1. INTRODUCTION

> Talk is at the heart of everyday existence. It is pervasive and central to human history, in every setting of human affairs, at all levels of society, in virtually every social context.
>
> (Zimmerman and Boden 1991:3)

Fairclough (1995:3) affirms that the analysis of media language should be recognised as an important element within the research into the contemporary process of social and cultural change. The evolution of mass media runs parallel to that of language, it clearly influences its evolution and it is probably the cause of many changes and innovations that happen in language at both written and spoken level. Marc (1992:44) also believes in the influence and power of the mass media, especially in the power of TV and recalls that in the 1950s television was a medium that put severe limits on subject matter and language. Indeed, media talk has been, for a long time, a popular field for linguistic analysis. As Goffman (1981) points out "for the student of talk, the broadcast kind has much to recommend to it. It is everywhere available, particularly easy to record, and, because publicly transmitted words are involved, no prior permission for scholarly use seems necessary" (cf. Gronbeck 1979). Along the same lines, Livingstone and Lunt state that:

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

> (Livingstone and Lunt 1996:6)

Television is, of course, a principal medium of mass communication, and talk is one of its most powerful tools. This book is about how talk is conducted in a particular type of social setting, Tabloid Talkshows on US television.

Three initial reasons prompted this study:

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

2. The second reason was more related to the view of the Tabloid Talkshow as a mass communication and socio-cultural phenomenon and concerned the task of showing the inside of a genre that is growing in popularity and has been exported to and copied by other countries. Hence, with hindsight it would be interesting to analyse and evaluate this international evolution as compared with Tabloid Talkshows in the US, where they originated. As Fairclough (1994:1) claims "consciousness is the first step towards emancipation."

3. The third reason was that talkshows, in general, are social processes that unfold linguistically as texts (cf. Ventola 1987:3), and as such they could well be used in language pedagogy and culture and media studies.

My purpose in writing this book is more related, however, to the third reason. I am specifically interested in looking at the way talk is organised in Tabloid Talkshows, and in how participants "talk an institution into being" (Heritage 1984:290). I will provide a description of the distribution of talk among the different categories participating in the Tabloid Talkshow, in order to find out the possible asymetries and the constraints on the types of contributions that the genre conventions impose on the participants.

The analytical approach taken is based on a dynamic view of genre already expressed by Hymes (1972). Hymes (1972), as quoted by McCarthy (1998) "stresses the dynamic characteristic of genres and separates them from the speech event itself: i.e., a genre may coincide with a speech event, but genres can also occur within speech events, and the same genre can show variation in different speech events." McCarthy argues in favour of such a view of spoken genres and states that "genre is a useful concept that captures the recurrent, differing social compacts (i.e. co-operative sets of behaviour) that participants enter upon in unfolding discourse processes, whether in speaking or writing."

White (1985) points out the difficulty of the analysis of genre on television and introduces the question of what elements are necessary and sufficient to constitute and delimit a genre (cf. Altman, 1984). It seems that there are many television programmes that undermine the norm of generic unity (cf. Vande Berg 1991) and, as a result, conventional categories have become blurred, or even disappeared. The consequences, White (1985) claims, are that in this proc-

ess the traditional designations lose force both as a standard of coherence with respect to individual programmes and as a principle of differentiation among programmes. White (1985) notes the capacity of television to be able to produce an apparent change by borrowing from existing and presumably popular forms and combining them in a new configuration (cf. Vande Berg 1991, White 1987).

It is clear that the Tabloid Talkshow genre is a social speech event whose rules of interaction become recognisable to a community that shares or has knowledge of those rules. The genre has a social function and is never static but subjected to changes which are linked and interdependent on sociocultural features. The flexible and permeable nature of the Tabloid Talkshow leads us inevitably towards a view of genre that is dynamic and emergent. As McCarthy (1998) argues, generic categories must, by definition, always be in a state of change, thus providing the basis for evolution. To capture such dynamism, however, requires examination of the features of context which potentially generated it. These are principally the setting, the participants, their goals and their relations.

The main hypothesis of this study is that the Tabloid Talkshow is a *quasi-conversational* or *non-formal* (Drew and Heritage 1991) television genre that can be identified by a series generic features, which combine characteristics of both conversational and institutional genres. The Tabloid Talkshow hybridness is constructed progressively during the interaction, and it establishes a role-relationship between the participants that is local in nature and can be transformable at any moment. In order to provide a description of Tabloid Talkshows, following McCarthy (1998), the genre analyst will look at a variety of evidence (both internal and external). So, the analysis will focus on the *generic activity*, an inherently dynamic notion rather than static one.

The hybrid nature of Tabloid Talkshows (cf. Livingstone and Lunt 1994) suggests adopting a comparative perspective as one of the most adequate procedures to show how interaction takes place in such context. Drew and Heritage (1992:16ff.) outline four major features of conversation analysis (henceforth CA), which have particular relevance for the analysis of talk in institutional settings (cf. and Drew and Heritage (1992:16ff.) and which I summarize below:

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

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

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

4. Finally, and most important, CA has been inspired by the realisation that

ordinary conversation is the predominant medium of interaction in the social world, a benchmark against which other more formal or institutional types of interaction are recognised and experienced.

Informed by those principles, my analysis of Tabloid Talkshows will be carried out by looking at the actions that occur in such context and by analysing utterances produced by the different participants; not as isolated instances of talk, but as interactive products of what was projected by previous turns and actions. The analysis will show how the participants construct their conduct turn by responsive turn so as progressively to constitute and collaboratively realise the occasion of their talk (Drew and Heritage 1992:21).

The works included in Drew and Heritage's collection all follow the perspective expressed by Schegloff (1992:101ff) concerning the interrelationship of interaction and social organisation, of talk and social structure, and underscore the importance of the comparative perspective. They are different from previous studies in that they try to gain access to institutional processes and the outlooks that inform them by analysing audio and video records of specific occupational interactions. Accordingly, throughout the present study, I base my analysis on recorded actual broadcast of Tabloid Talkshows. Transcripts are reproduced not as illustrations but as the very naterial of the analysis. Of the five major dimensions that, according to Drew and Heritage (1992:36), currently constitute foci of research into institutional talk: a) lexical choice; b) turn design; c) sequence organisation; d) overall structure; e) social epistemology and social relations; I focus on turn-taking organisation, since turn-taking organisation and restrictions of participants within a question-answer framework are the starting point for a consideration of the sequential organisations that are particular to various forms of institutional talk.

I therefore approach the analysis of Tabloid Talkshows with two objectives in mind: to describe the Tabloid Talkshow genre both quantitatively and qualitatively. To this end, I adopt the principles of CA, as a discipline which combines a concern with the contextual sensitivity of language use with a focus on talk as a vehicle for social action (Drew and Heritage 1992:16). In the tradition of CA, I follow some methodological aspects outlined in studies which deal with institutional interaction and which seek to describe the institutional tasks and relevances that inform conduct in a variety of institutional settings (cf. Boden and Zimmerman 1991, Clayman 1988, Drew and Heritage 1992/1985, Heritage 1985, Greatbatch 1985/88). The present study is a sequential based analysis which tries to combine conversation-analytical methods and corpus-based studies (in line with McCarthy's 1998 approach).

The book is organised in nine chapters. Chapter two gives a preliminary characterization of the way Tabloid Talkshows are viewed in today's society. I will comment upon the role of talk on television, and in particular of the talk-

show as the representative genre, par excellence, of talk. Talkshows, as the name indicates, are programmes which provide both talk and entertainment for the audience or, what amounts to the same thing, entertainment through talk (cf. Livingstone and Lunt, 1994). I focus the discussion on the role of Tabloid Talkshows as a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces. The purpose is to differentiate between Tabloid Talkshows and other types of talkshows and establish a niche for the genre itself. I review their origins (Munson 1983) and discuss the role that these have today in the programming scenario of US television and in US society. This introduction is completed with a review on previous research on talkshows and the implications for the present study.

As stated above, following the line of many previous studies in CA, the characterization of Tabloid Talkshows will be achieved principally through an analysis of the turn-taking system. As stated by Greatbatch (1988:426), turn-taking is important because the organisations through which various interactional activities are managed in institutional contexts are influenced in important ways by the character of the turn-taking systems that are being used. The literature on turn-taking is vast; thus, in chapter three I only review those aspects that are thought to be relevant for the analysis of Tabloid Talkshows such as turn, floor and types of interventions.

Chapter four is dedicated to the description of the the method of analysis and the hypotheses set for the analysis. The analysis will be carried out in two parts.

First, each of the extracts will be analysed individually, and in each extract each turn will be classified according to six criteria. Each turn was analysed as follows: a) The number of turn according to order of appearance; b) Which speaker category uttered the turn (host, guest, audience-individual, audience-group). A number which serves to localise the speaker and the extract in which s/he takes part has been assigned for statistical purposes; c) Whether the turn was reached through selection technique or was allocated. If it is the latter, then we specify who allocated the turn (e.g. HG is a turn allocated by the host to a guest); d) The way in which the speaker shift occurs, that is in relation to the previous turn. This can be through SE (smooth exchange) or ITV (intervened exchange). If it is the latter, I directly specify which type: i.e., overlap simple interruption (P), silent interruption (K) or parenthetical remarks (PR); e) The number of backchannels in that turn; f) Whether each turn is in a question (Q) answer (A) and/or comment (Z); Finally, I included the transcript of each turn. An example of the analysis is included in appendix 2. The results from the statistical analysis will illustrate possible differences and similarities between male and female participation in the interaction and the use that each gender makes of the turn-taking mechanisms.

In chapter five, I focus on question-answer sequences. After a brief introduction to the function and types of questions and answers, I discuss the results ob-

tained from the statistical analysis in relation to the use that each category makes of questions, answers and comments.

In chapter six I define confrontational sequences as one key generic feature of Tabloid Talkshows and proceed to comment on the results obtained from the statistical analysis. Chapter seven includes a brief review of the literature on gender discourse and the discussion obtained from the statistical analysis of the corpus analysed. The purpose of this chapter is to test whether gender differences exist in Tabloid Talkshows talk. Chapter eight analyses the use of backchannels in Tabloid Talkshows, since the use of backchannels makes it possible to differentiate between conversational and more insitutional types of talk (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). Finally, in chapter nine I gather the most relevant conclusions that have derived from the analysis of Tabloid Talkshows and comment on their nature and generic features.

2. TABLOID TALKSHOWS ON TELEVISION

2.1. Preamble

Talkshows, as the name indicates, are programmes which provide both talk and entertainment for the audience or, what amounts to the same thing, entertainment through talk (cf. Livingstone and Lunt 1994). The name itself, as explained by Munson (1993:6), "epitomises its promiscuous inclusiveness." The term *talkshow* combines two communicative paradigms, and, like the term itself, the *talk show* fuses and seems to reconcile two different, even contradictory, rhetorics. It links conversation and the interpersonal with the mass-mediated spectacle born of modernity. Tolson (1991:179) considers that "chat is a form of studio talk which can be found in all types of interviews, panel discussions, game shows and human interest programmes, wherever in fact there is a studio." Mincer (1982) also argues that the common denominator of the many different types of talkshows on US television are talk and the interview format. At the same time, however, I believe that those same elements which on the one hand serve to bring together such distinct genres are the same that allow us to establish differences among them: it is the interview format and the way talk is conducted (their possible variants and deviations from the norm) which cannot be generalised. Interviewing processes may well serve to establish differences between genres or sub-genres that come under the label of *talk show* programmes.

On US television, one can find many different talk show genres that combine talk with entertainment. As stated by Munson (1993:7), the talkshow genre has come to assume many "messy" hybrid variations in the thousands of talkshows aired. There are sports-talk or talk-religion, news interviews, among others. Talk service is the name given to shows such as *Donahue, Oprah Winfrey, Sally Jesse Raphael, Geraldo*, to name but some. Mincer (1982) notices that there are great variations in this category, so they may include health topics, political topics, child rearing, homosexuality, the moral majority, gun control and pacifism. The type referred here as Tabloid Talkshows are programmes such as those just mentioned, which are controversial and polemic in nature;

and which have, as their protagonists, a group of ordinary citizens, a host and one or several experts, who come to the programme to give advice.

2.2. The history of talkshows

As Munson (1993) reports talkshows originated on the radio as early as the 1930s when audience participation and interactive talk radio started to emerge, and Disc Jockeys invited people to phone in. In 1961, talk radio had emerged as a discrete format when KABC Los Angeles converted completely to talk pro-gramming: *All-talk*. In the 1960s, there were also the all-news radio stations. which won an older audience, predominantly male. These two formats, all-talk and all-news, regarded themselves as *services* to the listening community rather than *stations* in the traditional sense.

Munson (1993:11) claims that, since the listeners were potential consumers, controversial and sensationalised talk soon became the weapons used to attract listeners. The economic strategy of talk radio was to exploit controversies and contemporary problems about which people were emotionally charged, and therefore vulnerable, so as to get their undivided attention and thus more effec-tively sell them something.

Confrontalk has been a syndicated television talk genre since the 1960s. It was *Donahue* who adapted the audience participation talkshow from radio to television in 1967: "On November 6, 1967, Phil Donahue welcomed atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair to his local TV show in Dayton, Ohio, and gave birth to what we know as daytime talk. It was one small step for man, one giant leap for television" (Henson 1996:43). This type of talkshow initiated by Donahue has evolved nowadays into what I call **Tabloid Talkshow**. Tabloid Talkshows are *daytime talkshows* and include programmes such as: *Montel Williams*, *Gordon Elliott, Donahue, Tempestt, Geraldo, Jenny Jones, Ricki Lake, Leeza, Oprah Winfrey, Maury Povich, Sally, Richard Bey, Mark Grauberg* among oth-ers. Focusing more on the nature of the interaction, Bertrand (1992:117) refers to the same type of programme as *talkshows de confrontación*. or, what is the same, confrontalk (Hutchby 1996). Bertrand describes those as: "una variante reciente es el *talkshow* de confrontación (confrontainment), audaz por sus temas (el neo-nazismo, las sectas diabólicas, el incesto, el feminismo)."

The origin of this type of program, as Munson (1993) explains, can be traced back and found in the appearance, in the late nineteenth century, of women's service magazines which stimulated personal contact between magazine and audience, e.g. *Ladies' Home Journal*, and in magazines such as *McClure's* which stimulated crusades against any kinds of abuse. These crusades have also become an occasional part of the audience participation talkshow: *Donahue's*

championing of feminism is an example (Munson 1993:23). This explains why, as Livingstone and Lunt (1994:42) claim, "the topics of talkshows are often 'women issues'; they are frequently scheduled for housewives in the daytime; and they are concerned with gossip and story-telling."

In the same way as all-news and all-talk programmes, Tabloid Talkshows were first conceived as *talk service* more than twenty years ago. Their goal was to give lively and useful information, centred on interpersonal and psychological matters, to women (Munson 1993:8); to help them to deal with ordinary and more often interpersonal problems. Munson points out, however, that this may have changed, since recent criticism has condemned this type of talk as "bizarre talk." The audience to which they were initially directed, women, has also expanded and sought a bigger set of consumers: young to middle aged women. Furthermore, Tabloid Talkshows have been exported to Great Britain, for example, where *Ricki Lake, Montel Williams* and *Oprah Winfrey* are broadcast weekly on channel 4, and to most countries in South America, e.g. in Chile and Mexico where *Oprah, Ricki* and *Jenny Jones*, among others, are broadcast with subtitles. Others like Mexico created, very early, their own national version of the line started by US Tabloid Talkshows: e.g. *Cristina,* one of the programmes with the highest audience, is a good example of the popularity that these types of programmes may have. Guzman (1996:5) reports on *Donahue* being aired on a regular basis in Russia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico (cf. Carbaugh 1988:3); and on *Oprah* being broadcast in many African countries. Additionally, their format has been exported and copied in other countries such as Spain, Germany, Mexico, Chile, etc.

2.3. Tabloid Talkshows and programming

The Tabloid Talkshow is a genre on the margins of the daily television scheduling conveniently available on many free-access channels (Crabtree 1995:8), broadcast in daytime programming, i.e. from 9:00 in the morning until 5:00 in the afternoon on working days, each show being aired at different times according to the decision of the local station. They share television space with soap operas and other programmes not included in prime-time and are very cheap to produce. The high number of Tabloid Talkshows proves their widespread popularity: "in the 70s there were three, now there are 20 and counting. They have surpassed soap operas as the number one draw of daytime TV" (Fischoff 1995:41). During daytime programming, there is at least one available at any time usually overlapping with other Tabloid Talkshows aired on other channels. Tabloid Talkshows are audience-participation programmes, all of them syndicated and their existence depends on their ability to make money

(Pratt 1995, Coe 1995). Depending on audience rating and on the amount of money they produce, they stay or they go.

Advertising, is another important factor to take into consideration. As White (1992) states, in the context of US television advertising is openly recognised by viewers as the economic source of the network income. Advertising is expected within the course of programming and the sponsors of the programme are explicitly mentioned at regular intervals, it is seen as part of the programme and is certainly an integral part of television flow. As a consequence, Tabloid Talkshows are fragmented into seven phases for commercial purposes; that is, the regular presence of commercials is a given, regulating the rhythm and patterning of programs and viewing (White 1987, 1992).

2.4. Topics and audience

Tabloid Talkshows centre their discussion on a single topic. The most common topics and possible versions of Tabloid Talkshows can be classified as having to do with the headings below:

AMBUSH	LOVE AND SEX
• Emotionally incendiary topics, confrontational match-ups. • Titillating disclosures	• Sex, lies and true confessions. • Pregnancy and sexual abuse. • Love triangles. • Marriage and married life
DOMESTIC	DYSFUNCTIONALITY
• Domestic violence: children and adults. • Men who treat women badly or viceversa.	• Subliminal desires. • Gender and nonconformity. • Perverse taste. • Constant, intensified novelty and reality. • Multiple personality
PERSONAL FAILURES	RELATIONSHIPS
• Personal or marital failure. • Debasement of the human condition	• Painful relationship problems. • Infidelity. • Disloyalty between friends, sisters, family, etc.

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

Mexico and the United Kingdom:

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

2.5. Tabloid Talkshows as a social phenomenon

The Tabloid Talkshow centres its discussion on a topic (cf. Hutchby 1996, Livingstone and Lunt 1994); the discussion is based on the stories told by the guests who come to the programme with the purpose of revealing themselves to the public. The topics are personal, intimate, and highly controversial, a fact that leads to polarised opinions between those who are in favour and those who are against. Those who are against claim that Tabloid Talkshows result in "a parade that plays to class-and-race-based stereotypes- [and] helps fuel the reactionary fire" (Gillispie 1996:1). This situation, they claim, contributes to the degradation of the human condition. Others, however, would claim that Tabloid Talkshows reflect the ideological struggle that exists in the US and that they incorporate topics and issues that had been outside the boundaries of television for a long time. In this sense, they argue, Tabloid Talkshows are an asset to society.

On the one hand the common denominator, in a large number of articles and books on Tabloid Talkshows, is bad reports and criticism. Tabloid Talkshows are referred to as *Trash TV* in both academic and non-academic articles (cf. Block and Tynan 1995, Crabtree 1995, Impoco 1996, Littleton 1994-6, Munson 1993, Petrakos 1996, Wartik 1995) and classified as a poison for society (Gillespie 1995, Grizzutti 1992, Stark 1996). Chidley's (1996:50) words are as good as any other to summarise this side of the controversy. His opinion is that Tabloid Talkshows are nothing but the meeting of "an outspoken studio audience and a more or less charismatic host [who] confronts guests who are in need, apparently, of enlightenment or moral castigation." Other writers claim that getting to know Tabloid Talkshows (cf. Carbaugh 1988) may well reveal the way

US society works, its faults and virtues, since they reflect the ideological strug-gle that exists in the US and incorporate topics and issues that had been outside the boundaries of television for a long time, at the same time as they challenge "the social dominance of a white, middle-class, heterosexist patriarchy" (Buxton 1991:411). Carbaugh (1988) affirms that the symbolic patterns and cultural structure circulating in mundane civil society are brought out in these pro-grammes:

> Just as we have learned about Roman society by studying orations in the Assem-bly, and Colonial society by studying negotiations in the town hall, so we should learn much about contemporary society by studying the kind of talk that is heard on Donahue.
>
> (Carbaugh 1988:4)

Most of the arguments against Tabloid Talkshows relate to moral issues. Nielsen ratings from the 1994-95 season indicated that 8 million children watched one of the 13 nationally syndicated talkshows on a daily basis. Nearly 4 million children aged under 8 or younger were daily viewers (Crabtree 1995:9). Sex, decency, and immorality are issues that matter in the US. Coming to terms with a standard for morality in such a multicultural and emblematic society, where diversity of races, religions and morals co-exist, is by no means an easy task. Its defenders claim that the role of the Tabloid Talkshows, and of talkshows in general, is to encourage this plurality. As Munson (1993:4) af-firms, "if any medium encourages the blurring of borders and the swapping of roles, it is the talkshow." Along the same lines, Gamson (1996) sees Tabloid Talkshows as the only space that would allow a marginal section of society, to express their opinion and hear others who think the same way.

Most accusations against Tabloid Talkshows point to the lack of *quality* and *manners*: it is the nature of the topics dealt with together with a debasement of the participants themselves, their vulgarity and their lack of respect towards the individuals. However, one may wonder why Tabloid Talkshows are still there and why their popularity increases. Fields (1995:21) argues that Tabloid Talk-shows "are not a problem if one does not take them seriously." So it is in the *truth* factor and in the interpretation of the genre conventions where the answer to the controversy might lie.

2.6. Reading into Tabloid Talkshows

Many people have asserted that a lot of what is going on in such shows is a fraud (cf. Pratt 1995), and it is well known that some of the guests are given

directions as to how to behave and what to say. Supposedly then, if one were conscious of the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut and did not take Tabloid Talkshows seriously, there would be no point in considering those as part of the ideological struggle and they would no longer be a political issue. Tha is, the Tabloid Talkshow would not be a common place (Munson 1983:17-23), a common-folk, and a public participation place anymore, but an artificial television creation, a fiction.

However, the big controversy surrounding the influence of Tabloid Talkshows in "real life" proves that not all spectators (e.g. children) are genre experts and that they do not have the knowledge to discern between facts and fiction. Moreover, the Tabloid Talkshow presents itself as a reality with real goals: "the hosts usually make a pretence of offering such families "a therapeutic environment," with bright lights and microphones, lots of supportive gasps, sympathetic applause, and, of course, ample commercial breaks" (Fields 1995: 22). Fields blames the producers of Tabloid Talkshows, alleging that their judgement on what is good or bad is reduced exclusively to ratings, in the same way advertising does.

The discussion about Tabloid Talkshows functioning as a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces, and their potential ability to enhance the culture of a group is a long-running matter. I cannot provide a solution here but only point out that it is undeniable that they are part of US society, and that they somehow influence socio-cultural developments. The number of Tabloid Talkshows in the US, over 28, their polemical nature, and the fact that they are being exported to other countries, tells us that this genre is becoming an important phenomenon not only for US culture but for other cultures as well.

It is a fact that Tabloid Talkshow are imported by other cultures without being altered. In Tabloid Talkshows many socio-cultural and linguistic factors converge; these culturally bound factors may have dramatic consequences if viewed by a culture with different social norms. That is, "the ways in which members of different cultures assess the nature of the relationships and interpersonal behaviour vary enormously" (Brown and Levinson 1987:16). The pragmatic consequences that a type of programme such as Tabloid Talkshows may have should be carefully balanced before importing them from or exporting them to other countries. As Christie affirms, every genre has a social and a cultural purpose (Christie 1985: 22, Pennock 2000).

The purpose of the present study is not, however, to ascertain the cultural and social consequences but to approach Tabloid Talkshows mainly from a linguistic point of view. Obviously, this focus on the language itself cannot by any means be looked at in isolation from social, cultural and political facts which are part of and emerge in the form of 'talk'. This is why I have provided a social view of the Tabloid Talkshow phenomenon. The social perspective offers a

view of the Tabloid Talkshow as a highly polemical genre, a political issue and a relevant discursive phenomenon for US society. As such, it deserves to be studied in detail. The present work pays attention to its central aspect, the organisation of talk and the implications of such for both the individual and society as a whole.

2.7. Previous works on talkshows

Tabloid Talkshows— or more generally talk on television or interviews— have been analysed before from different perspectives. Carbaugh's study of the *Donahue* show presents a cultural approach to what he calls *issue-centred* talkshows. Carbaugh (1988:2) distinguishes between: *personality-centred* shows and more *issue-centred* and classifies Tabloid Talkshows as an example of the latter. Carbaugh's approach to the study of the *Donahue* talkshow is a cultural approach of the genres of speaking and symbols of personhood. He discusses codes of personhood such as "the individual," "choice," "self" and "traditional and social roles." In doing so, Carbaugh is trying to interpret some common speech patterns, as they have been naturally performed in the sociocultural context on *Donahue*, rather than to look at linguistic conversational tactics. Carbaugh uses talkshows to demonstrate how American speech is characterised by discourses on the self and the act of speaking that favour the individual and his choices over any sense of social order. Also from a more socio-political perspective Alan Hirsch's *Talking Heads: political talkshows and the star pundits* criticises the bad influence of political talkshows. Along the same lines, Heaton (1996) has recently published the book *Tuning in trouble: Talk TV's destructive impact on Mental Health* which looks at Tabloid Talkshows from a psychological perspective.

Guzman's (1996) work is on audiences attending Tabloid Talkshows in four programmes, two by Sally and two by Jerry Springer. Guzman (1996) makes a qualitative analysis of the role of the studio audience in television daytime talkshows applying a theory model derived from the social construction of reality, by Berger and Luckman (1966). She studies how the role of the audience is constructed and maintained, and its significance to the show. Her study establishes the audience as an essential element of the Tabloid Talkshow. The incorporation of the studio audience, one of the many changes that have taken place in the television media since the 1960s anti-establishment movement, contributes to the popularity of the genre.

Scannell's (1991) Broadcast talk offers a good selection of articles that deal with talk on British television. In this collection, Tolson points out how chat does not simply reproduce norms and conventions; but, rather, it flirts with

them, a characteristic also shared by Tabloid Talkshows. Fairclough (1995) in his book on media discourse, also includes, in the section dealing with identity and social relations in media texts, a subsection for the American Tabloid Talkshow *The Oprah Show*. He points out that this type of programme is characterised by a diversity of voices and explains how all the different contributions of the participants are orchestrated by the host, that is, Oprah herself (Fairclough 1995:140ff). This feature of Oprah that Fairclough (1995:147) describes as "the manager of the hierarchisation of voices in the show" results in a host with a very complex identity representing a variety of voices.

Livingstone and Lunt (1994:38), on the other hand, discuss the possible terminology for what I have been referring to as Tabloid Talkshows (cf. Fischoff 1995). They refer to those as *the audience discussion programme* where the public is an active protagonist in the talk show and guests and host converse in a "living room." They admit that no accepted term has yet emerged for what they consider a "now-familiar genre"; but argue that its main features are: that it deals with current issues as they affect ordinary lives, that it uses experts but it is not documentary, that it shows the impact of current issues on ordinary people's lives, and that it constructs the viewer as a community member and repository of common sense. In their work they classify Tabloid Talkshows as a genre with no boundaries where "the participation framework... depends on the genre conventions which are themselves peculiarly open and ambiguous" (Livingstone and Lunt 1994:57). They classify the nature of the genre as undetermined (Livingstone and Lunt 1994:68) and provide a list of characteristics for such type of programmes (for details, see Livingstone and Lunt 1994:39).

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

Hutchby's (1996) study on talk radio presents a similar approach to the one undertaken in the present study, although his main emphasis is on empirical investigation of how power operates and is instantiated in the integral features of discourse. On the basis of empirical analysis of turn formats and sequences, Hutchby shows how power is present within an interaction. For his analysis, he chooses the framework of conversation analysis to study how arguments are conducted in open-line radio phone-in, also known as talk radio show. Contrary to studies such as the above mentioned, that focus on how talk relates to wider social and cultural issues; Hutchby's is concerned with how talk is actually pro-

duced, with the interactional and sequential contexts in which different participants speak, and with the relationship between talk and the local organisational constraints of the setting itself. Along the same lines as the present study, he shows that talk radio itself is structured to promote a certain type of argument and confrontation. Talk radio, as stated by Hutchby, is a kind of institutional discourse that takes place within an organisation with its own structure and stability. Hutchby analyses the way in which the relationship between talk, asymmetry and power can be articulated in the discourse of social institutions. Despite his emphasis on the relevance of the conversation analysis theoretical work, he also claims that "power is not a term that conversation analysts typically employ," and that power is an issue on which conversation analysts have tended to remain agnostic (Hutchby 1996:114). His study tries to view power in terms of the relationships between turns in sequences; his empirical investigation shows that power can be addressed as a phenomenon that is both highly specific and also diffusely and pervasively present within an interaction. The results of his work link the emerging model to the theoretical conception of power outlined by Foucault (1977). Hutchby concludes that CA is in fact capable of addressing not just the institutional nature of talk, but also the play of power in institutional interaction, on its own terms (Hutchby 1996:116). Hutchby's work on talk radio is a useful guide to the present study, since one of his claims, the quasi-conversational nature of talk-radio, coincides with the main hypothesis underlying this study: that is, that the Tabloid Talkshow has a quasi-conversational nature. His conclusions on radio talk are then essential in my analysis of Tabloid Talkshows.

The numerous studies on news interviews have also been very useful and a good point for comparison in the task of analysing Tabloid Talkshows: the works by Clayman 1988/89, Downs et al. 1990, Gelles 1974, Greatbatch 1986/88, Heritage 1985, Heritage and Greatbatch 1991, Jucker 1986, Livingstone and Lunt's 1994. Especially Heritage and Greatbatch's (1991) which illustrates some of the basic characteristics of the turn-taking in news interviews and show that turn-taking procedures for news interviews represent resources for dealing with some fundamental tasks and constraints that bear on his management.

Finally, Calsamiglia et al. (1995:325ff.) analyse the relationship between socio-cultural identities and communicative strategies in one of the programmes of a top rating talkshow by the Catalan television network, TV3. They pay special attention to the discourse behaviour of each participant and conclude that discourse behaviour is shown in two dimensions: *interlocutive* and *enunciative*. These two dimensions enable them to build a discursive picture of each participant which is connected with his/her specific socio-cultural identity. They compare these pictures in the context of a particular programme with the intention

of analysing the relationship between the socio-cultural identities and communicative strategies in one television programme. In order to analyse the *interlocutive dimension,* which defines the different ways in which each participant occupies the interactional space (Calsamiglia et al. 1995:331) they consider several aspects: 1) Verbal capital of each participant which includes: number of turns taken, number of words and time taken up by each turn. 2) Interlocutive mechanisms: 1) origin of the turn self-selection/other selection; 2) types of turn transition (pause, interruption, overlap; 3) communicative roles (questioning, responding etc.). Calsamiglia et al. (1995:331) argue that the description of these factors leads to a clear understanding of the role of each participant in connection with the basic communicative contract.

The present study considers almost all aspects included in the interlocutive dimension in order to analyse turn-taking. Although Calsamiglia et al. (1995) do not specify the origin of the elements that form the interlocutive dimension, they all correspond to elements and/or features outlined by Sacks et al. in their famous article *A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn taking for conversation.* (i.e. number of turns, turn size, the turn-allocational component (self-selection) turn-transition or transition relevant place, etc.). The present study follows the outlines of Sacks et al.'s (1974) description of the turn-taking organisation of conversation to elaborate the list of features to be looked at in analysing turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows. Additionally, Calsamiglia et al. (1995:331) argue that *the role of the participants is based on the status of each participant and potential deviations due to the strategic behaviour of each participant in constructing his/her own identity.* They claim that with this part of the analysis one can measure the effects of authority, legitimacy and understanding of the different participants and see if their behaviour corresponds with the status he has been assigned at the beginning of the programme. They argue that the basic premise is that a verbal contract is not rigid but functions as a frame which allows each participant to enact his/her role. This feature was also discussed by Drew and Heritage (1992:42), (cf. also Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) in relation to news interviews, and I have also observed that it is a characteristic of Tabloid Talkshows.

2.8. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have focused the discussion on the role of Tabloid Talkshows as a nexus of cultural, political and economic forces by presenting an overview of the role that Tabloid Talkshows have in society and on US television. The purpose was to differentiate between the Tabloid Talkshow and other types of talkshows and establish a niche for the Tabloid Talkshow genre itself.

It was argued that, although Tabloid Talkshows were initially created for women (Munson 1983) and that the majority of their audience are still women, they have now expanded their audience, are cheaply produced and have turned into a polemic genre whose existence depends on their ability to make money. It is a genre notorious for generating controversial and confrontational talk and has evolved into what many would condemn as "bizarre talk". The topics are personal, intimate and highly controversial and they raise many important issues such as whether these shows debase American culture and the human condition. As argued by some, Tabloid Talkshows may endanger moral values and the integrity of the individual. The reverse of the controversy, however, is represented by those who argue that Tabloid Talkshows are the only place in mainstream media culture where individuals whose desires go against the norm and whose voice has no other place (but the Tabloid Talkshows) can speak on their own terms or hear others speaking for themselves. Finally, I concluded this chapter by discussing some previous studies that have dealt with Tabloid Talkshows or with other types of talkshows and pointed out their relevance for the present study. In the next chapter I will deal with turn-taking.

3. TURN-TAKING

3.1. Turn-taking and spoken language

The existence of a turn-taking system in the communication process, the universality of such phenomena and the limitations imposed on this system by cultural factors, type of speech event, and medium of transmission have been amply discussed (Duncan 1972, Goffman 1969, Miller 1963, Sacks et al. 1974, Schegloff 1968, Yngve 1970) in the literature on conversation. Establishing a system to allocate the turns to speak is central for the success of the communicative process. Turn-taking is a phenomenon deeply rooted in human communication founded on the mutual awareness of sharing something (Oreström 1983:19), a universal social phenomenon "expressive of social relationships" (Yngve 1970:568).

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

One first objection to Sacks et al.'s model assumes a central position in the present study: the idea that there is an abstract system operating for the turn-taking. Following O'Connell et al. (1990) the present study does not support the idea that "there exists an ideal organisation of turn-taking" and "that deviations are to be thought of as faulty conversation." On the contrary, following Oreström (1983) and O'Connell et al. (1990), my assumption is that there is not a unique formal approach for the analysis of turn-taking but many which focus on different aspects. Thus, the rules governing the turn-taking system for a particular speech event are not generalisable, hence different discourse genres will have different ground rules. In that sense, the rules operating in a debate are different from those that govern a conversation among friends. Additionally, turn-taking organisation changes according to cultural factors and may also vary across communities, as proved by multiple intercultural studies in the disci-

plines of sociology, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics. Thus turn-taking is one of the multiple indices of generic activity and it provides a key part of the framework for distinguishing genre in the present study. It is, of course, recognised that genre is a complex realisation of institutionalised patterns (institutionalised to a greater or lesser degree) at various levels (linguistics, interactional, social-semiotic, etc; see McCarthy 1998, chapter 2 for full discussion).

The model introduced by Sacks et al. has received a lot of criticism (cf. Edmondson 1981, O'Connell et al. 1990, Power and Martello 1986) and so has the model elaborated by Duncan and Fiske (1977). Here the two models are taken as starting point, but not as the only comparable frameworks, since both were postulated for conversation, and "the application of the turn-taking model to interview data is clearly controversial" (Kowal and O'Connell 1997:310). The two models focus on the occurrence of a pervasive type of speaking turn exchange, the smooth exchange, in which there is little or no overlap in speech, and in the frequent occurrence of another type of event, the simultaneous exchange. The simultaneous exchange is not precluded from conversation, but it constitutes either a violation, or simultaneous claiming, of rules (Denny 1985:44). They describe a system that allows the former rather than the latter type of exchange to occur.

Despite all criticisms, applications of the Sacks et al. model to institutional contexts (cf. Greatbatch 1988, Zimmerman and Boden 1991, Drew and Heritage 1992) show that comparison with natural conversation produces as a result a mass of differences (Heritage 1985:96) between conversation and institutional interaction that help to define the latter (cf. Gregori, in press). The Sacks et al. (1974) article shows many valuable insights to the nature of turn-taking in conversation which, in my opinion (supported by the numerous references in the literature to their article) cannot be ignored. Additionally, many studies following the Sacks et al. (1974) initiative, such as interactions in courtroom (Atkinson and Drew 1979), classrooms (McHoul 1978), and news interview (Heritage 1985, Greatbatch 1988), have been shown to exhibit systematically distinctive forms of turn taking which powerfully structure many aspects of conduct in these settings.

3.2. Turn-taking in institutional contexts

The importance of turn-taking in determining the nature of institutional genres is stated by Drew and Heritage (1992:40) as follows:

a) turn-taking organisations, whether for conversation or institutional con-

texts are a fundamental and generic aspect of the organisation of interaction (Sacks et al. 1974). They are organisations whose features are implemented recurrently over the course of interactional events (Drew and Heritage 1992:25).

b) [in institutional settings] participants' talk is conducted within the constraints of a specialised turn-taking system, and systematic differences from ordinary conversation such as *reductions* of the range of options, *specialisations* and *respecifications* tend to emerge (cf. Atkinson and Drew 1979, McHoul 1978, Greatbatch 1988). Several published studies have dealt with data in which "the institutional character of the interaction is embodied first and foremost in its *form*, most notably in turn-taking systems which depart substantially from the way in which turn-taking is managed in conversation and which are perceivably "formal in character" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:95).

The analysis of turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows shows how the participants "construct their conduct over the course of talk, turn by responsive turn, so as progressively to constitute and hence jointly and collaboratively to realise the occasion of their talk, together with their own social roles in it, as having some distinctly institutional character" (Drew and Heritage 1992:21). Comparative sequence analysis, by which genres can be outlined by an explicit or tacit comparison between basic conversational organisation and institutional talk (Drew and Heritage 1992:39), is valuable as a means of investigating the identifying characteristics of the activities associated with different institutional settings; hence, for the analysis of Tabloid Talkshows.

3.3. Non-verbal language

Non-verbal language is relevant in any analysis of face-to-face interaction, as well as in relation to turn-taking and floor-holding. A lot of factors should be taken into consideration when judging non-verbal communication, since this may vary depending on sex, culture, and even on geographical areas, speech communities, etc. (Davis 1994). This makes dealing with non-verbal language a complex matter. McCarthy (1991:129) among others (cf. Abercrombie 1968, Denny 1985, Duncan 1972, Duncan 1974, Kramer 1963, Speier 1972, Wiemann and Knapp 1975) explains how turns are given and gained in English through non-linguistic means. Along the same lines, Denny (1985) studies the relation between the co-occurrence of certain verbal and non-verbal elements (clausal completion, speaker and auditor gaze, pause length, silence, etc.) with respect to

smooth turn-exchange.

The analysis of Tabloid Talkshows would no doubt be enriched with a *microanalysis* (Davis 1994:47) of non-verbal behaviour of the participants where, among others, aspects such as the relation between being selected by the camera and non-verbal behaviour could be analysed, or whether the host's selection for next turn is influenced by some kind of non-verbal cues, or whether the answers given by guests are influenced by the drop or rise in pitch of the question. We may want, ultimately, link the analysis of language use with non-linguistic acts and elements of behaviour such as kinesic, proxemics, facial expressions, etc. This would certainly provide some valuable information— especially information concerning personal features of each of the participants.

There are, however, limitations imposed by the fact that we, as spectators, do not have access to everything that goes on in the studio-set. Limitations for the analysis of non-verbal cues are imposed by the fact that we are watching the Tabloid Talkshow on a television screen as opposed to watching it in the studio set and being physically present as the interaction is taking place. We all know that the broadcast version (cf. Gregori 1998) of the talkshow has undergone some editing, and that we only see the final version. Thus, we are aware of the fact that non-verbal communication is partially hidden and obviously manipulated; that is, we only see what they want to show us. In consequence, although the choice of one gesture as opposed to another can, without any doubt, show interesting results, it is not the purpose of this study. I concentrate here on the linguistic channel, and non-verbal cues will not be referred to unless strictly necessary.

3.4. Turn

I understand a turn as any stretch of continuous talk uttered by the same speaker. In the present study, the concept of turn coincides with that given by Sacks et al. (1974) and Oreström (1983), among others. A *turn* will include the complete utterance of words of a speaker until he/she stops talking. A turn is bounded by the utterance of another speaker, unless it is turn-initial or turn-final in the interaction. Simultaneous speech is assigned to the appropriate speaker as part of his turn (cf. Stainton 1987:75)

Turn completion (e.g. with or without interruption) and recipiency are revealing features of Tabloid Talkshow turn-organisation since they give information about power relationships (e.g. who has the right to interrupt), and compliance or not with the identities and rules imposed by the genre itself (e.g. act as advice-receiver, recipient, etc. and not interrupt the host when s/he is talking or giving advice; or hold an answer until it is clear that the host has finished his/her contribution, etc.). Hence, turn-completion and how it is

his/her contribution, etc.). Hence, turn-completion and how it is reached reveals the pattern of behaviour of the different local identities, and the production as well as the reproduction of the generic structure.

In order to determine whether a turn is complete, the identifiable elements are transition relevance-places, the use of syntactically defined unit-types to construct a turn: sentential, clausal, phrasal, or lexical constructions (Sacks et al. 1974), as well as intonational contour patterns and non-verbal signals (gestures, lip movements etc.) that clearly indicate speaker's intentions of yielding or continuing with the turn.

3.5. Floor

What constitutes a turn at talk varies according to different studies. The distinction between floor and turn is one that allows a clearer view of the meaning of having the turn. The concept of floor was introduced by Sacks (1972), who regarded floor and turn at speaking as equivalent concepts. Edelsky (1981:403) clearly explains why turn and floor are not interchangeable terms. She argues that they are not the same and that just any talk does not count as a turn, since a turn is taken among particular participants. It is therefore possible to take a turn without having the floor (Goffman 1976, Edelsky 1981, Stainton 1987). In Tabloid Talkshows, parenthetical remarks (see chapter three for a definition) and also background comments from the audience are examples of turns which do not hold the floor. I agree with Edelsky who defines turn as "an on-record speaking" (which may include nonverbal activities) behind which lies an intention to convey a message that is both referential and functional" (Edelsky 1983:403).

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

Floor holding is inevitably linked to power and control, the present study adopts the viewpoint that floor has a close relationship with control over the talk-in-interaction and power over the participants, but it is not always so (e.g.

in therapeutic interactions although the patient may hold the floor longer, he is not often in power). Observation seems to indicate that the host enjoys an almost total control. S/he not only holds the floor more often than anyone else but alsor manipulates the turn-taking organisation. In addition, Edelsky's concept of F2-floor is given a new dimension here. Not only do I assume that the two types of floors introduced by Edelsky alternate in Tabloid Talkshows, but use Edelsky's F2-floor to identify one of the main features characteristic of Tabloid Talkshows: *confrontational sequences,* one of the key generic features of Tabloid Talkshows.

3.6. Intervened turns

Central features of the mechanism of turn-taking are unsmooth or *intervened speaker-shift* as compared to smooth exchange of speakers. To avoid biased terms, such as "interruptions", often used in the literature to refer to phenomena present in unsmooth speaker shift, I use the terms *intervened turn-exchange/ interventions/intervened turn* to talk about unsmooth speaker-shifts (cf. Gregori 1999).

It may be an ideal condition, as Goffman (1964) already pointed out, that there may well exist a tendency to avoid overlap, and that, ideally, at least in some contexts, "intimate collaboration must be sustained to ensure that one turn at talking neither overlaps the previous one too much" (1964:65) (cf. also Denny 1985, Duncan and Fiske 1977, Sacks et al. 1974). Reality is, nevertheless, far from the ideal of smooth interaction. As expressed by Oreström (1983) and Edelsky (1981), among others, speaker-shift is seldom, if ever, an entirely smooth process. Essential to the present study of turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows is the way in which speaker or turn exchange occurs. I argue that the uses of the different types of interventions reveal the attitude of both the turn-holder and the one who intervenes his/her turn. Hence, for example the fact that an overlap occurs is as much an incursive action from the turn-holder, who resists that intervention in his/her current talk, as it is from the incomer, who persists in his/her intention to grab the floor. Interventions are therefore interactional in nature.

3.6.1. Function of interventions: interruptions, overlaps and parenthetical remarks.

The function of interruptions has been amply discussed in the literature on spoken discourse. Ferguson (1977) found that the function of interruptions was directly linked to the concepts of power and dominance (cf. O'Donnell 1990,

West and Zimmerman 1983). In fact, many studies coincide in classifying interruption as an incursive, intrusive, and violative act, since they violate the principle 'one-person speaks at a time' (Duncan 1972, Sacks et al. 1974). Goldberg (1990:884) reports on the results of many studies which tend to view interruptions as rude and disrespectful acts, indicative of indifference, hostility etc. They do so under the assumption that interruptions violate the other's speakership rights. Goldberg, however, argues that interruptions need not be synonymous with power and that although some interruptions may signal power, others signal rapport and may be cooperative: she differentiates between power and non-power interruptions. Along the same lines, Hutchby (1996:77ff) also differentiates between cooperative and non-cooperative interruptions and analyses interruptions as a feature of the social construction of arguments.

Gallois and Markel (1975), also recognise interruption as a marker of heightened involvement rather than dominance or discomfort (cf. Beattie 1982:97ff.). Oreström (1983:165-6) claims that interruptions cannot be satisfactorily described only with the help of formal criteria because there is a subjective element involved and there exists no specific and unambiguous marker of turn-finality. Along the same lines, Goldberg (1990) also argues in favour of considering the content and context to differentiate between those cases of interruption related to topic, and those that are not. Stainton's (1987:89) analysis proves that the distribution of the interruptions types is influenced by situational context and the degree of social distance that holds between the participants, and that different degrees of social distance may influence the frequency of interruptions. Her study of interruptions tested social distance. Stainton concludes that "interruption may be viewed as an infelicitous feature of discourse.... regarded as impolite, [...] in conditions in which speakers are less familiar with each other it is suggested that they may produce fewer interruptions."

Oreström (1983), Goldberg (1990) and Hutchby (1996), among others, point out that in analysing interruptions, one must consider the reason why these were produced. Interruptions can have other functions such as building a conversation together, showing active participation, giving brief comments without taking over, etc. Hence, interruptions can be competitive or cooperative, utter neutral comments or show rapport (cf. Goldberg 1990), according to their function. Thus, not all cases of simultaneous talk should be equated with interruption, in the proper sense of the word, since a large amount of double talking can not be explained in terms of interruption and dominance. Oreström (1983), for example, found cases of brief comments of a more background character that did not show intentions on the part of the speaker to take the floor. He argues that there were seldom any reactions in the form of speech disruptions or raised loudness (Oreström 1983:176). Duncan (1987:266) also differentiates between *simultaneous talking* and *simultaneous turns*: The difference is that the latter does not

necessarily imply a claiming of the turn even if the talking occurs simultane-
ously. Along the same lines, Levinson (1983:299) also differentiates between
inadvertent overlap and *violative interruption*.

3.6.2. Types of interventions

Several are the criteria which serve to identify interventions. Oreström
(1983) groups tokens of unsmooth speaker-shift according to two criteria:
grammatical boundary and turn-taking. His analysis of unsmooth speaker-shift
considers various aspects: loudness, speed, length, discourse content, floor-
winning, age and sex of speaker and the manner of recording, as well as ongo-
ing speaker's reactions. The concept of grammatical boundary (Oreström,
1983:68), that is, the point of speaker completion which is "recognised as a
point of both syntactic and semantic completion of an utterance" (Stainton
1987:79) is also used to determine the completeness of a speaker's contribution.
A clear definition of interruption, simultaneous speech and overlaps involves
dealing with different aspects of the interaction itself. The present study ap-
proaches the classification of interventions combining grammatical boundaries,
prosody and non-verbal signals. Prosody is also considered mainly in relation to
completeness or incompleteness; for example, in cases in which intonation
showed a desire of current speaker to continue his speech, e.g. using a rise tone
signalling that something more is to follow, as opposed to falling tone which
clearly signals completeness or that nothing more is to be said (cf. Roach 1991).
Aspects such as the attitudinal function of tones, width of pitch range, etc. have
not been deeply analysed here, since such is not the purpose of this study.

Beattie (1982:100ff.) considers that an attempted speaker shift in which si-
multaneous speech is present can be successful or not according to who and
how or whether a speaker gains the floor. Following Ferguson (1977), Beattie
presents a classification of interruptions and smooth speaker switches and dis-
tinguishes between overlap, single interruption, smooth speaker switch, silent
interruption and butting-in interruption, which has been followed and adapted in
the classification of types of interventions presented in this study.

In the analysis presented below, I classified all cases in which there is a co-
incidence of more or two speakers as *interventions,* and then proceeded to dif-
ferentiate between several types (see chapter 4 for a detailed definition of each).
Iv n identifying interventions, there were three basic assumptions:

    a) intervened turns may be cooperative and/or disruptive in nature;
    b) classifying an intervened turn as one or the other depends on the two
        or more speakers involved in the turn-exchange, since what is con-
        ceived as cooperative to one may be intrusive and uncooperative for

others (cf. Stainton 1987).

    c) The interpretation of an intervened turn is dyadic and interactional in nature. One can never interpret interventions from looking at only one extreme. That is, the actions and reactions of the *interventor* as well as the reactions from the *interventee* have to be always taken into consideration.

In this sense, Hutchby (1996:84) argues that, in overlaps, it is significant that speakers try to hold the floor through the interruption, precisely because this is a way they can display their own orientation to the interruption. I believe that the kind of turn resulting from an intervention also reveals the orientation of the speakers towards the institutional character of the interaction, towards the internal status and towards the identities taking part in it. In this account, an overlap shows that the current speaker, despite the intervention, is determined to reach turn-completion (e.g. in Tabloid Talkshows, if the guests do so with the host, it reveals a more daring attitude.). On the other hand, butting-in interruptions show that in seeing the intervention, the current speaker immediately gives up. Simple and silent interruptions also show an orientation of the current speaker to give up the turn (e.g. s/he could have overlapped instead), and of the interventor to perform an openly incursive turn. It is these phenomena that I am interested in looking at here rather than who holds the floor and who does not (cf. Beattie 1982.)

3.6.3. Interventions in Tabloid Talkshows

In Tabloid Talkshows, emotional conflicts are enhanced and sought by the producers of the programme, and such a context increases the occurrence of intervened turn-exchange, with the intention of getting emotional responses on the part of the participants. Initially, it seems as if the case of interventions in relation to dominance, discourse guiding and superior status are linked to the figure of the host. Those cases of interventions on the part of guests, however, seem to respond to moments of high involvement rather than an attempt to dominate talk.

    Interventions performed by the host have special relevance in determining the institutional character of the interaction, since the host is the representative of the institution. Managing the agenda is the host's main activity, hence s/he may intervene to avoid deviation from the agenda. The latter occurs, for example, when guests extend their turns by including answers that are not in the propositional content of the question. Secondly, the host also intervenes with the purpose of restoring order. In this case the role of the host can be compared to the chairman in a meeting whose obligation it is to intervene if the mechanics of

the system break down. In whichever case, the act of intervening in the current speaker's turn is not presented here as the realisation of the subject's intention, but as the execution of a role (cf. Larrue and Trognon 1993:192). Paradoxically, interventions are also used with the purpose of causing confrontation and disruption, hence, indicating some kind of conflict between the different categories taking part in the interaction, as argued by Hutchby:

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

(Hutchby 1996:19)

3.7. Turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows: the normative character of the interaction.

Before proceeding, it is important to establish that the present analysis of the turn-taking system for Tabloid Talkshows is based on three assumptions. First, that the Tabloid Talkshow is a hybrid kind of institutional talk whose management of turn-taking is mostly done through question-answer sequences. Second, and a consequence of the first, the Tabloid Talkshow shares characteristics with other formal institutional genres and with ordinary conversation. Its hybrid nature derives from its similarity and/or differences with casual conversation and other institutional genres. Third, and most basic, is that the success of Tabloid Talkshows is not "the smooth interchange of speaking turns or any other prescriptive ideal, but the fulfilment of the purposes entertained by two or more interlocutors" (O'Connell et al. 1990:346). Moreover, "if they chose to loudly harangue one another simultaneously for several minutes, the result is not a breakdown in the conversation; the procedure is rather to be considered a deliberate conversational ploy" (O'Connell et al. 1990:346) and the communicative purpose of the interaction is not necessarily interfered with.

In institutional settings, especially those which involve multiple participants, one has to accept that there are constraints (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) on turn-taking. These may reveal the asymmetric relations that arise from the predominant pattern of institutional interaction. The degree of adherence to the preallocation turn-taking system and to the context in general will depend "on the orientation of the participants to those aspects of who they are, and those aspects of their context" (Schegloff 1991:52). Schegloff argues that it is only when the parties are oriented to their institutional identities that they "are embodying for one another the relevancies of the interaction and thereby producing the social structure." Consequently, only if the participants respect and orient

their activities to those aspects of the context, their identities and their status (Cheepen 1987), will they be *doing* a particular type of interaction (Schegloff 1991:53). Schegloff (1992) argues that invoking social structure or the setting of the talk at the outset can systematically distract from, even blind us to, details of those domains of events in the world. He stresses, rather, the need to demonstrate that the features that we find relevant as observers are relevant also for the parties in the interaction. The approach proposed by Schegloff is very pertinent to the study of Tabloid Talkshows.

3.8. Conclusions

In this chapter I have reviewed some relevant concepts concerning turn-taking. First, I have established the priorities of the present study and explained why I did not engage in the study of non-verbal language. I have then proceeded to discuss the concepts of turn and floor since they are relevant in the analysis of the functioning of turn-taking in Tabloid Talkshows. Crucial to turn-taking is turn-exchange and how the latter is reached. Since the presence of interventions is one way of understanding the way in which the interaction proceeds, I have reviewed the concept of interventions and their relation to power, dominance and cooperative behaviour. The main assumption is that interventions are interactional in nature. Thus, it is as significant that one speaker intervenes in the current speaker turn as it is the fact that the other allows the intervention. In relation to this, I discussed the possible implications that the different types of interventions may have in the relationship holding between the categories taking part in Tabloid Talkshows. Finally, the normative character of the interaction and the assumptions on which the analysis of turn-taking is based have been stated. I will now proceed to explain the methodological procedures followed in the analysis of the extracts from Tabloid Talkshows.

4. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

4.1. Description of the data

The reference corpus analysed includes a list of more than forty tabloid talk-shows, out of those, twelve opening phases have been subjected to statistical analysis. Hence, for example, conclusions on the overall structure and aspects concerning status and role are based on a wider corpus which has been observed and contrasted with the analysed extracts. In turn, statistics are used in the present study to investigate questions of possible differences regarding turn-taking organisation in relation to the categories (i.e. host, guest and audience) taking part in the interaction.

The corpus of data studied is based on the video-tape recording and transcription of Tabloid Talkshows from US television. The programmes were randomly recorded during February-June 1995 and August 1996. Corpus B (see appendix 1) is a reference corpus and it includes a list of Tabloid Talkshows recorded by the analyst and to which I refer to exemplify different features characteristic of Tabloid Talkshows. Corpus A are the extracts that were subjected to statistical analysis. The total number of extracts is twelve and together they add up to around 23,000 words. These excerpts were carefully transcribed, paying attention to interruptions, overlaps, stuttering, repetitions, etc. The final transcription was presented in such a way that it would facilitate the comprehension of the reader (cf. Cook 1990, Stubbs 1983:212) and did not include more details than those required (Stubbs 1979/ 1983, Stainton 1983). Transcription conventions have been included in Appendix 1.

4.2. Role of the analyst

A TV programme may be said to have different types of audience but, generally speaking, the main distinction is between the studio audience and the viewing audience. The position of the analyst (Cook 1990) here can be identified with that of the outside-the-studio audience or viewing audience. The con-

sequences are:

a) that the analyst is an outsider, i.e. not taking part directly in the interaction. So the point of view is that of an external observer to the whole social process, a spectator;

b) that many times, in order to comprehend the discourse, inferences will have to be drawn on the basis of the knowledge of the television medium and the conventions of such a medium. That is, the analyst is an outsider but not innocent;

c) that although the analyst is aware that the final broadcast version has been edited out, in the benefit of the programme itself, it is this broadcast version what becomes the object of analysis.

Several reasons point towards considering the broadcast version analysis as relevant: a) the analysis of the unedited version would bring about a totally different kind of approach which would involve dealing with TV conventions behind the screen/camera, debating with the editors about why they decided to cut some parts and not others, finding out their reasons for editing out one piece rather than another, etc. The present study makes no attempt to deal with such factors at this point; b) it is the broadcast version that really counts, since it is the one that is perennial and available to the public; c) there are, it is clear, more people influenced by what may be going on in the broadcast version than in the unedited version. People attending the Tabloid Talkshow live are a small number compared with the number of people at home; d) finally, the Tabloid Talkshow genre is consumed in product form, it is not negotiated by its participants (i.e. the viewers) as a face-to-face conversation would be.

4.3. Establishing the framework of the analysis

The interactions analysed are excerpts from Tabloid Talkshows. The extracts subjected to statistical analysis correspond to the opening phases of twelve different Tabloid Talkshows with 8 different hosts. The samples were arbitrarily numbered from 1-12 (see appendix 1).The excerpts have been selected with the purpose of illustrating the functioning of the turn-taking system in Tabloid Talkshows.

The analysis of the turn-taking, in relation to determining what type of spoken genre we are dealing with, is therefore done with the purpose of showing that it is not enough to say that speaker A is a guest and speaker B is a host, but

to show how the two of them are oriented to who they are in the programme and to the aspects of the setting and how, by maintaining the communicative roles that they are given to perform, they are producing the Tabloid Talkshow and establishing its generic features. That is, as stated by Wilson, "the relevance of particular social-structural categories on a given occasion consists in the way the participants in the interaction display to one another their orientations to those categories in a manner that is consequential for their interaction" (Wilson 1991:25).

4.4. Hypotheses

The main hypothesis underlying this study is that Tabloid Talkshows are a hybrid discourse genre which displays characteristics from conversation and from institutional discourse. Consequently, and in relation to its generic structure I believe:

1. that an analysis of the structure of the turn-taking system for Tabloid Talkshows will show what factors determine their generic structure;

2. that the turn-taking organisation will, at the same time, produce and reproduce the institutional rules which apply in the interaction; and that this will, in turn, be shown by the orientation of the different parties towards the internal identities assigned to them by the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut;

3. that analysis of the turn taking will who has the power to guide, and what factors contribute to the structuring of the whole interaction.

4.5. Method of analysis

In the analysis of the excerpts, the contributions of the different participants were classified into turns on the basis of change of speaker. In order to classify in detail each turn, the following aspects were taken into account:

1. speaker category (host, guest, audience-individual, audience-group)
2. next-speaker selection technique;
3. smooth or intervened turn exchange in relation to the previous turn;
4. each turn was classified in terms of question-answer and/or comment;
5. the use of backchannels.

The interpretation of the data can be twofold. On the one hand, the results and data can be interpreted as the outcome of individual participants taking part in a certain type of speech event. On the other, one may interpret the results by grouping participants according to their roles (guests, hosts, audience etc.), what I have been referring to as *categories*. The latter is more relevant for the purpose of this study; however, in situations in which the mean (e.g. taking into account number males and females) may enlighten and clarify participation frameworks, this kind of information is also provided.

The analysis was carried out by considering first the results of each column individually and then cross-comparing as well as applying stratified analysis which combined three columns at the same time. The data were analysed using the programme EPIINFO 6. I first proceeded to make a descriptive study of the data by calculating the frequency and percentages for each of the variables. The chi-square was calculated in those cases in which there was contrast of hypothesis or variables, e.g. differences in behaviour of the participants according to sex, and in those cases in which I applied an analysis of multi-variables (e.g. sex and participants). An example of the transcripts is provided in appendix 2. The procedure for the analysis of each turn is explained below:

4.5.1. Speakers

The speakers were numbered in sequential order of participation starting with the first Tabloid Talkshow extract. Participants were categorised according to four different labels: host, guest, audience-individual (if the speaker was a member of the audience participating individually), studio-audience or audience-group (if the audience participated as a group) and were afterwards sequentially numbered according to their order of appearance.

4.5.2. Speaker's selection technique

Two main techniques described by Sacks et al. (1974:12-13) to accomplish turn-allocation were considered to find out why X has the turn at a certain point of the interaction. X has the turn because either:

a) s/he self-selected as next speaker; or b) because somebody allocated the turn to him/her by voluntarily yielding the turn or producing the first part of an adjacency pair (e.g. question-answer). Hence, turns were classified in terms of self-selection and according to the current turn and speaker:

1) Self-selection, that is, next speaker selects him/herself. There were as

many possibilities as participants. Self-selection by the host, the audience group, or studio audience and the guests.

2) one case was that in which the next turn was allocated by "current speaker selecting a next speaker". The following combinations were found to occur in our data:

Turn-allocation	description
host-to-guest	guest has the turn because host allocated it to him/her
guest-to-host	host has the turn because guest allocated it to him/her
guest-to-guest	guest has the turn because another guest allocated it to him/her.
host-to-audience	audience has the turn because host allocated it to him/her.
audience-to-guest	guest has the turn because audience allocated it to him/her.
guest-to-audience	audience has the turn because guest has given it to him/them

4.5.3. Exchange of turns

I looked at how transfer of speakership or turn exchange (Sacks et al. 1974:8) was accomplished. The basic distinction was made on the results of attempted speaker switch non-fluency (Ferguson 1977:295 ff.). In that way, the turns were classified as:

a) **Smooth speaker exchange**, in which there is no simultaneous speech and the speaker's utterance seems to be complete in every way.
b) **Intervened speaker exchange,** i.e., exchanges involving simultaneous speech or incompleteness. In these turns a speaker intervenes in another speaker's turn. Four different types of interventions appeared in the data: interruptions (simple, silent and butting-in interruption)' overlaps, parenthetical remarks and confrontational turns.

The classification of types of interventions has been adapted, basically, from the works by Goffman 1976, Ferguson 1977, Beattie 1982, Oreström 1983, Stainton 1987 and Edelsky 1981. Following is a working definition for each type:

(1) *Simple* interruption, is an exchange of turns, in which simultaneous speech is present, the first speaker's turn appears incomplete and the new speaker takes the turn.

(2) *Butting-in* interruptions are interruptions or self-stopped utterances never developed into complete turns.

(3) *Silent* interruptions are cases in which there is no simultaneous speech, however, the first speaker's utterance appears incomplete and there is an exchange of turns.

(4) *Overlaps* are interruptions involving simultaneous speech, in which although the interrupted person manages, apparently, to complete his or her turn, there is an exchange of turns.

(5) *Parenthetical* remarks include brief supportive exclamations, background or brief comments on aspects of the current speaker's discourse, etc., not giving any apparent sequence space in the flow of events (Goffman 1976:275).

(6) Confrontational sequences. These are, I believe, one of the main generic features of Tabloid Talkshows and of some other types of mediated discourse which have conflict talk as their main aim. In all the data analysed, I encountered cases in which I was incapable of attributing the floor to any participant in particular. That is, stretches of highly confrontational talk in which several participants occupy the floor at the same time (talking simultaneously, interrupting each other; there are long overlaps, fights for the floor, parallel remarks, etc. all interwoven together), as illustrated in example 1 below. The turns that form those sequences are confrontational turns.

(1) T   That was part of the
           Δ [problem, communication.] They didn't have it.
    D Δ [You never came to me.
    K Δ [You were always arguing.
    D Δ You didn't live there!
        Δ [You don't know Theresa.
    T Δ [No. But I cared about you guys Dori.
    D Δ Oh [I'm sure.
    T Δ [I cared about you.
    D Δ Yeah. Right.
    T Δ Believe what you want to.
        Δ [Believe what you want to.
    D Δ [And this is how (XXX)
                    Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses*.

4.5.4. Question-answer format

The sequential organisation of the interaction was looked at by considering whether participants accomplished the variety of interactional activities through a *question,* an *answer*; or, alternatively, as *comments* types of contributions. In the present study, questions and answers have been interpreted in their widest possible sense with the purpose of discerning, if possible, a pattern in the contributions from the participants and their communicative roles:

a) questions include: question-intoned turns (Hutchby 1996:89), request for confirmation, statement with rising intonation, check-up questions, Wh-questions, commands with verbs demanding verbal participation (tell, ask, say).

b) Answer: if the propositional content of the answer corresponded to the previous question in the same adjacency pair.

c) The classification as *comments* includes those contributions that were not examples of either question nor an answer, or that presented *sequentialised ambiguity* (Sacks 1992:670) at a local level (e.g. comments, insults to audience, etc.).

4.5.6 Backchannels

Backchannels were given special attention because of the importance that backchannelling has in relation to the setting and the participants themselves, since the use of backchannels implies an open acceptance of the role of the listener (Bou and Gregori 1999). Several consequences may arise from the use of backchannels regarding similarities and differences with other genres and compliance with the turn-taking provisions of the genre.

Backchannels do not hold the floor and are uttered jointly with the ongoing speech in the form of brief items (e.g. *I see, yeah*) or vocal identifiers (e.g. *mhm, uhu*), without being considered an interruption.

5. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

5.1. Preamble

It is claimed that the central goal of the Tabloid Talkshow is to help ordinary citizens to solve their problems at the same time as the genre seeks to inform and entertain the audience. One of the main ways to elicit information is by questioning. Tabloid Talkshows can be represented as one type of discourse which proceeds on recursive two-part question-answer exchanges (cf. Stubbs 1987:28).

Questions have been widely discussed in the literature by philosophers and logicians, psycholinguists and sociolinguists, grammarians and phoneticians (cf. Stenström 1984). Different definitions of questions have been based on semantic, pragmatic and syntactic criteria which emphasise either form or function. The distinction between different types of questions, as well as the form and function that questions should have has turned out not to be all that simple (cf. Stubbs 1987, Phillips 1984, Harris 1984, Lakoff 1973, Stenström 1984, Schegloff 1980). Orestström (1983:108), for example, points out that the difference between an assertion and an elicit is that the general purpose of the former is to give information, while that of the latter is to extract information. However, Orestström himself denies the existence of such a sharp distinction between them:

> […] this sharp distinction between assertions and elicits is often an oversimplification. Generally in conversation, assertions are also linked with some sort of response-seeking and are thus subordinate principles of human communication.

> (Orestström 1983:109)

Along the same lines, Shuy (1996:174) argues that questions and answers might seem totally different things on the surface, but "the way a question is asked can influence or even determine the answer given, as has been proven by many works on questions and answers (Golding et al. 1990, Graesser and Franklin 1990; Harris 1984; Macaulay 1996, Weiser 1976, Moeschler 1986,

Stenström 1984.). The result is that there are different types of questions and different authors offer different classifications and labels (cf. e.g. Shuy 1996, Harris 1984).

When we think of the purpose that questions may have in Tabloid Talk-shows we cannot ignore the fact that part of the information we hear may have been previously discussed between hosts and guests, between guests and the producers, between guests themselves, etc.; and that it is impossible to determine exactly how much each participant knows about the other. In this sense, Tabloid Talkshow are similar to classroom and courtroom interaction, where questions are not real questions, since the questioner already knows the answer. Thus, if the host knows the answer, his/hers are display questions rather than real demands for information: that is, questions are audience-oriented.

Hierarchy and power in relation to question-answer have been debated for many different genres (e.g. Harris 1984/1995 and Philips 1984 for courtroom interaction; Reynolds 1990 for classroom discourse, etc.) and, almost inevitably, have also been linked to the concept of face (Brown and Levinson 1987, Goffman 1967), and in particular to face-saving and face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson 1987). In Tabloid Talkshows, questions demand an answer from the hearer; they demand revealing information which may become a face-threat, especially if they demand information on intimately personal and sensitive topics. The questioning activity has often been related to the most powerful position, especially in institutional interaction types. Maynard (1991), for example, reports that a way of tracing the power relationship in doctor-patient interactions is by counting the number of questions asked by each participant, by looking at the type of questions asked by doctors, and by counting the number of interruptions performed by the doctor and vice versa. Along the same lines, Philips (1984:226) claims that the questions and the "responses to questions show a pattern that reflects the hierarchy of status, power and authority differentiation." If we admit that language can show underlying power relations, and that one of the ways to do so is by reproducing question-answer processes, we are forced to introduce the concept of *abuse* which, according to Lakoff (1990:128-129), exists for three types of institutional talk: therapy, classrooms and courtrooms. An overt power imbalance is found in these three types of interaction (Lakoff 1990:127) and, possibly, in Tabloid Talkshows. Power is understood here as expressed in discourse through an unequal distribution and deployment of argumentative resources (Hutchby 1996:58).

Harris (1984:19) argues that one of the most important factors that serve to determine the function of questions in context is the different perspectives of reality which the questioners and the answerers start from: "as a number of sociologists have observed about teachers and pupils in schools, magistrates and defendants start from different perspectives of reality" (Harris 1984:18). The

difference in perspective, according to Harris, is based on two contradictory parameters: 'unable' and 'unwilling', the latter representing the perspective adopted by the law. In this sense, the defendant will have to prove that he is unable to pay rather than unwilling to do so. A parallel situation is observed in Tabloid Talkshows, where guests come to tell their story as *victims* (i.e. unable) who are suffering due to a personal problem. However, they are often treated as *wrongdoers* (i.e. unwilling), and therefore responsible for their actions. Hence, they find that they have to justify their actions and prove their innocence to the audience, rather than receive help from them. In such a context, questions are conducive and serve the purpose of controlling the topic as well as the turn-taking system.

5. 2. Types of questions in Tabloid Talkshows

Question-answer processes are known to be central to many institutional genres such as courtroom, therapeutic discourse, classroom, interviews, etc., in which the whole interaction can be said to progress thanks to a sequencing and repetition of the question-answer process, a fact underlying most human communication. As is the case in many other media interviews, the pragmatic force of questions in Tabloid Talkshows may vary depending on the desired outcome (McCarthy and Carter 1994:193). McCarthy and Carter (1994) resume 5 discourse strategies of the skilled interviewer which involve the use of questions of a very diverse nature:

1. Use a lead-in to the question
2. Expand after the main question
3. Reinforce your question to get more from the other person
4. Use a conventional expression to take the other person back to an earlier question to get more from them.
5. Link your next question to the last answer.

Although their findings are directed towards the process of teaching and learning a language, one immediately realises the potentiality of these 5 types of questions regarding genre typology. Nevertheless, McCarthy and Carter point out, this is not a behaviour "to be aped in a robot-like fashion," but rather "a resource bank of examples and actual language which teachers and learners use for their own perceived needs." Along the same lines Günthner and Knoblauch (1995:7) point out that "a certain activity such as asking a student questions during an oral exam can be done by means of various communicative forms or genres which may be more or less conventionalised and more or less pre-

patterned." In Tabloid Talkshows, the host alternates between different types of questions.

There is, however, one particular way of questioning, identified by Tannen (1981), which I believe may be considered as a potential generic feature, or at least one which is often employed by the hosts: the *machine-gun question* (1981:387). Tannen describes the effects of the use of this device as follows:

> The effect of the use of this device with speakers accustomed to its use is to grease the conversational wheels: keep talk flowing rapidly and smoothly. The reduced form, marked pitch, and turn-timing carry the message: "I am so interested that I can't wait for you to finish before asking this, and I don't want to interrupt your turn at talk, so answer quickly if it fits in, and if it doesn't, forget it".
>
> (Tannen 1981: 387).

The machine-gun question style is characterised by rapid turn-taking, overlaps, marked intonation and pitch, and little pause between speaker turns. Tannen adds that machine-gun questioning, if used with speakers that are unaccustomed to its "use as cooperative devices," may have the opposite effect of what is intended, and may "seem startling [and] rude;" in which case the interchange will be unsatisfactory for the participants. In Tabloid Talkshows, guests react differently when faced with a series of abrupt and rapidly uttered questions.

The pace of the segment in example 2 is extremely fast, so fast that the guest has hardly any time to answer the host's questions. The host's questions are spoken quickly, with high pitch and reduced syntactic form (Tannen 1981:393). The host does not allow pauses between questions and interrupts and overlaps the guest's speech several times. His questions are timed to overlap or to latch onto the guest's talk: by the time he's asking another question, the guest is still trying to answer the previous one. No doubt the guest's answers are conditioned by his machine-gun questioning style. The guest in example 2, adapts very quickly to this style and manages to answer most of the questions, hence producing what Tannen calls "the machine-gun answer": "the machine-gun question has its correlate in the machine-gun answer" (Tannen 1981:394).

(2) G   I love him very much.
     H   You love [this man very much
     G   [He knows I love him] very much and
         [I'm very in love with him.
     H   [You would like] for this marriage to work
     G   Very much so.
     H   But, what's happened? Is he living with you?
     G   No. He's living with her.
     H   Ooooh. So so in other words, after you got married, the other fiancée
         just wouldn't go away

G Er—e—er our relationship's been going on for about three years
   [and during those three years it has been
H [& and you knew about the other girl beforehand]
G back and forth, and
   [back and forth
H [& You knew about] the other person Shanon?
G Right.
H You knew about her before
G He was engaged to her first and then he
   [left her free.
H [So you thought that if you get married] you're the one, right?
G Right and [I
H   [& Why do you love] him still?
G He's really—he's a great man [audience reaction]. He—he really is,
   he's—
H ∑ Who said no? who said no?

<div align="right">Maury Povich. 1995. How hard married life can be.</div>

Example 3 below shows the opposite effect. In this case, it seems as if the guest feels intimidated by the use of such a device.

(3) H ∑ How old is your daughter?
     G She's now seventeen. At the time she was sixteen < H- Mhm >
     H And he's thirteen
     G He's thirteen < H- Mhm > He's now fourteen < H- Mhm > er (+) I
        panicked when they told me that nobody was gonna help me— they
        had—he had to come home. And he 'd already threatened to blow his
        stepfather's head off <H- Mhm> what—wo—(+) when our division,
        our social service division, refused to help I didn't know what else to
        do.
     H So you left town
     G We left town.
     H Because you did not want him to come back home
     G Right. Because I was afraid of him <H- Mhm>

<div align="right">Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Runaway Parents.</div>

Example 3 can be characterised as *cross-stylistic talk* (Tannen 1981:387). In this case, the guest's answers are uttered slowly, including hesitations, pauses, a very sober tone and low pitch, probably trying to show that she does not feel

comfortable talking about her relationship with her son on TV. If we compare the fast pace with which the host asks questions with the slow motion of the guest's answers, the result is an rhythmically uneven interchange.

As mentioned above, different authors give different classifications of questions. However, two main approaches to questioning can be made by distinguishing between: a) questions with one or several initial "prefatory statements" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:99): the prefatory is often a *topicalising* and *questioning turn* (Larrue and Trognon, 1993:188); b) questions without prefatory. One characteristic that shows the orientation of the parties to the institutional character of the interaction (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) is that the other parties in the Tabloid Talkshow usually withhold their responses, even if faced with a long prefatory, until the host produces a recognisable question, as illustrated in example 4. In example 4 we can observe a long turn by the host, containing an equally long prefatory, which is not at all interrupted by any other participant until a question is put forward. Related to the prefatory are functions such as: summarising topics, events, giving advice, etc.

(4)H Hold it. Hold it. Got kids? Kids? Kids have a piggy bank? (X) I get my daughter's— can you imagine how low-you can go-to reach into your daughters piggy bank? and steal twenty bucks? [pause 0.5 seconds]. Even if she doesn't accept your apology, you should go to the top of a mountain and scream out to the whole wide world I am so sorry that I have humiliated my manhood in this way, my humanness in this way. It's just, you know, let me say it. I wanna say something. I get a— I feel so bad for you. I feel angry at you and I feel so bad because I know that for you to do something that low, you had to be:: low. And now your wife is gonna come out and now you expect her to say I forgive you?

    G Er—

    H ∑ Are you sure you won't do it (X) next ?

        Geraldo. 1996. *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word*.

5.3. Function of questions

In the context of Tabloid Talkshows, questions serve two major functions that coincide with those reported by Harris (1984:19) for courtroom discourse: questions may serve to elicit information, to confirm something, or may be used as a means for accusing someone (Alcaraz 1994:52-52). It is the second function that interests us here; since, in Tabloid Talkshows, questions often become

a mere formulation of accusations, rather than a way to build up and reconstruct stories. The following examples illustrate how a series of questions progressively accuse guests of several faults.

Example 5 below is taken from Montel Williams's *Men who con women into relationships*. The guest was initially introduced as a victim, a woman who had been abandoned by the man who left her pregnant. The host starts asking questions about her case which, apart from advancing the argument, progressively lead to the main accusation: i.e., it is all her fault because she should not have allowed that to happen. In this sense the propositional content of the questions leads to the conclusion that the victim is a wrongdoer.

(5) G So that same month, I became pregnant; that same month, David cheated on me and left me. So I ended up moving into a pregnancy centre and I didn't hear from him for like six months. During that time, he was saying he didn't know who Danielle was, he didn't sleep with me and that wasn't his kid.

   H Mm-hmm. And then he moved back in.

   G He called me back up when I was seven months pregnant.

   H And you let him back in?

   G Yes. I fell for it again. He said he wanted a family; he was sorry, er, so I took him back again. Two weeks before I'm about to give birth, he cheated on me again and left me.

   H But you've seen him again.

   G Yes.

   H So wait—now, Danielle, come on now, you want to confront him about him abusing you, but remember this old saying, it's like once— What is that?—Once bitten, their fault; second time, your fault?

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

In the same way, example 6 below shows how the host's questions are clearly blaming the guest for his actions. The situation is as follows: the guest has repented of his *sins* and has come to the programme, as a victim of an addiction to gambling (or as he calls it "illness of gambling"), to beg his wife to forgive him. The host knows all the details of the story and the impact that revealing them will have on the audience. So, he will carefully build up his argument towards the climax by uttering a few accusative questions which help to bring out the most morbid detail: the host accuses the guest of stealing money from his daughter's piggy bank and using it for gambling.

(6)   H Wait wait. Are you in Rodney's position? Or you just want a warm

bed to sleep in?

G No. Not at all. I can get a warm bed. I've got a few places You know, I can go. I can get a room if I wanted my own bed by myself

H You've got a job?

G Yeah. But what but what means most to me is is my family y'know a::nd when I look at ... when I look at &

H & When was the last time you gambled? The last time

G [The last time

H and don't don't lie]

G The last time I gambled was last week

H And where did you get the money?

G er I took it from my wife's bracelet.

H hh [sighs] If you were his wife, if you were his wife what would you do?

Geraldo. 1996. *Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word.*

The audience has often been classified as aggressive (cf. Guzman 1996) and such aggressiveness is often expressed in their questions: the audience's questions are sometimes direct accusations which condemn the guests behaviour. In general, observation shows that audience's questions are generally accusative and that guests are on guard when questioning time for the audience comes. Example 7 illustrates this:

(7) A Theresa, I was just wondering what kind of advice you're giving. Because I give advice to people but it doesn't end up sleeping together. And it[audience reaction; applauds] sounds like you you've got kind of a little thing going there —

H ∑ Well, maybe Ken you're the guy to ask. What kind of advice were you getting from Theresa about your relationship with Dori?

Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses.*

Questions are part of the Tabloid Talkshow agenda, they help to fulfil its goals and may be uttered in different forms with different functions and with different pragmatic force, according to the desired outcome. Questions allow guests to tell their stories, and are used by the host to elicit relevant information and to control topic development. They permit the audience to express either disagreement, agreement, surprise, accusation, confirm some information etc., with regards to the ongoing discussion.

Questioning generates power relationships in the sense that the questioner

has the right to demand intimate and personal information from others. Hence, the activities of questioning and answering reveal the status relationships that emerge and are held during the Tabloid Talkshow interaction. The distribution of these activities (questioning-answering), if imbalanced, may reveal the existence of an institutional framework based on a superior-inferior relationship that holds between the different parties. This framework will only be so if the participants accept and respect the rules applying to the Tabloid Talkshow interaction and the internal status assigned to them.

Although the analysis may show more complex relations, an initial characterisation of the turn-taking in opening phases in Tabloid Talkshows can be simply stated as the rule that mainly one party, the host, will ask questions and provide advice while guests will answer those questions. The information elicited from the host's questions and from guests' statements will allow the audience and expert to intervene and ask questions as well as give advice.

All in all— and these become hypotheses to be tested in the analysis— some power relationships seem to emerge in Tabloid Talkshow-interaction in relation to the question-answer processes:

- The host has the power over all the other participants present in the interaction, a feature that may be proven by the fact that the host asks questions but rarely answers any.

-
    b) This power is sometimes used more overtly than others— depending on what is going on in the discourse— and is subjected to challenges on the part of the other participants.

    c) The power strategies used by the different participants are inherently *reciprocal*, i.e., they are successful only if the participants accept the norms applying in that particular institutional framework and the internal status of the encounter (e.g., withholding responses until a recognisable question has been produced).

5.4. Analysis

Each turn was analysed and classified as either question, answer, comment. Table 1 below shows the results obtained from classifying all turns in terms of question, answer or comment.

Table 1. Classification of turns according to question-answer format.

	Freq.	Perc.
answer	511	31.1%
question	536	32.7%
comment	594	36.2%
Total	1641	

Chi square = 968.73   DF = 2   p value = 0.00000000

The total number of questions, answers and comments turned out to be surprisingly similar. Such degree of similarity was unexpected except for question-answer adjacency pairs. There were 32.7% of the turns that were questions, 31.1% answers and 36.2% comments. The percentages indicate that most questions do get answered, that is, only 1.6% of the questions is left unanswered. The interpretation of these results is that the interaction often proceeds in question answer sequences and that in 37% of the cases, the participants escape such a format to produce comments or free contributions

5.4.1. Question-answer format and speaker category

Table 2 below cross-compares speaker categories with the results that classify turns in terms of questions, answers and comments. As displayed in table 2 below, 50% of the contributions by individual members of the audience are comments and 38.2% are questions. Half of audience-individual types of utterances are therefore statements which are other than question-answer (e.g. advice, warning, etc.). Answers are not common in individual members of the audience since I only registered 4 answers (11.8%). On the other hand, 99% of the turns by the audience group are comments. and only 1.2% of answers. Such results coincide with those obtained for the host, who only produces 1.5% of answers out of his/her total number of contributions.

 The guest's main activity is answering: 56.8% of its turns are answers, 38.7% are comments, and 4.6% questions. The host on the other hand, produces mainly questions (74.4%) and comments (24%), since only 1.5% of his turns are answers. These results reveal that it is mainly within a question format that the host achieves actions such as challenging, accusing, doubting, etc. (cf. Hutchby 1996:30).

Table 2. Contributions for each category in terms of questions, answers and comments.

	audience-individual	audience-group	guest	host

answer	11.8%	1.2%	56.8%	1.5%
question	38.2%	0.0%	4.6%	74.4%
comment	50.0%	98.8%	38.7%	24.0%
Total	34	84	874	649

5.4.2. Question-answer format and self-selection.

I then proceeded to cross-compare question-answer and self-selection vs. non-self-selection. As displayed in table 3 above, 22.7% of the answers are self-selected. That is, the speaker self-selects to answer a question that is not directly allocated to him/her.

However, the percentage of allocated or non-self-selected answers (77.3%) is higher. This indicates that, usually, the questioner will not ask open questions but address them to a particular participant, who then answers.

Table 3. Questions and answers in relation to self-selection

	self-selection	non-self-selection	Total
answer	22.7%	77.3%	511
question	97.6%	2.4%	536
comment	94.8%	5.2%	594
			1641

Chi square = 968.73   DF = 2   p value =0.00000000

A stratified analysis was carried out to see how such results affected each of the categories in terms of self-selection and number of questions, answers and comments. Tables 4 and 5 below display the results. In Table 4, it can be observed that the number of questions from guests is low if compared to the number of answers: guests ask only 40 questions, i.e. 4.6% of their turns. With regard to answers, the degree of self-selection for guests is lower if compared with non-self-selected answers. Only 26.6% of the answers by guests are self-selected, while the rest (78.4.%) are allocated by the current speaker. Notice, however, that the number of comments by guests is quite high (338 turns): 38,7% of all guest's turns.

Table 4. Stratified analysis for self-selected vs. non-self-selected questions and answers by guests and hosts.

	guest			host		
	SS vs. N-SS			SS vs. N-SS		
	SS	NSS	Total	SS	NSS	Total
answer	21.6%	78.4%	496	60%	40.0%	10
question	80%	20.%	40	100%	0.0%	483
comment	95%	5.0%	338	100%	0.0%	156

Finally, regarding the host's behaviour, it is clear that his/her way of taking a turn is primarily through self-selection: all the host's turns are achieved through self-selection, except for 4 answers which are responses to requests for clarification. 100% of the host's questions and comments are accomplished through self-selection. Furthermore, 90% of all questions (483 out of 536) are by the host. The results clearly show that there is an unreciprocal continuum in the talk format since one of the speakers, the host, almost never gets selected by others, while the rest of the categories do.

Table 5. Stratified analysis for self-selected vs. non-self-selected questions and answers by the audience.

	audience-individual			audience-group		
	SS vs. N-SS			SS vs. N-SS		
	SS	NSS	Tot	SS	NSS	Tot
answer	50%	50.0%	4	100%	0.0%	1
question	61.5%	38.5%	13	0.0%	0.0%	0
comment	47.1%	52.9%	17	94.0%	6.0%	83

In the case of individual members of the audience and the audience group the number of answers is very low. Individual members of the audience only answered 4 questions (50% through self-selection and 50% through self-selection) and the audience group answered only one. Regarding the number of questions, individual members of the audience asked only 13 questions: 61.5% of their questions occur through self-selection and 38.5% through non-self-selection. They also produce 17 comments: 47.1% through self-selection and 52.9% through non-self-selection. Turns by the audience group are mainly to produce comments: i.e., 83 out of 84 of their turns have been classified as comments.

5.4.3. Questions, answers and speaker-category

In the analysis, each turn was classified not only as a question answer or comment but also assigned a number which indicated (see appendix 2 for examples) who asked the question and who answered. Comments were classified in terms of who uttered them. The purpose of this classification was to find out possible interactional patterns. Hence, Q1 was a question uttered by the host, while A1 was an answer to a question asked by the host. The purpose in carrying out such classification was to find out:

a) Q1 in relation to A1: that is, how many questions asked by the host were answered and how many were left unanswered?;
b) Q2 in relation to A2: how many questions asked by the guests were answered and how many were left unanswered?;
c) Q3 in relation to A3: how many questions asked by the audience were answered and how many were left unanswered.

Table 4. Questions and answers for each category

	Freq.	Percent
question by host (Q1)	483	29.4%
answer to question by host (A1)	478	29.1%
question by guest (Q2)	40	2.4%
answer to question by guest (A2)	22	1.3%
question by audience (Q3)	13	0.8%
answer to question by audience (A3)	11	0.7%
comment by host (Z1)	156	9.5%
comment by guest (Z2)	338	20.6%
comment by audience (Z3)	100	6.1%
Total	1641	

The results show that, on the one hand, more than fifty percent of the turns are monopolised by the host's questions: that is, a total number of 29.4% are questions from hosts and 29.1% of turns are answers to questions from the host. Most questions by the host are answered, as only 0.5% are left unanswered. Turns initiated by questions from the guests account for 2.4% of the total number of turns and only 1.3% are answered. The interpretation of such results is that 29% of all questions from the guests are left unanswered. As for the audience, turns initiated by questions from the audience account for 0.8% of the to-

tal number of turns in the opening phases; 8.3% of these questions from the audience are left unanswered.

Regarding comments, guests utter the highest number: 20.6% of all turns are comments by guests. It seems, therefore, that guests make use of comments more often than other categories. However, if we consider the mean, the results are 8.6 for guests as opposed to 13 for hosts, so, individually hosts produce more comments than guests. Those comments by hosts, it has been observed, are usually part of confrontational sequences and correspond to reordering moves. That is, the host tries to restore order in highly confrontational situations.

In order to compare the results obtained for each of the categories, a cross-comparison was made between this information and speaker category to determine exactly the kind of acts that each category realised and who was the destinatary of these acts. Table 5 below shows the results.

Table 5. Who were question and answers addressed to?

	aud. indiv.	aud. group	guest	host
question by host				74.4%
answer to question by host	11.8%	0.0%	54.0%	0.3%
question by guest			4.6%	
answer to question by guest	0.0%	1.2%	1.5%	1.2%
question by audience	38.2%	0.0%		
answer to question by audience	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%
comment by host				24.0%
comment by guest			38.7%	
comment by audience	50.0%	98.8%		
Total	34	84	874	649

Chi square = 3717.23   DF= 24   p. value = 0.00000000

The results indicate that 50% of the turns by audience-individuals are to make comments, 38% to ask questions and the rest, 11.8%, are to answer questions from the host. Notice that audience-individuals do not answer any questions from guests (there is 0% of answers from individual members of the audience to questions by guests). Turns by the audience group are almost exclusively comments (98.8%), except for 1.2% which corresponds to answers to guests' questions.

The results show that 54% of the guests' turns are to answer questions to the host; 4.6% are to ask questions and 38.7% for comments. Additionally, there is only 1.5% of questions which are answers to other guests and 1.3% questions which are answers to the audience. The host, on the other hand, shows that most of his/her activity is to ask questions and that only occasionally answers some: 1.2% to answer questions from guests and 0% of answers to the audience. Furthermore, 0.3% of his turns are spent answering his/her own questions. The host is the only category who does that.

5.4.4. Type of turn-exchange in question-answer frames.

5.4.4.1. Do questions, answers and comments occur with smooth or intervened turn exchanges?

A cross-comparison between speaker, type of turn and question-answer was carried out. The most relevant results are displayed in table 6 below.

Table 6. Intervened vs. smooth turn exchange

	intervened	smooth	Total
answer to question by host	13.2%	86.8%	478
answer to question by guest	40.9%	59.1%	22
answer to question by audience	54.5%	45.5%	11
question by host	36.0%	64.0%	483
question by guest	60.0%	40.0%	40
question by audience	61.5%	38.5%	13
comment by host	63.5%	36.5%	156
comment by guest	68.6%	31.4%	338
comment by audience	37.0%	63.0%	100
			1641

Chi square = 308.92   DF = 8   p value = 0.00000000

The results displayed in table 8 above show that answers to the host are primarily in smooth turn exchanges: i.e., 86.8% of their turns are smooth and 13.2% are intervened. In answers to guests, 40.9% are intervened, while 59.1% are smooth. In answers to the audience, it is almost fifty-fifty. The predominance of smooth over intervened turns indicates that most speakers would wait

till the current speaker finishes his/her turn in order to participate.

Questions from the host are also found mainly in smooth exchanges: 64.0% are smooth turns as opposed to 36% cases of interventions. Questions from guests show the opposite, since 60% are intervened and 40% smooth. The same occurs with questions from the audience, which also show a similar proportion: 61.5% of audience's questions are intervened and 38.5% are smooth. Comments are generally introduced by intervened turns, 63.5% of the host's comments are interventions, and so are 68.6% of guests' comments. As for the audience, it is the other way round: 63% of their comments are smooth turns

5.4.4.2. Types of turn exchange for guests

A stratified analysis was carried out for each category. The results for the hosts and guests are displayed in tables 7 and 8.

Table 7. Stratified analysis. Type of question-answer turn-exchange in guests.

Type of turn exchange for guests			
Question-answer	intervened	smooth	Total
answer to host	13.3%	86.7%	472
answer to guest	38.5%	61.5%	13
question by guest	60.0%	40.0%	40
comment by guest	68.6%	31.4%	338
answer to audience	54.5%	45.5%	11

Guests seem to answer most of the questions to the host with smooth turns (86.7%). That is, they would wait until the host finished uttering the question before answering. This is also the case with answers for questions coming from another guest: 61.5% are smooth. Questioning on the part of guests, however, is often produced by intervening in another participant's turn (60% of their questions are interventions). Finally, comments by guests are chiefly interventions in the current speaker's turn: 68.6% of the comments are intervened turns and 31.4% are smooth. Answering questions from the audience is 54.5% smooth and 45.5% of intervened.

5.4.4.3. Types of turn exchange for the host

Table 8. Stratified analysis. Type of turns and question-answer in hosts

	Hosts		
	intervened	smooth	Total
answer to host (A1)	0.0%	100.0%	2
answer to guest (A2)	50.0%	50.0%	8
question by host (Q1)	36.0%	64.0%	483
comment by host (Z1)	63.5%	36.5%	156

Participations by the host are primarily questions followed by comments. Questions are largely accomplished in smooth exchanges (64% of the times), while comments are usually examples of interventions: 63.45% of comments by the host are interventions while only 36.5% are smooth turns. The mean for the use of interventions was calculated for each of the categories. Table 9 below shows the results.

Table 9. Mean number of turns in relation to category and intervened vs. smooth turn exchange.

	Interventions	Mean
audience-indiv.	15	0,8
audience-group	30	2,5
guests	330	8,4
hosts	277	23,1

The mean indicates that hosts perform 67% of the total number of interventions. That is, it is the host who intervenes more in another speaker's turn. The mean for the host is 23.1 while it is only 8.4 for guests, 2.5 for the audience group, and only 0.8 for individual members of the audience.

5.5. Types of interventions in question-answer exchanges.

In order to find out the nature and determine with what purpose the speaker produced an intervention a stratified analysis was carried out cross-comparing three columns: speaker category, type of turn (smooth or intervention) and question-answer.

5.5.1. Types of interventions by guests

As illustrated in table 10 below, of the total number of interventions by guests (330), 34.8% turns are in confrontational sequences the results show that guests intervene more frequently in the current speaker's turn in confrontational segments: 115 turns. It follows those cases in which guests overlap with the current speaker: 31.8% of all interventions are overlaps. The other types of interruptions, silent and simple, add up to 13.8% of the intervened turns, while parenthetical remarks add up to 12.4%. In confrontational segments the most common type of utterance is the comment: 88.7% of confrontational turns are comments rather than questions or answers.

Table 10. Intervened types of turns and question-answer for each category

	Types of interventions by guests					
	butting-in inter-rup	confront. interv.	silent int.	overl.	simple int.	paren.rem.
answer to host	14.8%	3.5%	29.4%	40.0%	16.0%	9.8%
answer to guest	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%
answer to audience	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	2.4%
question by guest	0.0%	3.5%	17.6%	6.7%	32.0%	4.9%
comment by guest	85.2%	88.7%	52.9%	48.6%	52.0%	82.9%
Total	27	115	17	105	25	41

The next most frequent type of intervention in guests is overlaps (105 of guests' interventions are overlaps). Overlaps are used 40% of the times to answer a question by the host, 48.6% of the times to utter a comment and only 6.7% to ask a question. In addition, simple interruptions are largely produced to make comments: 52% of the cases are to produce a comment, 32% to ask questions, and 16% to answer a question by the host. Silent interruptions are also used similarly: 52.9% of the cases in which guests use a silent interruption are to make a comment, while 29.4% are to answer a question by the host and 17.6% to ask a question. Butting-in interruptions appear mainly in answers to the host, which means that guests are interrupted at the moment in which they are going to answer the host in 14.8% of the occasions, which makes guests give up the turn. Cases of butting-in interruptions whose nature was not clear

(i.e. if they really were an answer) have been classified as comments (85.2% of the butting-in interruptions).

In fact, looking at the results, it is noticeable that the highest percentages of interventions used by guests are in order to produce a comment. This seems to indicate that those cases in which guests 'escape' from the question-answer are usually performed in the form of an intervention, as if it were the only way to produce a free contribution. The data shows that there are a total of 106 smooth comments, while 232 (68.6%) are intervened. Notice, however, that the number of overlaps in order to answer a question by the host is also high.

5.5.2. Types of intervened turns for Hosts

Table 11. Type of interventions by the host.

	butting-in int.	confr. int.	silent int.	overl	simple int.	paren rem.
answer to guest	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%
question by host	3.6%	25.9%	86.5%	69.4%	83.7%	0.0%
comment by host	96.4%	70.4%	13.5%	28.4%	16.3%	100.0%
Total	28	27	37	134	49	2
	10.1%	9.7%	13.4%	48.4%	17.7%	0.7%

The most common type of intervention by hosts is overlaps: 134 turns (48.4%) out of the 277 interventions are overlaps. The next most frequent is simple interruption, which accounts for 17.7% of all intervened turns by the host, and silent interruption, 13% of all intervened turns. Participation in confrontational sequences adds up to 9.7% of all intervened turns and parenthetical remarks merely account for 0.7% of all cases

Overlaps are the most common type of intervened turn by the host (48.8% of all the host's interventions). Out of those, 69.4% are to ask a question. In other words, the reason why the host overlaps with the current speaker is to elicit information. The rest of the overlaps are to introduce a comment (28.4%) or to answer a question by a guest, the latter only being 2.2% of all the host's interventions, as illustrated in figure 1 below.
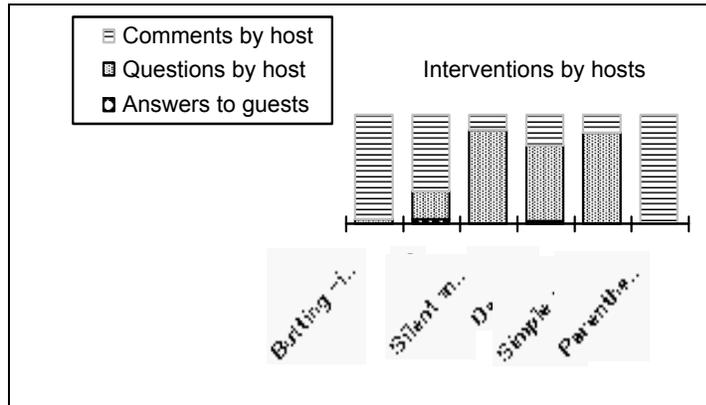
Figure 1. Interventions by hosts

Simple and silent interruptions are also principally produced in order to ask questions: 83.7% of all simple interruptions and 86.5% of all silent interruptions are produced with the purpose of asking a question. In confrontational segments, however, the host's participation is primarily comments: 70.4% of all the host's turns in confrontational sequences are comments, while only 25.9% are questions

5.6. Conclusions

As argued by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991: 95), the institutional character of the interaction is embodied foremost in its *form* — most notably in turn-taking systems, which depart substantially from the way in which turn-taking is managed in conversation. In this section, I classified turns in terms of question, answer and comment to determine the degree of turn-type pre-allocation (Atkinson and Drew 1979, Greatbatch 1988/1992, Heritage and Greatbatch 1992); since the question-answer format is the typical turn-taking format for formal institutional genres.

In the empirical analysis, the number of questions, answers and comments were surprisingly equal (somewhat over 30% for each type). Such degree of similarity was unexpected, except for question-answer adjacency pairs. These results indicate that for the most part, the question-answer sequence represents the most important framework for contributions, since 32.7% of the turns are questions and 31.1% answers (i.e. over 60% between the two). In turn, the percentage figures indicate that most questions are answered; only 1.6% are left unanswered. On the other hand, however, the percentage figure for comments (36.2%) establishes similarities with conversation, since the presence of comments indicates that the question-answer sequentiality is not always present and

that a certain relative freedom of turn-exchange is embedded in the Tabloid Talkshow activity framework.

Question-answer and speaker category

With regard to speaker category, it was observed that 50% of the contributions by individual members of the audience were comments, 38.2% were questions and only 11.8% are answers. In other words, the audience, when taking a turn, engages in types of activities other than questions, such as giving advice, threatening or blaming guests or censoring their behaviour, etc. The results for the audience-group display a total of 99% of comments. This has to do with the methodological procedure by which I argued that audience-group participation would be classified generally as comments expressing a variety of meanings such as rebuttal, anger, support, challenge, etc. Generally speaking, audience questions as well as comments, have been observed to fall into the challenging category. Our findings coincide with Guzman's (1996:56) who claims "that the most common role characteristic of the studio audience is to "comment" on anything that is said, discussed, or argued by guests or other members of the show."

The host's main activity is questioning, since 74.4% of his/her contributions are questions. Hosts rarely produce answers: only 0.6% of the hosts' turns are answers to requests for clarification about his/her previous question. That is, such questions were not really a demand for content information from the host. The fact that the percentage of questioning by the host is so high indicates that it is mainly within a question format that the host performs actions such as challenging, accusing, doubting, attacking, eliciting information, etc. (cf. Hutchby 1996:30). Thus, in the host's patterns of activities, answering questions comes last.

Finally, guests display 56.8% of answers, 38.7% comments and 4.6% questions. The guests' activities are, therefore, mainly answering and commenting while questioning is practically excluded. Nevertheless, unlike other more formal settings in which turn-type pre-allocation format restricts one participant to asking questions, and the other to answering (e.g. courtroom interaction), the activity pattern of the guests in Tabloid Talkshows is less restricted and allows a wider variety. Thus, although guests mainly restrict themselves to answering questions, they are allowed other types of activities .

The fact that guests do not engage more often in other activities speaks of the institutional character of the interaction: guests show an orientation towards the specialised turn-taking system as well as towards the constraints imposed on their identity as guests (the same has been observed with the audience). That is, although there are no official rules forbidding guests to ask questions, they refrain from doing so, hence reproducing the Tabloid Talkshow structure. As a

consequence, the host is allowed to play his/her role as the institutional representative present in the Tabloid Talkshow interaction.

Question-answer and self-selection

77.3% of all the answers were non-self-selected which can be interpreted as follows: a) that open questions are infrequent, b) that questions were specifically addressed to a particular speaker and c) that the other participants usually respect turn allocation by the current speaker.

In answers by guests, the degree of self-selection was very low: only 26.6% of the answers were self-selected; the rest, 78.4.% were the result of turn-allocation by the current speaker. It was noticed, nevertheless, that the number of comments by guests was also quite high (338 turns i.e., 38,7% of all the guests' turns). The results for guests indicate that their main activity is answering questions allocated to them, which coincides with the institutional role assigned to guests by the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut.

In the case of individual members of the audience and of the audience-group, the number of answers was very low. Individual members of the audience only answered 4 questions (50% through self-selection and 50% through non-self-selection) and the audience-group only answered one question. Regarding the number of questions, individual members of the audience ask 13 questions: 61.5% of their questions through self-selection and 38.5% through non-self-selection.

Participants also engage in other types of activities such as commenting, which are usually carried out through self-selection: 38% of all guests' contributions are comments. Guests' comments account for 20.6% of all analysed turns, while comments by hosts account for only 9% of all turns. The mean, however, balances in favour of the host: 13 as opposed to 8.6 for individual guests. The audience produces 47.1% of all their comments through self-selection and 52.9% through non-self-selection. In contrast with these results is the fact that all the hosts' questions and comments are 100% accomplished by self-selection, and so are the great majority of the audience-group's turns.

The variety of activities used by all the categories seems to indicate that, at least apparently, there is no rule or process which disables participants from self-selecting in order to perform any kind of activity. One example would be those cases in which guests, answer questions which have not been specifically addressed to them (e.g. 30% of the answers by guests). That is, those cases in which the guests intentionally decide to answer a question addressed to another participant.

Such results reveal another important generic feature of Tabloid Talkshows, i.e., that turn-taking is clearly influenced by the guests' private agendas which

may differ from those dictated beforehand by the production team. That is, the guests may feel the need to express their own opinions and/or views, and self-select in order to do so. These actions disrupt the question-answer format and alter the institutional agenda for the Tabloid Talkshow. The same as with confrontational sequences, the alteration of the implicit agenda, is a generic feature of Tabloid Talkshows.

Question-answer format in relation to type of turn exchange

The results show that 64% of all questions by hosts are found in smooth exchanges, questions by guests and the audience show the opposite: 60% of all guests questions are intervened, so are 61.5% of those by the audience. As for answers, 86.8% of answers to the host occur in smooth turn exchanges, while answers to questions by guests are 40.9% intervened turns. Answering questions from the audience is also performed 45.5% of the times with intervened turns. Finally, comments by both guests and hosts are often through intervened turns.

These differences between the host and the rest of the categories are reproducing the institutional character of the interaction. They prove respect for the status and role of the host by allowing him to complete his/her questions (86.8% of the questions by the host are in smooth exchanges), while the other categories are often interrupted before they actually complete their turn. Concentrating on the results obtained for intervened turns, I will now discuss how the host uses interruptions to exert control over speaker participation as well as control over topic development.

Guests' participation in intervened exchanges

As I explained in section 4.6, interruptions have been traditionally considered as signs of power and dominance. However, Goldberg (1990) and Hutchby, among others, claim that there are power and non-power interruptions (Goldberg 1990) or, what is the same, "co-operative" and "confrontational" (Hutchby 1996:77). It is the principles underlying these classifications of interruptions that I extend to the use of other types of incursive actions and that serve to explain the nature of such actions in the Tabloid Talkshow context. I pay special attention to the type of interventions by guests and hosts.

The highest percentages of intervened turns by guests are used in order to produce comments (70.3% of all guests' intervened turns), only 7.3% are to ask questions and 1.5% to answer questions from other guests. This high percentage of comments in guests' intervened turns (38.7% of all the guest's turns), as argued above, may indicate a non-coincidence between guests' agendas an the

institution. However, the highest percentage of interventions by guests appear in confrontational-sequences. Such confrontational sequences (cf. chapter six for details) display the quasi-conversational character of the Tabloid Talkshow interaction and its permeable boundaries (Drew and Heritage 1992:28), as they allow a relatively unconstrained exchange of personal opinions. However, far from being considered deviations from the norm, confrontational sequences are fostered by the institution itself. Additionally, confrontational-segments are usually guest-oriented in the sense that they confront guests (and maybe audience) between them (an the expert) rather than confronting the host. By compelling themselves to "be free" only when they are allowed to do so and by respecting the exclusion of the host from the confrontation, the participants in the interaction orient themselves towards the institutional character of the interaction. This caused me to wonder if those actions which apparently seem to be examples of categories behaving off-role were really reproducing the "deviant" institutional character of the interaction, and if they were co-operative rather than disrupting.

Co-operative interventions by guests

The next most frequent type of intervention used by guests was overlaps. However, 40% of those overlaps were used to answer questions from the host. The same process occurred with simple interruptions (16% were produced to answer a question from the host). Adding up those percentages, we have that all in all 20% (63) of the total number of all incursive turns by guests (330) are produced to answer a question from the host. Examples are those cases in which the speaker anticipates the end of the current speaker's utterance and starts to give an appropriate response (e.g. in cases where the host repeats the same question twice; where the main part of the content of the utterance has been already uttered, etc.). Oreström (1983:160/164) describes those situations as follows: "many answers to questions were also uttered before the question was completed. One probable reason for this was often that the question was longer than expected or 'editing redundancy'." Along the same lines, Goldberg (1990: 887) identifies such situations, among other pressures, as sufficiently strong reasons to induce a listening party to initiate a turn before the speaker has finished.

In my opinion, the fact that overlaps by guests are often generated to answer questions from the host may reveal them as cooperative actions rather than incursive, since: a) the guests, in compliance with their institutional role in the interaction, may feel that it is an interactional requirement for them to answer quickly, no matter how. Thus, b) these overlaps are sometimes involuntarily produced because, in their haste to answer, guests miscalculate the end of the

host's turn. Hence, most overlaps initiated by guests are brief and come at the very end of the current turn. This type of overlaps I call *tail overlaps*. They start in the last word or even a couple of syllables before turn-completion, and they are often produced because speakers may be anticipating either possible completion points within utterances or the ends of utterances (cf. Ferguson 1977:300). Tail overlaps, in this case, are cooperative and show the guests' eagerness to answer the host's question as quickly as possible. If we added these *co-operative* overlaps to non-selected turns— since the host is really addressing his talk to the guest who overlaps in an attempt to answer the question addressed to him— the number of non-self-selected turns in guests would surpass the number of self-selected turns. The reason for doing so, it might be argued, could be that these could be considered as *fake* cases of self-selection, or unintentional intervened turns.

Interventions by hosts

The use of interventions by hosts is of a very different nature. The host intervenes in the current speaker's turn with the purpose of asking questions: 62.8% of the overlaps, the most common type of intervened turn for the host, are produced to ask questions. The host also uses simple and silent interruption, frequently to ask questions: 83.7% of all simple interruptions and 86.5% of all silent interruptions by hosts are realised with the purpose of asking a question. Consequently, the host, on interrupting a turn with a question, is re-orientating talk, changing topics, re-organising story-telling, and even forcing speaker-shift (e.g. the host may address his/her question to a different participant). These, using Goldberg's (1990:890) terminology, are examples of power oriented interruptions since the questions introduced by the host are usually "divergent in goal orientations... [and] individual interests and wants regardless of their partner's interests and wants... and are designed to wrest the discourse from the speaker by gaining control of the conversational process and/or content."

It has been tested in our data, that the host uses both types of interruptions, that is, *process control* interruptions by which s/he organises the order of participation of the participants in the Tabloid Talkshow and *content control* interruptions. The latter are used to guide and structure the narratives by guests as well as to avoid side sequences. Interruptions may go back to previous questions avoided by the guests, or re-direct talk towards the most relevant or sensational details of the stories, etc. In turn, most host's interruptions are face-threatening. Conversely, interruptions which cause change of topics, re-organising etc., are hardly ever used by guests. Furthermore, if guests try to use them, they may be hindered by the host.

As explained above, cooperative interventions, e.g. tail overlaps, were con-

sidered as an act on the part of the speaker meant to contribute to the progress of the interaction (cf. Oreström 1983: 176) rather than disrupting it. Goldberg (1990) notices, however, that what may be perceived by one participant as co-operative can be interpreted by others as uncooperative or as a token of dominance or power. In this sense, what may be perceived by guests as cooperative may not look as such to the host. That is why, although one speaker may interrupt with the intention of being co-operative, his action may be misinterpreted. That is why Stainton (1987) classifies interruptions as incursive and to be avoided.

Accordingly, the host will sometimes interpret guests' or audience's attempts to intervene as a threat to the institutional agenda and may try to stop them, as it is the host's responsibility to make sure that guests and audience remain on task within the bounds of what the programme makers and viewers expect. The agenda, therefore, also limits and constrains the host's participation.

All in all, in using incursive types of interventions (overlaps, simple and silent interruption, confrontational turns) the incoming speaker is intentionally choosing to intervene in the current speaker's turn with the intention of taking the floor. That is, in having the option of retreat (e.g. butting-in interruption) s/he refrains from doing so. Such an action will cause a reaction on the part of the speaker being intervened. His/her reaction to the intervention also plays an important role in the discourse. Interventions are then interactional and reciprocal in nature.

Question and answers: how, why, to whom, by whom.

The results indicate that more than 50% of the turns are monopolised by the host's questions and that most of the questions formulated by hosts are answered (except for 0.5%). This is in contrast with the percentage figures for unanswered questions for the guests and for the audience. It is thus clear that the participants in the interaction are more oriented to answer questions by the host and less by the other participants. These results indicate that the host monopolises the interaction among the participants as well as the orientation of participants to the institutional setting and institutional identities and status,. Furthermore, although comments by other categories may indicate free participation, their content can ultimately be related to questions by the host. This feature proves, once more the institutional character of the interaction. As expressed by Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:99), "these challenges and responses overwhelmingly remain packed within turns that remain minimally recognisable as questions and answers respectively."

The implications of the results obtained for question-answer processes can be measured by considering three general differences between questions and

answers, with respect to the turn allocation procedures stated by Greatbatch (1988:413) for news interviews. Greatbatch claims that:

1. By virtue of the fact that they project and require the occurrence of answers, questions can be used to select next speakers. Hence, by addressing a question to a specific party, a current speaker selects that party to produce an answer and thus speak next.
2. Answers, by contrast, cannot be used to allocate a next turn. If the recipients of questions confine themselves to answering, next turns are left to be allocated through self-selection.
3. Speakers may self-select in order to produce a question without some other activity having had to have been done first by a co-participant. However, they can only self-select in order to produce an answer if a co-participant has first produced a question and done so without selecting a specific party to answer it.

The data analysed has proved that guests and audience do not use the opportunity to ask questions as often as the host does. That is, although they have access to all types of activities, they avoid asking questions. Hence, reproducing the generic conventions of the Tabloid Talkshow. Observation of turn-design indicates that almost invariably guests do not exceed the propositional content of questions; but, almost invariably, answers match such content. Furthermore, in merely answering without allocating the turn, guests create an empty slot which will have to be filled by the host as the category institutionally responsible for topic management and participation control. In this way, the guests are restricting their activity to answering and refraining from the activity of questioning, therefore producing and orienting their talk to activity patterns that conform to the asymmetrical relationship somehow present in the Tabloid Talkshow. The participants respect, to a certain extent, the fact that the distribution of turns is almost in the hands of the host. This is more obvious in opening phases such as the ones analysed here, because guests wait till they are introduced to participate in the conversation. It all indicates that one of the conventions of the Tabloid Talkshow genre is an implicit agreement between guests and hosts which manifests itself in the fact that guests do not speak until introduced and are given the turn by the host.

Hosts also take an active part in reproducing the institutional framework through their routine way of conducting talk, by using, among other techniques, what Tannen (1981) referred to as the *machine-gun question technique*. That is, hosts do not allow for many slots or possible empty spaces in talk but fill the conversational space with so many questions that little time is left for possible free contributions unrelated to his/her previous questions. The use of this type

of resource to control talk is used only by the host. In respecting this resource as part of the hosts' activity patterns, other participants are structurally constrained. Such organisational pattern situates the participants in a structurally asymmetrical relationship (Hutchby 1996:113).

This chapter has dealt with the role and function of questions, answers and comments in Tabloid Talkshows. I have discussed the statistical results obtained in classifying individual turns as question, answer or comment and the implications that using one or another have in revealing the institutional constraints imposed on the participants in the interaction. In the next chapter I will look at confrontational sequences as one key generic feature of Tabloid Talkshows.

6. CONFRONTATIONAL SEQUENCES

In chapter three above I discussed the concept of floor and agreed that turn and floor were different and that the floor may be held by more than one participant at the same time. Edelsky (1981:397) and Denny (1985:44ff.), among others, point out that one-at-a-time is not a conversational universal. Edelsky differentiates between two types of floor, F1 (one-at-a time-type of floor) and F2 (where two or more people either take part in an apparent free-for-all or a jointly built idea, operating on the same wavelength). Both floors, according to Edelsky, seem to interact in conversations and are relevant to be considered in the study of multiparty conversations. I illustrate and discuss both types with examples taken from my corpus. Example 8 below shows a case in which three speakers take part in the re-construction of a past event and overlap on several occasions. Even a fourth speaker, the host, intervenes later to reconduct speakers towards an F1, assigning a turn by nomination (asks a question to G3) to restore the order:

(2)   G1 [But that doesn't mean anything
        G2[But that doesn't mean he's gay. He's just he....

        [interruption from the audience: audience booing; all talking at the same time]
        G3 No =
        G2 =No no no no no
        {audience booing}
        H   Alright, I know it's complicated guys. But, let's stick with the issue. The issue is that she (+) tried to get... sabotage the relationship with Sean
                [so she could have Nelse for herself
        G2 [I did not trying to sabotage] I did not - trying to sabotage, I just told Sean that Nelse &
        G3 & The relationship was bad already as it was =
        G2 [= And I told Sean that

G1[She did
G3[XXX know that she did]
   Ricki Lake. 1996. *You told me to dump him. Now you're with him.*

In example 8 above, the question asked about the relationship between the guests is answered at the same time by the three of them. They overlap with each other in the rush to provide their own particular version of the story. Edelsky reports this feature as commonly occurring in conversation in cases in which "apparently, a question for example, appeared legitimately answerable by many at once" (Edelsky 1981:415). According to Edelsky, if many answer at the same time, an F2 is produced.

A possible reason for the occurrence of confrontational sequences in Tabloid Talkshows may be the relation that holds between the guests and the topic, since there is almost always more than one participant who can give information about the same event; so, they may feel entitled to answer. That is, all the guests have come to the programme to discuss some personal event related to one topic in particular. In the example above, the title is *You told me to dump him. Now you're with him.* So all the participants have in common to be part of a group in which someone was "dumped" due to advice from a friend, who has now become the partner of the "dumped" person. Example 3 below shows this feature appearing on two occasions:

(3) H [XXXXXXXX other one too X other one too
   A [are you bisexual?]
   G1Am I? <A2-Yeah> I don't really
    [classify myself
   G3[No. No]
   A And and for the girl in pink. Are you trying to pull the point <S-Yeah> like trying to change him to see, you know
   G2& No. I'm not [trying to change him
   G3   [XXX always her attitude, you know]

    Ricki lake. 1996. *You told me to dump him. Now you're with him.*

The first question by A, one member of the studio audience, is answered, on the one hand, by G1 to whom the question is addressed; on the other by G3 who also knows the information required, in this case about G1. The same occurs with A's second question which is directed to G2 ('the girl in pink') but once more answered by G2 and G3. What happens is that all the participants have their own personal view about the situation and want to express their opinions (they all have different opinions about who is bisexual; or about the influence of

G2, for example, on G1). Consequently, they all try to answer the host's questions independently of whom they are addressed to, and irrespective of the turn-allocation techniques used by the questioner who, in both cases, explicitly addresses the question to one participant in particular.

In Tabloid Talkshows, free-for-alls occur frequently, are expected to occur, and, furthermore, they are fostered by the directors of the show. These *confrontational sequences* are the verbal manifestations of the confrontational nature of the interaction. Thus, in accepting the existence of confrontational sequences as prototypical of the Tabloid Talkshow genre, Edelsky's concept of floor is given a new dimension here. That is, I adopt the category F2 as one of the key generic features of Tabloid Talkshows. *Confrontational sequences,* as I call them, are formed by *confrontational-turns* and can be defined as stretches of highly confrontational talk in which several participants occupy the floor at the same time, and which are perceived by the listener as verbal duel matches (cf. Guzman 1996).

Linguistically, confrontational sequences impose limits on the audience, with regard to access to the discourse. Not only because of the limitations of the human apparatus but due to technical matters of transmission. In these cases, nevertheless, action substitutes language. The audience realises that there is conflict— the essence of the Tabloid Talkshow, and being able to understand the exact words does not matter any longer. Confrontational sequences are performed and accepted by the participants as *language in action* (Malinowski 1923) in which the action itself is what gives meaning to the verbal exchange. Confrontational sequences are one key feature which identifies Tabloid Talkshow interaction as one that fosters the breaking of conversational, interactional and politeness rules on TV in order to achieve a higher audience rating. By engaging in the production of confrontational sequences, the participants are engaged in the reproduction of the Tabloid Talkshow. They are enacting, producing and reproducing the Tabloid Talkshow context (Tracy 1998).

6. 1. Confrontational sequences and other types of interventions.

Confrontational sequences are characterised by a compendium of different types of interventions and an uncertainty about who is holding the floor at the moment they take place. They are usually extended over several turns. Formally, they can be considered as side sequences (Jefferson 1972), some longer than others, which momentarily disrupt the order in which the interaction mostly proceeds. Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:114) report that in news interviews, seriously escalated disagreements involve abandoning the turn-taking procedures and the footings which they embody. They explain that these *out of*

turn disagreements usually have a limited duration and that the interviewer will have to intervene in order to restore order and go back to the question-answer format.

In Tabloid Talkshows, such confrontational episodes are a "must", and the apparent breach in the turn-taking provision caused by them is not a mere occurrence but a key generic feature. This leads us to the point that if confrontational sequences do not emerge naturally, the host (or the producing team) will provoke their appearance by building up his/her discourse towards openly conflictive details which will cause confrontation. The reason why these in-turn disagreements are fostered is, echoing the words of many talkshow producers in charge of Tabloid Talkshows, that they raise audience ratings and therefore produce increased profit.

Anecdotally, in *Talk to Death* one of the producers proudly affirms that Tabloid Talkshows and their hosts are recalled and recognised not for the thousand shows they may have been shown, but for a few of them. They say that people interviewed on the streets remember only highly conflictive and confrontational programmes. Still today for example, people remember that Geraldo's nose got broken in a fight that took place during one of his shows around eight years ago. In the same way, Jenny Jones is nowadays recalled, almost exclusively, for the ambush show as a result of which one person was murdered (cf. Stasio 1995). While Jerry Springer is applaud for shows in which guests get involved in fights.

Tabloid Talkshows can be represented as one type of cyclical format containing three types of movements: (1) non-confrontational: parts of the talkshow that are not confrontational; they come to a point, however, in which they can be said to start building up towards confrontation; (2) confrontational: segments of dramatic breakdown in the turn-taking process; and (3) restoration of order and a first step towards a new confrontational moment. The duration of confrontational sequences depends on the host. Although s/he eventually restores order, the host often allows confrontational sequences to go on for a while to "warm up" the atmosphere. During that time, hosts often stand there watching impassively while on stage guests and the audience hold a verbal battle that may involve insulting, screaming, yelling at each other, etc. The host's interventions, if any, are with the intention of restoring order. Example 10 below reproduces this situation.

(10) H Δ [* What did you worry
      D Δ We—er—you never came to talk to me about what you guys were talking about.
      K Δ [I told you (XXX) work it out.
      D Δ [(X) never once never once.

T Δ [you never asked. Why did you never ask?
J Δ [(X) it seems like— Theresa =
D Δ [I did—I have]
J = it seems that when a couple is having a problem the first thing they
   do is try to talk it out. Did you guys talk about the problem? Did you
   talk about Dori?
   [with—with Dori?
K Δ [We tried. We]—we couldn't do it.
T ΔThat was part of the
[problem communication.] They didn't have it.
D Δ [You never came to me.
K Δ [You were always arguing.
D ΔYou didn't live there!
   [You don't know Theresa.
T Δ [No. But I cared about you guys Dori.
D Δ Oh [I'm sure.
T Δ   [I cared about you.
D Δ Yeah. Right.
T Δ Believe what you want to.
      [Believe what you want to.
D Δ [And this is how (X)
T Δ [It don't matter.
D Δ [(X)—men. And you cared about my daughter too.
                    Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses.*

It is in the hands of the host to restore order, the turn-taking procedures and
the footings (Goffman 1981) of the Tabloid Talkshow. The host does so usually
with a question whose preface may sometimes even include a sanction to the
parties as "arguing yet again" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:115): the host may
impose his/her authority on guests with resources such as: naming them directly
and ordering/asking them to stop fighting; forcing them to listen to his question,
scolding them, etc. By doing so, the host is overtly making use of the Tabloid
Talkshow turn-taking provisions and of his/her identity and status as host, hence
enacting the context. In such context, the status of the host grants him/her the
right to impose a return to the "*status quo ante* that is managed in and through
the turn-taking provisions" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:131).

Other consequences of the distortions caused by confrontational sequences
have to do with politeness phenomena. Confrontational moments are usually
caused by, at the same time as they cause, face threatening acts (Brown and
Levinson 1987) which result in impolite episodes. Sometimes in the final edit-
ing of the show, they will censor insults, for example; or the host will heap re-

proaches upon the guest's for their behaviour, as illustrated in examples 11 below.

(11) G1 And she thinks people want to take it
      G2 Pablo, it isn't that. I'm going to punch you. Don't start that (*censored*)
          with me. And I mean it. This guy- he's a - look (*censored*) . Look.
      G1 It's (*censored*).It's (*censored*). It's (*censored*)
      G2 People get killed over that.
      G3 No maybe it's not your problem because you're a guy.
      G1 Might I speak? Might I have a moment?
      G2 No, it's just they are my things. They belong to me.
      G3 No, I've lived in this apartment building.
      G1 I don't want to interrupt you guys...
      G4 We all live there
      G2 Coming from somebody who thinks - who thinks it's OK to go into
          someone else's -and take what they want. It's not OK, Pablo.

                    Geraldo. 1996. *Meth madness: poor man's cocaine.*

   In example 11 above, guests are continuously overlapping, arguing, even insulting each other or using four letter words (the censoring), threatening (I'm going to punch you), ignoring polite requests for turn (Might I speak? Might I have a moment?), etc. The host allows the confrontational sequence to continue and does not intervene throughout 25 turns. When he does, he does so to restore order. On this occasion the host uses his/her authority to grant the turn to a member of the audience. This member of the audience asks one of the guests a question, thus terminating the confrontational moment. A similar example can be found in Sally's *I'm fed up with my teen*, in which mother and daughter scream, yell and insult each other for more than 5 minutes. Sally only intervenes at the end.

   Confrontational sequences demand from the guests (and also from the audience) the ability to make a spectacle of themselves in front of an audience of millions. If they argue and insult each other, the show gains emotion and adrenaline flows. This is what the audience expects to see in these type of programmes. Confrontational sequences are consequently the feature around which the turn-taking is organised.

6. 2. Analysis

   The analysis was carried out by counting the turns that formed confrontational sequences. The percentages displayed below show the different types of

interventions that appeared in our data. Confrontational sequences were one of them.

Table 12. Types of intervened turns

	Freq.	Percent.
butting-in interruption	55	8.4%
confrontational interventions	157	24.1%
silent interruption	55	8.4%
overlap	255	39.1%
simple interruption	86	13.2%
parenthetical remarks	44	6.7%
Total	652	

Table 12 above shows that the most common type of intervention is the overlap which accounts for 39.1% of all intervened turns, followed by confrontational interventions, which add up to 24.1%. Butting-in interruptions account for 8.4%, the same as silent interruptions 8.4%; finally, simple interruptions, 13.2%, and parenthetical remarks account for 6.7% of all turns.

In Gregori (1999, in press) I explained the consequences that the distribution of interventions had for each of the categories appearing in the interaction. I concluded that although all categories feel equally comfortable in producing interventions, they do not all use them in the same way. It all seems to indicate that the host enjoys more privileges with regard to the use and abuse of interventions. By allowing the host to intervene at will in the ongoing talk, guests and audience are enacting their roles of providers of information rather than elicitors of information (cf. Houtkoop and Mazeland 1985).

I will now focus on confrontational sequences and how each category participates in them. Table 13 below reproduces the results obtained from analysing interventions by different categories.

Table 13. Types of interventions used by the different categories

	aud. indiv.	aud. group	guest	host
butting-in interrup.	0.0%	0.0%	8.2%	10.1%
confront. intervent.	33.3%	33.3%	34.8%	9.7%

silent interrup.	6.7%	0.0%	5.2%	13.4%
overlap	33.3%	36.7%	31.8%	48.4%
simple interrup.	20.0%	30.0%	7.6%	17.7%
parenth. remarks	6.7%	0.0%	12.4%	0.7%
Total	15	30	330	277

Chi square = 123.14   DF = 15 p value = 0.00000000

The results from the analysis displayed higher percentages of confrontational turns in three of the four categories taking part in the interaction: individual members of the audience, audience-group and guests. The host seemed to intervene less in confrontational sequences: the total number of host's confrontational turns is 27 while those of the guests numbered 115. Initially, these results may suggest that in the moments of confrontation, the host retires, somehow leaving the rest of the participants to confront each other. This difference in number of confrontational-turns was tested against the mean and the results showed strikingly similar endings of participation for both (i.e., the mean for the confrontational sequences in relation to the hosts and the guests participation is 2.25 for the host and 2.8 for guests). In general, the percentages of intervened turns displayed a predominance of what I consider open incursive actions (overlaps, interruptions and confrontational interventions, which, in total, add up to 84.8% of all intervened turns) over more restricted types of interventions (parenthetical remarks and butting-in interruptions). This confirmed the Tabloid Talkshow tendency to include confrontational segments as part of the interaction. It also indicates that participants, having the choice of one or another, will choose open incursions into someone's talk rather than refraining from using them.

Yet, the activity of the host's participation in confrontational sequences is qualitatively different from guests'. That is, the host's participation in confrontational sequences is almost exclusively re-introducing moves (Goldberg 1990:891) which only try to restore order; while the guest's confrontational turns are topic related. Thus, hosts' participation in confrontational sequences is more form-oriented while guest's turns are more content-oriented. The interpretation may therefore be that the host is practically an outsider in confrontational sequences while the guests and audience get deeply involved in the confrontations.

6.3. Conclusions

Confrontational sequences are conflict moments in which participants seem

to forget their orientation to the institutional setting and invade each other's territory. That is, confrontational sequences and interventions are practical and generic resources by which the participants can frame their talk as confrontational (cf. Hutchby 1996:92). At content level, interventions and confrontational-talk reflect the controversy and conflict between opposite views. It is because such interactional strategies and processes interplay with the institutional setting that the social structure Tabloid Talkshow is reproduced and created.

The fact that guests have the highest participation in confrontational sequences and that this is the type of intervention that they make use of more often (73% of all interventions by guests are confrontational sequences), somehow displays the quasi-conversational character of the Tabloid Talkshow interaction and its permeable boundaries (Drew and Heritage 1992:28); since confrontational sequences allow a relatively unconstrained exchange of personal opinions among the guests.

The reality, nevertheless, is that confrontational sequences are tolerated by the host: i.e., guests usually respect the hosts' order to stop the verbal duel. In other words, confrontational sequences are often brief and they terminate whenever the host wants them to. Additionally, the nature of confrontational sequences, as argued above, indicates that they are really guest-oriented in the sense that they confront guests (and maybe audience) between them rather than confronting the host. They are fostered by the institution itself which uses them as a gimmick to attract an audience. So, even if confrontational sequences suggest a certain degree of freedom to interact (departing from the question-answer format towards a more conversational style), this is only apparent; since it really depends on the institution to allow such freedom. The participants orient themselves towards the institutional character of the interaction by compelling themselves to "be free" only when they are allowed to. This made us question whether those actions which seem to be examples of categories behaving off-role were really reproducing the deviant institutional character of the interaction and whether those actions were co-operative with the structure itself rather than disrupting.

In this chapter I have analysed the occurrence and meaning of confrontational sequences in Tabloid Talkshows. Confrontational sequences have been identified as a key generic feature of Tabloid Talkshows which disrupts the smooth progression of the interaction at the same time that is reproducing the confrontational nature of the genre. In the next chapter, I will discuss possible genre differences that have emerged in the analysis of turn-taking in the twelve extracts analysed.

7. MALE-FEMALE DISCURSIVE BEHAVIOUR IN TABLOID TALKSHOWS.

7.1. Preamble

Since their origins, Tabloid Talkshows have often been linked to women rather than men (cf. chapter two). As Livingstone and Lunt (1994:42) claim, "the topics of talkshows are often *women issues*; they are frequently scheduled for housewives in the daytime; and they are concerned with gossip and story-telling" (cf. Munson 1993). As it is often claimed that there are differences in discourse according to gender, it seemed relevant to discover if there were any differences in the discourse depending on the sex of the participants.

The view of gender and language, encoded in the literature on gender, is that fundamental differences between women and men shape the way they talk. Among the earliest conceptualisations of gender and language is the work by Lakoff (1973, 1975), who proposed that women characteristically use a speech style that is hesitant, ingratiating and weak. Zimmerman and West's (1975) study of power and dominance, which looked at interruptions and lapses in the flow of conversation, was pioneering in its claim that men deny equal status to women as conversational partners. Such view is still sustained by some recent studies on doctor-patient interaction for example, which seem to indicate that men and women physicians realise power in different ways. Ainsworth-vaughn (1992), for example, claims that the ways women constitute being a woman physician may surely affect social and sociolinguistic norms for the role and for the encounter. She notices, for instance, that American women physicians were interrupted more often than men (cf. West and Zimmerman 1985). Along the same lines Eggins and Slade (1997:251ff) prove that there are gender differences in the telling of stories, while Kollock et al. (1985) talk about how sex and power in interaction concede certain conversational privileges and duties for the participants (cf. Santaemilia, in press). Berrier (1997), on the other hand, studies the effect of gender on multi-party conversations and so do several publications by Tannen (1991, 1989) who has pointed out several important conversational differences between genders.

As for the methods used to study gender differences, Crawford (1996) points out the need to reframe and reformulate research on gender and talk, and proceeds to critically examine the research carried out in such field. Crawford (1995:21) claims that the use of context-sensitive methods need to be complemented with the analysis of rhetorical/textual practices in order to understand how women's language works. She claims that "it is necessary to recognise the effects of structural inequality on language and the role of language practices in maintaining- and disrupting- that inequality." In order to check if there were any gender differences in the discourse of Tabloid Talkshows, I looked at some turn-taking features such as: number of turns, degree of self-selection; type of exchange and types of interventions for each genre, in relation to the categories taking part in the interaction. The results are discussed below.

7.2. Male-female participation in the data analysed

In terms of gender, there were forty-nine female participants and nineteen male participants. Regarding category and sex, there were twelve male guests and twenty-seven female guests. The number of male hosts was seven and of female hosts five. The individual members of the audience who participated, voluntarily, were all female: a total of seventeen turns from female individual members of the audience were registered. The participation of the audience group could not be classified in terms of gender since it was not possible to count, and, accordingly, classify, the studio-audience. The general impression is, however, that there were more women than men. As indicated in chapter three, I analysed each turn individually and obtained percentages for each relevant feature. Additionally, since the number of men and women was not the same, I compared, in each case, those percentages with the mean in order to obtain a clearer picture of what was going on in the interaction. It is worth pointing out, notwithstanding, that the predominance of women is already indicative, since participants usually come voluntarily to the show.

7.3. Analysis

7. 2. 1. Number of turns according to category and gender.

The table obtained from the analysis, which illustrated the number of turns for each category and gender, has been interpreted in two ways- both horizontally and vertically: table 14 interprets the table horizontally and displays the frequency of female and male turns and their distribution across the different

categories; while table 15 interprets the same data vertically, that is, the number of turns for each category and whether these are uttered by male or by female. Finally, in table 16 the mean for the same data has been calculated.

As displayed in table 14 below, 901 turns are taken by female participants and 656 by male. In percentages, 57.8% of all contributions come from women and 42.1% from men. In female turns, the highest participation comes from guests (70%) followed by hosts (26.2%). In male turns, the highest participation is by hosts (63%).

Table 14. Male-female turns and category

	Female	Male
audience-individual	3.8%	0.0%
guest	70%	37%
host	26.2%	63%
Total	57.8% (901)	42.1% (656)

Chi square = 221.45   DF= 2   p-value = 0.00000000

Table 15. Number of turns for each category and sex.

	audience-individual	**guest**	**host**
Female	100.0%	72.2%	36.4%
Male	0.0%	27.8%	63.6%
Total	34	874	649

Chi square = 221.45   DF= 2   p-value = 0.00000000

One of the most noticeable results is that participation from individual members of the studio-audience all comes from females: 100% of audience-individual turns involved females, with 0% participation from males. In guest turns, there is also a prevalence of female turns: 72.2% of the turns involved females while merely 27.8% were taken by males. Female guests clearly participate more than male guests. On the contrary, the results for contributions from the host indicate that male hosts participate more than female hosts: only 36.4% of the contributions come from female hosts, while 63.6% come from male hosts.

These results have also been contrasted with the mean of the number of turns for male and female guests and hosts since the numbers are not the same. The mean indicates that female guests participate slightly more than males: the dif-

ference is only 3 turns more in favour of females. In hosts' contributions, how-
ever, there is a difference of almost 10 turns between male and female, in fa-
vour of males. Table 16 below displays the results.

Table 16. Mean number of turns for male and female guests and hosts.

	N° of turns	Mean
female guests	631	23, 3
male guests	243	20,25
female hosts	236	47,2
male hosts	413	59

The mean number of turns indicates that male guests and female guests be-
have similarly. In hosts, however, higher participation is shown on the part of
male hosts (59) as opposed to female hosts (47,2). With regard to the audience
individual, in all the shows analysed there was not even a single participation by
a male member of the studio audience.

7.2.2. Male-female self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns.

As displayed in table 17 below, both males and females seem to prefer self-
selection. In the case of male turns, 80.3% of the contributions are self-
selection; as for female turns, the percentage of self-selection is 66.1%, a figure
lower than that of the males. So, the percentage for non-self-selection females is
higher (33.9%) than the percentage for males (19.7%).

Table 17. Male-female self-selected vs. non-self-selected turns

	Female	**Male**
Self-selected	66.1%	80.3%
Non-self-selected	33.9%	19.7%
Total	901	656

The mean for self-selection was also calculated, for both males and females.
Table 18 below illustrates the results.

Table 18. Mean for male-female self-selected turns

	Female	Male
Self-selected	12,2	27,7
Non-self-selected	6,2	6,8

As illustrated by the results in table 19 below, the mean confirms the percentages in relation to gender and guests. With regard to guests, both genders make use of self-selection more than non-self-selection (non-self-selection is 6.2 for females and 6.7 for males). A greater difference is perceived, however, for self-selection: males show a higher amount of self-selected turns than females (males 27,7 and females 12,2). These percentages were also cross-compared with the different categories.

Table 19. Male-female self-selection for guests.

	Guests	
	Female	Male
Self-selected	54.7 %	47.3 %
Non-self-selected	45.3 %	52.7 %
Total	631	243

Table 20. Male-female self-selection for hosts

	Hosts	
	Female	Male
Self-selected	98.7 %	99.8 %
Non-self-selected	1.3 %	0.2 %
Total	236	413

As illustrated in the tables 19 and 20, the percentages of self-selection vs. non-self-selection for each gender do not show significant differences regarding the categories guest and hosts. Guests' contributions seem to be almost fifty per cent of each type for both male and female. With respect to hosts, it is self-selection which clearly predominates in both male and female. The results suggest that it is the category rather than the gender which influences behaviour.

7.2.3. Type of exchange for male and female participants

A cross-comparison was carried out between male and female participation

to check smooth vs. intervened turn exchange. The results are presented in table 21 below.

Table 21. Female-male types of turn exchange

	Female	Male
intervened	41.1%	38.4%
smooth	58.9%	61.6%
Total	901	656

In female turns, 41,1% are intervened while 58.9% are accomplished smoothly. In male turns, 61.1% of the exchanges are smooth, while 38.40% include interventions in the current speaker's turn. There is a predominance for smooth speaker-shift in both male and female participants.

If we interpret the table horizontally (see table 22 below) the difference between female and male use of both types of turns is not indeed significant, but it seems to indicate that they can easily alternate between both. Interventions are performed 60% of the time by females and 41% by males. In the case of smooth turns it is also very similar: 56.8% by females and a 61.6% by males.

Table 22. Distribution between male and female of interventions and smooth turns

	Female	Male	Total
intervened turns	59.5%	40.5%	622
smooth turns	56.8%	61.6%	935

7.2.4. Male-female use of interventions

Table 23. Types of interventions according to sex.

	Female	Male	Total
butting-in interruption	50.9%	49.1%	55
confront. interventions	65.3%	34.7%	147
silent interruption	50.9%	49.1%	55
overlap	57.8%	42.2%	244
simple interruption	50.6%	49.4%	77
parenthetical remarks	86.4	13.6	44
Total			622

Chi square = 22.15 DF = 5   p value = 0.00048974

The percentages for male-female use of the different types of interventions

are similar for most of the types of interventions. As far as butting-in interruptions are concerned, 50.9% of the total number is by females and 49.1% by males; as for silent interruptions, 50.9% are by male and 49.1% by females. Parenthetical remarks and confrontational interventions are used more by females: 86.4% of the parenthetical remarks are produced by females and 13.6% by males. These differences were checked against the mean and the results show a slight difference in favour of females: 0.7 parenthetical remarks for females and 0.4 parenthetical remarks for males. There is also higher participation of women in confrontational sequences: 65.3% female as opposed to 34.7% by males.

Regarding male-female use of interventions, the results display no significant differences between them. Both males and females display a similar number of interventions, with the mean indicating a slightly higher number for males (7,5 for females and 13 for males). However, this apparent difference which would confirm that males intervene more often, was double-checked with a stratified analysis. The stratified analysis proved that, as regards categories, the difference is not significant either. In hosts it was 23.4 for females and 22.8 for males. As for guests, it was 8.8 for females and 7.6 for males. Hence, gender appears to count for little as regards interventions, a result that contradicts previous studies (cf. Lakoff 1970, West and Zimmerman 1985, Zimmerman and West 1975) and the widely held belief that men interrupt more than women. Let us look at the types of interventions that each gender made use of.

7.2.4.1. Most frequent types of interventions by male and female.

The table 24 shows the most common type of interventions was for male and female.

Table 24. Types of interventions for male-female participants

	Female	Male
butting-in interruption	7.6%	10.7%
confrontational intervention	25.9%	20.2%
silent interruption	7.6%	10.7%
overlap	38.1%	40.9%
simple interruption	10.5%	15.1%
parenthetical remarks	10.3%	2.4%
Total	370	252

Chi square = 22.15   DF= 5   p value = 0.00048974

Both male and female show very similar percentages for almost all types of interventions. Butting-in interruptions occupy 7.6% of all female turns and 10.7% of male turns. Confrontational turns occupy 26% of the female turns and 20% of male turns. Simple interruptions make up 15% of the male turns, that is, approximately 5% more than by females (10.6%). Finally, overlaps accounted for 38.2% of the interventions in females, and 40.7% of all male interventions. Overlaps were the most common type of intervened turn for both male and female. As indicated by such results, the difference between male and female, in terms of types of interventions used in their discourse, is not very large. This similarity, however, becomes highly significant, since it tells us that both male and female feel equally comfortable in making use of different types of interventions.

A more noticeable difference has been observed with regards to parenthetical remarks, which account for 10.3% of female turns and 2.4% of male turns. These may suggest, tentatively, that women intervene and comment more than men on what's going on, signalling therefore that they feel more comfortable in doing so. This maybe due to the fact that they feel it is their territory. That is a question, however, which I cannot answer here.

7.2.4.2. Mean number of interventions for male and female.

The similarities shown between male and female in the percentages of interventions were confirmed by the calculation of the mean (see table 25 below) for both hosts and guests. The mean indicates that hosts intervene in turns almost three times more than guests.

Table 25. Mean number of interventions for male and female

	Nº of interventions	Mean
Host	277	23
Guest	330	8.4

Table 26. Stratified analysis. Mean number for female-male number of interventions.

	Guest		Host	
	Nº of interventions	Mean	Nº of interventions	Mean
Female	238	8.8	117	23.4
Male	92	7.6	160	22.8

As indicated by the mean calculated above, there are no significant differences between males and females regarding number of interventions and cate-

gory. The results obtained confirm once more that in such a context it is not gender which influences behaviour but the internal category and internal status (Gregori 1999).

7.2.5. Questions, answers and comments

With regards to answers, as illustrated in table 27 below, almost 70% of the answers were provided by females, while in questions, males (58.6%) show a higher percentage than females (34.4%). As for comments, females (63.2%) seem to produce a higher number than males. Such results were compared with those obtained for each category. A stratified analysis was carried out for this purpose.

Table 27. Questions, answers and comments by males and females.

	Female	**Male**	**Total**
answers	356	154	510
	69.8%	30.2%	32.8%
questions	222	314	536
	41.4%	58.6%	34.4%
comments	323	188	511
	63.2%	36.8%	32.8%

Chi square = 95.27 DF= 2 p value = 0.00000000 <---

Table 28. Questions, answers and comments by guests.

Guests			
	Female	**Male**	**Total**
answers	347	149	496
	70.0%	30.0%	56.8%
questions	35	5	40
	87.5%	12.5%	4.6%
comments	249	89	338
	73.7%	26.3%	38.7%
Total			874

Chi square = 6.27   DF = 2   p value = 0.04354003

As indicated by the results in table 28 above, guest-females seem to produce more answers (70%) than males (30%), and also more questions (87.5%). The

latter is due to the fact that contribution from the studio audience comes exclusively from women, a fact that increases the percentage. Comments are also made more often by women than men. Such results seem to suggest higher participation in the interaction on the part of female guests present. Notice, however that the number of females is higher.

Table 29 below displays some differences in the behaviour of male and female hosts. The number of answers is the same. This indicates that hosts usually do not answer many questions whether male or female. Differences are observed, nevertheless, in relation to questions. Male hosts produce 64% of the questions, as opposed to 36% by female hosts. Similar percentages can be observed in relation to comments: 36.5% are made by female hosts and 63.5% by male hosts.

Table 29. Questions, answers and comments by hosts.

	Hosts		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**
answers	5	5	10
	50.0%	50.0%	1.5%
questions	174	309	483
	36.0%	64.0%	74.4%
comments	57	99	156
	36.5%	63.5%	24.0%
Total			649

Chi square = 0.83 DF = 2   p value = 0.66047590

7.6. Conclusions

With regard to the possible differences between male-female discursive behaviour in Tabloid Talkshows, the data was interpreted according to first: a) total number of participants; and second b) the sex of participants in relation to the mean number of males and females. In the extracts analysed there were more women than men. On the one hand, this may be indicative of a higher predisposition of women to take part in Tabloid Talkshows. In its beginnings, Tabloid Talkshows marked an intensely interpersonal focus, now epitomised by *Oprah* and *Donahue* (Munson, 1993: 48-50). They emerged as a type of programme which originated as talk-service for women; a type of talk that wanted to air "light, humorous conversations about the relationships between men and women", and in which, "only calls from young women who remained anonymous were accepted." Although things have changed and Tabloid Talkshows

are no longer programmes for women only (men participate both as guests and audience), it seems that there are still more women attending and that topics are often classified as women issues (cf. Livingstone and Lunt 1994, Fischoff 1995).

In terms of male-female number of turns, 57.8% of all contributions come from women and 42.1% from men. The difference is not that significant, except for the individual participation from members of the audience, which comes 100% from women. In female turns, the highest participation comes from guests (70%) and in male turns the highest participation comes from hosts (63%). The mean indicated that female guests participate slightly more than males guests (only 3 turns more in favour of females), not a very significant difference; while there is a difference of almost 10 turns between male and female hosts in favour of male hosts. The latter suggests that those programmes hosted by men are more host-centred than those hosted by women. So, male-hosted programmes could be, therefore, characterised by heavier participation control on the part of the host. As for the audience, in my data at least, women seemed more ready to voluntarily participate in the discussion.

With regards to self-selection, male and female participants both seem to prefer self-selection. Nevertheless, the figure percentages for male self-selection are slightly higher than those for female: i.e., females were allocated more turns than males. As for smooth and intervened turn exchanges, both males and females seemed to prefer smooth exchanges; although women showed a slightly higher number of interventions. A fact that seems to contradict some research which claims that men interrupt more than women. Whether that is due to the fact that Tabloid Talkshows are considered women's territory is something that I cannot fully provide an answer for.

Regarding question-answer and comments, the percentages indicate that women guests answer more questions than men guests. And that there seems to be a difference between male hosts and female hosts. Male hosts seem to ask more questions and produce more comments, therefore indicating a greater presence of the male host in the interaction, while the female host will allow the guests and audience—generally speaking, since the p. value here says that the sample is not representative— a slightly greater protagonism and participation in the interaction.

As explained in chapter four, where I described the method, the data obtained can be analysed either in relation to categories or taking individuals into account. The calculation of the mean, of course, measures individual participation as opposed to percentages, which measure categories. The mean indicates that that the difference in turns between female guests and male guests is only 3 turns more, in favour of females. While the difference is higher in hosts, 10 turns more per male host. In self-selection, the mean confirms that hosts gener-

ally self-select more often than females: 27,1 self-selected turns for male and 12,1 for female. As for types of interventions, the claim about the use of parenthetical remarks on the part of females, if checked against the mean shows a slight difference (0.4 males vs. 0.7 females). The total number for interventions was also contrasted with category and gender. The results show strikingly similar results for both categories (female hosts, 23.4 and male hosts 22.8) (females guests 8.8 for and 7.6 for male guests).

Such findings are an important factor to take into account when analysing institutional discourse. That is, if we had checked the number of interventions only according to gender, one would have easily affirmed that males intervene more often than females in the current speaker's turn, since the results obtained by calculating the mean are: 7,5 for females and 13 for males. However, a stratified analyses which combines category with gender clearly shows that there are discursive differences between categories but not between the sexes belonging to these categories. So, my claim here is that in institutional discourse, one cannot judge gender independently from category, since both have a say in the way the interaction progresses.

Nevertheless, all together, the percentages and the calculation of the mean, seem to indicate that, although gender may be relevant, so is the internal status and role assigned to the participants by the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut. The latter probably being much more relevant when dealing with a type of discourse in which the institutional character of the interaction is present. The differences between male and female were not as significant as were the differences between the categories. These results confirm hypothesis 2 which claims that *turn-taking organisation would, at the same time, produce and reproduce the institutional rules which applied in the interaction; and that this would, in turn, be shown by the orientation of the different parties towards the internal identities assigned to them by the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut.*

In this chapter I have looked at the discursive differences between male and female participatns in the interaction regarding number of turns, degree of self-selection and types of interventions used by each gender. In the next chapter I will deal with the use of backchannels by hosts.

8. BACKCHANNELS

8.1. Function of backchannels

The term backchannel was introduced by Yngve (1970) to denote messages such as *mm-hmm* and head nods from the auditor. Fries (1952) had already defined their function as items that "simply serve to give something of the hearer's reaction and to signal the fact that he is listening attentively to the speaker" (1952:50). Backchannels have been said to have different functions in conversations. Among the most common are "evidence of attention, interest and understanding on the listener's part" (Schegloff 1981:78) and "keeping the conversation going smoothly" (Dittman and Llewellyn 1967:44). Schegloff emphasises their function as continuers, since they operate to pass an opportunity to initiate a repair, hence indicating the absence of problems of understanding.

Duncan (1975) and Duncan and Fiske (1977) systematically compared turn and backchannel and came to the conclusion, along the same lines as Dittman and Llewellyn (1967, 1968) and Kendon (1967)— quoted in Oreström (1983)— that turns have characteristics different from backchannels (Edelsky 1981). In this sense, Oreström (1983) claims that backchannels, as opposed to turns, have a relatively low value on the content level of communication, and do not provide propositional and functional content. As Stainton (1987:85) argues, it will not be possible to backchannel a backchannel.

The position of backchannels is also revealing in that, as Wiemann and Knapp (1975:86) suggest, looking at the position of possible backchannels may help to determine whether we are facing a backchannel or a turn-request. They claim that, if the reinforcers- their label for backchannel items- are uttered while the speaker is talking (rather than during a pause) or if they are uttered while the speaker is not looking at the auditor, they seem to have the force of a request. If the speaker has previously solicited feedback, these reinforcers may be interpreted as encouragement to continue talking. The difference, as pointed out by Oreström (1983), is that a backchannel does not directly influence the subject matter or stream of talk, while the request does. In conversation, the tolerance

of backchannelling often depends on cultural differences. So, for example, McCarthy reports that the Japanese seem to tolerate a higher number of back-channels (see also Maynard, 1986, White 1989) while Bou and Gregori (1999) point out the lack of backchannel items in Spanish learners of English.

On the interpersonal level, Kasper (1986:66) considers *uptaking* to be a crucial feature for smooth conversation, since the lack of it may be interpreted as a sign of inattentiveness, non-comprehension or disagreement on the part of the hearer, and thus may initiate repair (cf. Stainton 1987:83). Contrary to this affirmation, the systematic absence of backchannel tokens or response items, even in long responses, is reported to be wholly prototypical in the conduct of interviewers for news interview programmes in both the UK and the US, and also for courtroom discourse.

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:109ff.) claim that the systematic withholding of these objects, conversely, is a means by which the interviewer can decline the role of primary addressee of guests' remarks in favour of the news audience; and that the consistent absence of response tokens on the news interview is systematically associated with the tasks and constraints of news interview conduct. In the same way, as argued by Greatbatch (1988:409), interviewees would also withhold the use of backchannels when the interviewer is producing statement formatted components as prefaces to questions (Heritage 1985:9). Contrary to these affirmations, backchannels occasionally appear in the Tabloid Talkshow. The host not only does not avoid receipt and assessment of prior report components, but uses backchannels whenever s/he wants to display alignment with some guests' prior talk. The host, in fact, is often seen as the primary addressee of guests' talk, a feature more commonly observed to occur in casual conversation.

On the other hand, the use of backchannels seems to function as a reminder of the presence of the host and may, at the same time, act as a prompt for the camera to change focus. Observation shows that, especially in long turns by guests, the camera alternates between the speaker and the host. Change of focus frequently coincides with the uttering of a backchannel by the host. Hence, for example, if a guest is talking on camera and the host utters a backchannel the camera will immediately switch to the host. In these cases, backchannels are also reminders to the audience of the host's presence, as well as the host's personal reaction to the guests' words

8.2. Analysis

The analysis of backchannels in Tabloid Talkshows is hindered by some technical problems due to the prosodical reduction associated with them. It is difficult to appreciate their production in a TV programme where the reproduction of sound is not totally natural but controlled through the volume of the mi-

crophones. The analysis of backchannels would only be precise if I had access to the whole discourse, since if they are not captured by the loudspeakers, we may at times be oblivious of the presence of backchannels. I am thus aware of the fact that there may be some distortions in what we hear; but I assume that, as explained in chapter five, whatever distortions the broadcast version may have, it is this version which becomes "the reality" of the programme itself, since it is the final public version.

Table 30 below shows the results for the number of backchannels that appeared in the extracts analysed. Although the corpus is, in my opinion, insufficient to draw general conclusions about the usage of backchannels, the pattern that emerges is at least indicative of the way hosts deal with backchannelling in Tabloid Talkshows. As displayed in table 30 below, the total number of backchannels registered is 61. Out of those 61, 50% are uttered by one host in particular, *Oprah Winfrey*. The second most frequent uses of backchannels is by *Donahue* (26.2% of all backchannels). Although the numbers are too low to draw any relevant conclusions, it is worth mentioning that Oprah Winfrey's show has been rated first for many years, and is considered as one show that gets closer to ordinary people and influences their opinions. On the other hand, Donahue's show has been on almost daily for 23 years now, a fact to be taken into consideration if we remember that the existence of these shows depends on audience rating. Whether the use of backchannels might be related to popularity, or to the audience's positive reaction, or may help an image of the host as a person who is receptive to their talk goes beyond the purposes of this study. But it may be a possibility.

Table 30. Backchannels

Extracts	Freq.
Donahue (EXT7)	16
Geraldo **(EXT8)**	2
Geraldo **(EXT10)**	0
Jenny Jones **(EXT2)**	2
Maury Povich **(EXT4)**	2
Maury Povich **((EXT11)**	2
Montel Williams **(EXT1)**	4
Montel Williams **(EXT12)**	2
Oprah Winfrey **(EXT3)**	30
Sally **(EXT5)**	0
Sally **((EXT9)**	1
Ricki Lake **(EXT6)**	0
Total	61

Backchannels are used by the host to show that s/he is listening attentively to

the ongoing talk, signalling "continuous attention, agreement, and various emotional reactions, thereby indicating that the communicative contact is still maintained" (Oreström 1983:104). By using backchannels, the host may be indicating that the speaker and listener (the host) are on the same wavelength, at the same time that s/he is showing support and regulating the discourse; allowing the speaker to continue holding the floor (cf. Oreström 1983, Tottie 1991, Schegloff 1981). The examples below illustrate some uses of backchannels by the host.

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

<div align="right">Jenny Jones. 1996. Confronting unfaithful spouses</div>

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

<div align="right">Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Runaway parents</div>

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:111) claim that the presence of response tokens imparts a quasi-conversational character to the talk. So, the use of backchannels on the part of the host may give the impression that talk by the guests is being addressed to the host rather than to an audience, a feature reinforced by the fact that guests explicitly address the host by his/her name. Example 14 and 15 below show how the members of the panel are really responding to and trying to justify themselves to the host rather than to the audience.

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

<div align="right">Geraldo. 1996. Jealous rage. Stop you're suffocating m.</div>

(15) Dr. R: Oh, definitely. And I think—**Montel,** what we're seeing is—
                and—and I like what you said a—a minute ago on the show—
                this is happening all over America today. We've got older men
                who are going to say whatever they need to say. We've got
                younger girls who are breaking the rules.
                Montel Williams. 1996. *Men who con women into relationships.*

Other indicators of the ambiguity which characterises the discourse of the
host is the use of first names, approaching guests by patting them on the shoul-
der, sitting right next to them, etc., as opposed to keeping a distance by using
titles, as s/he sometimes may do with the expert for example (cf. Gregori 1999).
Also the use of "I" (personal) vs. other more impersonal referents, such as
"America, this country", etc., is indicative of such duality. By such means the
host alternates between his/her personal life and the impersonation of the insti-
tutional representative of the people, the audience and the ordinary citizen, "de-
taching him/herself from his/her discourse, as if reporting on morally and so-
cially accepted norms of conduct" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). As observed
by Hutchby (1996:39) for talk radio, Tabloid Talkshow hosts, unlike other insti-
tutional agents, are free to express their own opinions. That is, although the host
may be, at least partly, institutional, s/he certainly does not refrain from intro-
ducing personal judgements, as illustrated in example 16 below.

(16)   H & [I mean my daughter's told me] I mean– she fell for
              [the same kind of guy.
        E   [That's right.]
            Because [they are, all of these people on the stage =
        H   [But they are doing very well by the way]
                            Maury Povich. 1995. *How hard married life can be.*

Example 16 above shows how the host alternates between personal and im-
personal remarks, expresses neutral and biased positions, and seems to alternate
between institutional and more personal roles, conveniently leaving the degree
of familiarity ambiguous and open to changes.
    Related to such claims is the question of whom the host represents. Does the
host represent him/herself or the institution? Is the host considered the primary
recipient of talk or is he, on the contrary, reproducing the institutional character
of the interaction by acting only as a mediator between the guests and the audi-
ence?
    The appearance of backchannels indicates that Tabloid Talkshows seem to
operate under a more flexible set of interactional rules than news interviews, for
example, and that they are free to implement conversational features if wished.

The consequences deriving from the presence of alignment work in an attempt to make talk more "natural" and "real" are a potential confusion between roles, in which the host is somewhere in between the role of report recipient and of report elicitor (Heritage 1985: 100). According to the Heritage (1985:100), the use of backchannels in news interviews may be classified as improper for two reasons:

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

From such affirmation, it derives that Tabloid Talkshows differ from news interviews, at least apparently, in the degree of formality. They sometimes seem to violate one of the principles established for news interviews, and for journalist practices in general, by which the host has to maintain neutrality and avoid making factual claims, direct accusatory disagreements, as well as aligning himself with guests. The Tabloid Talkshow genre allows such violations which, conversely, become one of its generic features.

As argued by Wiemann and Knapp (1975), among others, in conversation "buffers and reinforcers seem to bind the interactants together...[and] provide the auditor a means of participating in the conversation in an overt and verbal manner even if he or she doesn't have the floor" (1975:88). The use of backchannels may thus be interpreted as a desire, on the part of the host, to get closer to the other parties and to make the interaction less formal. This phenomenon may be an upshot of the process of *conversationalisation* that, according to Fairclough (1995), is nowadays affecting media discourse in general and TV programmes in particular. Some of my field work shows this same attitude and inclusion of receipt objects and alignment work between questioners and answerers in other types of talkshows, such as *Larry King, Politically Incorrect, Crossfire,* etc.

In view of the above, one may venture to foresee a change in the interactional rules operating in discourse types such as news interviews. The change would take them away from the rigidity that characterised them in their beginnings, and closer to a more conversational style. The nature and purpose of Tabloid Talkshows fosters the use of conversational features such as backchannels, since the purpose of the Tabloid Talkshow is to help guests to solve some intimate and personal problems. That is why, in an intent to patronise the interac-

tion, the interviewers themselves, that is, those representing the institution, are the first to cross the line, to prove to the guests that they can be "friends" at the same time that counsellors. The hosts in Tabloid Talkshows want to get closer to their audience, to identify with the ordinary citizen. Backchannelling is one way of doing it. The results displayed in table 30, however, indicate that the registered number of backchannels is low, which may well indicate that hosts do not always show themselves to be the receivers of talk and that they also try to remain neutral.

8.3. Conclusions

In conclusion, in Tabloid Talkshows the use of backchannels is a fact. The host, contrary to other institutionally formal interaction types (e.g. courtroom, news interviews), uses backchannels freely, a feature that contrasts strongly with the "systematic absence of these tokens" that is wholly "prototypical" of news interviews, as reported by the Heritage and Greatbatch (1991:109). The absence of these response tokens guarantees professional maintenance of neutrality, and shows that talk is oriented to the audience rather than to the interviewer. This is recognised as a principle underlying journalism since "the interviewer's maintenance of such a stance (of neutrality) is a facet of the broader range of external constraints that bear on news organisations in the UK and the US" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:116). Although the Tabloid Talkshow may be similar to news interviews, and display characteristics of courtroom discourse, among others, the presence of some features such as the backchannels, reveal a different genre that sits on the fence of the institutional and conversational.

In this chapter I have discussed the consequences that using backchannels may have for the Tabloid Talkshow genre. the next chapter deals with the final conclusions.

9. CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I have considered the Tabloid Talkshows as a social institution *sui generis*, constituted by a configuration of normative conventions that is distinctive both from ordinary conversation and from other forms of interaction (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991:130). I have attempted to outline its generic features and its turn-taking system by comparing it to conversation and to institutional talk, in order to show the distinctive character of the Tabloid Talkshow turn-taking system in relation to both practices. The present study had two principal aims. First, I wanted to describe the type of interaction which took place in Tabloid Talkshows and to explore its institutional as well as its conversational features: I argued that the Tabloid Talkshow genre had a quasi-conversational nature. Second, I wanted to explore the relationships emerging between the participants in the Tabloid Talkshow as a social setting and a public context where polemical topics are discussed. Thus, the analysis was centred on turn-taking procedures as the point of departure that would allow a description of the nature of the genre and of the conduct of the participants in such a context.

In chapter two, I characterised the Tabloid Talkshow as a genre at the borders of society and on the boundaries of TV programming. Although its origins could be traced back to women's magazines and radio talk service for women, today its medium is US television. Tabloid Talkshows are often described as a genre notorious for generating controversial and confrontational talk and as having evolved into what many would condemn as "bizarre talk." Others, on the other hand would be in favour, since, according to them, Tabloid Talkshows reflect the ideological struggle that exists in the US and the way US society works, its faults and virtues.

Since the study of turn-taking organisation in Tabloid Talkshows was the focus of this book, in chapter three, I reviewed some relevant literature on turn-taking,. Chapter four described the methodology used in the empirical analysis, which was carried out with the purpose of finding out, as argued by Hutchby (1996:112), "how institutional interactional frameworks function to distribute verbal resources asymmetrically so that different categories of participants end up with significantly different interactional prerogatives." In the 12 opening phases, from 8 currently popular Tabloid Talkshows, turn-taking was analysed

in relation to: questions, answers and comments (chapter five); confrontational segments (chapter six); male-female discursive features (chapter seven); and backchannels (chapter eight). In the extracts analysed, I looked at features such as self-selection and interventions in each individual turn. Additionally, the results for each individual feature were cross-compared with other elements, such as the different categories taking part in the interaction. Hence, for example, the number of questions and answers was cross compared with each of the four categories taking part in the interaction. The mean was also calculated in order to account for the individual distribution of turn-taking mechanisms. The statistical analysis revealed institutional imperatives and systematic asymmetries in the generic features. The Tabloid Talkshow appeared as a genre possessing a flexible and ambiguous duality which manifested itself in a fluctuation between institutional and conversational features. I summarise below the most relevant results.

Regarding number of turns, the analysis revealed that talkshow hosts have the highest number of turns. Thus they dominate the turn-taking system and hence have an overwhelming presence in the interaction. However, it was observed that hosts also guaranteed fair participation to the guests, since the average number of turns for each individual guest was very similar. The audience showed a lower degree of participation when compared with the other two categories. This may indicate that a) on the one hand, the audience is not allowed to participate much, at least in opening phases; and b) that the audience chose not to self-select (Sacks *et al* 1974, Wilson 1991) more often. Nevertheless, audience participation was observed to vary in different programmes and in different phases of the same programme. Very often, it depended on the will of the host and on the juggernaut of each particular talkshow. It is known that in this type of programmes there is always someone behind the camera who often monitors the participation of the audience. In this sense, some programmes allowed audience participation right from the beginning (e.g. Jenny Jones *Confronting unfaithful spouses*) while others waited until almost the end (e.g. Montel Williams *Torn between two lovers*).

These facts reveal two important Tabloid Talkshow features of opening sequences. First, that audience participation is somehow restricted in opening sequences, a strategy that may be used by the host to exert control over the topic and the opening of the programme. Second, that by not self-selecting the audience is orienting to and reproducing the asymmetrical distribution of participation rights. On the other hand, the results concerning number of turns show that the host has more chances to guide the interaction, since s/he holds the floor more often than any other category. This fact confirms hypothesis two, which claimed that the analysis of the turn taking would show who had the power to guide and what factors contribute to the structuring of the whole interaction. I

suspected it would be, mainly, in the hands of the host.

Self-selection was one of the key features to test the degree of conversation-alisation, since institutional styles of interaction are characterised by a higher degree of preallocation. According to the results, self-selection prevailed in the interaction, denoting a certain degree of freedom concerning choice of next speaker. However, I felt it was necessary to analyse in detail the nature of those self-selected turns. One possible objection to my analysis of self-selection was that the methodology classified all interventions as cases of self-selection, since the current speaker had not finished his/her utterance and had not therefore allocated the turn. It turned out that, in looking in detail at the content rather than the form of certain types of intervened turns (e.g. some tail overlaps, see chapter eight for details), the results could be interpreted differently. Such a reconsideration, if accepted, modified slightly the percentages of self-selected turns in favour of non-self-selected turns. However, both interpretations were possible.

Additionally, as regards self-selection and category, the highest degree of self-selection was displayed by the host, whose turns were almost one hundred per cent self-selected. The host's behaviour was parallel to that of the studio audience, who also showed a similar percentage of self-selection. In turn, guests and individual members of the audience also behaved similarly, since half of their turns were self-selected and half non-self selected. From such results, it can be inferred that the host and the audience-group seem to be equally comfortable in self-selecting in order to take part in the Tabloid Talkshow-interaction, while individual members of the studio audience and guests would be somehow limited by other factors: i.e. they only enjoy partial freedom.

The degree of audience-group self-selection may be explained by the fact that Tabloid Talkshows are audience-participation programmes in which the studio represents the *vox-populi*. As the data indicate, the audience group openly manifests their position by taking the floor whenever they believe their voice should be heard, without waiting for the host to grant them the turn— although in some cases they may be prompted to do so by someone behind the camera. Furthermore, it has also been observed that hosts stop talking to allow the audience's open reactions to the ongoing discourse. These brief periods of silence are often used as a conversational gambit (Keller 1979) on the part of the host, who will usually face the audience at the same time. This conversational gambit acts, in my opinion, as a prompt for a turn by the audience. If that were the case, one may wonder if the audience's turn is really a case of self-selection, or if, on the contrary, it should be considered as a turn allocated to the audience by the host.

Greatbatch (1988:413) argues that news interviews, like mundane conversation, involve the use of both current-speaker-selects-next speaker or next-speaker-self-selects turn-allocation techniques. However, he affirms that, con-

trary to mundane conversation, "the news interviews turn-taking system does not provide speakers with equal use of these techniques." The same can be said to occur in Tabloid Talkshows, where self-selection seems to be a resource from which guests and individual members of the audience refrain more often than the rest. The results reveal that self-selection is more commonly used by the host rather than by any other category, granting him, therefore, more opportunities to take the floor and to guide and control the interaction.

On the other hand, guests showed the highest degree of allocated turns. This indicates first, that guests are asked to participate more often than any other category, a fact that confirms their role in the interaction as those who are the target of all the discourse. They come to the programme to tell their story, to discuss their most intimate feelings, to tell about private-life events, to be judged, etc., in front of an audience. Secondly, these figures indicate that the hosts' turns are not usually determined by any previous speaker's demands, but depend more on the previsions of the agenda of the programme (i.e. although s/he might feel like going on talking to one guest in particular, s/he knows that it is his/her duty to question all the guests). These figures also reveal a low demand for contributions by individual members of the audience as well as by the audience as a group, in opening phases.

Finally, the fact that it is the host who allocates more turns than any other category speaks of the control that the host has over topic development and over the turn-taking system: turn-allocation appears to be somehow constrained to all categories but the host. Such results reveal that in the activity framework for Tabloid Talkshows, guests and audience refrain from allocating the turn to other speakers, leaving this specific task to the host. They do not refrain indefinitely, as the percentages of allocated turns by other categories indicate, but it seems to be the trend in the opening phases analysed. Additionally, the qualitative difference between turns allocated to the audience and turns allocated to the host revealed another important generic feature, which adds information to the profile of the different categories and their participation frameworks. Considering turn-design, turn-allocation for guests almost invariably implies a demand for information. However, in the case of individual members of the audience, turn-allocation is only a formal device to allow them to occupy the floor

As for interventions, the results indicate that turn exchange was usually carried out smoothly. It is noteworthy that all the categories show similar percentages in both types of exchanges, out of their total number of turns. To be even more precise, individual members of the audience and the host show a similar conduct; while the audience-group and guests behave similarly. Regarding types of turn exchange, all categories seem to be equally comfortable in producing similar numbers of interventions. This could imply that all categories are equally free to intervene in the current speaker's turn. On the other hand, how-

ever, some differences were observed concerning the number of interventions. It is the host who produces the highest number of intervened turns compared to the other categories.

In conversation, the fact that people intervene in each others' turn may reflect friendship and closeness, as claimed by Stainton (1987:108). In Tabloid Talkshows, the social distance comes with the internal status, which places the host in a privileged position from which s/he controls the degree of conversationalisation. In respecting this, participants in the Tabloid Talkshow are reproducing the asymmetry existing between the participants regarding allowable contributions. The differences between conversation and Tabloid Talkshows exist because in the latter participants are orienting themselves to particular patterns of conduct and to their internal status rather than to social or external status (cf. Bazzanella 1994).

With regard to types of interventions, I noticed that the percentages display a predominance of what I consider open incursive actions (overlaps, interruptions and confrontational-segments add up to 84.8% of all intervened turns) over more restricted types of interventions (i.e., parenthetical remarks and butting-in interruptions). This confirms that Tabloid Talkshow talk encourages the occurrence of confrontational sequences as part of the interaction. It also indicates that participants, given the choice will prefer open incursions into someone's talk rather than refraining from using them.

In chapter five, I classified turns as question, answers and comments to find the degree of institutionalisation. It was observed that the question-answer format— the typical turn-taking format for formal institutional genres— was predominant in the interaction. However, the presence of comments and confrontational sequences indicate that the question-answer sequentiality is not always present and that a certain relative freedom of turn exchange is embedded in the Tabloid Talkshow activity framework.

In turn, the analysis in terms of questions, answers and comments helped to clarify the functional role of each of category. Hence, the host's main activity was to ask questions while the guests' main activity was to answer them. The results for comments, nevertheless, showed how guests escaped the question-answer format in order to give way to their own agendas. Often, comments by guests were found in confrontational sequences. Nevertheless, despite *deviations* from the question-answer format, the participants usually accepted the constraints imposed on the type of activity by the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut and seemed to respect the pace of the programme, by allowing the host to guide and control the interaction.

In chapter six, I paid special attention to confrontational sequences and special focused on the behaviour of guests and hosts in such segments. The results showed qualitative differences in turns rather than in number, since the mean

showed a similar number of turns by hosts and guests. However, I argued that hosts were not really involved in confrontational sequences, since their participation consisted almost exclusively of re-introducing moves (Goldberg 1990:891). The host's turns in confrontational sequences were often attempts to restore order, while the guest's confrontational turns were topic-related. Thus, the host's participation was form-oriented while the guest's turns were content-oriented. I concluded that while confrontational sequences are fostered and promoted by the institution itself, the host, its representative, is an outsider to them, while the guests and audience (and also the expert, if present) get deeply involved.

Confrontational sequences are one essential generic feature of Tabloid Talk-shows which brings them closer to everyday conversation. The reason for this claim is that, on the one hand, confrontational sequences allow self-selection and have a less restricted turn-taking system. On the other, in confrontational sequences, internal status, category and institutional roles seem to be momentarily forgotten. I concluded that confrontational sequences and interventions are practical and generic Tabloid Talkshow resources by which the participants can frame their talk as confrontational (cf. Hutchby 1996:92). At content level, interventions and confrontational sequences reflect the controversy and conflict between opposite views: it is because such interactional strategies and processes interplay with the institutional setting that the social structure Tabloid Talkshow is reproduced and created.

In chapter seven, I used the factors just discussed above to discover possible differences between male and female discourse. The reason for doing so was that if it were true that Tabloid Talkshows were women-oriented programmes, there may be some difference between male and female discursive behaviour. The differences proved not to be significant, except for a slightly higher presence of male hosts as opposed to female hosts, hence contradicting much of the literature which claims that men and women behave differently.

Finally, in chapter eight, I looked at the use of verbal backchannels, as one feature characteristic of conversation and not often found in formal types of discourse such as news interviews (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) or courtroom interaction, to give but two examples. The number of verbal backchannels was lower than expected. It was observed, however, that two of the highest rated hosts, Oprah and Donahue, used the highest number of backchannels. Whether that brought the talkshow closer to the audience or made it more personal is a question that I cannot answer with so little data.

Final remarks

It was my intention to provide statistical support for the explicit and/or tacit

comparison which is at the base of the present study and which claims that Tabloid Talkshows share characteristics attributed to both conversational and institutional talk. The hypotheses set up in chapter four have been supported, since the results of the analysis of the turn-taking system have provided valuable information about the generic features of the Tabloid Talkshow, especially about the behaviour of the participants and their orientation towards the semi-institutional character of the interaction.

The main hypothesis underlying this study was that Tabloid Talkshows were a hybrid discourse genre with a set of characteristics that could be explained by analysing turn-taking procedures. The analysis of the turn-taking system was carried out by focusing on the number of contributions by each of the participants, the capacity of speakers to self-select in order to make a contribution, and how turn exchange took place. The results revealed that the participants' conduct in Tabloid Talkshows displays an orientation towards the institutional identities, roles, and internal status assigned to them by the Tabloid Talkshow juggernaut. As argued by Hutchby (1996:36) for talk radio, in Tabloid Talkshows the local negotiation of roles is far freer than in formal types of institutional interaction, and participants are not so constrained as regards turn-type and turn-order restrictions that operate in more formal settings such as court-rooms and news interviews.

The discussion of the results provides a framework in which we can understand Tabloid Talkshows as a non-formal type of institutional genre (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). The analysis of turn-taking procedures and of question-answer sequences proved to be essential in determining the hybrid nature of Tabloid Talkshows: the results showed that the interaction can be said to progress thanks to a sequencing and repetition of the question-answer process organised through turn-taking procedures that are different from conversation and that indicate similarities with institutional discourse. Consequently, the turn-taking system did not develop naturally as in conversational style but showed an orientation towards the institutional constraints. Nevertheless, the high number of contributions which fell outside this framework indicated the capacity of Tabloid Talkshows to differ from the distinctive sequential constraints operating in more formal institutional styles of talk. That is, turn-taking procedures in Tabloid Talkshows, although normatively oriented, show similarities with ordinary conversation. Hence, the final configuration of the turn-taking system revealed itself to be dual in nature, in the sense that it used normatively oriented procedures which pointed out the similarity between the Tabloid Talkshow and other types of institutional genres, while also using procedures very common in ordinary conversation.

The Tabloid Talkshow communication structure has proved to be determined by the status adopted by the participants in the communicative event. By

respecting the provisions of the turn-taking system, the participants display both an orientation towards the institutional character of the Tabloid Talkshow and towards the relevancies of their internal status and discourse identities as host, guest or audience, respectively. In that way, they are producing their talk as Tabloid Talkshow on a recursive turn-by-turn basis and reproducing the Tabloid Talkshow as a hybrid institutionalised form of social interaction. Although the power to guide the interaction is mostly in the hands of the host, as the institution representative, the Tabloid Talkshow is more flexible, as regards types of activities allowed to categories, than other genres classified as "formal" (e.g. courtroom interaction).

The non-formal or quasi-conversational (Drew and Greatbatch 1992:27) character of the interaction, like that reported by Hutchby (1996) in relation to talk radio, lies in the fact that Tabloid Talkshows are an "intermediate" category that shares many of the sequential features of conversational argument in parallel with some relatively specialised institutional features. Tabloid Talkshows are distinctive in a number of respects from both institutional and ordinary talk. Although Tabloid Talkshows take place in a public context, and talk is clearly institutional "in that official task-based or role-based activities occur", and institutional features are woven in and out of the interaction in terms of the activity patterns that characterise the interaction (Hutchby 1996); their turn-taking procedures "approximate conversational or at least quasi-conversational models". Thus, "when considered in turn-taking terms at least, the boundaries between these forms of institutional talk and ordinary conversation can appear permeable" (Drew and Heritage 1992:28). Hence, the Tabloid Talkshow is an institutional setting that does not involve strict institutionalised constraints on turn-order and turn-type.

The conversational nature of the interaction was manifested by features such as the presence of self-selection in the guests and audience, the existence of free comments outside the question-answer format, the constant emergence of confrontational sequences, the manifestation of private agendas on the part of guests who behave linguistically off-role; and the emergent status which stretches the institutional norms by allowing some kind of negotiation of internal status between the categories and negotiation of frameworks. The predominant institutional character of talk was, in turn, revealed by features such as the fact that Tabloid Talkshow interaction is public, and that the focus of the interaction is guided rather than spontaneous; and by the fact that the topic and the number of participants are specified in advance and there is an agenda which dictates the order of participation, structure of the interaction and pre-allocation of turns. Furthermore, the discourse is goal-oriented and has certain tasks to fulfil, and most of the interaction takes place in question-answer format, which is the typical turn-taking format for formal institutional genres.

It cannot be forgotten, however, that the Tabloid Talkshow is a television genre whose features will vary to maximise profit (cf. White 1985). Like many other television genres, the Tabloid Talkshow undermines the norm of generic unity (cf. Vande Berg 1991) and can be said to be always in a state of change. The history of Tabloid Talkshows suggests that the genre has evolved and developed from its earliest times, and that its schematic structure (Downing 1996:15) is, still today, in constant evolution; therefore, allowing for occasional readjustments of almost every one of its features, "physical" (number of participants, the setting, etc.) as well as linguistic (e.g. way in which the interviewing process proceeds).

It is thus the Tabloid Talkshow's flexibility, its ability to alter any of its generic features at any time, that brings it closer to conversation. The same as conversation, Tabloid Talkshows will adapt to sociocultural demands and will progress and/or change according to them. In this sense, although institutional elements certainly exercise a centripetal force on the participant's behaviour, the door to negotiation is always open in Tabloid Talkshows. That is, forms of talk emerge rather than pre-exist. Tabloid Talkshows do not show a monotonous distribution of elements in the analysis. There is evidence that the participants behave off-role and that such behaviour has changed and developed from its earlier manifestations into something different, but still recognisable as a Tabloid Talkshow. That is, the Tabloid Talkshow is always open to including institutional or conversational practices in the development of the main talk without those being perceived as a misfit or a disruption. It is the capacity to fit smoothly "deviant" institutionalised practices into its framework that is unique about them and that confers upon Tabloid Talkshows the nature of a quasi-institutional genre. This is because, as argued by McCarthy (1998), the participants are unique individuals with certain expectations and private agendas which may result, over longer periods of time, in generic shift. In Tabloid Talkshows, different from other more formal types of talk, the participants are found to negotiate frameworks within which their goals can be pursued. Their expectations and private agendas provoke day-to-day alterations in the genre which are not only allowed but encouraged by the very nature of the television medium. Hence, Tabloid Talkshows are in constant evolution and this evolution includes a certain degree of *conversationalisation* (Fairclough 1995) present in the functioning of the turn-taking.

I will conclude the characterisation of Tabloid Talkshows by paraphrasing Heritage and Greatbatch's (1991:131) remarks for news interviews, which can also apply to Tabloid Talkshows. The Tabloid Talkshow conventions described here and the properties they sustain bear all the hallmarks of a social institution as traditionally conceived within the discipline of sociology. The Tabloid Talkshow's conventions are culturally variable; they are somehow subject to legal

constraints and to processes of social change while at the same time being the object of social debate and discursive justification. The comparative and historical study of Tabloid Talkshows has yet to be developed, specially in cultures where this genre has been recently imported (e.g. in Spain). As is the case with news interviews, the impact of technological change, political pressures, economic competition between broadcasting organisations, and institutional dynamics within Tabloid Talkshows has yet to receive assessment. Similarly, the impact of these changing practices on the shifting political cultures of contemporary societies awaits investigation. It is here that the study of Tabloid Talkshows as a social institution will intersect with the study of social structure.

The present study has tried to illustrate one of the many possible ways of analysing a television genre which is itself a social institution. Combining the comparative perspective outlined by conversation analysis with a statistical analysis for turn-taking has enabled me to show the adaptability, dynamism and genre-embedding capacity of Tabloid Talkshows. The characteristics outlined suggest that this genre lies on the border between the institutional and conversational. Hence, Tabloid Talkshows could be classified as a quasi-conversational genre or as an institutionalised example of conversation, by reference to which more formal types of discussion programmes could be described.

I hope this study raises new questions about the nature of television and its effects, and in particular about the social role of Tabloid Talkshows. There is still a great deal of work to be done for a genre that is in the public sphere. The study of linguistics and media is a combination that no doubt undoubtedly raises innumerable issues, in both fields, that are still being neglected.

APPENDIX 1

NOTATION CONVENTIONS

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

A1	answer to a question by H
A2	answer to a question by G
A3	answer to a question by audience
AU	individual members of the audience (category).
AZ	audience-group (category). This referes to the studio audience present in the interaction .
BC	backchannel
BC1	BC by the host
BC2	BC by guest
BC3	BC by audience
BT1	butting-in interruption by H
BT2	butting-in interruption by G
BT3	butting-in interruption by AU or AZ
CA	conversation analysis
EXT	EXT 1,2,3,4...12 This is used to refer to the different extracts analyzed and transcribed for the present study.
ITV	Unsmooth exchanges or intervened turns (i.e., exchanges involving simultaneous speech and incompleteness)
K1	silent interruption by H.
K2	silent interruption by G.
K3	silent interruption by AU or AZ.
OVL	overlap
OVL1	overlap initiated by H
OVL2	overlap initiated by G
OVL3	overlap initiated by AU or AZ
P1	simple interruption by H
P2	simple interruption by G
P3	simple interruption by AU or AZ
PR1	parenthetical remarks by H

PR2	parenthetical remarks by G
PR3	parenthetical remarks by A or AZ
Q1	question asked by H
Q2	question asked by G
Q3	question asked by audience
QA	question-answer
SE	Smooth exchange of speakers; smooth speaker-switch
SS	self-selection: speaker contributes without having been asked to do so. This is mainly to account for Gs turns that are not allocated by H.
SS1	H self-selects him/herself for next turn
SS2	G self-selects him/herself for next turn
SS3	audience self-selects him/herself for next turn
Z	Comments: other types of contributions that at local level are not part of the adjacency pair question-answer.
Z1	H produces something other than a question or an answer
Z2	G produces something other than a question or an answer
Z3	audience produce something other than a question or an answer

The transcription conventions used in our data are the following:

=	when lack of space prevents continuous speech from A from being presented on a single line of text, then '=' at the end of the box and '=' at the beginning of the other shows that it is the same turn
(+)	Noticeable micropause (< 0.2. second)
(0.0)	Timed pauses longer than 0.2 seconds, applauses, reactions from audience
wORd	very emphatic stress.
italics	used to indicate and explain non-verbal features, reactions, extralinguistic information in the transcript.
bold type	is used in the examples to highlight the feature being discussed
::	extended sound; lengthened syllables
(XXX)	unintelligible segment.
[	overlap. A bracket connecting the talk of different speakers shows that overlapping talk begins at that point.

]	overlap finishes at this point.
—	Cut-off speech. Voluntarily: hanging discourse, speaker interrupts his/her own discourse, in order to produce a repair, paraphrase and leaves it grammatically incomplete.
	Or involuntarily when interrupted, placed at the end of an incomplete utterance.
&	Single interruption: exchange of turns; simultaneous speech; 1st speaker turn incomplete.
*	butting-in interruption (no exchange of turns).
Σ	silent interruption (exchange of turns; no simultaneous speech; 1st speaker turn incomplete).
∏	intonation contour shows that speaker wants to yield the turn. Only used in cases where it may appear confusing because the speaker's utterance is incomplete.
.	sentence final falling intonation
,	clause-final intonation ("more to come").
Δ	Highly confrontational moments characterised by a total disruption of the turn-taking. It is perceived by the speaker as chaotic, verbal fighting, confrontational, aggressive etc. The transcription of these moments is sometimes merely representative since most of the discourse cannot be understood because of complex overlaps, shouting, censoring on the part of the programme itself, etc.

APPENDIX 2

CORPUS A

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

Extract 2. Jenny Jones. 1996. *Confronting unfaithful spouses.*

Extract 3. Oprah Winfrey. 1996. *Runaway Parents.*

Extract 4. Maury Povich 1996. *How hard can married life be.*

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

Extract 6. Ricki Lake. 1996. *I drink and drive so what.*

Extract 7. Phil Donahue. 1996. *The problem of being an effeminate man or a masculine woman.*

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

Extract 9: Sally J. Raphael. 1995. *Suburban gang kids.*

Extract 10: Geraldo Rivera. 1996. *Meth madness Poor man's cocaine.*

Extract 11: Maury Povich . 1995. *Cheating Boyfriends.*

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

CORPUS B

Charles Perez. 1995. How to pick up dates

Charles Perez. 1995. I hate the way my boyfriend tries to control me

Cristina. 1996. Explotación de niños.

Cristina. 1996. Perdón no era mi intención herirte'

Donahue. 1995. Incredible tales of long lost relatives.

Donahue. 1996. Why don't you go out and make thousands.

Donahue. 1996. Family dramas. Sisters and brothers reunions

Donahue. 1996. Black and Jewish who became friends with Klansman who threatened them.

Donahue. 1996. Nu Skin IDN. Skin products.

Donahue. 1996. Selling names to another company don't use my name without my concern. Is it illegal? Property rights. Junk mail.

Donahue. 1996. The problem with being an effeminate man or a masculine woman

Geraldo. 1995. Jealous guys. Stop you're suffocating me

Geraldo. 1996. Mothers that do not care about her daughters

Geraldo. 1996. On Death Row

Geraldo. 1996. Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word

Geraldo. 1996. Meth madness. Poor man's cocaine

Geraldo. 1996. Please forgive me. When sorry is the hardest word.

Geraldo. 1996. Secret Lives

Geraldo. 1996. Shock Video IV. America caught on tape.

Gordon Elliot. 1996. Big Beautiful Women With Attitude

Gordon Elliot. 1996. Highschool sweetheart reunions

Gordon Elliot. 1996. The Elliott Awards

Gordon Elliot. 1996. What happened after the (marriage) proposals?

Jenny Jones. 1996. I'm afraid of my violent teen.

Jenny Jones. 1996. I wanna be a centrefold

Jenny Jones. 1996. Women Speak out about domestic violence

Jenny Jones. 1996. Confronting an unfaithful spouses

Leeza. 1995. Cold hearted con women.

Leeza. 1995. Friends of Famous people/stars.

Leeza. 1996. Amazing rescues.

Leeza. 1996. Baby-sitter surveillance

Leeza. 1996. Daredevils caught on tape.

Leeza. 1996. Dressing and modelling stars

Leeza. 1996. Growing up as an overweight kid

Leeza. 1996. Looking into the eyes of people who killed those they loved.

Leeza. 1996. Outrageous stories from personals

Maury Povich. 1995. Multiple partners. Cheating Boyfriends

Maury Povich. 1996. How hard married life can be

Maury Povich. 1996. I'm embarrassed to be seen with my own parent

Maury Povich. 1996. Quadruplets, quintuplets,...

Maury Povich. 1996. You might be sitting on a million dollars

Montel Williams. 1996. Church Burning. Racism

Montel Williams. 1996. Hey I'm not giving up my boyfriend'

Montel Williams. 1996. Men and Women torn between two lovers

Montel Williams. 1996. Men who con women into relationships

Montel Williams. 1996. Weight loss surgery

Montel Williams. 1996. People affected by virus-bacteria.

Montel Williams. 1996. Show Using girlfriend for sex.

Montel Williams. 1996. Teenagers out of control.

Montel Williams. 1996. Using babies to flirt, attack, pick up women.

Montel Williams. 1996. Couples in crisis

Montel Williams. 1996. Marital rape.

Montel Williams. 1996. Paternity Tests

Oprah Winfrey. 1995. Marginal People because of fat, dyslexia, colour, weight problems, etc.

Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Body Language

Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Runaway parents

Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Secret Sales. Government Auctions. Anything that can save you some money.

Oprah Winfrey. 1996. Strange tragic stories tragic tales

Oprah Winfrey. 1996. TV guide. Prizes

Other Side. 1995. Psychic and love relationships

Ricki Lake. 1995. I moved to be with you then you dumped me

Ricki Lake. 1996. I drink and drive. So what.

Ricki Lake. 1996. I'm tired of being whipped. Today I become the boss or you become history.

Ricki Lake. 1996. Meeting your favourite star

Ricki Lake. 1996. Mom get out of my face. Don't tell me how to raise my baby.

Ricki Lake. 1996. Now that we've had sex he treats me like dirt

Ricki Lake. 1996. Ricki, help me I weigh almost 500 pounds and I don't know what to do.

Ricki Lake. 1996. I'm sorry I hid my pregnancy... But now that the baby is here. let's deal with it.

Ricki Lake. 1996. Today I'm finally going to let you meet your child.

Ricki Lake. 1996. Why did you have to dump me?

Ricki Lake. 1996. You told me to dump him. Now you're with him.

Ricki Lake. 1997. Under 30 and Married a million times

Rolonda . 1995. People in love with fat people

Sally J. Raphael. 1995. My 14 year old wants to get married.

Sally J. Raphael. 1995. People who want ex-wife husband out of their life.

Sally J. Raphael. 1995. Sally's memorable unforgettable Moments (12 years)

Sally J. Raphael. 1995. Suburban Gang Kids

Sally J. Raphael. 1995. I'm pregnant but I'm still partying

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. I killed my husband and stuffed him in the closet

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. I'm 12... And I'm pregnant

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. Single Mom Surprise Proposals

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. Mom, grow up!

Sally J. Raphael. 1996.I want my baby back

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. I'm desperate to look younger

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. I'm fed up with my teen

Sally J. Raphael. 1996. Surprise, I'm secretly in love with you

Shirley. 1995. Sex, age, women.

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

Shirley. 1995. Religion taught in the classroom.

Shirley. 1995. Problems in marriage because of children

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

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

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

Tempest. 1996. Marry my daughter or move on

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

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

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

Maury Povich. 1996. How hard married life can be

NºT	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/A	TRANSCRIPT
1	H4	SS1	OVL1	0	Z1	M Thank you very much everybody. They're fighting they're cheating and they're ready to file for divorce and they're only NEWly weds. Today we're talking to couples whose fairy tale of a perfect marriage is already on the rocks. And we'll find out just how hard married life can be:: and if any of these marriages can be saved o::r if these couples are heading for divorce court. Now, think about this how would you react if you found out on your wedding day that your husband to be was still engaged to somebody else
2	AZ4	SS3	SE	0	Z3	*audience reaction*
3	H4	SS1	SE	0	Q1	M Would you still go through with the weddding? Well guess what, my next guest did. Karie, what happened after the wedding a::—a::nd —are you still together?

4	G9	HG	SE	0	A1	K No, we're not together. We haven't been to-gether fo::r almost a year. A::nd it's not neces-sarily that he was engaged to someone else, but about three hours before we got married, he got a package in the mail—er—with—er—wedding invitation type things [and plans for—

Donahue. 1996. The problem with being an effeminate man or a masculine woman

Nº T	SP	TT	TE	BC	Q/A	TRANSCRIPT
210	G20	SS2	PR2	0	Z2	JO [(XXX)
0	0	0	0	0	0	V = and not be a fairy drag queen becau]se we don't want to offend the more majority and we don't want them to dislike us and we wanna show that we are normal. And I say why can we not be diverse and be accepted[for our diversity
211	G17	SS2	OVL2	0	Z2	N [Exactly. Exactly. =
212	H7	SS1	BT1	0	Z1	D [* And] [and Luke is—
0	0	0	0	0	0	N = [Yeah.] Within the community, with—if—if you're a feminine woman you're expected that you're going to date a butch woman, you're also expected that you'd better go androgenous, you'd better not have nails, you'd better not have hats, you'd better not flaunt it because if you're flaunting it you're only trying to be er— you're try—what is— is— heterosexual privilige. If we don't look like a dyke it's heterosexual privilige. I started a club nine months ago that—within nine months we have almost seven hundred paid members—
213	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D ∑ Just femme to femme
214	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N Femme to femme—
215	H7	SS1	K1	0	Q1	D ∑ In other words these— are these are lesbians who are — are pleased to look feminine
216	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N They are feminine women who feel atracted to feminine women. We don't date butch women.
217	H7	SS1	SE	0	Q1	D Aha. Is there some prejudice against butch women?
218	G17	HG	SE	0	A1	N There's— er just—er [no no no no no—

REFERENCES

Abercrombie, D. 1968. Paralanguage. In Laver and Hutcheson 1972:64-70.

Adams, K. L. 1981. Question/answer adjacency pairs in a performance appraisal interview. *Journal of Applied Communications Research* 9 (2):72-84.

Aguirre, M., M. Bengoechea, and R. K. Shepherd (eds.) 1993. *Marginal Discourse.* Alcalá: Univeridad de Alcalá de Henares

Aijmer, K. 1996. *Conversational Routine.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ainsworth-Vaughn, N. 1992. Topic transitions in physician-patient interviews: Power, gender, and discourse change. Language in Society 21:409-426.

Ajami, F. 1996. Virtues not found on the talk shows.*U.S. News and World Report* 120 (15): 65.

Alcaraz Varó, E. 1994. *El Inglés Jurídico.* Barcelona: Ariel.

Altman, R. 1984. A semantic/syntactic approach to film genre. *Cinema Journal* 23 (3):6-19.

Allen R. (ed). 1992. *Channels of Discourse.* North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press,

Aston, G. 1995. Say 'thank you': some pragmatic constraints in conversational closings. *Applied Linguistics* 16 (2):57-85.

Atkinson, J. and J. Heritage (eds). 1984. *Structures of Social Action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Atkinson, J. M. 1982. Understanding formality: notes on the categorisation and production of "formal" interaction. *British Journal of Sociology* 33:86-117.

Atkinson, J. M. 1984. Public speaking and audience responses: some techniques for inviting applause. In Atkinson and Heritage 1984:370-409.

Atkinson, J. M. 1992. Displaying neutrality: formal aspects of informal court proceedings. Drew and Heritage 1992:199-211.

Atkinson, J. M. and P. Drew. 1979. *Order in Court; the Organisation of Verbal Interaction in Judicial Settings.* London: Macmillan.

Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. 1976. The problem of speech genres. In Emerson and Holquist 1986:60-112.

Ball, P. 1975. Listener responses to filled pauses in relation to floor appor-

tionment. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 14:423-424.

Baroni, M. R. and C. Nicolini. 1995. Natural conversations in males and females: conversational styles, content recall and quality interaction. *Pragmatics* 5(4):407-426.

Bazzanella, C. 1994. *Le facce del parlare. Un approccio pragmatico all' italiano parlato.* Firenze/Roma: La Nuova Italia.

Beattie, G. W. 1981. Interruption in conversational interaction, and its relation to the sex and status of the interactants. *Linguistics* 19:15-35.

Beattie, G. W. 1981. The regulation of speaker turns in face-to-face conversations: some implications for conversation in sound-only communication channels. *Semiotica* 34 (1/2):55-70.

Beattie, G. W. 1982. Turn-taking and interruption in political interviews: Margaret Thatcher and Jim Callaghan compared and contrasted. *Semiotica* 39 (1/2):93-114.

Bell, A. 1996. The talking wounded. *Sassy* 9 (2):74-77.

Bell, P., and T. van Leeuwen. 1994. *The Media Interview.* Australia: University of South Wales Press.

Bengoechea, M. and R. K. Shepherd (eds). 1993. *Marginal Discourse.* Universidad de Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones.

Bennet, A. 1978. Interruptions and the interpretation of conversation. *Proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Berkely Linguistic Society*: 557-575.

Benwell, B. 1996. The University Tutorial as a Genre. *Unpublished PhD dissertation.* University of Nottingham.

Bernárdez, E. 1996. Pragmatics as self-regulation of behaviour. In Penas 1996:1-15.

Bernstein, B. 1970. Social class, language and socialization. In Giglioli 1970:157-178.

Berrier, A. 1997. Four-party conversation and gender. *Pragmatics* 7 (3):325-66.

Berry, M. 1981. Polarity, ellipcity and propositional development. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 10 (1):36-62.

Bertrand, J. C. 1989/92. La televisión en Estados Unidos. ¿qué nos puede enseñar? Madrid: Ediciones Rialp.

Biber, D. and E. Finegan. 1988. Historical drift in three English genres. In Walsh 1988:22-36.

Biber, D., and E. Finegan, 1989. Drift and the evolution of English style: a history of three genres. *Language* 65 (3):487-517.

Blaunt, B. G. (ed). 1974. Language, Culture and Society: A Book dynamics of political interviews. Text 3(2):131-153.

Block, H. and W. Tynan. 1995. Talking trash. *Time* 145:76-78.

Blum-Bulka, S. 1983. The dynamics of political interviews. *Text* 3(2):131-153.

Boden D., and D. H. Zimmerman (eds). 1991. Talk and Social structure.

Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bou, P. and C. Gregori Signes 1999. Pragmática intercultural: emisiones del oyente en ingles británico y español peninsular. In A. Sánchez et al. 1999:123-134.

Bowers, R. and C. Brumfit (eds.). 1991. *Applied Linguistics and English Language Teaching.* Basingstoke: MacMillan, MEP.

Braxton, G. 1995. They may be done talking; television: growing protest over the content of talk shows is causing some station managers to demand changes. *Los Angeles Times* 162:11-15.

Brown G, and G. Yule, 1983. *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P. and S. C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, R., and A. Gilman. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In P. P. Giglioli 1972:252-82.

Buchman, C. 1995. The television scene. *Films in Review* 46:71.

Burton, D. 1980. *Dialogue and Discourse.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Button G. and J. Lee (eds). 1987. *Talk and Social Organisation.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Button, G. 1992. Answers as interactional products: two sequential practices in job interviews. In Drew Heritage 1992:101-136.

Buxton, R. A. 1991. The late-night talk show: humor in fringe television. In Vande Berg and Wenner 1991:411-41.

Calsamiglia, H., J. M. Cots et al. 1996. Communicative strategies and sauce-cultural identities in talk shows. *Pragmatics* 5(3):325-341.

Carbaugh, D. 1988. *Talking America: Cultural Discourses on Donahue.* Norwood: N.J.: Ablex.

Carter, R. A. and M. J. McCarthy. 1995. Grammar and the Spoken Language. *Applied Linguistics* 16 (2):141-158.

Cicourel, A. V. 1980. Three models of discourse analysis: the role of social structure. *Discourse Processes* 3:101-132.

Clark, H. H. 1996. *Using Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univerisity Press

Clayman, S. E. 1988. Displaying neutrality in television news interviews. *Social Problems* 35:474-92.

Clayman, S. E. 1989. When the medium becomes the message: the case of the Rather-Bush encounter. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 22:241-272.

Clayman, S. E. 1992. Footing in the achievement of neutrality: the case of news-interview discourse. In Drew and Heritage 1992:163-198.

Coe, S. 1995. Donahue loses New York. *Broadcasting and Cable* 125 (34):29-30.

Cole, P. (ed). 1978. *Syntax and Semantics, Volume 9 : Pragmatics.* New

York: Academic Press.

Cook, G. 1990. Transcribing infinity. Problems of context presentation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14:1-24.

Corliss, R. 1996. The host man's burden. *Time* 17:72.

Coulmas, F. (Ed). 1981. *Conversational Routine*. The Hague: Mouton.

Coulthard M. and M. Montgomery (eds). 1981. *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Coulthard, M. 1977. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.

Coulthard, M. and M. Ashby. 1975. Talking with the doctor, 1. *Journal of Communication* 25 (3):140-147.

Crabtree, S. 1995. Trash TV pulls America down the tubes. *Insight on the News* 11 (46), 8-10.

Craig, R. T. 1990. Multiple goals in discourse: an epilogue. In Tracy and Coupland 1990:163-170.

Crawford, M. 1996. *Talking difference: on gender and language*. London: Sage.

Crystal D. and D. Davy. 1969. *Investigating Language Style*. London: Longman.

Channell, J. 1994. Vague Language. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cheepen, C. 1988. *The Predictability of informal conversation*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Cheepen, C. 1994. The pragmatics of friendliness and user-friendliness. *Pragmatics* 4 (1):63-79.

Chidley, J. 1996. Taking in the trash. *Maclean's* 109 (8):50-53.

Chomsky, N. 1957. *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Christie, F. 1985. Language and schooling. In Tchudi 1985:22

Davis, F. 1994. *La comunicación no verbal*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Deane, R. 1996. Are we talking too much on TV? *Essence* 27:190.

Deming, R. H. 1985. Discourse/ talk/ television. *Screen* 26:88-92.

Denny, R. 1985. Marking the interaction order: the social constitution of turn exchange and speaking turns. *Language and Society* 14:41-62.

Dijk, T. A. van. 1990. The growth of discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society* 1 (1):5-16.

Dolón Herrero, R. 1998. *La negociación como tipo discursivo*. Cuadernos de Filología. Anejo XXVI. Valencia: Universitat de València.

Downing, A. 1996. Register and/or genre? In. Vázquez and Hornero 1996:11-29.

Downs, V. C., L. L. Kaid, and S. Ragan. 1990. The impact of argumentativeness and verbal aggression on communicator image: the exchange between George Bush and Dan Rather. *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54: 99-112.

Drew P. and J. Heritage (eds). 1992. *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drew, P. 1985. Analyzing the use of language in courtroom interaction. In van Dijk (ed). 1985:133-147.

Drew, P. and J. Heritage. 1992. Analyzing talk at work: a introduction. In Drew and Heritage 1992:3-65.

Duncan, S. D. Jr. 1972. Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in Conversations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 23(2):283-92.

Duncan, S. D. Jr. 1973. On the structure of speaker-auditor interaction during speaking turns. *Language in Society* 2:161-180.

Duncan, S. D. Jr. 1975. Interaction units during speaking turns in dyadic, face-to-face conversations. In Kendon et al. 1975:199-213.

Duncan, S. D. Jr. and G. Niederehe. 1974. On signalling that it's your turn to speak. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 10:234-247.

Edelsky, C. 1981. Who's got the floor? *Language and Society* 10:383-421.

Edmondson, W. 1981. *Spoken discourse*. London: Longman.

Emerson, C. and M. Holquist (eds). 1986. *Speech genres and other essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

England, D. 1980. Television and politics. The politics of television. *Media and Methods*: October 1980

Fairclough N. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. 1989/94. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Ferguson, N. 1977. Simultaneous speech, interruptions and dominance. *British Journal of social and clinical Psychology* 16:295-302.

Fields, S. 1995. TV trash talk: What a revolting development. *Philadelphia Business Journal* 14:21.

Fischoff, S. 1995. Confessions of a TV talk show shrink. *Psychology Today* 28 (5):38-45.

Fiske, J. and J. Hartley. 1994. *Reading Television*. London: Routledge.

Ford, C., B. A. Fox, and Thompson, S. A. 1996. Practices in the construction of turns: the "TCU" revisited. *Pragmatics*, 6 (3):427-54.

Gamson, J. 1996. Do Ask, Do Tell. TV Talk shows may be crass and voyeuristic, but they give a voice to those who have been silenced. *Utne Reader* 73:78-83.

Garfinkel, H. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Gelles, R. J. 1974. The television news interview: a field study. *Journal of Applied Communications Research* , winter-spring 1974:31-44.

Giglioli P. P. (ed). 1972. *Language and Social Context*. London: Penguin.

Gillespie, M. A. 1995. Cheap talk. *Madamoisselle*, May/June 1995:1.

Goffman, E. 1955. On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. In Laver and Hutcheson 1972:319-46.

Goffman, E. 1957. Alienation from interaction. In Laver and Hutcheson 1972:347-63.

Goffman, E. 1964. The neglected situation. In Giglioli 1972: 61-6.

Goffman, E. 1967. *Interaction Ritual.* Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday Anchor.

Goffman, E. 1979. Footing. *Semiotica* 25 (1/2):1-29.

Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of Talk.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Goldberg, J. A. 1990. Interrupting the discourse on interruptions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14 (6):883-905.

Golding, J. M. A. Graesser, and K. K. Millis. 1990. What makes a good answer to a question?: Testing a psychological model of question answering in the context of narrative text. *Discourse Processes* 13:305-325.

Goodwin, C. and J. Heritage. 1990. Conversation Analysis. *Annual Review of Antropology* 19:283-207.

Goodwin, Ch. 1984. Notes on story structure and the organization of participation. In Atkinson and Heritage 1984:225-45.

Greatbatch, D. 1986. Aspects of topical organization in news interviews: the use of agenda-shifting procedures by interviews. *Media, Culture and Society* 8:441-455.

Greatbatch, D. 1988. A turn-taking system for British news interviews. *Language in Society* 17:401-430.

Greatbatch, D. 1992. On the management of disagreement between news interviews. In Drew and J. Heritage 1992:101-36.

Gregori Signes, C. 1998. Telling it all: a genre-based approach to the analysis of the American Tabloid Talkshow. València: Universitat de València. Microfiche.

Gregori Signes, C. 1998. The overall structure of the American Tabloid Talkshow. *SELL* 0:73-88.

Gregori Signes, C. 1999. The use of interventions in media talk: the case of the American Tabloid Talkshow. *SELL* 1:187-200

Gregori Signes, C. and I. Marqués. 1993. Coping with Cupid. In Aguirre et al. 1993:139-152.

Gregori Signes, C. B. Pennock, P. Bou. 1999. The Use of Humour and Wit in an American Sitcom. Penas, B. (ed). *The pragmatics of misunderstanding.* Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza

Grice, H. P. 1967. Logic and conversation. In Cole and Morgan 1975:41-58.

Grice, H. P. 1978. Further notes on logic and conversation. In Cole 1978:41-58.

Grimshaw, A. D. (ed). 1990. *Conflict Talk.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press

Grizzutti Harrison, B. 1992. Why talk shows won't shut up. *Mademoiselle,* 28-30.

Gronbeck, B. 1979. Television criticism and the classroom. *Journal of the Illinois Speech and Theatre* 33:1-12.

Gronbeck, B. 1988. Rev. of The Academic Practise of Television Criticism.

Quaterly .Journal of Speech, 74:334-47.

Gumperz, J. J. 1968. The speech community. In. Giglioli 1972:219-31.

Gumperz, J. J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. and D. Hymes (eds). 1972. *Directions in Sociolinguisitcs: the Ethnography of communication.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Günthner, S. and H. Knoblauch. 1995. Culturally patterned speaking practices- the analysis of communicative genres. *Pragmatics* 5 (1):1-32.

Guzman, P. S. 1996. *The Studio Audience in Television Talk Shows: a qualitative study.* Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1989. *Spoken and Written Language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. and R. Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English. English Language Series 9.* London: Longman.

Halliday, M. A. K. and R. Hasan. 1985. *Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harris, S. 1984. Questions as a mode of control in magistrates' courts. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 49, 5-27.

Harris, S. 1987. Court Discourse as a genre: some problems and issues. *Nottingham: Occassional Papers in Systemic Linguistics* 2:35-75

Harris, S. 1991. Evasive action: how politicians respond to questions in political interviews. In Scannell 1991:76-99.

Hasan, R. 1984. The Nursery Tale as a genre. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 13, 71-102.

Have, P. ten. 1991. Talk and institution: a reconsideration of the asymmetry of doctor-patient interaction. In Boden and Zimmerman 1991:138-63.

Heath, C. 1992. The delivery and receptioin of diagnosis in the general practice consultation. In Drew and Heritage 1992:235-67.

Heaton, A. 1996. *Tuning in Trouble: Talk TV's destructive Impact on Mental Health.*

Henson, J. 1996. A tribute to the father of all talk shows. *TV Guide* 44 (5):43.

Henson, J. 1996. A tribute to the father of all talk shows. *TV Guide* 44 (5):43.

Heritage, J. C. 1985. Analyzing news interviews: aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience. In van Dijk 1985: 95-116.

Heritage, J. C. and Greatbatch, D. 1991. On the institutional character of institutional talk: the case of news interviews. In Boden and Zimmerman 1991: 93-137.

Hoey, M. 1983, 1991. *On the Surface of Discourse*. Nottingham: Depart-

ment of English Studies.

Hoey, M. 1991. Some Properties of Spoken Discourses. In Bowers and Brumfit 1991:65-85.

Hoey, M. 1991. Some Properties of Spoken Discourses. In Brumfit (Ed.) *Applied Linguistics and English Language Teaching*.

Houtkoop, H. and H. Mazeland, 1985. Turns and discourse units in everyday conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 9:595-619.

Houtkoop-Steenstra, H. 1991. Opening sequences in Dutch telephone conversations. In Boden and Zimmerman 1991:232-251.

Hutchby, I. 1996. *Confrontation Talk*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hymes, D. H. 1964. Towards ethnographies of communication: the analysis of communicative events. In Giglioli 1972:21-64.

Hymes, D. H. 1967. Models of the interaction of language and social setting. *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (2):8-28.

Hymes, D. H. 1971. Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking. *Social Antropology and Linguistics*, monograph 10:47-93.

Hymes, D. H. 1974. The Ethnography of Speaking. In Blaunt 1974: 189-223.

Ikegami, Y. and M. Toyota (eds). *Aspects of English as a World Language*. Tokyo: Maruzen Co. Ltd.

Jefferson, G. 1972. Side Sequences. In Sudnow 1972:294-338.

Jefferson, G. 1973. A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: overlapped tag-positioned address terms in closing sequences. *Semiotica* 9:47-96.

Jefferson, G. 1978. Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In Schenkein 1978:219-248.

Jefferson, G. 1984. On stepwise transition from talk about a trouble to inappropriately next-positioned matters. In Atkinson and Heritage 1984:191-222.

Jefferson, G. 1984. On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In Atkinson and 1984: 346-369.

Jefferson, G. Sacks, H. and Scheggloff, E. 1987. Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy. In Button and 1987:152-205.

Jucker, A. H. 1986. *News Interviews*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kasper, G. 1989. Interactive procedures in interlanguage discourse. In Olesky 1989:189-229.

Kedar, L. (ed). 1987. Power through Discourse. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation

Keenan, E. O. and T. L. Bennett (eds). 1977. *Discourse Across Time and Space*. California: Department of Linguistics.

Kendon, A. et al. 1992. *Organization of Behavior in Face-to-Face Interaction*. Paris: Mouton Publishers.

Kollock, P. P. Blumstein, P. Schwartz. 1985. Sex and power in interaction: conversational privileges and duties. *American Sociological Review*

50:34-46.

Kowal, S. and C. O. O'Donnell. 1997. Theoretical ideals and their violation: Princess Diana and Martin Bashir in the BBC interview. *Pragmatics* 7 (3):309-23.

Kurzon, D. 1996. The maxim of quantity, hyponymy and Princess Diana. *Pragmatics* 6(2):167-91.

Labov, W. 1972. *Language in the Inner City*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, W. and D. Fanshel. 1977. *Therapeutic Discourse*: *Psychotherapy as Conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

Lakoff, R. T. 1990. *Talking Power*. United States: Basic Books.

Larrue, J. and Trognon, A. 1993. Organization of turn-taking and mechanisms for turn-taking repairs in a chaired meeting. *Journal of Pragmatics* 19:177-96.

Laver, J. and S. Hutcheson (eds). 1972. *Communication in Face to Face Interaction*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Leech, G. N. 1983. *The Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Levinson, S. C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. C. 1992. Activity types and language. In Drew and Heritage 1992:66-100.

Littleton, C. 1996. Talk TV toughs it out. *Broadcasting and Cable* 126(3):59-66.

Littleton, C. 1996. The remaking of talk. *Broadcasting and Cable* 126(4):46-50.

Livingstone, S. and P. Lunt. 1994. *Talk on Television*. London: Routledge.

Luchjenbroers, J. 1997. 'In your own words...': questions and answers in a Supreme Court trial. *Journal of Pragmatics* 27:477-503.

Malinowski, B. 1923. Phatic Communion. In Laver andHutcheson 1972:146-52.

Marc, D. 1989/1992. *Comic Vision. Television Comedy and American Culture*. Media and Popular Culture, 4. London: Routledge.

Martin, J. R. 1984. Language, register and genre. In F. Christie (ed). *Language Studies: children writing reader*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press, 21-9.

Maynard, D. W. 1991. Interaction and assymetry in clinical discourse. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97:448-95.

Maynard, D. W. 1991. The perspective-display series and the delivery and receipt of diagnostic news. In Boden Zimmerman 1991: 164-194.

Maynard, S. K. 1986. On back-channel behaviour in Japanese and English casual conversation. *Linguistics* 24:1079-118.

McCarthy, M. J. 1991. *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, M. J. 1998. *Spoken Language and Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press

McCarthy, M. J. and R. Carter. 1994. *Language as Discourse*. London: Longman.

McLuhan. 1964. *Understanding Media*. The medium is the message; the spoken word; television;

McHoul, A. 1978. The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society* 7:183-213.

Milroy, L. 1987. *Observing and Analysing Natural Language*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Mincer, R. 1982. *The Talk Show Book*. N.Y.: Facts on File Inc.

Moerman, M. 1996. The field of analyzing foreign language conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26:147-58.

Morse, M. Talk, Talk, Talk. The Space of Discourse. *Screen* 26:2-15.

Munson, W. 1993. *All Talk*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Newcomb, H. M. 1984. On the Dialogic Aspects of Mass Communication. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 1:34-50.

Newcomb, H. M. 1987. Television. The Critical View. New York: Oxford University Press.

O'Connell,D. C. S. Kowal and E. Kaltenbacher. 1990. Turn-taking: a critical analysis of the research tradition. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 19(6):345-73.

Ochs, E. 1979. Transcription as theory. In Ochs and Schieffelin 1979:43-72.

Ochs, E. and B. Schiefflin (eds.) 1979. *Developmental Pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press, Ltd.

Olesky W. (ed). 1989. *Contrastive Pragmatics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Oreström, B. 1983. Turn-taking in English Conversation. Gleerup: Liber-Förlag Lund.

Penas. B. (ed) *The Intertextual Dimension of Discourse*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza.

Pennock Speck, B. 2000. *A Genre Based Approach to Re-entry Patterns in Newspaper Editorials*. SELL Monographs, 2. València: Universitat de València.

Penz, H. 1996. *Language and control in American TV talk shows*. Tübingen: Narr.

Petöfi, J. S. (ed). 1979. *Text vs. Sentence: Basic Questions on Text Linguistics. Second Part*. Hamburg: Buske.

Petrakos, C. 1996. Trashing talk. *Quill*, March 1996, 84 (2):36-7.

Philips, S. U. 1984. The social organization of questions and answers in courtroom discourse: A study of changes of plea in an Arizona court. *Text* 4 (1-3):225-48.

Philips, S. U. 1990. The judge as third party in American trial-court conflict talk. In Grinshaw 1990:197-209.

Polanyi, L. 1982. Linguistic and social constraints on storytelling. *Journal of Pragmatics* 6:509-24.

Pomerantz, A. 1981. Pursuing a response. In Atkinson and Heritage 1981:152-163.

Pomerantz, A. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In Atkinson and Heritage 1984:57-101.

Pomerantz, A. 1984. Giving a source or basis: the practice in conversation of telling 'How I know.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 8:607-25.

Power R. J. D. and M. F. D. Martello. 1986. Some criticisms of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson on turn taking. *Semiotica* 58 (1/2):29-40.

Pratt, J. 1995. I am a talk-show-host survivor. *Glamour* 93 (10):173 & 273.

Psathas, G. (ed). 1979. *Everyday Language Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York: Wiley.

Psathas, G. and T. Anderson. 1990. The practices of transcription in conversation analysis. *Semiotica* 78 (1/2):75-99.

Raab, S. 1995. The Guests. *GQ: Gentlemen Quaterl* 65 (8):186-91.

Sacks, H. 1972. An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. In Sudnow 1972:31-74.

Sacks, H. 1984. On doing "being ordinary". In Atkinson and Heritage 1984:413-430.

Sacks, H. 1987. On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. In Button and Lee 1987: 54-69.

Sacks, H. Schegloff, E. and G. Jefferson. 1974. A Simplest Systematics for the organization of Turn Taking for Conversation. *Language* 50 (4):696-735.

Sánchez Macarro, A. V. Salvador Liern, J. R. Gómez Molina, (eds). 1999. *Pragmática Intercultural*. Quaderns de Filologia, IV. València: Universitat de València.

Santaemilia-Ruiz, J. (in press). Género como conflicto discursivo: la sexualización del lenguaje de los personajes cómicos. To appear *in SELL Monographs*. València: Universitat de València

Scannell, P. (ed). 1991. *Broadcast Talk*. London: Sage Publications.

Schank, R. C. 1977. Rules and topics in conversation. *Cognitive Science*, 1, 421-42.

Schegloff, E. A. 1968. Sequencing in conversational openings. In Laver and Hutcheson 1972:374-405.

Schegloff, E. A. 1992. On talk and its institutional occasions. In Drew and Heritage 1992:101-36.

Schegloff, E. A. and H. Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 7:289-237.

Schegloff, E., G. Jefferson, and H. Sacks. 1977. The preferences for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53:361-82.

Schenkein J. (ed). 1978. *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction*. New York: Academic Press.

Schiffrin, D. 1977. Opening encounters. *American Sociological Review* 4 (5):15-35.

Schiffrin, D. 1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schiffrin, D. 1991 Conversational Analysis. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 11:3-16.

Schramm, W. and D. F. Roberts (eds). 1971/1974. *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Searle, J. R. 1969. *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selting, M. 1996. On the interplay of syntax and prosody in the constitution of turn-constructional units and turns in conversation. *Pragmatics* 6 (3):371-88.

Selting, M. 1996. On the interplay of syntax and prosody in the constitution of turn-constructional units and turns in conversation. *Pragmatics* 6 (3):371-88.

Shuy, R. W. 1996. *Language Crimes. The use and abuse of Language Evidence in the Courtroom*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Simpson, P. 1984. Talking Heads. *Screen* 25:80-84.

Sinclair, J. McH. and R. M. Coulthard. 1975. *Towards an Analysis of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 1996. Reconsidering power and distance. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26:1-24.

Sperber, D. and D. Wilson. 1986/ 90. *Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stainton, C. 1987. Interruptions: a marker of social distance? *Nottingham: Occassional Papers in Systemic Linguistics* 2:75-135.

Stalpers, J. 1988. The maturity of discourse analysis. *Language in Society* 17:87-9.

Stark, P. 1996. Direct action against trash TV *The American Enterprise* 7 (1):10-11.

Stenström, A. B. 1984. *Questions and Responses in English Conversation*. Lund: Lund University Press.

Stubbs, M. 1987. *Discourse Analysis. The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sudnow D. (ed). 1972. *Studies in Social Interaction*. New York: New York Press.

Swales, J. 1990. *Genre Analysis*: *English in academic research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. 1981. The machine-gun conversation style. *Journal of Pragmatics* 5:383-97.

Tannen, D. 1987. Remarks on discourse and power. In Kedar 1987:3-10.

Tannen, D. 1989. *Talking voices. Repetition, dialogue,and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tchudi, S. (ed). 1985. *Language, Schooling and Society*. New Jersey: Boynton Cook.

Thomas, J. 1984. Cross-cultural Discourse as an 'Unequal Encounter': Towards a Pragmatic Analysis. *Applied Linguistics* 5:226-35.

Thomas, J. A. 1985. The language of power: towards a dynamic pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics* 9:765-84.

Thorne B. and N. Henley (eds.) 1975. Language and sex: difference and dominance. Rowley, Ma: Newbury House. 105-29.

Thorne, B., C. Kramerae, and N. Henley (eds). 1983. *Language, gender and society*. Rowley: Newbury House,

Tolson, A. 1991. Televised Chat and the Synthetic Personality. En P. Scannell 1991:178-200.

Tottie, G. 1991. Conversational style in British and American English: the case of backchannels. In Aijmer and Altenberg 1991:254-71.

Tottie, G. and I. Bäcklund (eds). 1986. *English in Speech and Writing: a Symposium*. Upsala: Studia Anglistica Upsalensia.

Tracy, K. 1998. Analyzing context: framing the discussion. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 31(1):1-28.

Tracy, K. and N. Coupland (eds). 1990. *Multiple Goals in Discourse*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters,

Tracy, K., and N. Coupland. 1990. Multiple goals in discourse: an overview of issues. In Tracy and Coupland 1990:1-14.

Van Dijk T. A (ed). 1985. *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, vol. III: *Discourse and Dialogue*. London: Academic Press.

Vande Berg, L. R. and L. A. Wenner (eds). 1991. *Television Criticism. Approaches and Applications*. London: Longman,

Vande Berg, L.R. L. A. Wenner and B. E. Gronbeck. 1998. *Critical Approaches to Television*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Vázquez I. and A. Hornero (eds). 1996. *Current Issues in Genre Theory*. Zaragoza: Mira Editores,

Ventola, E. 1979. The structure of casual conversation in English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 3:267-98.

Ventola, E. 1984. The dynamics of genre. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 13:103-23.

Ventola, E. 1987. *The Structure of Social Interaction*. New York: Pinter Publishers.

Ventola, E. 1989. Problems of modelling and applied issues within the framework of genre. *Word* 40 (1/2):129-59.

Walsh, T. J (ed). 1988. *Synchronic and Diachronic approaches to Linguistic Variation and Change*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.

West, C. and D. Zimmerman. 1983. Small insults: the study of interruptions in cross-sex conversations between unacquainted persons. In Thorne et al. 1983: 102-117.

White, M. 1985. Television Genres: Intertextuality. *Journal of Film and Video* 37 (3):41-9.

White, M. 1992. Ideological Analysis of Television. In Allen 1992:161-

202.

Wiemann, J. M. and M. L. Knapp, 1975. Turn-taking in conversations. *Journal of Communication* 25 (2):75-92.

Wilson, T. P. and D. H. Zimmerman. 1986. The structure of silence between turns in two-party conversation. *Discourse Processes* 9:375-90.

Wodak, R. 1980. Discourse analysis and courtroom interaction. *Discourse Processes* 3:369-80.

Wolcott, J. 1993. They talk by night. The Newyorker 69:99-100.

Yngve, V. H. 1970. On Getting a Word Edgewise. In *Papers from the 6th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Zimmerman, D. H. and C. West. 1975. Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation. In Thorne and Henley 1975:105-29.

Zimmerman, D. H. and D. Boden, 1991. Structure-in-Action: An Introduction. In Boden and Zimmerman 1991:3-21.

INDEX