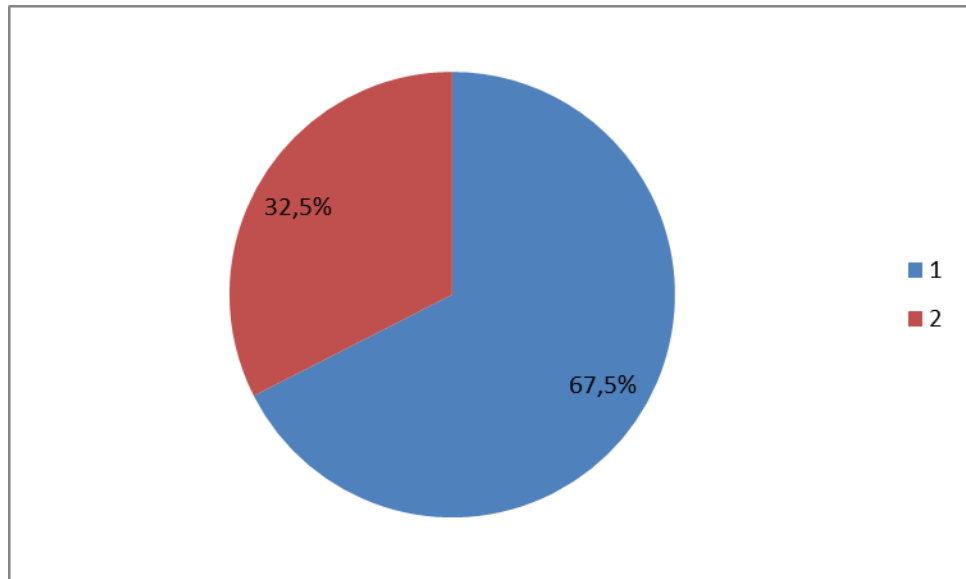
Lexical	6	17.1
TOTAL	35	100

Stolen: %

Morphosyntactic	6	18.1
Phonological	20	60.6
Lexical	7	21.2
TOTAL	33	100

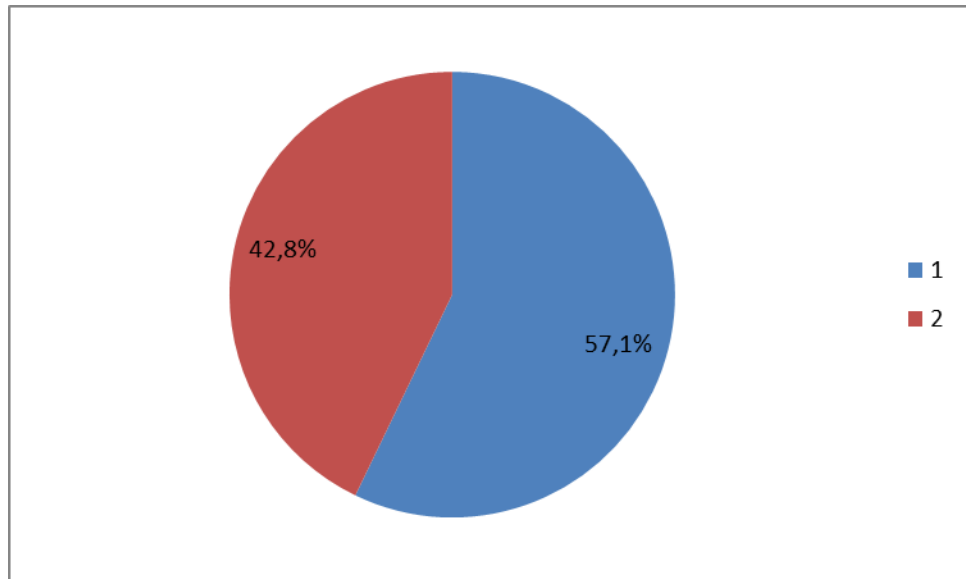
5.4 Statistical analysis (Video 3)

Turns:		%
Turn-taking	54	67.5
Turn-giving	26	32.5
TOTAL	80	100



Turn-taking types:

		%
Given:	36	57.1
Stolen	27	42.8
TOTAL	63	100



Turn-taking forms:

<i>Given:</i>		%
Morphosyntactic	6	12.2
Phonological	30	61.2
Lexical	13	26.5
TOTAL	49	100
 <i>Stolen:</i>		 %
Morphosyntactic	1	4

Phonological	19	76
Lexical	5	20
TOTAL	25	100

6 Discussion

In analyzing each of the videos taken from the talk show *Hardtalk*, it was displayed that each of the interactions that were studied in this research represents an interview format that is offered by BBC. The main characteristic of these interviews is that they are a face to face interactions without any kind of preparation between a politician or public figure and the interviewer, Stephen Sackur. However, after the thorough study that has been carried out in this research, we can reveal that the question-answer bipartite organization that is built on an interview format is not well-structured in political background settings, for the reason that certain deviancies take place in the organization of the turns. In our corpus, it has been perceived that each of the examined interviews are not fairly structured, just taking into consideration that the structure of each of the aforementioned interviews is not highly organized. The bridge between *given* and *stolen* turn-taking types is very narrow. From the previous outcomes we can put forward that in each of the interactions, the stolen turn-taking type can be achieved by different types of interruptions. At least from this analysis, the definition of interruption that was taken

into account was the one proposed by Gallardo Paúls (1993:12) which is defined as “the intrusion of a speaker when the current speaker whose turn has not finished yet is going to be interjected”. To support our argument in relation to the number of incidence of changes in the organization of the turns, we computed the number of interruptions of the interviewer and the interviewee, results that are offered in the following table.

	Lord Browne	Harold Koh	Henry Winkler
	N°	N°	N°
Interviewee's interruptions	8	14	15
Interviewer's interruptions	7	13	12

As the foregoing figures shows it is astonishing the high number of turn-changing in particular in the interactions of Harold Koh and Henry Winkler. In these two interviews the use of interruptions has a tendency to concentrate on several exchanges, gathering succeeding interruptions either by the interviewer or the interviewee. Another interesting fact is the lower incidence of interruptions in the interview with Lord Browne: merely eight interruptions. The interviewer mediates this time on seven

instances in order to help in some way the interviewee to formulate an answer or somewhat controversial comment, so as to provoke any kind of negotiation and discussion inside the interview. The fluid and peaceful atmosphere, but also dialectical, of this interview can be clarified by the role of the host in the political world as an English entrepreneur without much experience in the real world of politicians or at least, less relevant, in the international policies and questions that the interviewer formulated him.

Now, the number of times Harold Koh or Henry Winkler were interrupted is very high in both interviews where the interviewee is the one who disrupts the interviewer. From this we can study that this situation arises from the international importance of those interviewees.. We can see clearly that the interruptions formulated by Koh are mostly intrusive instead of cooperative. In such cases, the type of interruption that prevails in the case of the interviewee is mostly in order to show disagreement in relation to something that the interviewer has uttered before.

E.g Video 2

25 S: right (.) but even within your parameters and your interpretation of the laws it seems to me two key things important ((enumerating with the fingers) you have to believe when you're using this (0.1) senior leaders this is supposed to be a last resource (.) it supposes to be the most important enemies ((pointing)) in this war that you believe been conducted and second of all ((looking down)) you have to be absolutely convinced that you don't ((eye shrug looking down))

surveillance are not being ((hand in the chin)) (0.1) killed and hhh both schools (0.1) ((raised eyebrow)) the Obama drone program fails miserable ((pointing)) because the figures suggest that many of those kills were -

26 H: do you know that figures to be true -

27 S: figures soldiers -

28 H: do you know that figures to be true? ((smiling sarcastically)) -

29 S: well if you have seen the research like I have in the American foundation an extensive research on the ground in Pakistan and Idare say neither you nor has done the field work that they've done.

Other instances in which the use of intrusive interruptions can be appreciated in the same interview between Harold Koh and Stephen Sackur is the following example:

E.g Video 2

31 S: HUndreds (.) let's be HOnest(.) HUndreds (.) even if you can't precise -

32 H: I I don't know ((denying)) think we need those numbers ((whisper)) i think we need to verify those numbers (.) the important point here is that hhh drones are a tool (.) just like any tool of war((raised eyebrow)) hhh technology ((closed eyes)) improves ((raised eyebrows)) and ((whisper)) many people who say nothing about fireless discriminate kinds of weapon like ((looking right)) bombs and others (0.5) this is a weapon that can be used in a (0.5) targeting way

((blinking)) which is consisted of part of laws or indiscriminate way
((blinking)) which is not -

33 S: it y-you used the word TARgeting ((hands)) it reminds me
for example ((hands)) its reilly government talks about targeted
killing and we see this reilly government has conducted over
years sometimes they hhh absolutely denying other times they
leave it ambiguous (.) b-but we know (((nodding hand))
frequently that this reilly government over years has used the
policy of targeting killing overseas ((eye shrug)) to::
eliminate (0.5) what it's regard as enemies ((direct)) in an
existential conflict we've seen other governments do the same
thing I'm thinking of Iran ((raised eyebrows)) which again
((nodding head)) without acknowledging we strongly suspect to
conduct the same policy (0.5) that fact that the united states
((eye shrug)) does it because it believes ((raised eyebrow))
that exists an existential conflict (.) a legitimate war (.)
does it not give licenses to other nations you want to do just
the same thing?

In each of the preceding segments from the interview, we can noticeably
appreciate how the role that the interviewer and the interviewee are playing in this
moment can be explained by the use of intrusive interruptions in order to show certain
kind of disagreement in the case of the politician, but to insist on the topic and get an
answer in the case of the moderator. Here, we can openly see how the bipartite structure

of the political interview is not that precise and not highly well-structured in natural settings. In this particular disruption throughout the interaction, we can see that the purpose of interruption in relation to the guest is to produce a confrontational effect between the interlocutors. For the interviewee the use of interruptions is to provoke some kind of conflict as well as discrepancy contrary to what the interviewer has said earlier. However, in the case of the interviewer, the use of intrusive interruptions is mainly to take the floor and regulates the confrontational situation in order to redirect the topic or the question that has been mentioned previously.

From the standpoint of the interaction, in the case of interruption, the interviewer acts as a regulating instrument of political discourse performance. The interviewer attempts to encourage and ask to the politician to fit the maxims of conversation, particularly the relevance and the manner maxims (clear and well-organized). In this manner, the interviewer and the audience assess the conduct of political discourse which is understood as a way of gauging his credibility.

Bearing in mind another type of interruption, in the interview between Stephen Sackur and Henry Winkler, we can clearly appreciate that the use of interruption through this interaction is mainly cooperative. The purpose of neither the interviewer nor the interviewee is to regulate and maintain a natural development of the conversation. However, in the analysis of this video, the main purpose of the use of interruptions during the development of the interview was to show certain kind of agreement and clarification throughout the communication.

E.g Video 3

14 H: well I think that was ((closed eyes)) the hhh (.) that was the main ((nodding hands)) thought behind the show ((raised eyebrows)) hhh

15 S: pure escapism -

16 H: pure escapism ((nodding hands)) and THAT was what gary marshall (.) hhh the genius about this show ((hands)) and great movies hhh (.) you know pretty woman (.) he is my (don) i kissed his ring (.) gary marshall . but ((nodding finger)) he says you know other people made television and that is really (.) it's supposed to be smart (.) i make recess . ((eye shrug))

17 S: hhh but there is something about making recess at a time like that ((pointing)) is a little bit strange ((eye shrug)) -

18 H: but believe or not (.) I I it is it is a timeless show ((nodding hands)) (.) he made it in the fifties on purpose ((nodding)) (0.5) because you could do moral stories without ever feeling you are being hit on the head ((hands)) (0.5) hhh with the point of view ((raised eyebrows))

The use of cooperative interaction expressing as an agreement or as a clarification in can clearly explained in this segments from Video 3. The purpose of the interviewer and the interviewee in the moment that they both used this type of interaction is to regulate, clarify, confirm and validate any kind of information during the interaction. It is in this point in which the possible definition of interruption is not

seen anymore as a possible method to snatch away the turn of the current speaker, actually, in this particular example the interruption is seen as mechanism that helps us to avoid any kind of misunderstanding of the message.

To sum up, our data can distinguish between two different types of disruption: one from the interviewer as the host of the programme and one from the interviewee as his guest. The interviewer's interruption purpose is to make any kind of reformulation, and occurs when the interviewer considers that the interviewee is avoiding the question and his answer is definitely not thematically suitable. Furthermore, in some of the analyzed cases, the interviewer interrupts to make some kind of disagreement with either the political content or the form of the response given by the politician. However, the politician or the public figure interrupts the interaction in order to express his disagreement with the statement provided by the interviewer; specifically, to question and remove the possible implications that may contain the interviewer's question or statement.

In a general way, it can be demonstrated that the interruption has a regulatory role in the process of interaction and turn-taking organization in political interviews, as the interlocutors use them to influence the management and redirect the interview turn-taking organization.

7 Conclusions

According to the study that we have made of interactions between politicians and public figures, we face a motivating evolution of the political interview. The political interview, in this case in a natural conversational context without previous established guideline or patterns, does not fit the description of genre as unbending and devoid of interaction of cooperation among the interlocutors. On the contrary, there are several changes in the organization of turn-taking allocation, predominantly interruptions, which reflect dynamism and a great degree of interactivity in this type of discourse as well as a remarkable hybrid process or development of the genre. In this study, we compared the frequency of turn-taking organization in interactions between three different interactions between the interviewer and politicians, finding that the way in which the interlocutors understand their rights and duties throughout a conversation and that does not depend directly on the style of a particular politician. However, the differences are found in the dissimilar functions of the different kinds of interruptions.

The interviewer's interruption has as its key resolution to question the politician, while the politician's interruption marks the discrepancy with the possible inferences of the question formulated by the interviewer. The interruption of the interviewer, on the other hand, achieves several functions, such as succeeding questions in order to express discrepancy and to evaluate the political response.

The interviewer's interventions similarly reflect a process of creating and negotiating the roles of both the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer adopts his role by asking questions and taking his turn. But also, in numerous cases the interviewer is

confronted to the politician; it assesses challenges and interrupts his interlocutor.

Responding to these interruptions, the politician has no choice but to try to adapt their discourse skills with this situation.

In this research, we compared the frequency of interruptions in the organization of turn-taking in interactions with three politicians, finding that they are frequent in all cases and they reflect, therefore, how interlocutors understand their rights and duties in the process of communication. We can conclude that this does not depend directly on the style of a particular politician.

The outcomes of the data analysis display that the organization of turn-taking in political interviews is a specialised and highly flexible system since interviewees open and interrupt the conversation on every occasion they want; they allocate next turns to speakers. Throughout the interviews there are numerous instances of interruptions and overlaps; in general, the current speaker do not respect his turn. In this particular kind of interviews the use of overlaps, it is important to highlight that this phenomenon occurs habitually in spontaneous conversations or discussions as a result of the fact that they do not permanently follow an agenda.

Relating to *turn-givings*, we realized that intonation plays a more significant part in this type of turn since the final intonation, particularly falling, several times illustrates that the current speaker is about to pass their turn. Regarding *turn-takings*, conversely, intonation is not pertinent as a stratagem to take the turn.

8. References

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford : Clarendon Press.

Beattie , G. W., Cuttler, A., & Pearson , M. (1982). *Why is mrs. thatcher interrupted so often?* (pp. 744-747).

Brown, G. & G. Yule. (1983). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bull, P. (1994). On identifying questions, replies and non-replies in political interviews. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 13, 115-131.

Bull, P. (1998). Equivocation theory and news interviews. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. (Vol. 17, pp. 36-51).

Bull, P. (2000). Equivocation and the rhetoric of modernisation: An analysis of televised interviews with Tony Blair in the 1997 British general election. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. (Vol. 19, pp. 222-247).

Bull, P. (2003). *The microanalysis of political communication: claptrap and ambiguity*. London: Routledge.

Bull, P., Elliott, J., Palmer, D., & Walker, L. (1996). Why politicians are three-faced: The face model of political interviews. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. (Vol. 35, pp. 267-284).

Bull, P. E., & Mayer, K. (1993). *How not to answer questions in political interviews*. *political psychology*. (Vol. 14, pp. 651-666).

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse. theory and practice*. London: London: Routledge

Clayman, Steven E. (1988). Displaying neutrality in television news Interviews. *Social Problems* 35 (4): 474-492.

Clayman, Steven E. (1991). News interview openings: aspects of sequential organization. In P. Scannell (ed.), *Broadcast Talk: A Reader*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp. 48-75.

Clayman, Steven E. (2001). Answers and evasions. *Language in Society* 30: 403-442.

Clayman, Steven E. & Heritage, J. (2002). *The News interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coates, J. (1997) *Men talk. Stories in the making of masculinities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Coulthard, M. (1977). *An introduction to conversation analysis*. Longman.

Coulthard, M. (1985). *An introduction to Discourse Analysis*. 2nd Ed. Essex: Longman.

Coulthard, M. (1992) (Ed.) "The significance of intonation in discourse" in *Advances in Spoken Discourse Analysis*, London, Routledge.

Drew, P. and Heritage, J. (1992a). Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew and J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (pp.3-65).

Drew, P. (1997). Open class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of troubles in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 28, 69-101.

Duncan, S. (1972). Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9, 79-84.

Duncan, S., & Niederehe, (1974). On signalling that it's your turn to speak. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 10, 234-247.

Duncan, S., & Fiske, D. W. (1985). *Interaction structure and strategy*. Cambridge University Press.

French, P., & Local, J. (1983). Turn-competitive incomings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 7, 17-38.

Gallarado Paúls, B. (1996). *Análisis conversacional y pragmática del receptor*. Valencia: Episteme.

Garfinkel, Harold. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Goffman, Erving (1974), *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Goldberg, J. (1990). Interrupting the discourse on interruptions: An analysis in terms of relationally neutral, power and rapport-oriented acts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 883-903.

Goodwin, C. (1981). *Conversational organization. interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press

Goodwin, C. (1984), *Notes on Story Structure and the Organization of Participation*, in Atkinson & Heritage (Eds.), pp. 225-246.

Goodwin, M. H., and Goodwin, C. (1986) *Gesture and coparticipation in the activity of searching for a word*. *Semiotica* 62 (1-2): 51-75.

Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* , 32, 1489-1522.

Greatbatch, David (1986). Aspects of topical organisation in news interviews: the use of agenda shifting procedures by interviewees. *Media, Culture and Society* 8: 441-455.

Greatbatch, David (1988). A Turn-Taking System for British News Interviews. *Language in Society* 17(3): 401-430.

Haarman, Louann, 2001. Performing talk. In: Tolson, A. (Ed.), *Television Talk Shows: Discourse, Performance, Spectacle*. Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, pp. 31-64.

Harris, Sandra (1991). Evasive action: How politicians respond to questions in political interviews. In P. Scannell (ed.), *Broadcast Talk* 76-99. London: Sage

Hawkins, K. (1991). Some consequences of deep interruption in task-oriented communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* , 10, 185-203.

Heritage, John (1984). *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Heritage, John (1985). *Analyzing News Interviews: Aspects of the Production of Talk for an Overhearing Audience*. In Teun A. Dijk (ed.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* Volume 3. New York: Academic Press, pp. 95-119.

Heritage, John and Greatbatch, David (1991). *On the Institutional Character of Institutional Talk: The Case of News Interviews*. In Dierdre Boden and Don H Zimmerman (ed.) *Talk and Social Structure*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 93-137.

Heritage, John and Roth, Andrew (1995). *Grammar and institution: questions and questioning in the broadcast news interview*. *Research on Language and Social*

Interaction 28(1): 1-60.

Heritage, John (2005). Conversation Analysis and Institutional Talk. In Fitch, Kristine L., and Robert E. Sanders (eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 103-147.

Heritage, John & Clayman, Steven. E. 2010. *Talk in Action: Interaction, Identities and Institutions*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Howarth, D. *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Huddleston, R., & Pullum, G. K. (2002). *The Cambridge grammar of the english language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutchby, Ian. 2006. *Media talk: Conversation analysis and the study of broadcasting*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Hutchby, Ian, Wooffitt, Robin, 1998. *Conversation Analysis*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Jeffries, L., & McIntyre, D. (2010). *Stylistics*. Cambridge: University Press.

Johansson, M. (2006). Constructing objects of discourse in the broadcast political interview. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 216-229.

Kennedy, C. W., & Camden, C. T. (1983). A new look at interruption. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 47, 45-58.

Lauerbach, G. (2004), Political interviews as hybrid genre, *Text* 24(3): 353–397.

Lauerbach, G. (2007). Argumentation in political talk show interviews. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39, 1388-1419.

Le Bart, Christian. 1998. *Le discours politique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Levinson, S. (1983). *Conversational structure*. Cambridge: University Press.

Liddicoat, A. J. (2007). *An introduction to conversation analysis*. London: Continuum.

Lorda, C. U. & E. Miche. 2006. "Two Institutional Interviews: José María Aznar and Jacques Chirac on the Iraq Conflict." *Discourse and Society* 17(4): 447-472.

Meltzer, L., Morris, W. N. and Hayes, D. P. (1971). Interruption outcomes and vocal amplitude: 'Explorations in social psychophysics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 18, 392-402

Murata, K. (1994). Intrusive or co-operative? A cross-cultural study of interruption. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21, 385-400.

O'Keeffe, A. (2006). *Investigating media discourse*. London: Routledge.

Rosenblum , K. E. (1987). When is a question an accusation? *Semiotica*, 65(1-2), 143-156.

Rosenfeld, H. M. (1977) Conversational control functions of nonverbal behavior. In A. W. Siegman & S. Feldstein (Eds.), *Nonverbal behavior and communication*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1978.

Sacks, H. (1971). Mimeographed lecture notes.

Sacks, Harvey, Schegloff, Emanuel. A, & Jefferson, Gail. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation. *Language*(50). 696-735.

Sacks, H. and E.A. Schegloff. (1979) "Two Preferences in the Organization of Reference to Persons in Conversation and Their Interaction," in G. Psathas (ed.) *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Irvington Press, New York, NY, pp. 15–21.

Sacks, H. (1984). Notes on methodology. In J. Maxwell & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 21-27). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1972). Notes on a Conversational Practice: Formulating Place. In David Sudnow (ed.), *Studies in Social Interaction*. New York, Free Press: 75-119.

- Schegloff, E. A. & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8: 289-327.
- Schegloff, E.A.. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: some uses of "uh huh" and other things that come between sentences. In: D. Tannen (ed.), *Analyzing discourse: text and talk*. Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press: 71-93
- Schegloff, E. A. (1989) 'Reflections on talk and social structure'. In: Boden, D., D.H. Zimmerman, eds. *Talk and social structure: studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 44-71
- Schegloff, E. A. (2000). Overlapping talk and the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language in Society* 29: 1-63.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2001) 'Accounts of conduct in interaction: interruption, overlap, and turn-taking'. In: J.H. Turner, ed. *Handbook of sociological Theory*. New York/Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic/Plenum: 287-321
- Schiffrin, D. 1994. *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Searle, John R., and Vanderveken, Daniel (1985). *Foundations of Illocutionary Logic*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sinclair, J. and Coulthard, M. 1992. 'Towards an analysis of discourse'. In Coulthard, M.(Ed) 1992. *Advances in spoken discourse analysis*. 1-34. London: Routledge.
- Stubbs, M. V. 1983. *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tannen, D. (1984). *Conversational Style: analysing talk among friends*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Tannen, D. (2007). *Talking Voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vanderveken, Daniel, 1991, "Non literal Speech Acts and Conversational Maxims, in Lepore E. and Van Gulick, R. (eds), *John Searle and his Critics*, Blackwell.

Wardhaugh, R. (1985): *How conversation works*. Oxford : Blackwell.

Wiemann, John & Knapp, Mark. 1975. Turn-taking in conversations. *Journal of Communication*, (25), 75-92.

Young, Sally. (2008). The broadcast political interview and strategies used by politicians: how the Australian prime minister promoted the Iraq War. *Media, Culture & Society*, vol 30(5), pp623-640.

Yngve, V. H. (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. Papers from the Sixth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Zimmerman, D. H., & West, C. (1975). Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (Eds.), *Language and sex: Difference and dominance* (pp. 105-129). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Appendix A

	LINGUISTIC		NONLINGUISTIC		FORCE	MAINSTREAM		COMMENT
	MORPH SYNT	PHON LEXIC	PARAPHON	BODY MOV		TAKING g/s	CONTINUING i/o s/u	
	✓	✓		nodding head	greeting		P	✓
	✓			nodding head	thanking			
	✓	✓		looking direct	giving info			✓
	✓	✓		eye shrug	asking opinion		P	
	✓	✓		nodding head	persuading			✓
	✓	✓		raised eyebrows	stating		P	
	✓	✓		hands, eye shrug, appr	declaring			✓
	✓	✓		hands, eye shrug, poi	declaring		C	
	✓	✓		accommodating	arguing			✓
	✓	✓		laugh	arguing			
	✓	✓		raised eyebrows	confirming		S	
	✓	✓		raised eyebrows	declaring		C	
	✓	✓			suggesting		P	✓
	✓	✓			declaring			✓
	✓	✓		hand over the ch	inquiring		P	
	✓	✓		raised shoulders	arguing			✓
	✓	✓		ironic laugh	arguing			
	✓	✓			questioning		P	
	✓	✓		eye shrug	stating and questi		S	✓
	✓	✓		eye shrug	asking info.		P	
	✓	✓		laugh/cough	stating		g	✓
	✓	✓			declaring		S	
	P	P		laugh, sighing, de	excusing		g	P
	P			laugh	emphatizing			
	P			looking down	adducing		S	P
	P			looking down	adducing			
	P			hand over the ch	adducing		P	
	P			laugh	stating		g	P
	P			smiling	recognizing			
	P			blinking	examining		P	
	P			pointing the fing	examining		g	P
	P			eye shrug	interrogating		P	

	LINGUISTIC		NONLINGUISTIC		FORCE	MAINSTREAM		COMMENT
	MORPH SYNT	PHON	LEXIC	PARAPHON		BODY MOV	TAKING	
						g/s		
still recently your boss Barack		✓	✓		nodding head			P ✓
ed about the current legacy...		✓			nodding head			
ether as a good speech to give		✓	✓		locking direct	g		✓
d	✓				eye shrug			
to perpetuated and he said "I'm		✓	✓		nodding head	g		✓
king this ammm speech ammm in	✓				raised eyebrows			
MIGHT have expected		✓	✓		hands, eye shrug, approx	g		✓
IONAL today as it was when he		✓	✓		hands, eye shrug, pol			
i in two things. First, he made a		✓	✓		laugh	g	C	✓
of that speech and ammm the		✓	✓		accommodating	g		✓
is terrorism policies to make it		✓	✓		confirming	s		
is a context in which we have to		✓	✓		declaring	g		✓
PT THAT?	✓				hand over the ch			
get it there. But that's why there		✓	✓		hand over the ch			
NGE ammm or do you want		✓	✓		ironic laugh	g		✓
ist about the President, it's also	✓		✓		questioning			
itment to Obama, do you feel	✓		✓		eye shrug	s		✓
I could to (...) closing Guantanamo	✓		✓		eye shrug			
you were sitting in the state		✓	✓		laugh, cough	g		✓
LARGELY inflating the numbers		P	P		laugh, sighing down	s		
professor and actually pushing		P			blinking, looking down	g		P
market...), writer SURE you know Jonathan		P			blinking, looking down	s	c	
ople responding to the /aha/ or		P			looking down			
mine I have no reason		P			hand over the ch			P
nd I think we are getting to where I want to be		P			smiling	g		P
ugh of the key debates that you'll	P				blinking			
ED if you really did USE it, did yo	P	P	P		pointing the finger, examining	g		P
					eye shrug			P

attacks?	P						eye shrug, look	questioning	g		
								justifying	g		
							raised eyebrows	declaring	g		
SASINATEUS citizens.	P	P	whisper					affirming			P
think you want to	P						looking tight	persuading	g		
of immunity? it's not	P						raised eyebrows	inquiring			P
edge I want to turn			pause				looking down, eye	supporting	g		
out judged process.	P							stating			P
tion	P		pause				nodding head	contradicting	g		
anship alone...			pause					declaring		C	
	P						hands	declaring	s		
								contradicting	s		
							hands	neutralizing	s		
anna quote me	P						pointing, approval	daring	s		
where he points	P						smiling	confirming		C	
stify the killing of...	P	P					nodding head	confirming	s		
							smiling	vainglorious	s		
has been lawfully declare...		P						validating		C	
eliminated in Yemen							looking left, point	stating	g		
is going on here? P	P						raised eyebrows	questioning			P
was not targeted	P		pause				denying head, de	justifying	g		
gamm an attack on surveill	P						deep breath, raise	persuading			P
unlucky as far your								agreeing	g		
								adding	s		
was killed								insisting	s		
...							pointing, approval	insisting	s		
old boy eliminated	P						sitting again	justifying		C	
a mistake, right?	P	P					pointing	mentioning	s		
and transparent a	P	P					raised eyebrows	emphasizing		C	P
o deliver this.	P	P					pointing	confronting			
							blinking	agreeing	g		P
							closing eyes	questioning			
								giving info	g		

	LINGUISTIC			FORM		ILLOCUTIONARY			TURN TAKING		
	MORPH SYNT	PHON	LEXIC	NON-LINGUISTIC PARAPHON	BODY MOV	FORCE		TAKING G's	MAINSTREAM		COMMENT
									CONTINUING	GIVING i/o s/u	
talk		P				welcoming				G	*
		P			coming close	giving info					*
to 1974, the first dating of the	P			pause	pointing	asking info					*
it		P				agreeing					
you first played that was good	P			pause		stating					*
French character, so I had some	P				pointing	inquiring				G	*
ratings we were gone.	P				deying head	describing					*
	P				raised eyebrow	clarifying				G	*
September 1975 they came up	P					declaring					*
turned the show around.	P				nodding finger	describing					
zle your way to becoming	P				nodding hand	explaining				G	*
g, but arm I concentrated on	P				looking right	inquiring				G	*
y in to the heart of the world	P				raised eyebrow	describing					*
ou know the mid-seventies through the	P				nodding finger	explaining				G	
tense America	P			pause	nodding hand	declaring					*
d the show ammm	P			pause	eye shrug	asking info				G	
	P			pause	closing eye	stating					*
hat Gary Marshall, am the genius about	P				nodding hand	explaining				c	
that is really, it's supposed to be small	P				eye shrug	argumentating					*
ing Reeces at a time like that is a little	P			laugh	eye shrug	questioning				G	*
reless show	P			pause	nodding hand	persuading					*
ies without ever feeling	P			pause	raised eyebrow	persuading				G	*
r true the fifties or any other decade if	P				rubbing temple	declaring					*

popular is am you wanted a	P	P	pause	looking down	explaining	g		
hey thought they would take	P			raised eyebrow	persuading			G
politics into this but	P	P	pause	pointing	stating	g		
wanted to believe what Am	P		pause		explaining			G
m not my fellow	P			looking down	justifying	g		
P	P				questioning	s		
oint that I have never thought	P	P		raised eyebrow	justifying	g		
atching in somew here in the	P	P		raised eyebrow	persuading			G
P					asking info	g		
ying is I don't know if				nodding hand	describing	s		
NO matter how you cut it.	P				explaining			G
onal story of Henry Winkler	P	P		rubbing temple	asking info	g		
	P			hands between	agreeing	s		
y optimistic show	P	P	pause	pointing	declaring	g		
ble and relationship early to	P			eye shrug	commenting			G
ndividual So then that was re	P	P	pause	nodding hand	explaining	g		
nt parent with my own child	P			pointing	explaining			G
wn parents and even your of	P			hands in the f	insisting	g		
I be true	P			raised eyebrow	justifying	s		
S in your relations	P	P	pause	closing eye	insisting	g		
ience in Germany...				eye shrug	explaining		c	
	P				agreeing	s		
	P	P			explaining	s		
	P				agreeing	s		
	P	P			insisting	s		

under achievement	P				raised eyebrow	explaining			
help other kids	P				eye shrug	declaring		g	
body	P				nodding hand	denying		g	
	P				raised eyebrow	commenting			
	P			pause		stating		g	
	P				pointing	stating		g	
	P				nodding head	commenting		s	
P					nodding head	explaining			c
	P					confirming		s	
	P					explaining		s	
	P					stating		s	
ren	P			pause	eye shrug	explaining		g	
uch	P				eye shrug	describing			
see you	P			laugh	pointing	commenting		g	
	P				eye shrug	asking info			
y important	P			pause	eye shrug	explaining		g	
	P			pause	looking straight	explaining			
	P					commenting		g	
	P				raised eyebrow	stating		s	
is no longer	P			pause	nodding hand	stating			c
	P					confronting		s	
	P					justifying		s	
	P				pointing	countering		s	
with acting	P			pause		stating			C
actor	P			pause	raised eyebrow	explaining		s	
s a dream	P				raised eyebrow	insisting			
ns	P				nodding finger	guessing			
	P				looking down	agreeing		s	

	LINGUISTIC				FORM		ILLOCUTIONARY			MAINSTREAM		PAT
	MORPH	PHON	LEXIC	NONLINGUISTIC	PARAPHON	BODY MOV	FORCE	TAKING	CONTINUING	GIVING	COMMENT	
			✓					g/s		i/o s/u		
			✓			welcoming				P		
			✓		P	nodding head	acknowledging	g				
	✓		✓				inquiring	g				
	✓		✓			nodding hands	ask.info.			P		
			✓				declaring	g				
			✓			nodding hands	recognizing			P		
			✓		P	raised eyebrows	arguing	g				
			✓		P	hands	persuading	g				
			✓			raised eyebrows	persuading			P	P	
			✓			pointing	give info.	s			✓	
			✓			hands	stating	g				
			✓			crossing legs	stating		✓			
			✓			nodding hands	describing	g			✓	
	✓		✓			joining hands	concluding			P		
			✓			nodding hands	insisting	g				
			✓		pause	nodding hand	insisting			P		
			✓			shrug eyes	persuading	g			✓	
	✓		✓				.describing	s			✓	
			✓			pointing	insisting			P		
			✓			hands	stating	g			✓	
			P			nodding hands				P		
			P			nodding hands	stating	g			P	
			P		pause	eye shrug	give info.			P		
			P			nodding head	insisting	g			P	
			P			raised eyebrows	affirming			P		
			P			nodding hand	criticizing	S			P	
			P				declaring			P		

B: No, I'm very proud of it because fossil fuels enable all of us to do far more than we can do without them. They like everything else have a good side and a bad side but I am a very proud of the fact that I've had bring energy to a lot of people in the world.

S: but ahm unleashed the dark side too.

B: absolutely! ahm ahm I think, I've just recently read a book about seven elements and every element has a dark side and a good side and Richard The great ahm American physics said that every man given the keys to heaven and the same key opens the gates of hell and I think this is the truth with the elements and particularly with carbon ahm it brings ammm pollution, brings amm issues of global warming, a greed corruption of all these things but equally has brings lights, movility, you can read at night amm you can stay warming in cold climates and you can do extraordinary works I think.....

S: and fuel the industrial revolution.

B: exactly.

S: (interruption) it's why we are sitting here.

B: well, ahm ahm an average weight a man, a man of average weight that amount of cold could've made ahm do the same work cause a man making a work for a hundred days and that was the big break through.

S: but you have already introduced a topic that I want to get very quickly and that is global warming, climate change. I am fascinated to remember that it was you that in 1997 who I think perhaps the first of the big oil chiefs that make a set of [...] in which you said: look it does appear to be a link between man-made carbon mission and our changing climate, our warming climate, you were criticized by others in the industry including [...] I just wonder looking back on it [...] you could have done more (pause) to change the situation.

B: we did quite a lot and I've never like came back to justify history but the reality is the world cannot live without [...] Fuel but we can mix them up with different things to reduce the amount of carbon we emit, for example if we burn all the natural gas we have as reserve in the entire world today (rising intonation). We only use a third of what's called the "carbon" budget that we have to prevent the atmosphere apparently of the world warming up at to ahm bad levels.

S: just to be very clear, briefly and clearly you do believe, first of all that man-made climate change is continue to happen and it does threaten to go far beyond the two degrees centigrade rights [...] in which is become really dangerous. (Falling intonation)

B: ahm like a scientist I have to say that I believe it because of probabilities but equally in the back of my mind [...] you know, right now [...] temperatures are not rising as faster as it should be, but yes it's an issue and we should take precautions to stop it happening.

S: so, you were very well-known through the late nineties and early two thousands for taking VP (pause) different directions, you know [...] should be came the standing beyond the petroleum you invested in (pause) renewable you, actually take some decisions not to get involve for example in [...] exportation in Canada, seems you want it to be the first green ahm big oil company (pause) but we looked VP today, and it happens that has to be concluded that your strategy (pause) failed.

B: Well you concluded what you want, but what I was doing was definitely try to develop the diversity of the company to make it sustainable for the future. To be involved in debates about itself it's a very uncomfortable feeling, I think as a company to have other people debate your future without be at the table where the debate is taking place, so I only just [...] I wanted to add and I wanted to have a variety of (pause) energy sources (pause) and that I think was the right thing to do because nobody else has doing it...

S:but...

B: at that time

S: with respect, it didn't work. Cause if you are looking at where VP makes money today today where is putting investment is pull down the solar, its pulling down the wind [...]VP has essentially made a serious of utters since you quicked.

B: but, ahm if I made, VP is not the world I've always thought as a really important company [...] we have very long solar companies, it's very large wind companies, very large [...] companies, I know that because that's what I now do with part of my life. So, specialty, specialty following specialism is what's happening in industries (falling)

S:interesting answer, but and I want to persuade what you are doing now, we will talk more, but just in terms of VP it's important to nailed because It's such an important (pause) company in the UK and around the world, are you saying that you think that they are misguided in the way that they second guest strategy since you quicked?

B:no, not at all. You know, facts and circumstances change an and when the fact and circumstances change, strategies also change...

S: well, hang on a minute you know you were...then you said that Texas exportation for example VP is now in there. Are you saying as CEO, as the chief of the company, if you were still running the oiling company, would or would not going to Texas?

B:well, I was running a task very clear there, there were better choices to be made that where cheaper and actually had no less risk [...] if there are different choices to be made you should interview the present CEO OF VP....

S: but you said here the as the financial of the major private [...] company which invests in also different energies...

B: absolutely

S: wow I mean ethically as well as commercially, would you be interested in putting money into a project like Canadian [...] today!

B: Apathetical ahm because we have done so, we think about it ahm in the facts...

S: she would have no ethical problem with it; in terms of your perspective on climate change you still think you know what if the sun [...] we should go for it.

S: I wonder tipping into your experience in one other area, before we get on to the future of what you are doing now and you are take on energy makes and the world economy looking forward I I've just one picked away one of the aspects of your leadership at VP and that concerns (pause) the balance between pushing the boundaries of technology and the exploration and always maintaining a commitment safety. (pause) environmental safety and worker safety. Do you think you got the balance right?

B: I think we got the balance to an extent right, I think there were, there was one big event when I was a CEO which was the terrible accident to Texas city which killed fifteen people (pause) I think we learn from that day on what we have do to understand how to avoid SMALL events that mightily be very big consequences. What today they call black swan events or thick tail risk and that's where I was mostly focus for the last couple of years...

S:but Lord Browne I mean

B: I know

S: it was not a black swan event Texas city, because if one looks at the record which we I've done over the last couple of days, there were orders that your company commission that talk [...] intolerable risk situation...

B: if I may I think people didn't understand the implications of the small events that some of which...

S: but before, before people died in that plant a year before

B: terrible terrible, I've realized that, but there were events that people didn't (pause) we did not fully understand the meaning of all these events (pause) I (pause) very very concern about that, there were so many different things to look at, I think or different ways of explaining Texas city. We can catalogue them, but it's not the point is ... I think from that we learnt a tremendous.

B: yeah...I mind the reason I (pause) I wonder to go into it with a little bit because seems to me people around the world watching this asking a question. Should I place my trust in (pause) big oil, the big oil company today given their record over decade, is there any reason as the push the boundaries of exploration whether it be the deep water of the Gulf of Mexico whether it be of sure in the Artic or anywhere else, is there any reason that we should give them the benefit of doubt when it comes to them the commitment to safety and security of the environment.

B: whisper

S: do you think the industry deserve the benefit of the doubt?

B: Yes I do. Much like any other industry things are generally more challenging, people want to do more the technology allows to do more, small events do create very big big consequences ahm the same is true with the nuclear industry, the same is true with even the food industry attacking whether or not the people are eating more on the level, so I , the scaling of activity, the pushing of boundaries means their own risks, it's up to people to look at companies and say as they've got the system implies to reduce those risks. That is very very important things to look up.

S: for VP in particular the last decades have been pretty (pause) disastrous. And I just wonder when you express confidence about (pause) the ability of industry to get the calibration right (pause) why would have the competence?

B: Well, it's because people learn from (pause) the tragedies of the past...

S: did they really? 'Cause I've just given you a list and still do to be happened?

B: ahm I think, I think. Well I think (pause) they do, generally (raising) I mean, these are, they do generally and I know that people really try and learnt internally, ahm but I

think the one has to look at the complexity of life today and say actually is over complicated, we need great people, we need great systems, we need great learning, and and still it is the case ahm that we worry. In the case of nuclear for example, interesting people are terrified about nuclear energy statistically one of the safety if not the safety from of energy ahm in the world (pause) but people dreaded because of the possibility of extraordinary consequences.

S: but but Fukushima tells us that but it's just seems me the shell threat is pushed in the oil industry as well, you're reaching a point where the next major disaster might be very difficult for the whole industry to handle it, I just wonder [...] quote: we now facing a risk landscape in the fossil fuel industry that is perhaps the most challenging in the history of this industry...

B: of that I'm sure about it because things are getting more and more (pause) complex and more and more difficult to [...] boundary but equally [...]

S: just forgive me in other part of world you simply wouldn't undertake exploration because the risks are so high...

B: It will depend who I am and on how much technology I have, the nature of people I have whether I felt that they really understood what they were doing but there are plenty of places where the risks are too deep water being one of them.

S: final thought on the past and then we'll look forward and that is Russia. Again, fascinated me, you have such a story to tell about your business links with Russia. You were the guide at VP who took the company in to Russia in a big way, I think by owe three when you sign that that symbolic agreement with [...] in the entire country. And it were wrong, ending in acrimony, ending in court cases [...] Do you think you got Russia Putin's Russia wrong as well?

B: no, I don't. I think VP made six times its original investment about the time it was all over. If that's a failure then I'm happy to have a failure like that. Six times and and actually [...] As the one best oil company in Russia increasing production, am creating new jobs having better people but in the end, it's ahm it lives its life and started small to finish big, VP gained a tremendous amount of value from it.

S: would go back to Russia I've read recently you in your new sort of private [...] by some of the oligarchs that you do the TNK cadio.

B: I would by lots of people and I think I do business in Russia you need to be like VP.

S: To do business in Russia you need a [...] not long ago we have William in this study who I'm sure you know a big fund manager in Moscow for years, he would advise any business man to steer clear of Putin's Russia. You seem to have a different message.

B: Well that's an [...] I was there some time ago I think ahm provided that you are doing things which were clear and simple in the benefits to Russia and your own benefits and never change strategy, never change strategy you could get things done and that's exactly what we did. We've got things done ahm in a way which were quite pride of...

S: you've got things done, did you ever compromise ethically?

B: no, we were task to. No!

S: I find that's surprising! Even what we know about business is done it...

B: We ran business ahm with the set of rules and we ran it very clearly very simply ahm now, whether or not people around us were breaking rules and I don't know but as far VP was concerned I think we ran it in a very ethical way.

S: I promise you I want to talk about the future as well as the past obviously ah you left VP In 2007 you know work with ahm funds, private equally funds looking at the energy business looking for opportunities and it seems one opportunity that you are very exciting about moment, it was the flaking the hydraulic fracturing process which can (pause) lead to enormous reserve shale gas being unlaw[...] do you believe that is a game changer as with discuss the future of the energy business?

B: well, I don't have to believe now.

Video 2

Video 2

S: Harold Koh, Welcome to Hardtalk

K: thank you

S: just a few days ago your formal boss still recently your boss Barack Obama, he makes a very big speech about national security counter terrorism and he used these words, he said "the decisions we are making in in the field of security in [...] (pause) will define

the type of nation (looking at the interviewee) we live to our children. Do you think there is reason to be worried about the (eye shrug) current legacy (raised eyebrows) been left to American Children by the framework of national security law? (falling intonation) (eye shrug)

S: I think the more important question is whether as a good speech to give and I think it was (nodding head) (pause) what he basically said was that he doesn't hear it a number of policies that he didn't like and he hadn't been able to change them (pause) and he found that that was defined him ahm and he wanted to defined differently. I think the key decision (raised eyebrows) that he made was first to give the speech (pause) ahm it's a busy time he could even not give the speech at all (eye raising) just at the policies go on [...] Secondly, he said ahm I'm gonna end (pause) this war without [...] and that I think was a significant statement, he said (cough) essentially there is a aberrational paradigm that's coming to play after September the eleventh that had been deported for the last 12 years and that there is now some movements to perpetuated and he said I'm not gonna do that.

S: but, is it not extraordinary that he is making this ahm speech ahm in the first years of his second term, you might have expected (eye shrug) that speech [...] maybe after a difficult twelve months trying to address this issue, but he has a whole four year presidency and you're suggesting to me that the system that he sees it is as aberrational today as it was when he inherited. (falling intonation) (eye shrug).

K: Well, I think I disagree with you Stephen (laughing) in two things. First, he made a speech very [...] in 2009...

S: exactly

K: the national and he implemented parts of that speech and ahm (raised eyebrow) he faced a lot of resistance. [...] And I think the important question is if he's going to accept the feed or if he's going to go back at it? And ahm it's a type [...] I'm gonna close Guantanamo and I'm gonna end this war (pause) he didn't have to do it (raised eyebrow) and so I think is a critical re-centering his terrorism policies to make it more sustainable going forward.

S: well in a sense then what you've creating is a context in which we have to see the first four years of his presidency the four years where you were intimately involved as chief big good adviser counselor at the States, as years of failure (raise fall). Would you accept that?

K: Well, you push a rock up hill and it didn't get it there. But that's why there are eight years I mean (raised eyebrows) let's be honest, our friends here in the UK ahm have ahm (pause) faced a lot of ahm (looking down) challenges with regarding this [...] over the last twelve years. The critical question is do you want to get this president chance? ahm when he's taking ahm new challenge ahm ahm or do you want to say that fail just like before?

S: Can I just stop there (eye shrug) and said it's not just about the President, it's also about you, Harold Koh (eye shrug) I mean a very very highly respected, experience, legal scholar, a man of ahm years of commitment of human rights law (pause) here. You were for four years representing an administration which was massively expanding the target killing drones program and administration also that was maintaining Guantanamo. Currently more than one hundred sixty prisoners in pretty much indefinite legal limbo without any access to judge process (eye shrug) looking back on you four year commitment to Obama, do you feel actually ashamed...

K: of course not! (aughing) I worked as hard as I could to [...] closing Guantanamo regarding...

S: what you mean disabling drones, the drone hm program expanding exponentially while you were sitting in the state department.

K: well, I think ahm the press here has ahm largely inflating (laughing) the numbers or [...] in an uncritical way number regards from others ahm I said this I've been a professor for many years and ahm making policy is very difficult. It's easy to talk about it (laughing) when you are a journalist, you're professor and actually pushing the bureaucracy to achieve (blinking) your results takes real resolves and sometimes (looking right) you're only one person.

S: it's an interesting philosophical point you make ahm the legal scholar, writer sure you know Jonathan Turley. He (pause) says (pause) this: reflexing on the /ark/ of your recent career but others to not just about you. He says: leading academics its legal academics who fall from grace he says are often people responding to the /alua/ (pause) of power.

K: ahm (laughing) Jonathan Turley is a friend of mine [...] I have no reason to respond the [...] of power. Ahm (raised eyebrows) my job is to say the truth and do very best (raised eyebrows) but I have a client ahm Stephen, and I represent that client ahm I participate in decisions, I don't earn my disagreement in public and I have a client

Hillary Clinton ahm who I think she did an extraordinary job and I think we are getting to where I want to be.

S: well, Can we just go in detail into a thorough of the key debates that you involved and it's started with [...] He says referring to you as an extra judicial killing which is a phrase that I found fascinated if you really did USE It, did you?

K: So, it's hard for me to be [...] when I'm a lawyer (laughing) I defended the legality of a programme which general [...] was an architect and I think we both (raised eyebrows) struggled tag but legal, now the question is (eye shrug) here the war was declared on ahm small group of people, several thousand they have killed thousand repeatedly there were inaccessible to land forces and instead of ahm pursuing ahm pass there were wrongly taken. Like invading Iraq or torture, or using military commissions. The approach was to do what should've been done to that group of people in the first place. Now in the context of law Stephen, it is very difficult but killing is degradable but it's a job of lawyers to draw the line between lawful and unlawful killing in arm conflict

S: yes

K: and that's what the...my job was.

S: Your view that it was lawful based the powers (pause) giving to the (pause) executive by the Congress going back to September to thousand and one and the notion of the USA was at WAR with Al-Qaida. I guess the Taliban too (pause) I understand you were convinced that was legitimate

K: and it was also said by the Supreme Court.

S: well, but you also said must been aware of that many many powerful legal voices (eye shrug) disagree including we have an special report on extra judicial killing who as identity change several time over the years but the most recent one is said the drone strike represent a major challenge to the international legal system. Now sitting down to the State Department

K: hold on! Hold on Stephen! I accept that position, they represent challenge, but doesn't mean they are legal (raised eyebrows) the question is ahm how do (pause) you conduct the ahm ahm an arm conflict against the transnational terrorism group consisting with domestical ones consisting with the laws of war.

S:right, but even within your parameters and your interpretation of the laws it seems to me two key things important. You have to believe when you're using this (pause) [...] senior leaders this is supposed to be a last resource, it supposes to be the most important enemies in this war that you believe been conducted and second of all you have to be absolutely convinced that you don't surveillance are not being (pause) killed and ahm both schools (raised eyebrow) the Obama drone program failes miserable (pointing) because the figures suggest that many of those kills were...

K: do you know that figures to be true

S: figures soldiers...

K: do you know that figures to be true?

S: well if you have seen the research like I have in the American foundation an extensive research on the ground in Pakistan and I dare say neither you nor has done the field work that they've done.

K: ahm I've done a lot of field work and the truth of it's that the numbers are highly debating so let's let's take as it given that nobody has perfectly accurately numerous, let's take a second given as President Obama said (raised eyebrow) the other day the standard that he wants to apply is a near certainty that there were be knows of surveillance strikes and that takes a third point (raised eyebrows) as you said the hard fact is that there have been surveillance causality ...

S: hundreds! Let's be honest! Hundreds! Even if you can't precise

K: I I don't know I think we need those numbers. I think we need to verify those numbers, the important point here is that ahm drones are a tool, just like any tool of war (raised eyebrow) ahm technology improves (raised eyebrows) and many people who say nothing about fireless discriminate kinds of weapon like (looking right) bombs and others (pause) this is a weapon that can be used in a (pause) targeting way (blinking) which is consisted of part of laws or indiscriminate way (blinking) which is not...

S: it y-you used the word targeting it reminds me for example (hands) its Reilly government talks about targeted killing and we see this Reilly government has conducted over years sometimes they ahm absolutely denying other times they leave it ambiguous, b-but we know frequently that this Reilly government over years has used the policy of targeting killing overseas (eye shrug) to eliminate (pause) what it's regard as enemies in an existential conflict we've seen other governments do the same thing

I'm thinking of Iran (raise eyebrows) which again without acknowledging we strongly suspect to conduct the same policy (pause) that fact that the United States (eye shrug) does it because it believes (raise eyebrow) that exists an existential conflict, a legitimate war, does it not give licenses to other nations you want to do just the same thing?

K: that's why we have lost a lot of words, let let me ask you you a question (smiling) if ahm the United States was in targeting a general who did Pearl Harbor (pause) is a legitimate act of war

S:(silence) You want me to answer?

K: Yeah

S: well ahm I'm I'm not gonna answer because I am not a legal scholar and I certainly don't know the international war (raised eyebrow)

K: (interruption) so you think ahm

S: what I would you say...

K: do you think that illegitimate

S: what I would say (pointing)

B: do you think is legitimate? (smiling)

S: right now (nodding) we are not facing a situation like the Second World War (blinking) but it seems to me we are facing a series of questions which ask the United States whether it wants to behave on international arena in a way which legitimate perhaps (eye shrug) actions of governments that we sometimes have a major problem...

K:that's a quite separate question (smiling) this is hardtalk so let's talk hard (smiling) ahm in war fair there are leaders who target us if we are having declare one and we target them back in context of arm conflict, that's been declared (nodding head) by domestic body (...) congress that's lawful, it's painful but it's lawful. The United States did go in target the Japanese generals who did Pearl Harbor and Osama Bin Laden was in a similar past years. It has to be done according to rules but that doesn't mean unlawful.

S:right (looking down) is it lawful to kill US citizens (eye shrug, looking straight) with the same drones' attacks?

K: it depends on what they have done I I think...

S: so it can be it can be lawful (raise eyebrows) without absolutely judge process what so ever no judicial process it can be lawful to (suspire) assassinate US citizens.

K: So Stephen (looking right) you are making an argument that I don't think you want to make which is that things are per-ce unlawful in all circumstances. If Osama Bin Laden (raised eyebrows) was a British citizens a dual national and he attacks (raised eyebrows) the UK would you say that his British nationality is a source of immunity? It's not...

S: well, again I I don't want to be (looking down) the defund of legal knowledge (eye shrug) I want to (pause) turn the sources, the source I want to use now is President Obama (eye shrug) himself in the same speech last week (reading) he said THIS: I don't believe it would be constitutional for the government to target and kill any (looking direct, raised eyebrows) US citizens with the drones or indeed a shoot gun without judged process.

K: That's correct (pause) (nodding head) that's correct but (looking right) that is a different question from whether someone who is a leader and opposing force (pause) who has attacked as immunity from ahm killing in the context of war based on citizenship alone...

S: (interruption) well on the face of it, [...] it isn't (hands) quietly clear

K: well, but...

S: but but leave aside let's not be...

K: no no no read the previous line of the speech if you gonna quote me (Smiling) President Obama's speech read the part of the speech where he points at exactly the point that I've just made...

S: well he went on to say he believes there was a way to justify the killing of..

K: he said it exactly what I did (nodding head) ...

S: all right

K: which he said that nationality (smiling) it is not immunity if the war has been lawfully declare...

S: so that was (looking left) a polite to an warn our lucky, an our [...] to eliminated in Yemen, of course (pointing) a few weeks later (eye shrug) his 16 years old [...] was also assassinated by US drowns and I wondering what on earth the legal justification for that kind of being I mean it was on your watch you were sitting in the State Department of the time, I was wonder (eye shrug) whether you (looking left) inside your own legal (looking direct) conscious (raise eyebrows) when that happened and thought yourself what the heck is going on here (eye shrug)?

K: I do not defend that and that was a failure (nodding head) but ahm (raised eyebrows) he was not targeted now the [...] situation it's quite a separate situation (looking down and right) as at was reported last week in a letter by a general holder this is someone who is ahm plotting a level to attack the United States (blinking) the bomber who has bombs in his underwear on Christmas Days had communicating with a lucky instructed him blow you bomb and the airliner over the United States that is not just talk (raised eyebrows) that's plotting ahm an attack (looking directly) on surveillance.

S: ahm I understand what you are saying about unaware unlucky as far your concern he was an extraordinary important and senior figure in a group that was directly threatening...

K: I want to say something...

S: but I wanna I wanna come back to (pointing with a finger)

K: this is hardtalk I wanna say this (pointing with one finger) at the time that a lucky man was killed, he had engaged in murder act activities in the previous..

S: yeah and this is hardtalk so I wanna (pointing)

K: that that that

S: and I want to diverse this discussion (pointing, raised eyebrows) to a sixteen years old boy eliminated (raised eyebrow, looking direct) a few weeks later you have (pointing) just said to me I don't want misquote you but I think you said that was a mistake, right?

K: He was not targeting and he should not been killed.

S:so why has the president personally because if this is so important where we can talk about soft power, we can talk about the way in which the US projects values around the world, why has the United States' President not as you a frank and transparent apology for that?

K: well, the President said last week was that he will have to deliver this, that those who work for him ahm can I justify it that it was an error and that in the course of arm conflict, there are errors of these nature (raised eyebrows) and he didn't say that was an unlawful...

S: But he said it about, he mentioned the boys' name...

K: He said that there were surveillance causalities (nodding head) and that he will take responsibilities for those causalities (blinking) that's part of his job (raised eyebrows) as President (blinking)

S: Let's talk about Guantanamo base.

Video 3

Video 3

S: Henry Winkler, welcome to Hardtalk

W: I'm very happy to be here.

S: I wanna begin (pointing head) keeping you back to 1974, the first daring (pause) of the show happy day.

W: Right

S: which was become (pause) a massive hit. (pointing) did you have a gut instinct when you first played that was gonna happen?

W: No (denying head) I remember I was (moving hands) hired as a French character, so I had six lines, I'd worked one day a week. I was sitting in my apartment (hands) most of the rest of the week because I couldn't play during a work week. But I have no work (raised eyebrows) cause I'd only worked one day a week, so ahm and then remember (pointing with the finger) also we did it one camera (pointing finger) like a little move. So we have twelve ahm we had twelve shows we were number forty eight in the country (raising eyebrows) (pause) If we did not (eye shrug) get any better (raised eyebrows) in the ratings we were gone (raised eyebrows).

S: they would gonna cast you.

W: They would gonna cast. And in September 1975 they came up with the idea doing [...] audience like one of the comedies (raised eyebrows) so we were famous during the seventies and (looking down) that's what we did immediately (nodding hands) in turned the show around.

S: and how did you (looking right) manage to muzzle your way to becoming (pause) let's be honest, the key character (nodding finger) the one that the show (hands) self around.

W: do you know what I I (raise eyebrows, hands) I did nothing, but ahm I concentrated on my character, and the character muzzled its way in to the heart of the world.

W: mm, let's go back to that time (pause) you know the mid-seventies through the mid-eighties, it was a time when America was desperate for something optimistic to think about, you know, you'd been through water gate, you'd been through Vietnam, to the civil right struggle...

W: right

S: but it is all this art looking back (eye shrug) to that show. It did reflect any (pause) of reality of a tense (eye shrug) America.

W: Well I think that was the ahm (pause), that was the main (nodding hands) thought behind the show (raised eyebrows) ahm...

S: pure escapism

W: Pure escapism (nodding hands) and that was what Gary Marshall, am the genius about this show [...] and great movies am, you know pretty woman, he is my /don/ I kissed his ring, Gary Marshall. But (nodding finger) he says you know other people made television and that is really, it's supposed to be smart, I make recess.

S: (laugh) But there is something about making Recess at a time like that (pointing) is a little bit strange (eye shrug)

W: But believe or not, it is it is a timeless show (nodding hands), he made it in the fifties on purpose (pause) because you could do moral stories without ever feeling you are being hit on the head (pause) am with the point of view (raised eyebrows)

S: But as supposed what I'm getting [...] fifties America as that place of tied families, of closed communities where every kid got into [...] it just, it was just fantasy, it was never true the fifties or any other decade in the US.

W: Well the fact is that why I think it was so popular (pause) you wanted (nodding finger) a family like that (raised eyebrow) (pause) so children who are [...] who came home and had a key to open the department (raised eyebrows) and there was nobody there, they wanted (raised eyebrows) the [...]. They wanted a friend like the Fonz who they thought they would take care of them.

S: Yeah, I mean just (pause) maybe I'm over reading politics into this (pointing) but I am very aware that through the course of making the this shows ten years am [...] many had the raids of Ronald Regan certain form of sunny, optimistic, conservatives and that [...] but it just seem to me that the whole show (pause) in a way was the epitome of what Regan wanted to believe what America was all about.

W: Wow (looking up) I met Regan ahm (looking down) very nice fellow (raised eyebrows) ahm not my politics (raised eyebrows). So...

S: Are you buying my analysis there?

W: ahm(pause) (raised eyebrows) you know what, it is a very interesting point that I have never thought about because even today in 2013 people are watching somewhere in the world (raised eyebrows).

S: here, they are. I just wonder...

W: it was just we run in America what I'm saying I don't know if I sink that optimism, it's important for human beings they are having a hard time to getting a job, it is also always difficult to find a job they are beat up in the world outside, they come home (looking up) I don't think people want cutting television.No matter how you cut it.

S: so, now I want to bring into the very personal story of Henry Winkler...

W: go ahead

S: because you're involved in this very (pause) sunny (pause) optimistic show and of course, you know (pointing) you were a young man and you knew of course [...] your own child your own up [...] had been far from completely sunny optimistic at least because (pause) your parents being through hell [...] and it sounds to me (eye shrug) that

your relation to your parents was trouble and relationship early to school was also trouble.

W: my parents did not (nodding hands) (pause) get (pause) (raised eyebrows) who I was as an individual (pause) So then that was really difficult (raised eyebrows). It was only after my success (pause) that they became proud of. (raised eyebrows) (pause). So I admire them for having an escape Nazi Germany (raised eyebrows) I admired them for starting this brand new life (raised eyebrows) in America. I am grateful (raised eyebrows) for the life that I had (raised eyebrows) (pause) but emotionally (looking down) it was ahm no matter how you (pause) look at it (raised eyebrows) it was for me (eye shrug) very difficult (nodding hand) (raised eyebrows). And then I promised myself that I would be a different parent with my own children (pointing finger) (raised eyebrows).

S: and in the course I want to get into your own parents and even your own kids, but just sticking...

W: I was born in optimist I believed that would be true (raised eyebrows)

S: but do you think the (pause) the difficulties in your relationship with your parents was in part of a result of (closed eyes) maybe psychological (pointing hand) damage done to them (eye shrug) by their own experience in Germany...

W: that's very possible.

S: because in the loss of their parents

W: that's very possible

S: cause they lost their parents

W: Yes they did (nodding head) we lost (hands) everybody I actually never had a real (hands) ahm uncle, they were all (hands) the community (raised eyebrows) of those people who escaped Germany (hands) and came to New York. So that ahm that community that ahm (raised eyebrows) that stayed very tied (hands) they became my aunts and my uncles (raised eyebrows). However they were not blood (raised eyebrows).

S: lacking a wider support network within the family, you also lack your [...] because (pause) let's get on into the subject of dyslexia which is again, it colors a lot of your life. You have real trouble, did you (pause) learning at school.

S: I had a lot of trouble (nodding hands) (raised eyebrows) (pause) learning even today, you don't over outgrow your (raised eyebrows) ahm (pause) dyslexia (looking down). You learnt to negotiate (nodding hands)(raised eyebrows) (pause) So yes, it was really difficult (pointing) cause I was taught in so many areas in my life that I would never achieve (raised eyebrows) that I'm under achiever. And then (raised eyebrows) that's the title of the book (raised eyebrows) (falling). The world greatest under achievement (hands)

S: yeah, Hank Zipzer the character (eye shrug) that you've created (raised eyebrows) to help other kids.

W: no! ahm I didn't. I have never entered my mind I was helping anybody ahm (pause) I was writing what I knew with my partner Lin Oliver (raised eyebrows) and it turned out (raised eyebrows) that kids rode back and said (looking right) how do you know me so well (raising) (raised eyebrows) I thought I was alone (raised eyebrows) and now I know I was not stupid.

S: but you partly thought you was stupid cause (pause) again without wishing to picking difficult stuffs your own parents told you (pause)

W: yes!

S: you were stupid (pointing hands)

W: Yes (nodding head) you know I'd made the joke ahm I said this before (looking down) but ahm (pause) they had a an affectionate phrase to me growing up which was /dumujut/ and then (pause) if you...

S: well I know...

W: yeah it means dumb dog.

S: yeah, which isn't very affectionate at all...

W: no(pause) no, it's a name I've never used actually (eye shrug) on my own children (nodding head). Of course (raised eyebrows) my son Max who is now a director (smiling) always interviewed for his first film he said my biggest problem growing up (eye shrug) I was loved too much (eye shrug)

S: (laugh) y-you know you can't smile about it (pointing) and it's wonderful to see you relate this story with a smile (pause) but I just wonder (pause) (looking down) when you

used this phrase in the past like my self-esteem was around my ankles, let me just... how damage do you think you were.

W: you know what the (pause) I believed (nodding hands) that there are three ahm very important elements to living (eye shrug) (pause) one is that you remain relevance and I don't mean you remain famous (hands) (raised eyebrows) or you remaining in the public eye (pause) I remained I mean you remained ahm (raised eyebrows) constantly (looking down) ahm given (looking straight) (pause) out of yourself into the universe (hands) that's one.

S: th-that sounds a little bit Californian to me

W:no! I think that's a universal (raised eyebrows)

S: yes?

W: ahm ahm I really believe as soon as a human being is dismissed is no longer useful (pause) I believe that they are am they squeeze up into a raising (raised eyebrows) (pause) actually (raised eyebrows).

S: well, you didn't do that...

W: I don't want to be that much

S:no, you would never a raise it. What you did (pointing) with a very difficult schooling and problematic relationship with your parents y-you found something where you can express yourself. [...] with acting you were a shy kid...

W: but I didn't know that I mean I always wanted to be an actor (raised eyebrows). I mean I don't even think about oh why! (raised eyebrows) oh how that is coming to my body my mind! I've just always had that is a dream. (raised eyebrows)

S: was it because, we talked about escapism before in terms of Happy days but maybe it was the place you could escape (nodding finger)

W: might be, I never thought about (looking down) but yes, that might be exactly why ahm whatever the reason (hands) (raised eyebrows) I trained to be an actor (looking right-down) and now in living every day I'm sixty seven years old am I'm still (hands) working as an actor (looking right-down) I am living my dream (nodding hands) (looking right-down) every day (raised eyebrows) it's amazing.

S: how on earth (pointing) did you and maybe do you (raised eyebrows), cause you're still very much working as actor quickly reading and learning lines...

W: I was embarrassed, I was embarrassed when I was read through just to ahm [...] and I was embarrassed and I learnt to live with my embarrassment I finally said you know what this is me this is how I get through it and am my heart rises to every read through to this state (pointing) (nodding finger)

S: if worst I dare say that you don't really really audition so much now; everybody knows do you know what you can do.

W: no no no (denying head) no no no I don't know what is like here but in America you have to audition (raised eyebrows)

S: and if you are given ahm ahm script

W: I make it up

S: how you mean it

W: I memorize as much even as I can. I then do the script and I make up what I know to be the nature of the scene and people say to me well (eye shrug) that wasn't what it was written (eye shrug) and I got yeah! But (pointing finger) I'm gonna do it for bitten if get the job (eye shrug)