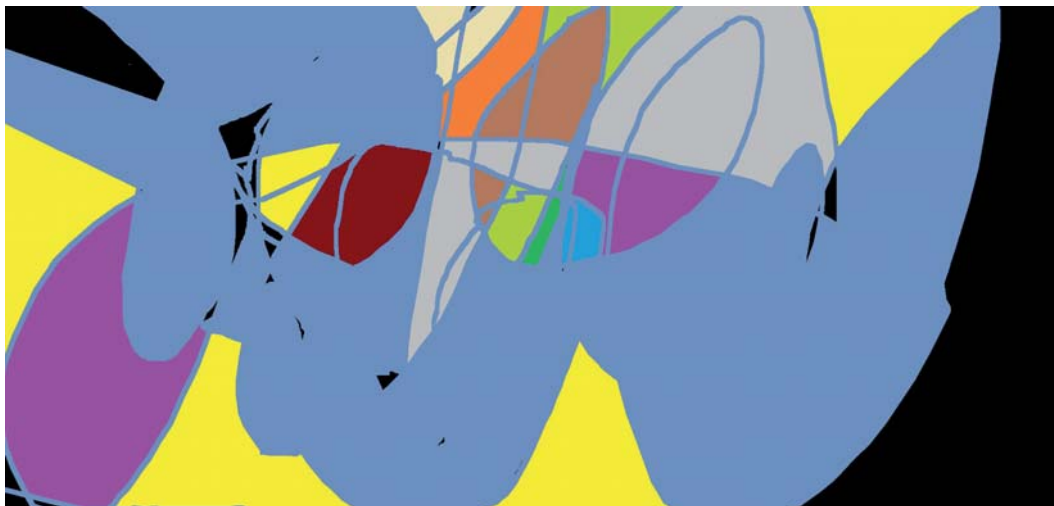


Heidi Koskela

# Constructing Knowledge

Epistemic Practices in Three  
Television Interview Genres



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN HUMANITIES 163

Heidi Koskela

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Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston humanistisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella  
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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2011

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## ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

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This study analyses epistemic practices in broadcast television interviews, focusing on three different interview genres: celebrity interviews, sports interviews and political interviews. In the analysis I examine the linguistic and interactional practices that are used to construct knowledge in the interviews. These practices include mobilization of different types of knowledge, use of assessments to invite first-hand knowledge, negotiation of epistemic stances while disaligning with the question, and use of assessments for claiming or contesting epistemic rights to authority and expertise.

The study comprises four articles and a summary. Article I focuses on celebrity interviews and analyzes how different types of knowledge can be invoked by the participants in a way that enables them to manage the level of intimacy of the interview. Article II explores the interviewers' use of assessments and evaluations in sports interviews in eliciting athletes' personal experience regarding their preceding performance. Article III examines political interviews, focusing on instances where politicians, in their answering turns, resist some aspect of the question and negotiate an independent epistemic stance. Article IV also investigates political interviews, concentrating on assessments embedded in questioning sequences. The results of article IV show how assessments contribute to the negotiation of institutional identities and rights to knowledge and authority.

The data consists of interviews where English is used as a common language between participants who come from different linguistic backgrounds. This study contributes to the literature on second language interaction by bringing new insights into how second language interaction is conducted in the media, a public sphere of society. The results of this study provide new information on how knowledge is socially constructed and negotiated in different interview genres as part of, and often embedded in, actions that characterize those genres.

Keywords: epistemics, broadcast interaction, television interviews, conversation analysis, English as a common language

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Omistan tämän työn tyttärelleni Kreetalle.



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APPENDIX 1: Transcription conventions

APPENDIX 2: Original publications

## LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

- I Koskela, Heidi 2005. Invoking Different Types of Knowledge in Celebrity Interviews. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 18, 93–118.
- II Koskela, Heidi 2008. Englanti osallistujien yhteisenä kielenä suomalaisissa urheiluhaastatteluissa [English as the language of participants in Finnish sports interviews]. In Sirpa Leppänen, Tarja Nikula & Leila Kääntä (eds.) *Kolmas kotimainen. Lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa*. Tietolipas 224. Helsinki: SKS, 332–354.
- III Koskela, Heidi (under review): Epistemic practices and the agenda of the political interview: Answering adversarial questions and negotiating epistemic stances
- IV Koskela, Heidi & Arja Piirainen-Marsh (submitted): Assessments and the social construction of expertise and authority in political tv-interviews

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Knowledge and knowing are something that people orient to when constructing social identities for themselves and for others. People have different rights and obligations with respect to knowledge, and their orientation towards these rights and obligations is present in the very ordinary and everyday interactions people have with each other (Sidnell 2005:35). Epistemics in interaction is much more than isolated claims of knowing something and the consequences those claims might have. It is central to how we act, who we are and what we do with other people.

Epistemic organization is achieved in social interaction and it is inherently intersubjective in nature. For example, one participant's claim to epistemic primacy in terms of either access to knowledge or right to knowledge places other participants in a secondary position with regard to access and/or right to knowledge. Whether these positions are accepted as such, negotiated, or rejected outright, is a matter of interactional accomplishment. Obligations to knowledge are also intersubjectively negotiated. The obligation to know something is especially salient in institutional interaction and linked with the rights and responsibilities associated with different institutional identities. Epistemic organization has consequences on a very local level of interaction, affecting moment-to-moment conversational constructions. These local organizations and meanings, then, for their part construct the realities and lives of people on a larger macro level.

When studying epistemics in interaction it is important to move away from the individual speaker and instead place the focus on social action, linguistic forms and interactional practices in their sequential context. The common aim in the individual articles that comprise this study is to describe how knowledge is constructed in the institutional context of television interviews.

At the time when I started analyzing my data I selected certain sequential environments where the participants in a television interview engage in activities that include joint negotiation of knowledge. I analyzed interviews of three different interview genres: celebrity interviews, sports interviews and

political interviews<sup>1</sup>. In the selection of the data I have attempted to capture something essential to and characteristic of each type of interview. My aim has been to show how knowledge is constructed and negotiated in different interview genres.

Media interaction creates cultural reality for large audiences. The media as a site of interaction is special, because media productions are influential for a large number of people, since they can be seen as “vehicles for the transmission of ideologies in society” (Jalbert 1999:xvii). The societal impacts of single interactive events in the media can be, and often are, much larger-scale and touch the lives of a larger number of people than everyday interactions. Although some practices occur much more frequently and are used for specific purposes in media interaction, they are also deployed in other interactional settings. For example, findings on adversarial questioning in political interviews can tell us something about the features of challenging questioning in general. Or findings on assessments in sports interviews might apply, at least to some extent, to assessments and epistemic organization in other institutional settings, or in everyday interaction.

The results of this study are also relevant when approaching the possible differences between contexts from another angle; when studying media interaction, the results yield information about how different everyday practices are applied in institutional contexts. For example, within conversation analysis, a considerable body of research on assessments and their relation to epistemic rights exists (e.g. Pomerantz 1984, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Raymond & Heritage 2006); however, until recently these studies have mainly been conducted in everyday contexts. Lately there have also been studies on assessments in institutional interaction (e.g. Lindström & Mondada 2009), but these have not included media interactions. Thus, it is interesting to see whether or not practices in different contexts differ from each other and if so, in what way.

One of the motivations for this study is to unveil the implicit or tacit aspects of knowledge construction and to show how knowledge, something that is often treated as individual mental constructions, is in fact a social accomplishment dependent on the tasks at hand and the purposes for which the interactive event is designed. Although the practices that are used in epistemic organization in television interviews are very much context-specific (both shaped by the context and at the same time shaping the context) and thus cannot be reduced to a list of practices or to a set of guidelines to follow to achieve some desired outcome, it is my aim to shed further light on the

---

<sup>1</sup> News interviews have received most attention within conversation analytic studies of television interviews. For a comprehensive study of news interviews, see Clayman & Heritage (2002). Conversation analysis has also been used to analyze talk show interviews (see, e.g., Livingstone and Lunt 1994; Hutchby 2001; Thornborrow 2007). The type of celebrity interviews that I have in my data share some similarities with co-operative talk shows, but they also differ in some substantial ways from talk shows. Sports interviews have not been studied from conversation analytic perspective (except for Auvinen 2001). Section 3.1 describes the nature of the genres I have analyzed in more detail.

practices that are used to negotiate these social distributions of knowledge and how these practices are shaped by, and how they in turn shape, the institutional context. The approach that I have taken focuses on social action, linguistic forms, and interactional practices in their sequential context. This approach has been used by scholars who approach their data from a socio-interactional perspective and take into account the sequential context of interaction, notably in studies on epistemic stance (e.g. Clift 2006; Kärkkäinen 2003a, 2003b; Haddington 2005).

The participants in the interviews I have analysed come from different linguistic backgrounds and they use English as their common language. Because of the type of data I have analyzed, my contribution to previous research in media interaction is specifically one of shedding further light on interactions that involve participants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Epistemic organization in media interaction can take many different linguistic forms and it can be realized through different actions, depending largely on the objectives and institutional goals of the interactive event, in this case the institutional goals of three different interview genres.

Focusing on epistemic organization that is done within and often subordinate to question-answer sequences, this work aims to illustrate the heterogeneity of epistemic practices and highlight the importance of context in studying phenomena of this type. On a general level, the results of this study add to the existing research findings on the social construction of knowledge and research in institutional interaction. Beyond the research community, the contribution of my findings is to increase critical awareness of the practices used in media interaction. This awareness enables audiences to evaluate the interaction they see in a new light.

This study has been conducted within the research group VARIENG, the Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, where one of the domains in which the use of English is being researched is the media. The media domain is one where the role of English is particularly visible to a large number of people. The number of situations in which English is used as a second language or lingua franca on national television networks is increasing. This is also true of Finland, where English is by far the most common foreign language used on television. English as a second language or lingua franca in television interviews is interesting from the point of view of foreign language interaction.

Domains of foreign language interaction that have been studied previously include work-related meetings, business telephone calls, and office encounters (see, e.g., Firth 1996, Firth and Wagner 1997, Wagner 1996, Gardner and Wagner 2004). Foreign language interaction in the media has not received much attention. However, in a study by Piirainen-Marsh and Koskela (2000), English is used as a common language by participants from heterogeneous linguistic backgrounds in broadcast interaction. The results of their study show how interviewer questions can be designed such that membership in a linguistic group (also in an ethnic or in a national group) is made relevant and

is used as a resource in invoking specific types of knowledge and in organizing participation. The results also reveal practices with which the interviewees display or negotiate membership in such groups and orient to certain aspects of their identities.

This study provides an insight into the use of English in the Finnish media and the use of English by Finns in the international media. While there are a number of studies on broadcast interaction (see section 3.2.1 for an overview of conversation analytic studies on broadcast interaction), this study adds to this previous knowledge, in particular by studying a setting that is shaped by multiple asymmetries. First of all, there is asymmetry regarding access to professional or institutional knowledge and asymmetrical participation rights and responsibilities. Because the data comprise second language or lingua franca interactions there are also possible asymmetries of linguistic knowledge between the participants.

This study is organized as follows. I will start by positioning the present study within the previous research on epistemics in interaction, specifically in broadcast interaction. In chapter 3, I present the data and method used in this study, and in chapter 4 I report the findings of the individual articles.

Article I focuses on instances in celebrity interviews where the interviewers' questions about the personal lives of the celebrities invoke different types of knowledge. I describe how the celebrities are able to resist the first-hand knowledge invoking agenda set by the IR question and display general knowledge in their answer (Koskela 2005). In article II sports interviews are analysed and I focus on how assessments and evaluations are used by the interviewers to elicit personal experiences from the athletes regarding their performance (Koskela 2008). Article III, on political interviews, examines instances where questions including third-party attributed statements are followed by resistance to some aspect of the questioning turn and the politicians negotiate their own independent epistemic stances in their answering turns (Koskela under review). Political interviews are also studied in article IV (Koskela & Piirainen-Marsh submitted), where the focus is on how epistemic positions are negotiated through assessments embedded in questioning sequences.

In chapter 5, I will summarize the main points, discuss the relevance of the findings of this study, reflect on the research process, and suggest directions for further study.

## 2 BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Epistemics in interaction

Many previous linguistic studies concerned with knowledge and how it is expressed in language have focused on the individual speaker (e.g. the study of evidential and epistemic modality)<sup>2</sup>. While these studies provide information that is important and relevant to this study, the focus on the individual is not enough, because it does not tell what actually happens *in interaction*.

It is important to see that various different linguistic forms can be used in epistemic marking. While many practices do not function as epistemic markers as such, in particular sequential positions they can be used as epistemic markers. In other words epistemic marking is not predetermined, but dynamic and interactively organized. To highlight the importance interactively organized practices has for my work, I will now review the various approaches that have been used in studying epistemics in interaction.

In previous studies on evidentiality, the focus has largely rested on the individual. Among those studies there are differences in the way evidentiality is defined. Chafe & Nichols (1986:vii) describe evidentials as linguistic devices that are used to convey “attitudes towards knowledge”, while Aikhenvald’s definition on evidentiality as a grammatical category is tighter, arguing that “evidentiality is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information (Aikhenvald 2004:3). The study of evidentials (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2004; Chafe & Nichols, 1986) has provided extensive descriptions of evidentials in different languages. Whether thought of as comprising only the source of information or of more general attitudes towards knowledge, the linguistic approach to evidentiality focuses on the linguistic devices, for the most part omitting the interactional context. Nuyts (2001) and Cornillie (2007) have,

---

<sup>2</sup> Palmer (2001) differentiates these two in the following way: “...with epistemic modality speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition, whereas with evidential modality they indicate the evidence they have for its factual status.”(Palmer 2001:8)



however, dealt with the intersubjective dimension of evidentiality, taking into account the (assumed) shared access to the evidence and how this affects the grammatical and lexical realizations of evidentiality.

Nuyts (2001) approached epistemic modality from a cognitive-pragmatic perspective, using corpora of both written and spoken language in English, Dutch and German. He found that orientation to the addressee and what the addressee knows (intersubjectivity) is indexed in the way source of evidence is marked in language. Cornillie (2007) also used corpora of written and spoken language. He examined Spanish semi-auxiliaries and found that the construction they occurred with is linked with indexing of reliability. For example, *parecer* ('to seem') is used with a to-infinitive when referring to subjective interpretation of evidence while a *que*-clause construction implies that the evidence is shared with others.

If the focus lies strictly on the individual, the sensitiveness and responsiveness to the ongoing talk and action is not accounted for. This has been the case in many studies of the grammatical marking of evidentiality. However, there are exceptions, such as Fox (2001), who shows how evidential marking in English is responsive to the relationship between the participants and how evidential marking is used to index authority, responsibility, and entitlement. Fox (2001) studied evidentials in their sequential and interactional context, emphasizing the importance of 1) the sequential location of evidential marking and 2) the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Kim (2005) studied Korean conversations from a conversation analytic perspective and demonstrated how interactional functions such as entitlement, objectivity and detachment are achieved through choices of evidential marking.

Epistemic modality, in other words the way speakers express their doubts or certainties, can be indicated grammatically or non-grammatically. Grammatical devices include modal verbs such as *must*, *may*, etc., grammatical mood, affixes and particles. Non-grammatical means of expressing epistemic modality entail lexical selections, using adverbials (*perhaps*, *probably*, *surely* etc.) or intonational patterns.

There has been some discussion in previous studies about the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality (De Haan 1999, 2001; Cornillie 2009). It has been asked whether evidentiality is a sub-type of epistemic modality or if it is distinct from epistemic modality. Some studies (e.g., Palmer, 1986) treat evidentials as part of the category of epistemic modality, while others see the two categories as clearly distinct from each other. One such view is supported by Cornillie (2009), who defines the two categories as follows: "Evidentiality refers to the reasoning processes that lead to a proposition and epistemic modality evaluates the likelihood that this proposition is true" (Cornillie 2009:46–47). As I see it, evidentiality and epistemic modality are very closely related. After all, it is natural to express more certainty about things one has witnessed directly than about things that are known, for example, through hearsay.

In my analysis the relationship between the two categories is not a central issue, because my approach does not rely on pre-set categories. Instead, I focus on these aspects of knowing and knowledge that the participants themselves in interaction treat as relevant at a given moment. The following example shows how the interviewer in a sports interview orients to the fact that the athlete has epistemic primacy when the topic of talk is the athlete's performance. The interviewer first makes a downgraded assessment on line 1 (for a detailed analysis of the epistemic downgrading of first assessments, see article III). After this he orients to the fact that he does not have epistemic primacy based on subjective experience and evaluates the athlete's performance by including the evidential *seem* as a predicative complement. *Seem* here marks an epistemic stance by suggesting that the inference is based on visual evidence. Thus both the source of knowledge (visual evidence) and the degree of certainty (derived from knowledge based on something that is directly witnessed, but not subjectively experienced) are made relevant in the evaluation of the athlete's performance.

World Championships Paris 2003

IR Tapio Suominen  
IE Periklis Iakovakis

1 IR Periklis congratulations that was good running,  
2 → you seem to be running with (a) (.)  
3 lots of confidence at the moment.  
4 IE hheh (0.5) thank you very much (0.6)  
5 I feel very good?  
6 (1.3)  
7 IE I:: (.) (>it's<) supposed to be a test (.)  
8 training test (0.8) before ten days,  
9 and u::h (.) it happens to be in Zurich? (0.5) I run  
10 a very good race there? (0.8) forty-eight twenty five,  
11 (0.7)  
12 and I knew (0.7) since then that (.)  
13 I was in very good shape,

Epistemic stance is concerned with source of knowledge, certainty, doubt, actuality, imprecision, viewpoint and limitation (see, e.g., Biber et al 1999). Studies of epistemic stance have developed out of the interest in evidentiality, especially based on the findings of differences in how epistemic modality has been grammaticized in different languages. This has led to the notion that epistemic stance consists of and needs to be explained with more than pre-set categories. For example, Kärkkäinen (2003:24) describes epistemic stance as "responsive to interactional requirements and social contexts within which speakers and recipients interact."

Clift (2006) studied reported speech as a practice by which stance is achieved interactionally. Figure 1 (Clift 2006:585) illustrates how epistemic stance can be indexed both with stand-alone and interactional evidentials. Stand-alone evidentials (e.g. *seem*, *reportedly*) are generally identifiable as evidential markers and do not depend on the sequential context to serve an

evidential function. Interactional evidentials, on the other hand, are resources that are not explicitly marked or known to be evidential markers, but instead are dependent on their sequential position (in this case reported speech) to function as evidentials. According to Clift (2006) stand-alone evidentials are used in explicitly orienting to *accountability* with regard to the truth or reliability of the assertion. Interactional evidentials for their part are used when orienting to rights to knowledge, epistemic *authority*, i.e. rights to assess.

Clift (2006) argues that in interaction there are motivations for being inexplicit with regard to epistemic authority, one reason for this being that rights to assess are *relative* to a co-participant, and thus are a potentially delicate matter. In my analysis interactional evidentials are often used in contexts where the participants negotiate rights to knowledge. Figure 1 illustrates the difference between stand-alone and interactional evidentials.

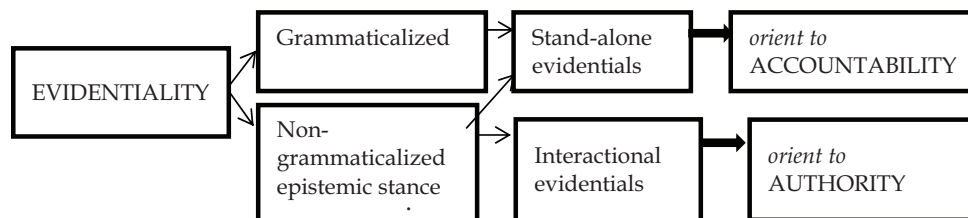


FIGURE 1 Forms of evidentiality (Clift 2006:585)

Mushin (2001) has discussed stance as a form of deixis, noting how (epistemic) stance indexes the speaker's position with regard to the things they say (Mushin 2001:33–35). Mushin (2001:52–53) in her study on narrative retelling steps away from focusing on the linguistic form and instead treats epistemological<sup>3</sup> stance as a discourse pragmatic category. Mushin (2001) describes how several different grammatical or lexical means can be used in expressing epistemological stance. Agha (2002) has also studied linguistic forms together with the contexts they are used in and concluded that these are elements that together form an epistemic stance.

Studies on epistemic stance markers in interaction include work by Kärkkäinen, (2003a) on 'I think' and Fox (2001) on 'hear', 'seem', 'evidently' and other markers. A framework proposed by Du Bois (2002) that treats stance as a social act and inherently intersubjective phenomenon has been used by Kärkkäinen (2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007), Haddington (2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) and Keisanen (2007). Haddington (2004, 2005) has studied stance taking in news interviews, focusing on stance taking as an intersubjective activity. Haddington's work uses conversation analytic methods to study stance taking.

<sup>3</sup> Mushin uses the term *epistemological* as a synonym for *epistemic*. *Epistemology*, alluding to the philosophical study of knowledge, has also been used in this sense by, e.g., Whalen & Zimmerman (1990) and Sidnell (2005) who refer to *practical epistemology*.

In his discussion on the relationship between the conversation analytic notion of *action* and the notion of *stance* Haddington (2004:116) states that

In CA an action is first and foremost defined in relation to what an utterance is doing (a question, an assessment, an agreement, etc.) and moreover, what the co-participants understand an utterance to be doing. However, as was already mentioned above, when we describe a stance (and consequently *stance taking*), it is necessary to pay attention to the “content” of the utterance, i.e. the stance that is indexed by the linguistic practices in the utterance [...]

This approach, especially the emphasis it places on how stance taking is motivated by the interactional setting and the sequential context (Haddington 2004:116), has influenced my work. Although my study is also based on a similar type of data, i.e. broadcast interviews, it is different in that it focuses in particular on epistemic stance, not on other types of stance, as identified in Biber et al (1999), such as *affective* (concerned mainly of states, emotions and attitudes) or *manner* (style of speech) .

Conversation Analysis endorses the ethnomethodological concept of knowledge as an accountable phenomenon. The early works by Sacks (1975) and Pomerantz (1980) show already how utterances are designed to display the distinction between first-hand and second-hand knowledge. Heritage (1984) examines “oh”, a change-of-state token and shows how it can be used in “negotiating the boundaries of knowledge”. The social distribution and organization of knowledge to which I refer by *epistemics* in interaction is also called “practical epistemology” by some researchers (Sidnell 2005, Whalen & Zimmerman 1990).

Heritage and Raymond (2005) have studied how epistemic authority and subordination are indexed in interaction. The study by Raymond and Heritage (2006) also examines issues of negotiating epistemic authority. Both studies focus on assessment sequences and use ordinary everyday conversations as their data. They state that “The distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what participants can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to describe it, and in what terms, are directly implicated in organized practices of speaking.” (Heritage & Raymond 2005:16). Heritage & Raymond (2005) describe how epistemic claims can be downgraded in first assessments and upgraded in second assessments, the default assumption being that the act of making a first assessment itself embodies a claim of primacy.

Practices that are used in downgrading and upgrading epistemic claims are also used for other purposes, not only indexing epistemic primacy. To use them in downgrading or upgrading epistemic claims is dependent on the sequential context in which they occur. This resonates with the findings by Clift (2006) on reported speech as an interactional evidential that I discussed earlier (p.17). The following table illustrates the practices of upgrading or downgrading the epistemic associated with a first assessment.

TABLE 1 Resources for indexing epistemic primacy and subordination in assessments (summary of Heritage & Raymond 2005)

Downgrading epistemic claims in first assessments	Upgrading epistemic claims in first assessments	Upgrading epistemic claims in second assessments
<b>Evidentials</b> e.g., 'seems', 'sounds', 'looks like'	<b>Negative interrogatives</b> e.g. "isn't she nice?"	<b>Repeat/confirmation agreement</b> + e.g. "it's cheap" → " <u>it's cheap</u> <u>yes</u> "
<b>Tag questions</b> e.g. "that's nice, isn't it?"		<b>"Oh"-prefacing</b> e.g. "she's beautiful" → " <u>oh she's</u> <u>gorgeous</u> "
		<b>Statement + tag</b> e.g. "she's beautiful" → " <u>she's</u> <u>gorgeous, isn't she?</u> "
		<b>Negative interrogatives</b> e.g. "their house is nice" → " <u>oh</u> <u>isn't it beautiful?</u> "

Epistemic organization in assessment sequences has thus received a fair amount of attention among conversation analysts for several decades now (see, e.g., Pomerantz 1984, Goodwin & Goosin 1992, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Raymond & Heritage 2006). The study of indexing epistemic stance with interactional evidentials by Clift (2006) also focuses on assessment environments, although not on assessment sequences as such. Clift (2006) studies first person reported speech in talk that is responsive to assessment(s). Other sequential environments in which epistemic organization has been studied among CA include the study by Stivers (2005) on modified repeats. The study shows how modified repeats that 1) are produced after an assertion that does not make agreement or confirmation conditionally relevant, and 2) include stress on the copula or auxiliary, are used to claim primary epistemic rights.

A recent study by Heritage & Raymond (in press) focuses on epistemic practices in questioning sequences. Using interviews, everyday interaction and doctor-patient interaction as their data, Heritage & Raymond (in press) describe how with repetitional responses to polar questions (in contrast to type-conforming yes/no responses) the respondents can claim primary rights to knowledge. My study builds on the previous conversation analytic studies on epistemics in interaction, focusing specifically on the institutional setting of a television interview and actions that are implemented to achieve the institutional goals, i.e. question-answer sequences that are produced for the overhearing audience.

## 2.2 Epistemics in broadcast interaction

Television interviews are interactive events where knowledge and knowing occupy a central role. Already the fact that the event takes the form of an interview, consisting of question-answer sequences, involves an underlying assumption of an asymmetry of knowledge. Speakers who ask questions claim lack of knowledge and simultaneously indicate that the recipient is informed about the topic of the question. This asymmetry, constructed through differential rights and responsibilities to ask questions, is closely linked with the situation-specific institutional identities of the interviewer and the interviewee. Another important aspect of knowledge in television interviews is that often the institutional function or purpose of the interview is to provide information (in an entertaining format) for the television audience.

It can be argued that knowledge and entitlement to knowledge have a dual role in the television interview. First of all, the local management of the interactive event and the roles associated with that event shape and are shaped by orientations towards knowledge. Secondly, the larger institutional and societal agendas of providing the members of society information are something that, while not the focus of this study as such, are nevertheless present in the moment-to-moment epistemic organization. Roth (2002) discusses entitlement to knowledge in broadcast news interviews and in his study describes the way in which orientations to a social distribution of knowledge are displayed in broadcast news interviews, and how the practices through which this is done shape the news interview content, allowing newsworthy items to be presented either as *matters of fact* or *points of opinion*. According to Roth (2002), question design can be used to differentiate between interviewees as subject-actors who are entitled to display knowledge derived from first-hand experiences or as commentators who can present opinions about matters they have not experienced personally.

Different states of knowledge are always inevitably present in the activity of questioning. This is true of all types of institutional settings that are based on question-answer sequences. A television interview as a question-driven form of interaction creates an asymmetry that is linked to the institutional roles of the participants (Clayman & Heritage 2002:96). That said, it is important to keep in mind that epistemic positions are constructed locally, and even though there are asymmetries from the onset, they are something that are realized in interaction, by the participants.

An example of the local construction of epistemic stance in news interviews is illustrated in the study by Haddington (2005), focusing on how interviewees in their responses to potentially difficult questions use two action combinations: 1) *denial + account* or 2) *claim for insufficient knowledge + explanation*. Haddington (2005) shows how these two action combinations are used in responses in a way that at the same time engage with the question's

agenda and similarly manage to take a stance that denies a problematic aspect, e.g. a presupposition, in the question.

In broadcast interaction the television viewer is oriented to as a silent third party. This means that the primary function of the questions is not to produce information for the questioner (interviewer), but to a third party (television viewer) instead (Heritage 1985). Orienting to a third party can be seen, for example, in how both IR and the IE can produce lengthy turns (much longer than in everyday conversations) without minimal responses from the other party (Clayman & Heritage 2002:125). I will now discuss the pertinence of different dimensions of knowledge for the constitutive element of the television interview, i.e. the question-answer sequence.

### 2.2.1 Question-answer sequences and dimensions of knowledge

By definition, questioning is an action that is carried out to seek information. Thus, orientations towards knowledge and knowing are inescapable in question-answer sequences. In institutional settings, question-answer sequences often have a specific function that is related to the goals of the situation. In the collection of articles on institutional interaction edited by Drew & Heritage (1992) the contributors show how question-answer sequences are predominantly used in institutional settings, to carry out setting-specific tasks. For example, in courtrooms, extended question-answer sequences are a practice of doing interrogation. Atkinson (1992) and Button (1992) show how job interviews are managed with question-answer sequences. Another example of setting-specific uses of questioning is interaction in classrooms. In classrooms, teaching is organized around question-answer sequences that typically include a third turn with which the teacher evaluates the student's response. On the whole in institutional settings, questioning is done taking into account the category-bound rights and obligations that the participants have.

In broadcast interviews the interviewer and the interviewee orient to situation-specific membership categories and take part in category-bound activities of questioning and answering, thus achieving the institutional tasks of presenting information to the television audience and constructing the interview as an interactive event. There is great variety in the design of turns that accomplish questioning, and they are not necessarily accomplished through interrogative syntax. Other resources, such as rising intonation, or making a statement about a matter that the interviewee has primary access to (*B-event statements*, Labov and Fanshel 1977), are frequently used in doing questioning in interviews. A study of the distribution of different types of questions in news interviews by Heritage & Roth 1995 illustrates the variety of forms questions can take. Another major contribution by Clayman & Heritage (2002) provides an extensive analysis of questioning (and answering) in news interviews. Heritage & Greatbatch (1991) show how questioning can be accomplished over the course of multiple turn constructional units, through a *question delivery structure*. These previous studies show how questioning can

take many different structural forms and still be recognizable as questioning. The fact that questions are followed with answers shows that the participants have a shared understanding of the actions that take place during the interview.

Questions in television interviews are often multifunctional and they can be used for doing other actions than questioning. They can be used for setting agendas, expressing assumptions and opinions, and making presuppositions (see Clayman & Heritage 2002). Questions can also be used for such actions as accusing, challenging etc. (Heritage & Roth 1995). Different question formats are used to accomplish different actions. Practices of resisting or shifting the interviewer's agenda in answering have been studied by Clayman and Heritage (2002), Clayman (2001) and Greatbatch (1986). As the results of this study will show, in different interview genres some question formats are more used than others, to accomplish actions that are relevant and appropriate for that particular interview genre. While questions set agendas, interviewees can choose to sustain those agendas or to resist them.

As a first pair part of an adjacency pair a question projects and makes relevant an answer as a second pair part. The design of a question projects a certain type of answer, e.g. a polar question makes relevant an answer that includes either "yes" or "no" in the answer. Some types of answers are more preferred than others, depending on the design of the question. A preference for agreement (see, e.g., Pomerantz 1984) is present in question-answer sequences, agreement being more preferred than disagreement. While sequence organization and preference organization govern interaction, they are organizations that are flexible, and they do not predetermine next actions. Interviewees orient to the normativity of the situation, i.e. their responsibility to produce an answer, but similarly they can answer in a way that enables them to resist or shift the interviewer agenda.

As I already mentioned, question-answer sequences are a place where knowledge and knowing is oriented to. First, different kinds of epistemic positions are invoked in the question in that the design of the question constructs epistemic positions for both participants. The design of the question constructs a specific kind of epistemic position for the answerer, i.e. the answerer is projected as knowledgeable (see Heritage & Raymond in press). Also claims of the questioner's pre-existing knowledge about the topic are visible in the question design. Heritage & Raymond (in press) introduce the concept of an *epistemic gradient*, i.e. the idea that questions invoke a claim that the questioner lacks information and the addressee is projected as knowledgeable. They refer to these knowledge positions as "K-" and "K+". The gradient between questioner and answerer is relative, not absolute. Consider the following examples taken from Heritage & Raymond (in press) (1) *Who did you talk to?* (2) *Did you talk to John?* (3) *You talked to John didn't you?* (4) *You talked to John?* The first question implies that the questioner does not have prior knowledge about the identity of the person the answerer had talked to. Question (2) claims that the questioner has access to knowledge, but that the knowledge in question is not as certain as in questions (3) and (4). Questions



that are produced with interrogative syntax imply a larger epistemic gradient between the questioner and the answerer than do declarative questions (Heritage & Raymond in press, Raymond 2010).

The following example from my data illustrates the use of a declarative question about a matter that the interviewee has primary access to.

Yöleno 07/02/1998  
IR Maarit Tastula  
IE Emir Kusturica

1 IE basically .hhh the: strongest weapon (.)  
2 that I had .hh making my movies was  
3 .hh tenderness and u:h everything that was  
4 basically hidden behind this façade  
5 that was .hh building: on the suburb of Sarajevo.  
6 IR → even if uh (.) it was not politically very wise.  
7 IR → you didn't care [of that.]  
8 IE [I don't ] care about it  
9 because I enjoy being politically incorrect because  
10 who the fuck- .hh what does it mean if you are  
11 .hh politically correct it means you serve (.)  
12 to the certain ideological conception of the world (.)  
13 no matter if it's com- communist or not communist.

The interviewer's question (lines 6-7) is a declarative with falling intonation. In other words there are neither syntactic or prosodic elements for the participants to understand this turn as a questioning action. However, the interviewee recognizes the turn as a question without difficulties and starts to answer in overlap with the question (line 8). He uses repetition in his answer, and by doing so claims epistemic primacy over the matter talked about (see Stivers 2005, Schegloff 1996). An alternative way of answering would have been simply to reply with agreement ("no") which would have affirmed the question but not confirmed it (Schegloff 1996, Heritage & Raymond in press).

According to Levinson (2006) action chains and sequences in interaction are not controlled by rules, but by expectations. Hence, in the case of question-answer sequences, "a question expects an answer, but there is no rule that a question must be followed by an answer" (Levinson 2006: 45). Instead, a side sequence may be inserted before an answer, or an answer may not be provided at all. Following Levinson's ideas, the results of my study are interesting from the point of view of these action chains and sequences as independent of language. This universal ability to interact enables interaction for people with asymmetrical linguistic or cultural competences.

Although different kind of epistemic positions can be invoked in question design, they can always be negotiated or contested in the answer. A recent study by Stivers, Mondada & Steensig (2011:10) addresses the negotiation of epistemic position and talk about *epistemic congruence*. The term refers to a situation where the participants share the same presuppositions about each other's epistemic position, either in terms of epistemic access or epistemic primacy. For example, if we look at the above questions from Heritage &

Raymond (in press) the questioner of question (1) *Who did you talk to?* implies that 1) the questioner lacks knowledge and 2) presupposes that the recipient of the question is knowledgeable. If the recipient then proves to be knowledgeable and provides the information that is asked for, e.g., by saying: *"I talked to John."* it can be said that epistemic congruence is achieved. However, epistemic congruence is not always achieved and the participants can claim that wrong knowledge attributions have been made. Heinemann, Lindström and Steensig (2011) show how, in Danish with *jo* and in Swedish with *ju*, the answerer can address epistemic incongruence and appeal to shared knowledge. This can be done in affiliative and disaffiliative ways, depending on the positioning of the adverb and other actions taken by the answerers – placing the responsibility of epistemic incongruence either on the recipient, as a shared responsibility, or treating the questioner as responsible for the incongruence.

Stivers, Mondada & Steensig (2011: 9-19) discuss three primary dimensions of knowledge and epistemic asymmetry in interaction: 1) epistemic access 2) epistemic primacy, and 3) epistemic responsibility. The practices that are used to claim or presuppose epistemic access are used to manage degree of certainty, source of knowledge and directness or indirectness of access to knowledge. Epistemic primacy, in turn, refers to the participants' relative rights to know or to claim knowledge, i.e. who has primary authority and/or rights to knowledge. Epistemic primacy is sometimes linked with social categories (Stivers, Mondada & Steensig 2011:16, Raymond and Heritage 2006). When studying question-answer sequences in broadcast interaction, while epistemic primacy is linked with the institutional roles of the interviewer and the interviewee, the participants can nevertheless orient to other social categories and derive epistemic primacy from those categories. The third dimension on knowledge, epistemic responsibility, refers to what people are expected to know. In broadcast interviews the interviewees in particular have obligations to knowledge, derived from their institutional role of being invited to the interview to answer questions.

## 3 DATA AND METHOD

### 3.1 The Data

My data consist of television interviews from three different interview genres: celebrity interviews, sports interviews and political interviews. The interviewer and the interviewee do not share the same first language, so they use English as their common language. Conducting this study as a member of a research group interested in the use of English in Finland has affected the types of interviews that I selected to be my data. I initially started the data collection by recording interviews, broadcast on Finnish television channels, in which English was used as the language of communication.

At the very early stages of the data collection I found that while there were many different interview genres in Finnish television where English was used between participants from different linguistic backgrounds, there were only some that were shown to the television audience without either the questions being edited out or other heavy editorial work done. These interview genres were celebrity interviews, sports interviews and some political interviews. In these interviews the questions were also included in the broadcast. Sports interviews were broadcast live, so no editing was involved. The political interviews that I analyzed seem not to be edited, but that is only my perception as a television viewer and as an analyst. I have no background information about possible editorial work done in the case of the political interviews. As for the celebrity interviews, I contacted the interviewer and asked her about possible editorial work in the interviews I had selected for analysis. According to her there was some editing, but not much. The amount of editing depended on the amount of time that the television crew was allocated for the interview. If there was little time, almost all of the material was used in the broadcast interview. If more time was allowed for the interview, some question-answer sequences were left out of the program. My research interest was in the interactive practices between the participants, and hence I wanted to analyze interviews that were not heavily edited and where interaction between the participants would be visible both to me as an analyst and also to the television

audience. During the research process I also obtained interview data that were not broadcast on Finnish national television, but on BBC World (the BBC's international news and information channel available in Finland via cable/satellite services). The BBC data included interviews with Finns, and in these interviews English was also used as a common language between the participants.

The data consist of 1) interviews where neither the interviewer nor the interviewee have English as their first language (i.e. lingua franca interviews) and 2) interviews where English is used as a second language, that is, where either the interviewer or the interviewee speaks English as their first language and the other party comes from some other linguistic background. English as a lingua franca and English as a second language is discussed in more detail in chapter 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. What is common in both interview situations is that (potential) linguistic asymmetry is present in the sense that at least one of the speakers is not speaking his or her first language. In my analysis I do not treat the interviews separately as 'lingua franca interviews' and 'second language interviews'. There are two reasons for that. First of all, to treat them separately would imply differences in the interactive practices between the two situations on an a priori basis, and secondly my focus of interest is not on possible differences in linguistic forms when compared to 'standard' English.

I chose to use the term 'common language' to refer to the use of English in my data, with the focus on the actual use of English as a means of communication. Occasionally, however, such as when giving background information about the participants or when otherwise relevant, I use the terms 'first/second language' or 'native/non-native speaker' as well.

The distribution of the different interview genres and different television channels in my data is such that the celebrity interviews and sports interviews that I analyzed were broadcast on Finnish television (YLE - Finnish Broadcasting Company) and the political interviews were broadcast on BBC World.

TABLE 2 Overview of the data

INTERVIEW GENRE	TELEVISION CHANNEL	LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND: INTERVIEWER	LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND INTERVIEWEE
Celebrity interviews •4 interviews, •35 - 43 min. •total 2,5 hours	YLE (Finnish Broadcasting Company)	Finnish	Various
Sports interviews •30 interviews, •0,5-2 min. •total 40 min.	YLE (Finnish Broadcasting Company)	Finnish	Various
Political interviews •7 interviews, •22-24 min. •total 2,5 hours	BBC World	English	3 Finnish, 4 Various

I have not included much of nonverbal elements in the analysis because in many cases the camera angles did not permit systematic analysis of embodied action was impossible. In the celebrity interviews in particular, and to some extent also in the political interviews, the most frequently used camera angle was a close-up shot of either the interviewer or the interviewee, concentrating on the face. The director's choice of camera angles and what the television audience has access to is important, but not within the scope of this study. So, although I acknowledge that the inclusion of nonverbal analysis would have given me more information about the practices used, I decided to leave nonverbal elements unanalyzed for the most part. However, throughout the analytical process I examined both the transcripts and the original videotapes.

All three interview genres that I have analyzed entail properties that distinguish them from other interview genres. The type of celebrity interviews that form my data consist of the interview itself, which is conducted in a television studio, and video inserts, related to the theme of the interview. The interview together with the video inserts lasts in general for about 30 minutes. The theme of the interview is typically based on the interviewees' public identities. For example, an interview with a film director focuses on the films he has directed, a civil rights activist is invited to talk about civil rights, an author about themes surrounding his latest novel, etc. The personal life and private aspects of the celebrities' identities are often also a topic of talk. The celebrity interviews are characteristically structured so that the interviewees produce lengthy, almost monologue-type answers to the questions, while the interviewers engage in various listening practices (see Norrick 2010). Typically,

the celebrity interviews are quite co-operative in nature and a consensual point of view is produced collaboratively by the interviewer and the interviewee (see Martínez, 2003; Lauerbach, 2007; Norrick, 2010).

Sports interviews are a central component of sports broadcasting. The interviews serve the function of conveying the athlete's first-hand experiences, subjective feelings, and accounts of his/her performance to the television viewer. The interviews allow the audience to follow their favorite athletes as persons by bringing their personas closer to the audience, and in general creating a feeling of being "up close and personal" with the athlete. Interviews with athletes and coaches in televised sports broadcasts take various forms. My data include interviews where the athlete is interviewed immediately after a sports performance. Interviews of this type are typically quite short, lasting from one to two minutes, and they are broadcast live. A feature that is specific to sports interviews is that the questioning turns often include evaluative elements, as the interviewers make assessments about the preceding performance. Assessments function as a way to invite the athletes to provide first-hand experiences and accounts of their sports performance.

Political interviews as a genre have the institutional goal of producing neutralistic<sup>4</sup> knowledge to the television audience in a way that holds the audience's attention. The interviewers have the institutional right and responsibility to act as a representative of the audience and bring up points of view that are different from the politician's. Introducing contrasting points of view and thus maintaining a balance between different perspectives is frequently realized through adversarial or challenging questioning in political interviews. Besides being a characteristic feature of a political interview, adversarial questioning is also an activity where epistemic positions are negotiated, in other words an activity that is relevant for my analysis.

I approached the data with a basic interest in how knowledge is constructed in interaction. An unmotivated looking revealed that environments that included negotiation of epistemic positions seemed to occur especially in situations that involved aspects of resistance towards the IR agenda. I chose those instances for closer analysis in order to concentrate on practices that occur repeatedly in television interviews, and that are integral in both the local, turn-to-turn management of the interview and in the management and construction of public identities, also achieved through local practices.

In the following two chapters I will discuss the data that I have used, concentrating on the approach I have taken to the use of English as a 'common language' between participants who come from different linguistic backgrounds.

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<sup>4</sup> Clayman (1992) stresses that "neutralism" is not a trait or a state of mind, but rather an interactionally organized social phenomenon. Neutralism is an achievement, an appearance of neutrality, constructed by certain interactive practices that the interviewers employ when avoiding overtly expressing their personal opinions.

### 3.1.1 English as a lingua franca

English is a widely used medium of communication between speakers who have different first languages. The term 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF) is used to describe interaction taking place among non-native<sup>5</sup> speakers of English (see, e.g., Jenkins 2006; House 1999; Seidlhofer 2001). The term is also occasionally used to cover multiparty situations of intercultural communication that include speakers whose first language is English (Seidlhofer 2005).

Corpora of ELF (Mauranen 2003; Seidlhofer 2004) have been collected and analysed to describe the nature of ELF as a language in its own right and how it differs from English as a native language (ENL). The results yielded by larger corpora provide important insights into the linguistic system, and the basic assumption of ELF as a 'user language' instead of a 'learner language' (Seidlhofer et al. 2006) coincides with my premise that the participants are competent actors in a setting that is in many ways highly demanding. Firstly, this is because of the public nature of the setting and its consequent visibility to a large number of people, and secondly because of the participants' expectations to 'do well' in the interview situation and of the need to accomplish the institutional goals of the interview.

Previous research has observed interactional practices that are characteristic to English as a lingua franca. Meierkord (2000) and Firth (1996) both report that in ELF interactions participants engage in face work. Cooperation, the 'let-it-pass' phenomenon and preserving face are general principles that participants in ELF situations adhere to (see, e.g. Firth 1996; Meierkord 1996; Wagner & Firth 1997). In my data this is true insofar as the participants 'let pass' such linguistic structures that deviate from the native-speaker norms – including situations that might otherwise be challenging in nature, e.g. adversarial questioning in political interviews. For example, strategic misunderstanding<sup>6</sup>, which is one way to construct adversarial actions and disagreement in interaction, is in my data not based on linguistic elements that deviate from 'standard' English, but rather on interactional actions that are used in native speaker disputes as well, e.g. finding inconsistencies in the other participant's talk (Goodwin 1990). Wagner (1996:223) stresses that negotiation of meaning is an activity that is essential in all interactive events, between native speakers of a same language as well as between people who have different linguistic backgrounds. Instead of focusing on language form, the participants hold each other accountable for their interactional behavior. This leads to the conclusion that interactional competence<sup>7</sup> is more relevant for the

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<sup>5</sup> The decision to use the terms first/second language instead of native/non-native language mirrors the attempt to avoid implying deficiency – an attribute often associated with the use of the terms 'native' and 'non-native' (see Firth and Wagner 1997).

<sup>6</sup> According to Arminen (2005), strategic aspects of interaction are often salient in institutional interaction, especially in media settings such as political interviews, where impression management is one of the main goals of the situation.

<sup>7</sup> Hua & Wei 2008 p. 24 talk about "co-constructed interactional competence" and define the term as deployment of intersubjective resources such as turn-taking,

participants than linguistic competence in the English language system. Interactional competence allows participants to recognize and utilize context-specific organization of actions and ordering of practices (Hall et al, in press).

### 3.1.2 English as a second language

Second language acquisition (SLA) is a wide field of research, with direct applicability to language teaching. Questions of English as a second language that have intrigued interaction-oriented researchers have to do with what it is that second language users (learners) actually do in naturally occurring second language conversations. Moves toward a social or interactional perspective on English as a second language includes critique on traditional concepts in SLA research (see Firth and Wagner (1997, 1998, 2007). Such critique has given rise to an alternative to traditional perceptions of language acquisition as the acquisition of forms. Instead of focusing on forms and individual cognition, the social/interactional paradigm investigates how second language is used to achieve intersubjectivity and to engage in social action (Gardner and Wagner 2004:13).

In addition to EFL and ESL, other terms that are used to characterize communication between people from different first language backgrounds include 'English as an international language (EIL) (see, e.g. Jenkins 2000, 2006), 'English as a medium of intercultural communication' (Meierkord 1996) or English as a global language (e.g. Crystal 2003). Other terms, such as ESP ('English for Specific Purposes') or EFL ('English as a Foreign Language') are often used in relation to language learning and language teaching. The use of the above-mentioned terms has traditionally reflected attempts or desires towards standardisation, with the standards typically idealizing native speakers' use of English. Also, the question of which variety of English should be taught to language learners is related to the attempt at standardisation. Since my focus in this study is on interactional practices rather than specific linguistic features of English, it is not in my interests to treat lingua franca and second language interactions separately. Instead I see both types of interactions – whether lingua franca or second language – as highly context-specific interactive situations where participants draw on multiple resources to make sense of the situation and act as competent members in that particular community of practice<sup>8</sup> (in this case the community of practice of the broadcast interview), the language that is used being only one of the available resources.

Terminology that is used both in ELF and ESL research, such as 'learner language' vs. 'user language', 'native speaker' vs. 'non-native speaker', 'first

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repair, sequence organization and embodied actions. See also Hall et al. (in press), Markee (2000; 2007)

<sup>8</sup> According to Wenger (2004) 'communities of practice' have the following features: (1) there is mutual engagement in shared practices; (2) the interlocutors take part in some jointly negotiated enterprise; and (3) the members make use of their shared repertoire.



language' vs. 'second language' are all dichotomies that to a certain extent have an underlying presumption of monolingualism and a view of language as a unified system. While I use the terms first language and second language to describe the participants' linguistic backgrounds, I recognize that the use of these terms is not wholly unproblematic. For instance, these terms do not adequately take into account fully bilingual speakers, and they also fail to acknowledge the differing competences that people have depending on the context they use language in. While these terms retain their utility in characterizing the type of data I have analyzed, I see it as important not to make a priori assumptions about their relevance for the participants and so allow the terminology to steer the analysis away from the essential elements of interaction in these television interviews: the role of context, the situatedness of the practices that are used and the multiple and layered competences (linguistic, interactional, professional, and cultural) that the participants have in these particular settings and that are not stable but constructed and negotiated in interaction.

Learning takes place in all interactions. What is learned is not just a specific language, but social practices, genres, institutional practices etc. If one concentrates exclusively on the NS/NNS dichotomy, I would argue that something about the multiple and layered forms of expertise and competence, and how they are learned, is lost. I hope to demonstrate with my analysis that the linguistic background of the participants is only one of the asymmetries in the television interviews that I have analyzed and should be treated as such – not by attributing a special status to it on an a priori basis, but instead letting the data speak for itself.

My findings follow those of previous studies in second language interaction (e.g. Brouwer 2000; Firth 1996; Kurhila 2001, 2006; Rasmussen and Wagner 2002, Wagner and Firth 1997) that have shown that basically the same *interactional* phenomena can be found in both first language and second language interactions. Language is seen as embedded in wider practices of talk-in-interaction (Gardner & Wagner 2004: XX). Levinson (2006) argues in the same vein, asserting that "human interactional abilities are at last partially independent of both language and culture" Levinson (2006:40). This view is based on several facts. One fact that supports this idea of a "shared universal framework for verbal interaction" (Levinson 2006:41) is that people who do not share a common language or a common culture are still able to interact with each other. This is possible because humans have a shared "meaning-making machinery" (Levinson 2006:43). Further proof of the existence of what Levinson terms the human "interaction engine" has been found in studies of aphasia, especially by Goodwin (2003) who shows that loss of language does not mean loss of interaction. Conversation analytic studies that have been conducted on different languages and in different cultures show that in many respects the organization, e.g., turn-taking, sequence organization and repair, of interaction is rather similar. This is not to say cultural variations do not exist. Levinson does not deny the existence of variation between different cultures, but states

the following: “the interaction engine is not to be understood as an invariant, a fixed machine with a fixed output, but as a set of principles that can interdigitate with local principles, to generate different local flavors” (Levinson 2006:56).

### 3.1.3. Multiple and layered asymmetries in broadcast interaction

In my data, the interaction takes place in an institutional setting. The special characteristics of the setting are also of interest to me, since the participants’ institutional roles often carry with them an asymmetry of participation rights. Asymmetrical participation rights are closely linked to the asymmetry of knowledge, or more specifically to how knowledge can be constructed in interviews in ways that are institutionally appropriate and relevant. Asymmetry in interviews has been studied by, for example, Drew & Heritage (1992) and Heritage & Sefi (1992). The results of those studies show how inequality is present in terms of rights and responsibilities to different turn types (questions, answers) and different actions (e.g., controlling topic and eliciting information).

Besides asymmetries of institutional knowledge, there are also possible asymmetries of linguistic knowledge in my data. The interplay between institutional and linguistic knowledge or identities has been previously studied by Kurhila (2004). However, especially in the present type of data, where the participants have a very high command of English and the use of English in their professional life is in fact routine for them, it would be misleading to assume beforehand that linguistic asymmetries are the most relevant for the participants. As Emanuel A. Schegloff pointed out in an interview with Jean Wong and David Olsher (2000), even in cases where there are linguistic asymmetries the asymmetries need not be consequential for interaction. Thus they should definitely not be assigned a priori relevance for the participants. By way of explication Schegloff (Wong & Olsher, 2000) discusses grammar as a resource for accomplishing actions in interactions that involve non-native speakers. He argues that coparticipants might treat grammatical choices made by a non-native speaker as not being a “locus of order”, and instead rely on other resources for meaning-making. Schegloff (Wong & Olsher 2000) also asserts that that non-nativeness, or any other category such as age, gender, or ethnicity, is not a relevant category distinction to start with. Such categories could prove to be relevant in interaction or they could prove not to be relevant in interaction. For this reason it remains the job of an analyst to show *how* and *where* in interaction they are relevant for the participants. In the analysis, I follow the principles of conversation analysis and refer to particular aspects of the participants’ social identities – whether ethnic, national, linguistic, professional or some other identity category – only if they are visible in the actions the participants engage in (Schegloff 1992, 1997).

### 3.2 Method: Conversation Analysis

I have approached my data with the methods used in conversation analysis (CA). CA is a method that identifies and examines the participants' own methods of producing and interpreting social interaction. This approach enables the data to be analyzed from an emic perspective, i.e. examining how the participants jointly construct the institutional event of a television interview.

CA was developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Harvey Sacks, together with Emanuel A. Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. It derived largely from ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967), - an approach used to examine how people produce social order and make sense of the world they live in. Conversation analysis was also influenced by Goffman's work on the presentation of 'self' and the interaction order in everyday face-to-face interaction (Goffman 1959). While originally used by sociologists in the United States, CA has become a prominent approach in a range of disciplines worldwide. It is used by researchers in anthropology, social psychology, psychology, and linguistics. Other fields of study, such as workplace studies (Heath & Luff 2000; Luff et al. 2000) also use CA as a methodological tool. Introductory discussions about CA methodology include works by Psathas (1995), Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998), ten Have (2007), and, in Finnish Tainio (1997).

According to the basic principles of CA (e.g. Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998, ten Have 2007), interaction is sequentially organized. The participants realize and make sense of social actions through orienting to sequentiality, i.e. the way in which actions and utterances are ordered. The relationship between talk and action is discussed by Schegloff (1991: 46) who states that *talk amounts to action*, referring to how talk is a medium through which people can participate and make sense of ongoing events (see also, e.g., Schegloff (2006), Peräkylä (1995:17), Arminen (2005:6). Thus social actions, and more specifically the participants' own methods of understanding social actions, are the basis of analysis.

The data in CA studies are 'naturally occurring', i.e. consisting of real-life instances of interaction. The analysis is data-driven, and based on observable details of interaction. A priori categorizations are avoided and any detail of interaction is treated as possibly relevant. As suggested by Sacks (1992:484), "we should try to find *order at all points*". Methodically, this means that a careful transcription of the data is needed in order to capture and scrutinize the details of interaction that make it ordered. Transcriptions, together with the original audio and/or video data are the resources that the analyst can repeatedly go over during the analytical process. The transcription system that is used in CA was developed by Gail Jefferson (see Atkinson & Heritage 1984, pp. ix–xvi). Originally the system was used for analyzing audio data. Over the decades, as technology advanced and video recordings became available, the transcription system has been further developed to include aspects of visual data. The

transcription conventions that I have used are based on the system developed by Jefferson. The notation system is summarized in the Appendix.

The data in this study is transcribed without paying attention to speakers' possible "foreign" accents. This means that utterances are not necessarily transcribed exactly as they are pronounced, but according to "standard" English orthography. This decision of not to transcribe accent was based on the fact that how an accent is represented is filtered through the transcriber's cultural and linguistic knowledge. In particular, when the transcriber and the participants whose talk is transcribed come from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, there is a risk that the transcription will be overly affected by the transcriber's hearing. In this case, the transcription by a Finnish speaker of English would not necessarily represent what other transcribers might hear.

Another reason for not transcribing accent is that I did not want to imply hierarchies between different accents or make assumptions about what is standard and what is non-standard English. Choosing not to transcribe accent is also done to avoid prejudice. For example transcribing a "German" accent highlights the accent when it is presented in written form (see Oliver et al 2005). So instead of honoring the participant (Schegloff 1997), the transcription of an accent could in this case result in biased representations of the participants (Oliver et al 2005:1279, see also Jaffe and Walton 2000; Preston 1982). While "borrowing" from a denaturalized transcription approach that removes idiosyncratic elements of speech and focuses on the informational or meaning content of speech (see Cameron 2001, Oliver et al 2005) and omitting (foreign language) accent from the transcripts, I have, however, following CA conventions, included certain elements that amount to what is considered speaking with an accent in the transcriptions. These include features that are recorded in the transcripts of "standard" English as well, such as stress and lengthening of syllables.

One of the core notions in conversation analysis is that of recipient design (Sacks 1992, see also Goodwin 1981). Each utterance is created for a particular recipient in a particular conversation. According to Sacks et al. (1974:727) recipient design shows how talk is "constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are co-participants' within the conversation." Recipient design is one key aspect of epistemic organization in interaction. It is useful in analysing the participants' assumptions about what the recipients know or do not know and how those assumptions have an influence on how a turn is designed. For example, an utterance can be constructed (e.g., through word selection, sequential ordering) in a way that it makes sense for a particular recipient, taking into account the knowledge that the recipient is presupposed to have.

An example of instances where recipient design is analysed includes person reference (Sacks and Schegloff 1979), where an analysis of how a person is referred to when talking to somebody else and how using a first name (instead of any other possible referent) presupposes mutual recognition of the

referred person. Reference to places (Schegloff 1972) also requires orientation to knowledge that the recipient supposedly has. Terasaki (1976) studied news delivery sequences and showed how the linguistic design and sequential organization of news delivery turns are tailored to fit the recipients and to what they already know or do not know. The recipients can then confirm a news delivery turn as informing and something that is “news-for-them” (Terasaki 1976:7).

Heritage (1984) in his analysis of *oh* as a change-of-state token has studied acts of informing and how through acts of informing recipients are presumed to be ignorant about a particular matter and how the recipients then confirm this presumption by producing an *oh*-prefaced turn, displaying that transmission of information has taken place. News receipts in general are a way for the recipients to acknowledge a previous turn as news, and also encourage the development of news telling. News receipts include, for example, *oh, oh really, oh + assessment* (Heritage 1984, Local, 1996, Jefferson 1981).

The actions of both the speaker and the recipient thus both reflect on and construct who the recipient is and what the recipient knows. Discourse identities (such as questioner-answerer) and situated identities (such as interviewer/interviewee) are constructed in interaction, through recipient-designed utterances and actions.

### 3.2.1 Conversation analysis and institutional interaction

Conversation analysis is used to analyze interactions from a wide range of settings, from mundane to different types of institutional interactions. Although originally developed for analysis of everyday interactions, CA has been used in the study of institutional interaction for decades. An important early work on institutional interaction is *Order in Court* by Atkinson & Drew (1979). Over a decade later, *Talk at Work*, a collection of articles edited by Drew & Heritage (1992), was also influential in establishing methods for studying institutional interaction. The settings that have attracted most attention in CA studies of institutional interaction are medical interactions and media interactions. Other studies of institutional settings include, for example, counseling and therapeutic settings (Peräkylä 2005; Arminen 1996, 1998), business meetings (Boden 1994, 1995; Kangasharju 1996) classroom interaction (McHoul 1978, 1990; Seedhouse 2004), and emergency calls (Zimmerman 1992). Overviews of CA and institutional interaction include the work by Heritage (1997), Drew and Sorjonen (1997), Ruusuvuori et al (2001), and Arminen (2005). Some CA studies on institutional interaction have also been motivated by the possible applications the results of the analysis might have for practitioners. Findings of applied CA can be used to suggest ways with which practices that are used in professional settings, such as therapy, medical encounters, journalism or language teaching, could be developed.

Conversation analytic studies of institutional interaction examine the way institutional tasks are accomplished and how institutional identities are

achieved through interaction. According to the basic assumptions held in CA, talk and action have a reflexive relationship with context. Heritage (1984:242) states that "...the significance of any speaker's communicative action is doubly contextual in being both *context-shaped* and *context renewing*." Thus talk and action are tied to context, each utterance being affected by and affecting the next utterance. When the institutional tasks that are achieved through action are the focus of analysis, the activities that the participants engage in are seen to produce both micro- and macro structures. With each (context-shaped) utterance the context is renewed and the institution is "talked into being".

A large number of the studies on institutional interaction have concentrated on media interaction. Conversation analysis treats interviews as interactive events that are constructed through social practices. The social conventions that are oriented to by the interviewers and interviewees constitute the interviews as an organized social institution (Clayman & Heritage 2002:6). Television interviews have been studied from a conversation analytic perspective by, for example, Clayman (1988, 1992); Greatbatch (1988); Heritage (1985); Heritage & Greatbatch (1991); Clayman & Heritage (2002), Roth (2002), and Hutchby (2006). Finnish studies on television interviews include works by Nuolijärvi & Tiittula (2000); Berg (2001, 2003), Kajanne (2001), and Haddington (2004, 2005, 2006a., 2006b, 2007).

A prominent feature of broadcast interaction is that it is produced for public audiences (see Clayman and Heritage 2002, Hutchby 2006). The fact that talk is directed at an overhearing audience is visible in the participants' actions (e.g. the IRs do not respond to the IEs' answers with 'newsmarks' such as 'oh' (Heritage & Greatbatch 1991). Institutional agendas and goals have been established prior to the interactive event and the representative of the television institution has the right and the obligation to pursue the goals that have been set.

By examining the details of interaction it is possible to show how larger social identities can be built through conversational devices (see, e.g., Goodwin 1987, 1994; Maynard & Zimmermann 1984, Heritage & Raymond 2005). The situated identities of the IR and IE are constructed in the interaction. Other categories and their possible relevance for the actions at hand are also negotiated locally. An example of categorization work and epistemic practices would be an instance where questioning invokes a group-member identity (e.g. a nationality or a profession) and that group membership is used as a basis for treating the interviewee as knowledgeable or not knowledgeable (see Piirainen-Marsh & Koskela 2000). Typically a person who belongs to a category (whether national, linguistic, professional or some other category) is seen to have entitlement to knowledge that concerns that category (see, e.g. Sharrock 1974, Heritage & Raymond 2005)

This study analyses data from an institutional setting and aims to locate and specify the epistemic practices that are used by the interviewer and interviewee in specific television interview genres. The analyses, although not initially motivated by practical applications, can provide ideas for considering

the meaning, relevance, or consequences of epistemic practices that are used in the media. Analyzing situations where English is used as a common language between participants who come from different linguistic backgrounds shows how epistemic practices are used in a second language, and also yields information on the universality of epistemic practices and the relationship between linguistic structures and interactional practices.

## 4 RESULTS

### 4.1 Epistemic organization in three different television interview genres

The results of the individual articles show how systematic management and negotiation of knowledge is present in question-answer sequences. In this process of negotiation, the institutional demands of television with respect to the rights and responsibilities that the participants have, are taken into account. The results reveal specific practices by which epistemic stances are taken.

The purpose and institutional goal of each interview genre that I have analyzed is different, and this can be seen first of all in the way the interviews are organized and consequently in the way epistemic positions are negotiated. In terms of co-operation there are substantial differences between celebrity interviews, which are co-operative in nature, and adversarial political interviews. The overall goal of a celebrity interview is to get celebrities to open up and share details of their private life with the television audience, while political interviews are adversarial by their nature and one of the interviewer's institutional tasks is to present conflicting points of view. In sports interviews the institutional goal is to get an athlete's "insider's view" on a performance that the television audience has just witnessed.

The results of the analysis tell us about the practices that are used in the management and negotiation of knowledge in question-answer sequences. The findings of this study add to the body of knowledge on epistemic practices in question-answer sequences, specifically in broadcast interviews, with a particular focus on practices that are used in different interview genres. In each of the individual articles, the question-answer sequence is the locus of analysis, and all the articles reveal practices used in the question-answer sequence as a whole. After all, my perspective on epistemics in interaction stresses the idea that knowledge is constructed in interaction between two (or more) participants and different dimensions of knowing are negotiated *in interaction*. However, the focus of the analysis of the articles differs according to whether the interest is in



questioning turns or answering turns, or in both. In article I, which considers celebrity interviews, epistemic practices in both questioning and in answering turns are analysed. Article II, on sports interviews focuses on practices in questioning turns, although it also addresses the consequentiality of the practices that are employed in questioning turns, and selected features of answering turns. In article III the main focus is on answering turns in which politicians negotiate epistemic stances in adversarial questioning sequences. In article IV both questioning and answering are analysed, although the focus lies more on questioning turns.

#### 4.1.1 Celebrity interviews

The genre of celebrity interviews introduces celebrities or reveals some aspects of celebrities to the television audience. One goal of the interview is to provide the television audience with new information, often personal aspects such as opinions, narratives or personal experiences. The quest to reveal personal aspects and elicit talk about the celebrity's personal life requires, and frequently results in, a relatively high level of intimacy in the interview. However, such intimacy is not self-evident. Celebrities may not wish to talk about certain topics in the interview, and when this is the case they can – and do – invoke different types of knowledge.

The analysis on celebrity interviews in article I focuses on instances where different types of knowledge are invoked by the interviewer when asking questions about personal aspects of a celebrity's life. I describe 1) how the interviewer invokes first-hand knowledge by her questions and 2) how interviewees can resist the first-hand knowledge-invoking agenda set by the IR question and display general knowledge in their answer. This practice can be used in managing the intimacy level of the interview (Koskela 2005). The data in article I are drawn from a program called "Yöleno" ("Night Flight"), in which Maarit Tastula interviews celebrities. The interviews were conducted in a studio, without a studio audience. The program consists of the interview and video inserts.

I analyzed four interviews in which the guests were two film directors, one author, and one civil rights activist. The interviews were aired in January and February, 1998. The analysis showed that the interviewees construct epistemic positions for their answers that are both relevant for the interview and the activities that are at that moment being engaged in in the interview, and also for management of the intimacy level of the interview. Various practices were used by the interviewees to construct an epistemic position that was different from the one proposed by the interviewer. These practices include topical shifts that enabled the interviewees to move away from the personal level to displaying general knowledge. One such practice was using impersonal pronouns such as *you*. Another practice was tense selection, specifically using the present tense when answering questions that were designed to invoke lived personal experiences in the past. Lexical selections were also made that

emphasized the nature of knowledge as general instead of personal. Impersonal grammatical constructions were used to distance oneself from the topic at hand. The interviewees made generalizations and abstractions, moving away from the suggested personal framework and presenting general facts in their answers instead

These are the types of actions that claim organized and specialized knowledge, typically associated with experts (Koskela 2005:112). By mobilizing different types of knowledge the interviewees manage to resist the agenda in a way that does not seem evasive and does not render them accountable. The following example illustrates the use of generic *you* (line 3), lexical selections that suggest general knowledge (*segregated, society, community*), and the shift to the present tense (lines 3-10) The grammatical construction of the answer is designed to be impersonal, achieved through the second person singular pronoun *you* and attributing *experience* to an unspecified group of people within a community (*when you live.., experience with race within black community is quite minimum*) (Koskela 2005:111).

- (1) Yöleno 03/01/1998  
 MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
 HB = IE, Harry Belafonte
- 1 MT and when did you have your first personal experience  
 2 with (.) racism.  
 → 3 HB when you live within (.) the segregated society (.)  
 4 or in a segregated community  
 5 experience with race within the black community  
 6 is quite minimum.  
 7 (.)  
 8 HB (xxx) the restaurants are black, the schools are black,  
 9 (.) the minute you step outside that society  
 10 you will have your first experience with race.

In the following excerpt (discussed in more detail in Koskela 2005), the interviewee's lexical selections invoke an expert role. The interviewer seeks the IE's personal point of view with a questioning turn that describes an eating disorder that the interviewee had in his teenage years (lines 1, 4). The question is produced in a declarative form and is about a matter that the IE has first-hand primary access to. However, in his answer the IE does not display first-hand knowledge.

- (2) Yöleno 14/02/1998  
 MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
 SK = IE, Stephen Kuusisto
- 1 MT but it was actually very serious at some moment (.)  
 2 so you were um:: brought into hospital  
 3 SK °yeah.°  
 4 MT [it was only] hundred and five po[unds]  
 → 5 SK [u:hm ] [u:h ] we- we know  
 6 SK from psychological studies that the <only way> (.)  
 7 you can (0.6) uh (.) avoid (.) self-destructive

8           tendencies (.) is to: have a belief that life is  
 9           possible, that it's worth living, that there's meaning  
 10          ahead(.) u:h (.) you know (.) anorexic teenagers  
 11          the ones who stop eating (.) in fact believe (.)  
 12          that (.) the future will be terrible.  
 13          you know (.) anorexia is a disease of (.) psychological  
 14          dimensions >right< you don't wanna become an adult.

In excerpt (2) the interviewee displays general knowledge about anorexia nervosa in his answer. The IE uses the language of psychology (*self-destructive tendencies*, line 7) and medicine (*a disease of psychological dimensions*, lines 13-14). Also, in this excerpt, the generic use of the first person plural pronoun *we* shifts the focus away from the interviewee and presents expert knowledge (on the use of generic *we* and 'territories of information', see Kamio 2001). Generic and impersonal expressions were used by the celebrities in my data to design their answers in a way that on the one hand follows the topical agenda set by the IR, but on the other hand shifts away from the invoked knowledge type so that they are able to display general or expert knowledge.

The above excerpts show how interviewees can resist the role that is projected onto them in the questions. Instead of answering in a frame of first-hand knowledge, interviewees can mobilize a different type of knowledge in their answer. This enables them to avoid overly intimate topics, and shift the topic away from a personal to a more general level. Resistance can be done by 1) explicitly orienting to the problematic aspect in the IR's turn, 2) using a contrastive device such as *but* or a spatial adjunct to contrast different domains of knowledge, and 3) displaying general knowledge. The first two elements were not always present in the instances I analysed, but celebrities can also resist by starting their answering turn with a display of general knowledge. Often, resistance is done very subtly, in a way that retains many elements of the topical agenda set by the interviewer. Subtle resistance of this kind enables the interviewee to shift the agenda in a way that does not render the interviewee accountable (e.g. the IR does not repeat the question) and the IEs do not seem evasive to the audience watching the television interview.

#### 4.1.2 Sports interviews

One central function of the sports interview is to convey the athlete's personal experience and feelings about his or her performance to the television audience. Typically, IRs invite athletes to describe their first-hand experience by making assessments of their preceding performance. The results of this study show how this is done. Sports interviews have certain characteristics that distinguish them from other interview genres. Sports interviews are often very short when compared with other interview genres (each interview in my data lasting from one to two minutes on average), and they are broadcast live, with no editing. The 'here and now' -quality of sports interviews is highlighted by the fact that the interviews are conducted immediately after the performance, when the athletes are often sweaty and out-of breath. This is one way of conveying the

illusion of transmitting the action to the television viewer as it is (Whannel 1992:113). The overtly evaluative nature of the questioning turns is something that separates the sports interview from news interviews, where a certain "neutrality" is expected from the IR (Heritage & Greatbatch 1991, Heritage 1985, Clayman 1992).

The sports interviews that I analysed consist typically of the following phases: assessment/evaluation of the preceding performance, comments or accounts on a more general level and finally orienting to future performance. Typically, the sports interview begins with an assessment sequence where the IR and the IE evaluate the latter's performance.<sup>9</sup> The IR makes a first assessment and the athlete produces a second assessment that is typically followed by further comments on the performance or an account of failure related to the performance. After this, usually in the middle of the interview, there may also be assessments or comments on sports on a more general level. Towards the end of the interview the participants generally orient to future performance(s). This can be done, for example, by wishing the athlete luck, athletes promising to do their best, or a question-answer sequence about the tactics of future performance(s).

The results of the analysis showed how assessments and evaluations were used in directing the topic to a specific aspect of the preceding performance, and in inviting personal experience. This was achieved through question design. The action of making a first assessment makes relevant the production of the second pair part of the adjacency pair, i.e. second assessment in the answering turn. The analysis showed that the athletes very strongly oriented to the assessment in the questioning turn and made second assessments from their personal perspective. By doing this, the athletes participated in collaboration with the interviewers and in a manner that constructs the sports interview as an interactive event. The analysis also revealed that there are differences in how positive and negative assessments are made and responded to. Epistemic primacy is implied in the action of making a first assessment (Pomerantz 1984, Heritage & Raymond 2005, Raymond & Heritage 2006). The analysis revealed that epistemic downgrading is linked with the nature of the assessment. The following excerpts show how, typically, when the IR makes a positive assessment, this is not downgraded by evidential marking or a tag question.

(3) Paris 2003  
 IR Tapio Suominen  
 IE Allen Johnson

1	IR	→	th[at wa]s smooth, (.) and fast
2	IE		[hey ]
3	IR		are you happy yourself?
4			(.)
5	IE		yeah I'm happy, I'm u:h (.)
6			I'm happy that I was able to run that comfortably

<sup>9</sup> In my data 76 % of the IR's first turns include an assessment

7                   and run that fast so- °hh so  
8                   (hopefully) I can (.) feel just as good tomorrow  
9                   and u:h (.) have a performance similar to that.

The interviewers use direct assessments such as *that was x*, or *your performance was x*. In excerpt (3) the interviewer assesses the preceding performance in line 1. The assessment by the IR, who has limited access to the issue at hand, functions as a ‘fishing-device’ (Pomerantz 1980), and successfully elicits the athlete’s first-hand report of the performance.

Excerpt (4) shows how negative assessments are often constructed so that the interviewer’s lack of first-hand knowledge is visible in the way the assessment is produced. The interviewer starts by explicitly placing the athlete in a position where he can evaluate the truthfulness of the assessment (*correct me if I’m wrong*, line 1); in other words the athlete is placed in a position with epistemic authority. This type of turn-beginning projects a negative evaluation which is later in the turn epistemically downgraded by the framing of the assessment as something that is based on visual evidence (*it looked like...* line 2).

(4) Paris 2003  
IR Tapio Suominen  
IE Sherwin Vries

1       IR     → Sherwin (.) correct me if I’m wro:ng  
2             → but it looked like you had to f:ight a little bit  
3             (.)  
4       IE     .hh yeah I was a bit tired from (x)  
5             hundred meters hh .hh (.)  
6             ( ) (you know) hh .hh (.)  
7             I’ve never run so hardhh .hh (.)  
8             three- three days in a row so uh  
9             .hh (.) I’m just trying to hh .hh (.) go out there  
10            and just give it u- hh  
11            .hh my- my be:st shot shot each and every time an-  
12            .hh and run each and every race like a final.

Questions of epistemic authority are relevant in sports interviews, showing how IRs orient to athletes as having epistemic primacy with respect to their performance over the interviewer, and how this primacy is used to design questions in a way that 1) directs and limits the topic to a certain aspect of the preceding performance, and 2) invites the athletes to describe their personal experience. In their answering turns, the athletes’ interpretation of the nature (positive or negative) of the IR’s first assessment is visible. The way their answers are constructed to include either further commentary or an account of failure also shows how athletes orient to their institutional obligations and accountability.

The results of the analysis in article II lend support to the view that it is important for the participants in an institutional setting is to orient to the goals of the setting and act in a way that is relevant for that particular setting. Shared knowledge about how to interact in a sports interview seems to be much more important than linguistic knowledge of a specific language, even among athletes whose linguistic skills are limited (Koskela 2008:352).

#### 4.1.3 Political interviews

The institutional goals of the political interview are to yield information for the television audience and to do so in a way that is both neutralistic and entertains the audience<sup>10</sup> (see, e.g., Clayman and Heritage 2002). Interviewers are expected to be neutralistic yet also to create conflict and challenge the IEs and their views in order to make the interview more entertaining. Politicians in turn need to overcome the challenges posed by the IR and present their political views in a credible manner. This is important, because they are under pressure to convey a positive image to all the potential voters among the television audience. In article III, I examined instances where, after adversarial questions that included third-party attributed statements, politicians resist some aspect of the questioning turn and negotiate their own independent epistemic stances in their answering turns. These sequences were chosen as the focus of analysis, because they are important in view of the above-mentioned institutional goals of the interview.

The analysis shows that negotiation of epistemic positions is achieved through various practices in political interviews. One such practice is to display independent and detailed knowledge about the third-party attributed statement (e.g. display knowledge about what exactly has been said or about the manner in which something has been said) and in this way resist the presuppositions or propositions in the interviewer's question. Another practice is to orient to the authority of the source, relevance or credibility of the third-party attributed statement. A third practice is to resist the proposed action type when responding.

The results reveal that declining to engage in the topical or action agenda set by the question is particularly relevant in defending one's own perspective. This is illustrated in excerpt (5) where the IR makes a third-party attributed statement in lines 30 and 32 and the IE answers in a way that simultaneously manages to accept the correctness of the quotation and emphasize his own view about the need for follow-up actions. This excerpt is taken from an argument sequence where the IR has said that Iran will return to their uranium enrichment program<sup>11</sup> and the IE has replied that it is still "an open issue". The

<sup>10</sup> This is the case with the standard political interview. However, there are program types that are hybrid, i.e., they blend features of a political interview with exchanges found in other genres. Hutchby (2011) describes the "hybrid political interview", which is characterized by IR non-neutrality.

<sup>11</sup> In 2003 the IAEA (the International Atomic Energy Agency) concluded an investigation stating that Iran had failed to report nuclear activities to the IAEA. After



(6) HardTalk [Margelov 31/10/2002]  
 IR Tim Sebastian  
 IE Mikhail Margelov

1 IR =speculation is quite advan[ced that ] he will be  
 2 IE [((coughs))]  
 3 IR giving up cer[tain respons- if not  
 4 IE [ I (x)  
 5 IR retiring completely.  
 6 IE I really doubt that (.) that can happen,  
 7 .hh knowing president Yeltsin in person (.)  
 8 I can hardly imagine that .h u:h he will (.)  
 9 u::h leave (.) u:h his position (.) uh before (.)  
 10 u:h the: uh: be-be-before the right time and uh (.)  
 11 [(x) ]

12 IR → [hasn't-] hasn't he lost the joy of it  
 13 (0.5)  
 14 IE I- I don't think so,  
 15 o-IE smiles--  
 16 IE → lost his enthu[siasm  
 17 -----[°heh heh°  
 18 IE °hh I- I [don't think-]  
 19 IR [ °he's° get]ting tired.  
 20 -----o  
 21 IE n::o I-I- I don't think so,

The question in line 12, together with its reformulation in line 16, challenges the view that the IE has presented about president Yeltsin. The adversarial nature of the question in line 12 is visible in that it interrupts the IE's answer and the content of the question proposes a contrasting view. The question is about a matter that the IR has less access to than the IE due to the IE's personal relationship with the president. The use of the negative interrogative format 1) upgrades the IR's epistemic claim (see Heritage & Raymond 2005) and 2) sets constraints on the answer, as it prefers "yes" as the answer. The IE seems to have problems (delayed mitigated disagreement, accompanied with smiling and laughter) when answering the question in a way that on the one hand is appropriate in regard to his institutional responsibilities and on the other hand preserves his credibility (Koskela & Piirainen-Marsh, frth).

The micro-level negotiation of epistemic stances is a joint interactional achievement, realized grammatically, lexically and sequentially. In television interviews, the negotiation of epistemic positions is embedded within question-answer sequences, and it can be done with varying degrees of explicitness. On the macro-level, which is achieved through micro-level practices, the



negotiation of epistemic stances is crucial for both the politician and the journalist in terms of the presentation of self to the television audience.

The following tables sum up the epistemic practices that were used in the three different television interview genres in the instances that were chosen for analysis. For reasons of clarity I have placed epistemic practices, linguistic and interactional resources in separate columns, but I would remind the reader that linguistic and interactional resources are used in realizing epistemic practices, and are thus not actually a separate category, but rather a category that is embedded in epistemic practices. Epistemic practices are also used in accomplishing a wider action, which is presented in the column on the right.

TABLE 3 Epistemic practices in celebrity interviews (article I)

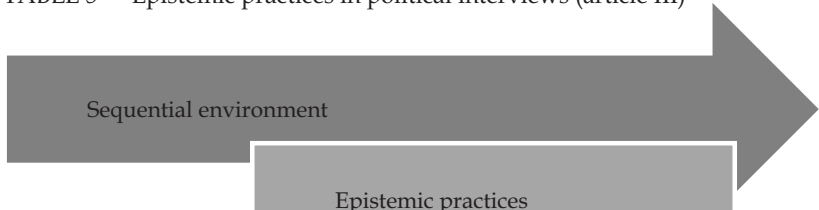
Questions	invoking first-hand knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• use of past tense</li> <li>• explicit reference to personal experience</li> </ul>	asking questions about personal and private matters
Answers	displays of general knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• contrastive devices (e.g. "but")</li> <li>• spatial adjuncts</li> <li>• lexical selections</li> <li>• use of present tense</li> <li>• use of impersonal pronouns</li> <li>• explicit orientation to a problematic aspect in the question</li> <li>• abstractions</li> <li>• generalizations</li> </ul>	managing level of intimacy resisting some aspect of question constructing expertise

TABLE 4 Epistemic practices in sports interviews (article II)

The diagram consists of three nested rectangular boxes pointing to the right, resembling an arrow. The largest, outermost box is dark grey and labeled 'Sequential environment'. Inside it is a medium-sized grey box labeled 'Epistemic practices'. The smallest, innermost box is dark grey and labeled 'Linguistic and interactional resources'. Below these boxes is a table with two rows and four columns. The first row is labeled 'Questions' and the second row is labeled 'Answers'. The columns correspond to the levels of the diagram above: the first column is the general category, the second column is 'Epistemic practices', the third column is 'Linguistic and interactional resources', and the fourth column is the functional outcome.

	Epistemic practices	Linguistic and interactional resources	
Questions	1) unmarked first assessments 2) downgraded first assessments	1) [referent]+ [copula] + [assessment term] 2) [referent] + [evidentials or references to visual or inferential source of knowledge] + [assessment term]	inviting the athletes' personal experience directing the topic a resource in building a turn into a question
Answers	1) [second assessment]+ [elaboration] 2) [second assessment] + [account of failure]	[agreement / disagreement] + [referent]+ [copula or verb that describes experience]+ ([intensifying or mitigating devices])	providing personal experience orienting to institutional responsibilities & accountability

TABLE 5 Epistemic practices in political interviews (article III)



		Epistemic practices		Linguistic and interactional resources	
Questions	third party attributed statements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•prosody (stress on copula in assertions)</li> <li>•paraphrases</li> <li>•question design</li> <li>•multimodal resources (looking at papers)</li> </ul>	adversarial questioning while maintaining neutrality		
Answers	displays of detailed knowledge about third party's actions contesting the authority of third party questioning the IR's source selection resisting proposed action types	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•lexical selections in reporting verbs and reporting phrases</li> <li>•category selections</li> <li>•explicit denial of presupposition</li> <li>•explicit comments about source selection &amp; source characteristics</li> </ul>	disaligning with the question revealing IR agenda		

TABLE 6 Epistemic practices in political interviews (article IV)

Sequential environment		Epistemic practices		
		Linguistic and interactional resources		
Questions	<p>taking position through assessments,</p> <p>invoking rights to knowledge and authority</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reported assessments</li> <li>• turn final tag questions</li> <li>• negative interrogatives</li> <li>• evaluative stances in question prefaces</li> <li>• irony &amp; sarcasm</li> </ul>	<p>building a critical stance</p> <p>contesting the IE's position</p> <p>building opposition</p>	
Answers	<p>shifting the focus of the assessable</p> <p>claiming superior access / rights to knowledge</p> <p>downgrading the cited third party's authority</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• second assessment with a shift in the referent</li> <li>• explicitly referring to:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-lack of knowledge</li> <li>-alternative third party</li> <li>-IR's subordinate epistemic access</li> </ul> </li> <li>• smiling &amp; laughter</li> </ul>	<p>downplaying seriousness of attack</p> <p>public image management</p>	

## 5 DISCUSSION

I have explored epistemic practices in three different broadcast interview genres: celebrity interviews, sports interviews and political interviews. The analysis focused on examining the linguistic and interactional practices that are used to construct and negotiate knowledge in these types of interviews. This study builds on previous work in studies of epistemics in interaction, especially studies on epistemic stance (Kärkkäinen 2003a, 2003b; Haddington 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Clift 2006) and conversation analytic studies of epistemics in interaction (Sidnell 2005; Heritage & Raymond 2005; Raymond & Heritage 2006; Heritage & Raymond in press). Similar practices of negotiating epistemic positions were found in my data that have been shown to be used by participants in other contexts.

This study also offers new perspectives on previous research on epistemics in interaction. First, by focusing on broadcast interviews, I looked into the relationship between the institutional goals of the interview and the epistemic practices that the participants use in accomplishing actions that are relevant for those goals. In particular, findings on celebrity interviews and sports interviews, which have not been studied before, yield valuable information about practices in different types of broadcast interaction. My analysis showed that the different types of questioning sequences used in each of the interview genres gave relevance to particular kinds of epistemic practices. Second, by analyzing data where English was used as a common language between participants who come from different linguistic backgrounds, I was able to show how these participants take part in practices similar to those of participants in native interactions. This finding supports the idea of a universal “interaction engine” (Levinson 2006). Thirdly, studying the relationship between epistemic practices and social identities in an institutional setting supplements previous studies that have been carried out in everyday settings (e.g., Raymond & Heritage 2006).

The analysis raised questions that could not be addressed within the scope of this study. Thus, further studies are needed to complement the findings and

achieve a more detailed understanding of how knowledge is constructed in interaction. One aspect of interaction that could not adequately be taken into account in this study is multimodality. Because of the camera angles that were used in the interviews in my data, especially in the celebrity and political interviews, the analysis of multimodal practices was rather limited, and for the most part had to be left out entirely. The analysis of the use of multimodal resources would clearly augment understanding of the practices that I have described. The generalizability of the findings would benefit from a wider data set, both in terms of variation in participants and variation in types of programs.

In a dissertation that is based on articles, the temporal process of the study is more visible than in a monograph, where changes can be made to earlier versions as the thinking matures and the researcher's theoretical understanding and methodical skills evolve. In an article dissertation it is not possible to go back to the individual articles and change them once they have been published or if they are under review. This can be seen as both a hindrance and an asset. Now, when I examine the articles together, the change in my thinking over the years becomes visible in the articles. However, the review process can occasionally take a long time, and this in turn can stall further revisions. At the moment of writing this summary, articles III and IV are still under review, and consequently I cannot make any changes to them, at least for the time being. However, I would like to take the opportunity offered by drafting this summary to draw attention to an alternative way of organizing article III. Category work is an activity that the participants engage in when negotiating knowledge in question-answer sequences that include third-party attributed statements. Thus, the paper could be organized in such a way that category work would constitute one of the themes around which the analysis focuses. This would group together practices that at present are dealt with separately.

The results of the analysis bring to light practices on different levels. Interactional and linguistic (and in this study to some extent also multimodal) resources are used in constructing epistemic practices. Epistemic practices – in the sequential context in which they occur – are then used to accomplish actions, which in turn can be part of yet larger actions or action chains, that ultimately construct the television interview. Hence, practices on different levels are interconnected and embedded within each other and should be examined together. The approach that I have taken to analyse epistemic practices in my data is illustrated by the figure below.

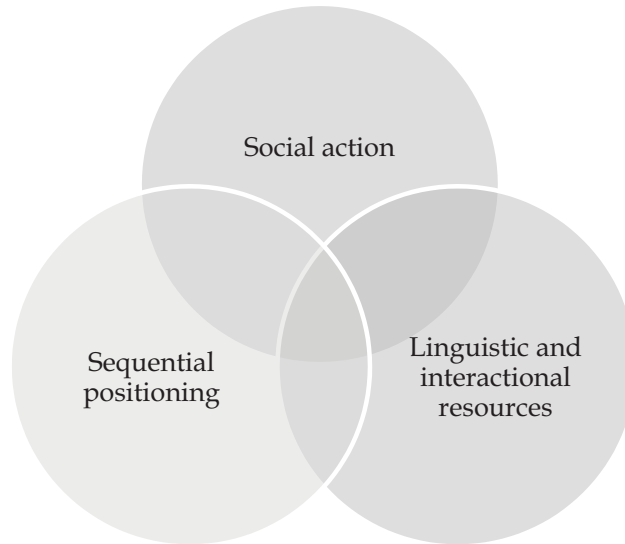


FIGURE 2 Epistemic practices in interaction

To give an example of the relationship of these three aspects, the epistemic practice of displaying general knowledge in celebrity interviews is realized through linguistic forms such as contrastive devices, lexical selections, and use of the present tense. In some contexts these forms are not used for negotiation of the relevant knowledge type (as discussed in chapter 2.1; see also Clift 2006). However, in this particular sequential position, i.e., in a second pair part of a question-answer sequence, and as a part of – and in constructing – the social action of resisting overly intimate questions, these practices are used in negotiating knowledge.

The results show how knowledge is socially constructed and negotiated in different interview genres. The construction of knowledge is a significant element of identity work between participants in any interactive event, whether these are everyday settings or institutional settings. The results show how the local management of the interactive event – in this case a television interview – and the roles associated with that event shape and are shaped by orientations towards knowledge. The practices that the participants use are embedded within actions that constitute the interview. For example, in political interviews, IRs upgrade their epistemic authority through quotations, reported assessments, negative interrogatives and negatively formulated questions when challenging an IE. In turn, IEs can choose to align or disalign with the stance displayed by the IR. These practices are located within question-answer sequences, and are used in accomplishing actions that are relevant for the local management of the interview. In challenging a politician IRs are acting in a way that is in accordance with the obligations linked to their institutional identities.

By engaging in such actions they also construct those identities in interaction. Figure 3 presents the interrelation of identity, knowledge and interaction.

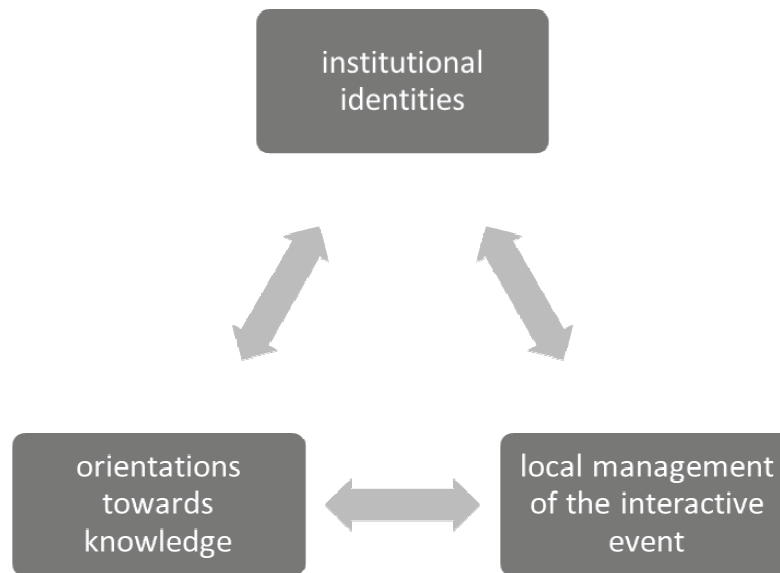


FIGURE 3 Epistemics in television interviews

The results of the analysis add to the existing knowledge on institutional practices in television interviews. By describing the local interactional practices in the three different genres, this study also provides more information about the features that constitute the genres. The extent to which the participants manage to act appropriately in each interview context can be – and often is – consequential for them. The competence of politicians is frequently evaluated by voters on the basis of the interviews they see on television. Likewise the market for professional sports and the sponsoring of athletes are influenced by what attitudes and perceptions the television audience has of a sports team or an individual athlete. Therefore, alongside their physical training and competing, interviews are also part of an athlete’s professional responsibilities. In celebrity interviews, the interviewees are in a situation that can affect their popularity. The television audience consists of consumers of films, books, music, etc. For that reason, interviews are important for public image presentation.

The interviewer’s public image is also subjected to constant scrutiny by the television audience, so there is similar pressure on the journalist to do a successful interview. Interviewers in political interviews are expected to present opposing points of view and do this in a way that holds the audience’s attention – without seeming biased. To do this successfully, they need to balance between different epistemic positions. Whether or not they succeed is



evaluated by the television viewers and monitored by the television channel through viewer ratings.

What it means to succeed in an interview, or to be able to handle the interview situation, is different in different genres. Often for the television audience, as well as for newspapers and other media that evaluate the interaction in interviews, the underlying practices that make an interview successful or not remain tacit, and interviews are evaluated on the basis of imprecise impressions. For example, in the parliamentary elections in Finland earlier this year, a frequent theme in newspaper articles that discussed the televised election debates was whether a politician *seemed* to be competent (or not competent). This study offers an insight into what it is exactly that constitutes “doing well” or succeeding in managing one’s public image, or what is it that makes a participant seem knowledgeable or not in an interview. This is important, because while some ways of indexing epistemic stance are quite explicit and commonly used specifically for that function (such as ‘I think’ (see Kärkkäinen 2003a) or ‘seem’, ‘evidently’ (see Fox 2001), many epistemic practices are implicit. Thus the impact of those practices remains tacit for both the television audience and the participants themselves.

The results of this study contribute to our understanding of foreign language interaction. One decision that I battled with was the extent to which I would discuss English as a second language or English as a lingua franca in this summary. The initial reason for collecting data where English is used as a common language was practical. I was a member of a research group that was studying the use of English in Finland, and one reason for choosing the data was to find out how English is used by Finns in television interviews. During the process, as a matter of fact as early as in conducting the data analysis for article (I), it became quite clear that the participants were using English in ways similar to those found in previous studies of television interviews with native speakers.

At later stages I kept in mind the possibility that there might be differences when my data were compared to native interaction, but as the analysis progressed, it became more and more obvious that this aspect of asymmetry was simply not something that the participants oriented to. How then would I justify my data selection? Why would I study participants using English as a common language if there is nothing special about it? I argue now that this is precisely why it should be studied. English is being used throughout the world today in a variety of situations, television interviews being one of them. To leave out data of this kind because the participants are not native speakers would be to assume a priori that there would be something in the interaction that is not worth studying. But as Emanuel A. Schegloff points out in an interview by Wong & Olsher (2000:125), when asked if conversation analysis would benefit from studies on non-native interaction: “We would never learn about all the non-native speakers who are not preoccupied with it [non-nativeness] and for whom it’s a totally incidental thing about their interaction.” The results of my analysis show that this is true. It is an important

finding that non-nativeness is a category that is generally not relevant for the participants in these television interviews.

For researchers who are interested in how English is used as a second language or internationally, my analysis illustrates how English is used by participants who do not share a common language. This can be useful when exploring the role of interactional competence versus linguistic competence, for example in discussions about language education and language proficiency. Although the participants do not share the same first language, they do have shared knowledge about how to act in that specific situation. This finding resonates once again with the idea of a universal capacity for interaction (Levinson 2006), and would be useful when planning language education, or evaluation of language skills.

Besides implications for language education policies, the larger societal relevance of the results concerns increased critical media literacy. The findings of this study contribute to research on how social identities can be invoked through epistemic practices. Because the practices with which knowledge and identities are constructed in interaction can be very subtle and tacit, it is important to raise awareness of such practices and to unveil how both institutional identities and through them also larger social identities are constructed in interaction.

The data are drawn from the institution of the mass media, but in the data it is visible how different institutions interact with each other. In political interviews the journalist is a professional in the broadcasting institution and the politician a professional in politics. These two institutions meet in the interview and how they interact is shaped by and shapes both institutions. In sports interviews the institutional and commercial world of sports interacts with the media institution in a way that befits both institutions and their goals, thereby constituting a distinct community of practice.

Studying broadcast interaction is an important undertaking for research, since “television and radio talk has to be seen as key to the nature of the relationship between the media, public opinion and public knowledge.” (Hutchby 2006:4). After all, interviews are social action that shape cultural reality for a large number of people and are an integral part of today’s society.

## YHTEENVETO

### Tietoa rakentamassa: episteemiset käytänteet kolmessa eri televisiohaastattelugenressä

Tarkastelen väitöskirjassani tiedollisten asemien rakentamista ja tietämisen tavoista neuvottelemista kolmessa eri televisiohaastattelugenressä; julkisuuden henkilöiden haastatteluissa, urheiluhaastatteluissa ja poliittisissa haastatteluissa. Analyysini keskittyy kielellisiin ja vuorovaikutuksellisiin resursseihin, joilla haastattelija ja haastateltava rakentavat omaa tietämystään, toiselle osapuolelle tiedollisia asemia vuorovaikutuksessa ja neuvottelevat tiedollisista asemista.

Tutkimukseni on kuvaileva ja laadullinen. Tutkimusmenetelmänä käytän keskusteluanalyysia. Sen periaatteiden mukaisesti tarkastelen sosiaalista vuorovaikutusta toimintana, joka jäsentyy sekventiaalisesti vuoro vuorolta: osallistujat rakentavat paikallisia merkityksiä ja omalla toiminnallaan osoittavat ymmärryksen käynnissä olevasta toiminnasta. Tutkimukseni tulokset antavat uutta tietoa siitä, miten tietoa ja tietämistä rakennetaan ja miten niistä neuvotellaan vuorovaikutuksessa.

Väitöskirjani koostuu neljästä artikkelista ja yhteenveto-osasta. Tutkimusaineistooni kuuluvat haastattelut on nauhoitettu sekä YLE:n kanavilta että BBC World-kanavalta. Analysoimissani haastatteluissa osallistujilla on erilaiset kielelliset ja kulttuuriset taustat ja he käyttävät haastatteluissa englantia yhteisenä kielenään.

Artikkeli I kuvaa, kuinka julkisuuden henkilöiden haastatteluissa osallistujat osoittavat erilaisia tiedollisia asemia, mikä mahdollistaa haastattelun intimitteettitason säätelyn. Artikkelissa II puolestaan tarkastelen urheiluhaastatteluja ja analysoin sitä, kuinka haastattelijat käyttävät kannanottoja kutsuakseen esiin urheilijan omakohtaisen kokemuksen edeltävästä suorituksesta. Artikkelissa III käsittelen poliittisissa haastatteluissa esiintyvää kolmanteen osapuoleen viittaamista, eri linjaan asettumista haastattelijan kanssa ja oman tiedollisen aseman rakentamista. Artikkelissa IV keskityn tarkastelemaan, kuinka poliittisissa haastatteluissa kysymys-vastausekvensseihin upotetut kannanotot toimivat tiedollisten asemien rakentamisessa.

Tutkimukseni täydentää aikaisempaa tutkimusta episteemisestä asennoitumisesta (Kärkkäinen 2003a, 2003b; Haddington 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Sidnell 2005; Heritage & Raymond 2005; Raymond & Heritage 2006) ja televisiohaastatteluista vuorovaikutustilanteina (Clayman & Heritage 2002, Hutchby 2006, 2011). Tutkimalla institutionaalista vuorovaikutustilannetta tutkimukseni tuo uutta tietoa siitä, minkälaisia kielellisiä ja vuorovaikutuksellisia käytänteitä käytetään kun konstruoidaan tietoa tilanteessa, jossa ovat läsnä institutionaaliset tavoitteet, rajoitukset ja resurssit. Tulokset täydentävät aiempaa tutkimusta episteemisten käytänteiden ja sosiaalisten identiteettien suhteesta erityisesti institutionaalisten identiteettien osalta. Tiedosta ja tietämisestä neuvotteleminen ja tiedon konstruointi on keskeinen osa televisiohaastattelua ja sitä,

kuinka osallistujat rakentavat institutionaalisia identiteettejä vuorovaikutuksessa.

Televisiohaastattelut koostuvat kysymys-vastaussekvensseistä. Kussakin haastattelutyypissä kysymys-vastaussekvenssit ovat keskenään erilaisia haastattelutyypien luonteesta johtuen. Julkisuuden henkilöiden haastatteluissa kysymykset ovat tyypillisesti luonteeltaan kooperatiivisia ja niissä pyritään tuomaan esiin henkilökohtaista tietoa haastateltavasta. Urheiluhaastatteluissa taas haastattelu itsessään on lyhyt, ja siinä esiintyy runsaasti evaluoivia elementtejä. Poliittiset haastattelut puolestaan ovat luonteeltaan haastavia, jopa aggressiivisia. Niiden tavoitteena on haastaa poliitikon näkökanta ja tuoda esiin toisenlaisia näkökantoja televisiokatsojille. Nämä haastatteluiden erilaiset agendat selittävät myös sitä, miksi niissä käytetään toisistaan poikkeavia käytänteitä, kun rakennetaan tiedollisia asemia.

Analyysini kohteeksi valikoituivat kustakin haastattelutyypistä sellaiset kysymys-vastaussekvenssit, joissa osallistujat orientoituvat tietoon tai tietämiseen. Keskeisimmät episteemiset käytänteet julkisuuden henkilöiden haastatteluissa ovat erilaisten tietämysten osoittaminen upotettuna kysymys-vastaussekvenssiin. Haastateltava esittää vastausvuorossaan yleistä tietoa haastattelijan kysymysvuoron implikoiman henkilökohtaisen tiedon sijaan. Episteemisten käytänteiden avulla osallistujat pystyvät määrittelemään sitä, kuinka intiimeistä asioista haastattelussa puhutaan ja haastateltavat pystyvät vastustamaan jotakin kysymykseen sisältyvää presuppositiota samalla, kun tuottavat vastauksen, jonka avulla rakentavat asiantuntemusta yleisen tiedon pohjalta.

Urheiluhaastatteluista tutkimuksen tulokset kertovat siitä, miten haastattelijat käyttävät kannanottoja kysymysvuoroissa kutsuakseen esiin urheilijan omakohtaisen tiedon edeltävästä urheilusuorituksesta. Samalla kun kannanotot kutsuvat esiin omakohtaista tietoa, ne myös ohjaavat puheenaihetta ja toimivat resurssina, jonka avulla vuorosta rakennetaan kysymys. Urheiluhaastattelujen vastausvuorojen tarkastelu osoittaa, miten urheilijat orientoituvat kannanottoihin kysymyksinä ja esittävät vastausvuoroissaan omakohtaista tietoa. Analyysi paljastaa myös, kuinka positiiviseksi tulkitsemansa kannanoton jälkeen urheilijat tuottavat toisen kannanoton ja sen jälkeen lisäselityksen suorituksestaan. Negatiivisen kannanoton jälkeen urheilijat puolestaan tyypillisesti esittävät ensin toisen kannanoton, jonka jälkeen tuottavat selonteon epäonnistumiseen johdaneista syistä.

Aineiston poliittisista haastatteluista nousee ensinnäkin se, miten haastattelijat tuovat esiin kolmannen osapuolen näkemyksiä kysymyksissään ja miten poliitikot rakentavat oman, itsenäisen tiedollisen aseman. Vastauksissaan poliitikot asettuvat eri linjaan kysymyksen kanssa ja rakentavat episteemisen position, joka poikkeaa haastattelijan kysymykseen upotetusta positioista.

Yksi poliittisissa haastatteluissa esiintyvä episteeminen käytänne, jota analysoin, on kannanottojen upottaminen kysymyssekvensseihin osoittamaan tietoa ja oikeutta tietoon. Toinen käytänne on esitetyn episteemisen aseman tai oikeuden riitauttaminen. Näillä käytänneillä voidaan tiedollisten asemien neuvottelemisen lisäksi rakentaa kriittistä asennoitumista ja luoda vastustusta. Po-

liitikit voivat käyttää tiedollisten asemien riitauttamista vähätelläkseen toimittajan haastavan kysymyksen vakavuutta ja hallitakseen julkisuuskuvaansa.

Aineistossani haastattelijat ja haastateltavat eivät puhu keskenään samaa äidinkieltä, joten he käyttävät englannin kieltä yhteisenä kielenä. Työni tuo uutta tietoa siitä, miten englannin kieltä käytetään toisena kielenä mediassa, kahdessa eri kontekstissa: Suomen televisiossa ja kansainvälisessä mediassa. Osallistujat eivät toiminnassaan orientoidu kielelliseen asymmetriaan. Tulokset osoittavat, että vaikka osallistujilla ei ole yhteistä äidinkieltä, heillä on jaettu tieto siitä, kuinka sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa toimitaan (ks. Levinson 2006). Tämä koskee vuorovaikutusta yleensä ja lisäksi myös jaettua tietoa siitä, kuinka televisiohaastattelussa toimitaan.

Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset näyttävät, kuinka tiedollisista asemista, velvollisuuksista ja oikeuksista neuvottelu tehdään sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa intersubjektiivisesti osallistujien kesken. Tiedon ja tietämisen tapojen konstruointi tapahtuu paikallisesti mikrotason käytänteiden kautta. Ne eivät ole kuitenkaan ohimeneviä, vaan hyvin tärkeitä, sillä juuri näillä paikallisilla käytänteillä rakennetaan paikallisia institutionaalisia identiteettejä, jotka ovat osa ihmisen sosiaalista identiteettiä.

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## APPENDIX 1: Transcription conventions

<u>underlined talk</u>	emphasis on a word, syllable or sound
CAPITALS	increased volume
°high circles°	decreased volume
ta::lk	prolongation of the preceding sound
tal-	cut-off word
.hhh	inbreath
hh	outbreath
(.)	a micropause of less than 0.4 seconds
(0.8)	a pause, timed in tenths of a second
ta[lk]	
[tal]king	overlapping utterances
talk=	
=talk	latching utterances
(talk)	uncertain transcription
(x)	unintelligible item, probably one word only
(xx)	unintelligible items, approximately of phrase length
(xxx)	unintelligible items, beyond phrase length
,	continuing intonation
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	high pitch
>fast<	speech delivered at a quicker pace than surrounding talk
<slow>	speech delivered at a slower pace than surrounding talk
ta(h)lk	breathiness, e.g. in laughter

**ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS**

**I**

**INVOKING DIFFERENT TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE IN  
CELEBRITY INTERVIEWS**

by

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Heidi Koskela

## Invoking Different Types of Knowledge in Celebrity Interviews<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

My aim in this paper is to examine how participants in celebrity television interviews invoke different types of knowledge and move between first-hand and general knowledge. The data that I use come from Finnish television interviews where foreign celebrities are interviewed. In the analysis I describe the resources the participants use in mobilizing different types of knowledge. First I describe how the interviewer's questions invoke first-hand knowledge and then I move on to describe one way of resisting the agenda set in the interviewer's questions – namely that of displaying general knowledge instead of first-hand knowledge in the answer. These practices serve the functions of 1) managing the intimacy-level of the topics, 2) resisting some aspect of the interviewer's question and 3) constructing expertise that is based on general knowledge.

### 1. Introduction

Celebrity interviews introduce celebrities, or some aspect of them, to the television audience. Celebrity interviews as a genre require careful negotiation of the level of intimacy. Since the goal of the interviews is to reveal personal aspects of the interviewees, a certain level of intimacy has to be achieved. On the other hand, there are topics that the interviewees do not wish to talk about in a television interview. The aim of this article is to examine how the participants can invoke different types of knowledge and move between first-hand and general knowledge in a manner relevant for the activity-at-hand and for the management of topic and knowledge in celebrity interviews.

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My data come from Finnish television interviews where foreign celebrities are interviewed. I present examples where the interviewer's (IR) question invokes first-hand knowledge and the interviewee (IE) resists the agenda set by the question and displays general knowledge in the answer. The focus of this paper is to describe 1) how first-hand knowledge is invoked in the questioning turn and 2) one way of resisting the IR's questions about issues that are too intimate, 'loaded', or in some other way problematic matters – namely that of displaying general knowledge instead of first-hand knowledge in the answer. There are other ways of resisting the interviewer's agenda that include, for example, refusing to answer the question, providing a partial or incomplete answer, and changing the topic (see Clayman & Heritage 2002: 250–257). Some of the practices of resisting or shifting the IR agenda are quite overt (for instance explicitly refusing to answer the question) and others, such as the one that I am focusing on here, are more covert. When the IR agenda is shifted covertly, the IEs do not explicitly acknowledge the shift of the agenda (see Clayman & Heritage 2002: 269).

Mobilizing different types of knowledge is a salient feature of interaction in television interviews. Different states of knowledge are always present in the questioning activity one way or another. A television interview is a question-driven form of interaction and the situation itself brings with it an asymmetry that is linked to the institutional roles of the participants. The roles of the interviewer (as a questioner) and the interviewee (as an answerer) already in themselves involve an asymmetry of knowledge. Negotiating knowledge, roles and identities are connected with each other. Each relevant role in the interactive event is linked to a relevant state of knowledge that is made available for the other participants through interactive practices.

Knowledge in this study refers not to whatever mental constructions might be lodged inside the participants' minds but to positions that are constructed in interaction. The question that interests me is how knowing and situationally appropriate or relevant ways of knowing are managed interactionally. Recently this topic has been approached by Heritage & Raymond (2005) who studied how knowledge and information are managed in affiliative assessment sequences in everyday talk. In this article the management of knowledge is studied in a different environment, namely question-answer sequences in an institutional context. The practices of managing knowledge and resisting or shifting the IR agenda that I

examine in this paper have not been studied in the context of celebrity interviews before.

Closely linked with the asymmetry of knowledge is the asymmetry of participation rights that is also connected with the participants' institutional roles. However, it should be remembered that the division of roles is naturally not this straightforward in the actual interactive event. The participants may not adhere to their institutional roles throughout the interview. Instead, they may orient to some other roles as more relevant ones at any particular moment.

## 2. Background

I approach my data from a conversation analytic perspective. I examine the interviews as interactive events constructed through social practices. The interviewers and interviewees recognize a set of social conventions that are associated with interviews. These social conventions constitute the interviews as an organized social institution (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 6). Practices used in constructing knowledge cannot be studied in isolation from the interactional context, i.e. the turns and sequences in which the practices occur. Thus a method that acknowledges the "in-progress" character of interactive practices, in other words participants analyzing turns as they unfold, is needed. Conversation analysis provides a method for capturing the array of features of interaction that are relevant for the participants and for the analyst.

Conversation analysis has proved to be a useful approach in examining the practices that sustain the interview. Television interviews have been studied from a conversation analytic perspective by Clayman (1988, 1992); Greatbatch (1988); Heritage (1985); Heritage & Greatbatch (1991); Clayman & Heritage (2002) among others. Finnish television interviews have been studied by, for example, Nuolijärvi & Tiittula (2000); Berg (2001, 2003) and Kajanne (2001a, 2001b).

Many conversation analytic studies on television interviews have focused on news interviews. Other types of interviews have received less attention among researchers conducting conversation analytical studies (however, see, e.g., Hutchby 2001b on talk shows and Clayman & Heritage 2002b on press conferences). There are many different genres of interviewing in addition to the news interview, e.g., the press conference, the talk show interview, the sports interview etc. The different interview genres share certain similar properties, for instance, all interviews are

primarily organized through questions and answers and there are also similarities in the interviewer and interviewee conduct in producing talk for an overhearing audience. Moreover, similar IR techniques are used in the opening and closing phases of the interview. In the opening phase the IR produces a monologue addressed explicitly to the audience. This monologue typically includes an introduction of the guest and a statement about the topic of the program (see Clayman & Heritage 2002: 59–60). In closings, the IRs typically initiate the closing, usually by thanking the IEs for their participation (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 74).

However, there are also differences in the nature of questioning in different interview genres. In political interviews the questioning is often aggressive, attempting to corner the IE or to provoke debate (see, e.g. Nuolijärvi & Tiittula 2000: 83, Heritage 1985, 2002). The politicians' answers in turn are shaped by the questioning style and also by the institutional norms of politics. In news interviews it is central for the IRs to retain a neutralistic stance towards the IEs' statements and opinions (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 120). In talk show interviews the function of the questions is to get the guests to talk about themselves and the questioning is often done in a way that enables the host to express their own views and share their own experiences with the guests and the television audience (Nuolijärvi & Tiittula 2000: 85–88). Typically in talk shows an audience is present in the studio, which also influences the shape the interaction takes. The purpose of a celebrity interview is different from other interview genres and that can be seen in the way the interview is organized. The practices I analyze in this paper in part organize the interview so that it meets its purpose of introducing the celebrities to the television audience.

The interviewer's institutional role as the controller of the topic and the agenda has previously been studied by Clayman and Heritage (2002). Previous research on the ways in which the IEs resist IR agenda include studies by Clayman (1993, 2001) and Greatbatch (1986). Clayman and Heritage (2002: 196) describe how agendas are set in questions by setting a specific topical domain as the relevant domain in the response. If the interviewee fails to address the question's topical agenda, the failure is made noticeable and accountable (see also Schegloff 1972). According to Clayman (2001), when interviewees resist the interviewer agenda covertly they minimize the possible negative consequences of being evasive. In the data extracts that are presented here resistance is done in a similar manner, in a way that makes resistance less conspicuous.

### 3. The data

The data I use come from Finnish television interviews. The IR is Finnish and the IEs come from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The language the participants use in the interviews is English. The data come from a larger collection of data of using English in the Finnish society in the domains of media, education and business life.<sup>2</sup> Because the participants do not share a common native language, they use English as an international language in the interviews. However, they generally do not seem to orient to the fact that they are using an international language. Instead, they orient to the norms of the interview or 'do interview talk' and do similar things with language as native speakers in a similar situation.

The data analysed here come from four different interviews, which are part of a series of interviews called "Yöleno" ("Night Flight"), hosted by Maarit Tastula. The data are transcribed using the notation system summarized in the Appendix. The interviews consist of the participants' talk that takes place in a television studio (without a studio audience) and video inserts that are placed within the talk. The genre could best be described as celebrity interviews. The general theme has to do with some aspect of the interviewees that they are famous for, their public roles or identities. For example, a film director is invited to talk about his films, a civil rights activist is invited to talk about civil rights etc. Whether the interviewees speak as their private selves, being 'experts' of their own life and of things that they personally have experienced, or as 'experts' of some specified field (usually a profession, but also a nationality etc.), is something that is jointly negotiated in the interaction. One means of such negotiation is the mobilization of different types of knowledge.

### 4. Questioning and knowledge

Questioning is an activity that has a central role in constituting the news interview as a social institution (Heritage & Roth 1995: 2). Questions are often complex and multifunctional. Questioning turns can also serve as vehicles for doing other actions besides questioning. Agendas can be set, assumptions and opinions can be expressed and presuppositions can be

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<sup>2</sup> The project *English Voices in Finnish society: the use of English in media, education and professional settings* is based at the University of Jyväskylä and financed by the Academy of Finland (project number 7102075).

made in questioning turns (see Clayman & Heritage 2002). Questions can be used to accuse, challenge etc. (Heritage & Roth 1995). Because questions are multifunctional, they can also be studied from many different perspectives. The perspective I take in this paper to questioning is how different types of knowledge are mobilized in question/answer sequences.

Aspects of the interviewer's and interviewee's institutional or public roles and also their private identities can be invoked in questions (see Clayman & Heritage 2002; Roth 1998). For example, a question can be designed in such a way that the interviewees are treated as members of a nationality, and through that membership as knowing participants in relation to their home country, or as members of a profession and through that membership knowledgeable about matters relevant to their profession. Categorization work is being done in these instances where a question invokes an identity of a member in some group and because of that membership treats the interviewee as a knowing (or unknowing) participant (see Piirainen-Marsh & Koskela 2000). A person belonging to a certain category has entitlement to certain knowledge (cf. Sharrock's (1974) idea of "ownership of knowledge"); for instance, when talking about matters concerning one participant's home country that participant has entitlement to that knowledge.

This paper focuses on instances where the interviewer's question invokes first-hand knowledge and the interviewee displays general knowledge. I attempt to identify the resources that the participants use in mobilizing these two types of knowledge. I suggest that the function of invoking first-hand knowledge has to do with managing the intimacy level of the interview. In these data the genre of the interviews (human interest, personal matters) calls for talk about the private aspects of the interviewees' identities. While the IRs attempt to build positions from which the IEs could answer the questions on the basis of first-hand knowledge, the IEs sometimes resist these positions for their own purposes. Something in the questions is either too intimate or somehow 'loaded'. Instead of offering first-hand knowledge, the IEs' answers are designed in such a way that they invoke general knowledge.

Before moving on to the examples that are the focus of my analysis I will present an example of a case where the interviewer's question that invokes first-hand knowledge is not resisted, but the interviewee produces talk that displays first-hand knowledge in response to the question. This type of question-answer sequence is very typical of celebrity interviews. In

this example it can be seen what happens if the question is not treated as problematic in any way and the IE designs his answer to fit the IR agenda.

(1)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

EK = IE, Emir Kusturica

Video insert

1 MT → so (.) how did you (.) react yourself (.)  
 2 when you first uh heard about(.) the war (.)  
 3 that the war had be[gun]  
 4 EK [it ] was very painful it was awful  
 5 EK I just couldn't believe that=  
 6 MT =you were (.) where (.) at that time.=  
 7 EK =u-uh Paris. I was editing the movie and I was (.)  
 8 crippled up (.) you  
 9 know I was °hh it was (.) the (.) uh really the point  
 10 in which (.) my existence was (.) like under the (.)  
 11 strongest (.)  
 12 uh atomic bomb uh- i- if if (.)  
 13 if (.) I will (.) see atomic bomb destroying the- the the  
 14 earth °hh I would say (.) even (.)  
 15 that it happened to me (.)  
 16 °hh my father and mother who were in Hertsegnovy?  
 17 and I was (.) openly: (.) like uh dying  
 18 because the war started I was °hh twenty-four hours  
 19 on the phone, (.) trying to connect to do: (.)  
 20 and I'm very proud because when the war- uh-n-  
 21 little bit (.) uh th-th- one detail when the war started,  
 22 (1.0)  
 23 I was calling the general who was (.)  
 24 keeping Sarajevo trying to do (.) something (.)  
 25 that (.) they do in (x) and other places together now.  
 26 to- to do the ( . ) uh military:  
 27 and the police that was (.) mixed in between (.)  
 28 muslim serbs and croats.  
 29 because I've heard about this formula.  
 30 °hh but everything failed ( . )  
 31 because it was not in the hands of any individual. (.)  
 32 it was °hh mostly in the hands of d-  
 33 o:f of the dogs of the war.

The IR asks about the IE's past experiences (lines 1–3). The question about past reactions (*how did you (.) react yourself (.) when you first uh heard about (.) the war...*) invokes first-hand knowledge. Reactions can include feelings, emotions, or actions. All of these are something that the person who has experienced the feelings or emotions or taken the actions has first-hand knowledge of. The invoking of first-hand knowledge is further strengthened by the reflexive pronoun *yourself* in the question. After the IE

starts to answer the question (lines 4–5) the IR interrupts the answer and asks another question (*you were (.) where (.) at that time*, line 6) This question is treated as a side-sequence and answered briefly by the IE before moving on to continue the previous answer. In his answer the IE answers from the position that is built for him in the question and tells about his feelings (*crippled up* in line 8, *like dying* in line 17) and also the actions that he took (*I was twenty-four hours on the phone*, lines 18–19 and *I was calling the general*, line 23).

Example (1) shows a typical and unproblematic question-answer sequence in a celebrity interview: the IR asks a question that invokes first-hand knowledge and the IE designs his answer to accommodate the type of knowledge that is attributed to him. In the examples that are the focus of my analysis I will examine question-answer sequences that are somehow problematic and in which the IR agenda is shifted. These sequences, although not very frequent, are still recurrent and an interesting part of constructing a celebrity interview and negotiating the limits of questioning in a celebrity interview.

## 5. Invoking first-hand knowledge

The IRs can formulate their questioning turns so that specific knowledge positions are built as relevant for the answers. In the following I am going to introduce different practices of invoking first-hand knowledge in the questions: 1) directing topic to matters that the IE has personally experienced or otherwise has first-hand access to and 2) explicitly voicing the ‘personal’ viewpoint that is called for.

### 5.1 Directing topic to matters to which the IE has first-hand access

There seem to be specific ways to invoke first-hand knowledge in a questioning turn. One of these, and perhaps the most obvious, is to select the topic so that it deals with matters that the interviewee has first-hand access to. This could mean things the IE has personally experienced or witnessed in the past or knowledge that the IEs, because of their membership in a certain category, have entitlement to. In example (2) the host invokes knowledge based on personal experience by her question about the guest’s father (*was your father a patriarch of the family?*, lines 12–13).



(2)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

EK = IE, Emir Kusturica

- 12 MT =°hh but by the way, was your (.) father  
 13 a patriarch of the family.  
 14 (.)  
 15 EK somehow yes.  
 16 (.)  
 17 MT in which way.  
 18 EK °hh >but< you know, patriarchs here are very much (.)  
 19 u:h uh like uh uh th- they are-  
 20 it's not like (on) the west you know if you are father  
 21 in the family:,  
 22 MT mm-h  
 23 EK you have to deser::ve to be liked (.) to be loved  
 24 by your family members ↑here (.) you are very u:h  
 25 ( . ) comfortable with uh you know if you are father.  
 26 °hh you want- it- it's understandable that everybody  
 27 has to like you even if you don't do all the time  
 28 the best things for the family.  
 29 which is u:h (.) pattern of: uh of a life here.  
 30 so, °hh- my father was a patriarch and uh (.)  
 31 somehow he was u:h (.) I would say that (.) u:h uh uh  
 32 (.) remembering now, certainly I'm (.) over forty now  
 33 and I- °hh when I remember him and everything  
 34 that was going on it- it is uh °hh (.) uh uh  
 35 already memory: and a memory always has  
 36 (.) uh certain em:otion and certain sentiments  
 37 involving to this.

The question that invokes first-hand knowledge about the IE's father (lines 12–13) is produced in the form of a “yes/no” question, which projects a certain, limited, answer type including an affirmation or a negation. The IE's answer (line 15) is very short and produced after a pause. Clayman and Heritage (2002: 113) have found that interviewees tend to offer such brief responses when faced with questions that they object to. Delaying the answer with a pause can also be seen as an indicator of disalignment with (some aspect of) the question. In this example we can see different ways in which the interviewee treats the question as somehow inappropriate: first, the answer is delayed, then the IE disaligns with the question and does not provide the answer type (affirmation or negation) that is projected by the question as such but instead answers *somehow yes*, which implies that the question cannot be answered simply by affirming or negating, but requires more. Although the question is treated as somehow inappropriate, the answer still accommodates both sides by including in it the projected

answer type (even if it is not produced in the pure form of either an affirmation or a negation) and thus the risk of threatening the IR's face is reduced.

In many environments a brief answer to a "yes/no" question is appropriate. However, in television interviews, and especially in this television interview genre, a closed question followed by a brief answer does not adhere to the institutional norm. Short answers can make the interaction seem halting and disrupted, which would not support the institutional aim of producing entertaining or informative interaction for the viewers to watch. In general, questions in celebrity interviews elicit talk about the IEs themselves and introduce the IEs to the television audience and "yes/no" questions have the same function. After a micropause (line 16), which would still be an opportunity for the IE to go on with his answer, the interviewer continues with a follow-up question (*in which way*, line 17) that invites the IE to explicate how his father was a patriarch.

In this example the IE does not treat the question (lines 12–13) entirely appropriately in its context (a celebrity interview) because he provides a very brief answer. Thus a follow-up question (line 17) needs to be added. In most cases in my data after the type of question that 12–13 represents, the IE produces an elaborated answer that contains the affirmation or negation followed by additional talk on the topic. Clayman and Heritage (2002: 245) have called this type of answering "minimal answer plus elaboration". In this answer type the orientation to the institutional requirements of the interaction are clearly oriented to. As example (2) shows, if the institutional demands are not met, the IR orients to those demands by adding a follow-up question.

In example (2) the IE does mobilize first-hand knowledge and a "minimal answer plus elaboration"-type of answer later, starting in line 30 (*my father was a patriarch and uh (.) somehow he was u:h (.) I would say that (.) u:h uh uh (.) remembering now,...*) but does this only after displaying general knowledge about the topic (lines 18–29). The IE's answer is designed in a way that enables him to deal with the problematic aspects of the question first, before displaying first-hand knowledge.

In example (3) the participants have been talking about the fact that the IE has suffered from anorexia nervosa as a teenager. The IE has talked about developing anorexia and the feelings that he had at that time (lines 1–4). After this the IR asks a question about the reasons for developing the eating disorder (lines 5–6). The IR smiles while asking the question and the IE answers the question also smilingly. The next question (lines 11–12)

contrasts the mood set by the previous question and returns the talk back to serious mode. This can be seen both in the verbal elements of the question (contrasting the question with the previous talk with *but* and the follow-up *it was actually very serious at some moment*) and the change in the IR's facial expression (she stops smiling at this point). In this turn (lines 11–12), which is then continued further (line 14) the IR invokes first-hand knowledge and the IE starts displaying general knowledge in his answer (line 15 onward).

(3)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
SK = IE, Stephen Kuusisto

- 1 SK I felt very very (.) sa:d about who I was you know  
2 I didn't fit in anywhere I (.) I felt ugly  
3 I felt that I didn't belong in the world you know (.)  
4 and I stopped eating. I became very depressed u:h  
5 MT did you start admiring (.) John Lennon,  
6 [his ] skeletal [figure]  
o-----IR smiles-----  
7 SK [yeah] [well ] yeah I wanted to look (x)-  
o----IE smiles-----  
8 SK I wanted to look like all those <rock boys>  
9 who were really skinny. you know (.) that's how  
o-----  
10 it started.  
→ 11 MT but it was actually very serious at some moment (.)  
→ 12 so you were um:: brought into hospital  
13 SK °yeah.°  
→ 14 MT [it was only] hundred and five po[unds]  
15 SK [u:hm ] [u:h ] we- we know  
16 SK from psychological studies that the <only way> (.)  
17 you can (0.6) uh (.) avoid (.) self-destructive tendencies (.)  
18 is to: have a belief that life is possible,  
19 that it's worth living, that there's meaning ahead (.)  
20 u:h (.) you know (.) anorexic teenagers  
21 the ones who stop eating (.) in fact believe (.)  
22 that (.) the future will be terrible.  
23 you know (.) anorexia is a disease of (.) psychological  
24 dimensions >right< you don't wanna become an adult.  
25 because you think (.) boy that will be worse (.)  
26 it's bad now it'll be worse at the next age (.)  
27 >you know< I'm getting off the train right here (.)  
28 you know I'm gonna stop (.) right here I'm not going on.  
29 u:hm I think that's what was going on with me,  
30 I really felt £oh my god£ you know I mean  
31 .hh I've been (.) beaten up on the playgrounds  
32 I've been called a martian, (.)  
33 u:h they've (.) you know made me feel (.)

34 u:h you know small and and u:h (.)  
 35 treated me to cruelties and uh I don't fit in,  
 36 I don't belong,

The IR's question (*but it was actually very serious at some moment (.) so you were um:: brought into hospital [...] it was only hundred and five pounds*) does not have interrogative syntax, but it is a question in the form of a declarative. Declaratives about issues which the IE has particular knowledge about have been called "b-event questions" (see Clayman & Heritage 2002: 102, also Pomerantz 1980). They function as questions that require confirmation from the IE. They are often constructed in the "you + progressive/imperfective verb"-format (see Clayman & Heritage 2002: 102). In this example one element of the question (*so you were um:: brought into hospital*) is produced in this format.

The question (lines 11–12 and line 14) continues to invoke first-hand knowledge, just like the previous question, but now returning back to serious mode. The question deals with an issue that the IE has first-hand access to because of his personal experience. In the question the IR displays knowledge about things that have happened to the IE, but the IE has stronger rights to this knowledge. The IE orients to the IR's turn, produced in the form of a declarative, as a question. Instead of displaying first-hand knowledge he starts to answer the question by displaying general knowledge.

There are different linguistic and interactional resources the IR can use in invoking first-hand knowledge. Often this is done through directing the topic to matters that deal with the IE's personal history or past conduct or events that the IE has witnessed. When the IR asks such a question, it is often asked using the past tense. This is in line with the topical content of the questions. When asking a question about matters that somebody has experienced or witnessed in the past, the past tense is naturally a logical tense to use, as the following examples will illustrate.

(4)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

EK = IE, Emir Kusturica

→ 12 MT =°hh but by the way, was your (.) father  
 13 a patriarch of the family.

(5)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

EK = IE, Stephen Kuusisto

→ 11 MT but it was actually very serious at some moment (.)  
 12 so you were um:: brought into hospital  
 13 SK °yeah.°  
 14 MT [it was only] hundred and five po[unds]  
 15 SK [u:hm ] [u:h ] we- we know

(6)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

HB = IE, Harry Belafonte

→ 1 MT and when did you have your first personal experience  
 2 with (.) racism.

While past conduct, past experiences and events that the IE has witnessed form one basis for first-hand knowledge, as has been the case in the previous examples, another basis for first-hand knowledge is subjectivity and people's primary access to their current thoughts, opinions, feelings etc.

## 5.2 Explicitly voicing the "personal"

Besides directing the topic to personal matters and asking questions about personal history or past experiences, invoking first-hand knowledge can be done by explicitly voicing the "personal" point of view that is sought for. This is done both in questions on topics where the IE's epistemic authority is based on personal experiences in the past and in questions about the IE's current mental processes (i.e. thoughts, opinions) where the ownership of mental processes is the basis of epistemic authority. An environment where this type of action seems to occur is in questions that include a shift in topic. IRs voice the "personal" aspect especially when shifting the topic from a more general level to the same topic matter, but now including a personal perspective. Voicing the "personal" in the question imposes quite strong constraints on the way the question is appropriately answered.

## (7)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
 HB = IE, Harry Belafonte

1 HB much that is wrong with America today, .hh within  
 2 the black community.  
 3 °hh can be directly related to the fact that u:h (.)  
 4 °hh the elite of that community (.)  
 5 has left to go live elsewhere  
 6 °hh and those who cannot afford to leave, are trapped.  
 7 MT °mm°=  
 8 HB =and they have no (.) icons they have no (.) role models  
 9 °hh when I was a boy u:h all the (.) great minds (.)  
 10 lived right next door.  
 11 MT m[m ]  
 12 HB [now] you- they live (.) very far away.  
 → 13 MT and when did you have your first personal experience  
 14 with (.) racism.  
 15 HB when you live within (.) the segregated society (.)  
 16 or in a segregated community  
 17 experience with race within the black community  
 18 is quite minimum

In example (7) the topic prior to the IR's question in line 13 has dealt with racism in the United States. When the IR asks the question about the IE's personal experiences with racism the topic is shifted from a general to personal level.

In example (8) a video insert precedes the IR's question about the meaning of love (lines 1–3). In the video insert (taken from one of Woody Allen's movies), a monologue about the definition and psychological explanations of love is shown. After the video insert the IR shifts the topic so that it now includes a personal perspective. The background statement (line 1) which precedes the question is still quite general, but as the question emerges, the focus moves more and more to the personal level.

## (8)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
 WA = IE, Woody Allen

1 MT love is very important in your films.  
 → 2 what is the meaning of love (.) for you in your-  
 → 3 °hh uh in your movies, and in your (.) own life=  
 4 WA =well. It- it's too big a question to ask-  
 5 [ to answer ] so °hh u::h uh uh succinctly at all  
 6 MT [°((laughs))°]  
 7 WA °hh y-you know but the- the- the human interaction  
 8 °hh u:m th- between (.) a man and a woman,  
 9 between ((coughs)) a mother and a chi:ld,  
 10 or °hh brother and sister, brother and brother,

What all of the above questions have in common is that they invoke first-hand knowledge. In example (2) *was your father a patriarch of the family* invokes first-hand knowledge that is gained through living in the family. The IE is expected to talk about the characteristics of his father that are based on his own experiences with him. In example (3) *but it was actually very serious at some moment...* the first-hand knowledge is based on the IE's past experiences. In example (7) the first-hand nature of the knowledge that is invoked is emphasized through including the "personal" or first-hand aspect explicitly in the question (*your...personal experience*). Similarly, in example (8) the IR makes first-hand knowledge relevant through the explicit mention of *your own life* (line 3).

Now that I have examined the IR's questions and seen how first-hand knowledge is invoked by 1) selecting the topic so that it is about things that the IE has personally experienced or has first-hand access to or 2) explicitly voicing the 'personal' aspect, I can take a look at how the IEs handle these questions.

## **6. Resisting IR agenda: Displaying general knowledge in the answer**

Usually in celebrity interviews when first-hand knowledge is invoked in the questioning turns the IEs answer in a way that accommodates the type of knowledge attributed to them. However, they can design their answers in other ways as well. In this section I will analyze instances where the IEs display general knowledge in their answers. In some cases, if the question is treated as somehow problematic (e.g. too intimate, somehow 'loaded' or containing an incorrect presupposition), the IEs can first orient to the problematic aspect of the IR's question and after doing this answer the question on a more general level. In the following I will first show how the IEs can orient to the question (or some part of it) as problematic, then I will analyze how the IEs mobilize a different knowledge type and display general knowledge in their answer.

### **6.1 Orienting to (some aspect of) the question as problematic**

One of the resources the IEs use in resisting the IR agenda is orienting to that aspect of the question which is somehow problematic by using contrasts to mark the difference in knowledge types in questions and

answers. In (9), instead of following the line of the IR's questioning and talking about his personal experiences, the IE offers a general rule about fathers (and patriarchs) in his native country. When he does this, he marks the contrast between the question and the answer he is about to provide by saying *but you know*.

(9)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

EK = IE, Emir Kusturica

- 12 MT =°hh but by the way, was your (.) father  
 13 a patriarch of the family.  
 14 (.)  
 15 EK somehow yes.  
 16 (.)  
 17 MT in which way.  
 → 18 EK °hh >but< you know, patriarchs here are very much (.)  
 19 u:h uh like uh uh th- they are-  
 20 it's not like (on) the west you know if you are father  
 21 in the family:,  
 22 MT mm-h

The *but* in line 18 does not mark a contrast with the topical content of the other person's talk. As a matter of fact the utterance that is being contrasted (*in which way*, line 17) does not have a topical content in itself, but rather invites the IE to elaborate on the topic in his answer. So in this example *but* marks a contrast with the activity that is done in the previous utterance, which is asking the IE to specify how his father was a patriarch. The IE does not do this, but singles out the word 'patriarch' as something that needs to be dealt with before answering the question. *But* contrasts with the follow-up question in a manner that enables the IE to continue his own answering turn. The contrast also marks resistance to the invitation to talk about personal experiences and a shift to an alternative teller role.

After the contrastive "but" the IE produces the word *patriarchs* in first position. He resists implications that the term *patriarch* carries and shows that specific cultural knowledge is needed to answer the question in an appropriate way. The IE also makes visible a contrast between the west (where the IR is from) and the IE's home country (line 20). At the same time he displays knowledge about how things are in the "west". Thus he places himself in a position where he has enough knowledge about two different cultures to contrast them. The word *here* ties the talk to a specified body of knowledge – that of things about the IE's culture. The use of spatial adjuncts seems to be one way to contrast the question and the



answer and make relevant the different bodies of knowledge that the participants have.

The contrast between the question and the answer can be voiced explicitly, as is done in example (10). After the IR's question (lines 1–3) the IE does not produce an answer, but first makes a complaint about the question not being reasonable (*it's too big a question to ask-*). He follows this complaint by stating the implications that such a question has in this context (*...to answer so °hh u::h uh uh succinctly at all...*). However, after making the complaint he moves on to answering the question and starts his answer with the contrasting *but* (line 7) and then answers in a way that displays general knowledge.

(10)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

WA = IE, Woody Allen

- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| 1   | MT | love is very important in your films.              |
| 2   |    | what is the meaning of love (.) for you in your-   |
| 3   |    | °hh uh in your movies, and in your (.) own life=   |
| → 4 | WA | =well. It- it's too big a question to ask-         |
| → 5 |    | [ to answer ] so °hh u::h uh uh succinctly at all  |
| 6   | MT | [°((laughs))°]                                     |
| → 7 | WA | °hh y-you know but the- the- the human interaction |
| 8   |    | °hh u:m th- between (.) a man and a woman,         |

Contrasts are sometimes used to mark the difference in knowledge types in questions and answers, but this is not always the case. Some of the examples in the following will show that it is possible to start displaying general knowledge in the answer without first explicitly orienting to the question as somehow problematic.

## 6.2 Displaying general knowledge

The differences of knowledge types in the question and in the answer can be seen in the lexical choices that the participants make. In example (11) the IE shifts away from a proposed participation role of teller of first-hand knowledge and starts to display more general knowledge. Like in the examples above the IE mobilizes a different type of knowledge than is asked for and, from line 5 onwards, does not talk about his personal experiences, but instead shifts to an “expert” role and displays general knowledge. The IE constructs expert knowledge through lexical choices,

using vocabulary from the fields of psychology (*self-destructive tendencies*, line 7) and medicine (*a disease of psychological dimensions*, lines 13–14).

(11)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
SK = IE, Stephen Kuusisto

1 MT but it was actually very serious at some moment (.)  
2 so you were um:: brought into hospital  
3 SK °yeah.°  
4 MT [it was only] hundred and five po[unds]  
→ 5 SK [u:hm ] [u:h ]we-we know from  
6 SK psychological studies that the <only way> (.) you can  
7 (0.6) uh (.) avoid (.) self-destructive tendencies (.)  
8 is to: have a belief that life is possible,  
9 that it's worth living, that there's meaning ahead (.)  
10 u:h (.) you know (.) anorexic teenagers  
11 the ones who stop eating (.) in fact believe (.)  
12 that (.) the future will be terrible.  
13 you know (.) anorexia is a disease of (.)psychological  
14 dimensions >right< you don't wanna become an adult.  
15 because you think (.) boy that will be worse (.)  
16 it's bad now it'll be worse at the next age (.)  
17 >you know< I'm getting off the train right here (.)  
18 you know I'm gonna stop (.)right here I'm not going on.  
19 u:hm I think that's what was going on with me,

Instead of telling his personal experiences about being brought into the hospital, the IE displays general knowledge about anorexia. The topical agenda remains the same, but a different type of knowledge is mobilized. The use of generic *we* (*we know from psychological studies...*, lines 6–7) implies that the knowledge the IE has is generalizable expert knowledge. Later on in the answer he does mobilize first-hand knowledge (*I think that's what was going on with me*, line 19), but by constructing his answer as he does, the first-hand knowledge that is displayed later on in his answer is framed by general knowledge. This way he is able to demonstrate expertise that includes, but goes beyond, first-hand knowledge.

In (12) it can be seen how the IR emphasizes the “personal” aspect of the question, and the IE can still choose to answer in a different framework of knowledge. Here the IE shifts away from the role of a teller of first-hand knowledge and adopts the role of a teller of ‘expert’ knowledge. He produces an answer that offers a fact, using general, abstract words (*segregated, society, community*), and is designed to be impersonal (*when you live..., experience...is quite minimum*).

(12)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

HB = IE, Harry Belafonte

- 1 MT and when did you have your first personal experience  
 2 with (.) racism.  
 → 3 HB when you live within (.) the segregated society (.)  
 4 or in a segregated community  
 5 experience with race within the black community  
 6 is quite minimum.  
 7 (.)  
 8 HB (xxx) the restaurants are black, the schools are black, (.)  
 9 the minute you step outside that society  
 10 you will have your first experience with race.

By answering the question from a general point of view the IE shows how the presupposition that is included in the question (that the IE has had personal experiences with racism as a child) is not entirely appropriate. When he answers the question from a more general framework of knowledge the IE manages to correct the presupposition and let the IR and the television audience know that because the races were segregated, experiences with racism were not that common in everyday life, but something that were encountered only when going outside your own community. By subtly shifting to a different knowledge type the IE can answer the question (as he is supposed to do in an interview), not overtly disagree with the question, and still manage to point out what is 'wrong' in the question.

In (13) the IE answers in such a way that displays general knowledge. A question about Woody Allen's personal love life soon after his marriage to his ex-wife's adopted daughter is a 'loaded' question and understandably one that might be resisted.

(13)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

WA = IE, Woody Allen

- 1 MT love is very important in your films.  
 → 2 what is the meaning of love (.) for you in your-  
 → 3 °hh uh in your movies, and in your (.) own life=  
 → 4 WA =well. It- it's too big a question to ask-  
 5 [ to answer ] so °hh u::h uh uh succinctly at all  
 6 MT [°((laughs))°]  
 7 WA °hh y-you know but the- the- the human interaction  
 8 °hh u:m th- between (.) a man and a woman,  
 9 between ((coughs)) a mother and a chi:ld,  
 10 or °hh brother and sister, brother and brother,  
 11 °hh u:m (.) you know, (.) is is o-one of the ways  
 12 that we have and (.) maybe our most effective way

13 °hh of (.) dealing with a very: (.) uh cold (.)  
 14 unforgiving (.) uh implacable: universe.  
 15 and uh (.) people (.) get a lot of comfort  
 16 ((swallows)) from their love relationships  
 17 °hh and so (.) uh they have many needs (.)  
 18 and it's very complicated but  
 19 °hh it- uh >you know< it's very very comforting  
 20 and makes life (.) a tiny bit more bearable.

The IE's answer is not based on first-hand knowledge, but consists of generalizations such as *human interaction (.) is one of the ways that we have...*, and *people get a lot of comfort*. These types of generalizations claim knowledge of the "facts" that are stated. This is an example of what in courtrooms would not be acceptable talk from a lay witness, only from an expert witness (see Matoesian 1999). Making abstractions and generalizations requires knowledge that is organized and specialized and it is thus not seen as knowledge that a lay person would have. By displaying general knowledge instead of first-hand knowledge the IE manages to answer a 'loaded' question in a manner that does not seem evasive.

The answer follows the topical agenda set by the IR, but is designed to be very impersonal. This is achieved through the use of generic "man", and "woman" (line 8), and then moving on to categories such as "mother" and "child" (line 9) that make it explicit that the IE is not speaking about personal experiences, but his talk is to be understood on a more general level. The IE continues to use impersonal expressions throughout his answer and uses terms like "people", "we" and "they". Similar use of generic and impersonal expressions is employed in examples (11) and (12).

In the examples that we have looked at the IE displays general knowledge by approaching the topic from a general level of knowledge. Besides lexical choices one way of moving to a more general framework of knowledge is the use of the present tense. In the following examples the use of the present tense is particularly visible, since it differs from the tense used in the IR's questions. The interviewer invokes first-hand knowledge and uses the past tense. In their answers the interviewees do not start telling about their experiences in the past, but instead shift to a more general framework of knowledge and accomplish this partly through the use of the present tense.

(14)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula

EK = IE, Emir Kusturica

- 12 MT =°hh but by the way, was your (.) father  
 13 a patriarch of the family.  
 14 (.)  
 15 EK somehow yes.  
 16 (.)  
 17 MT in which way.  
 → 18 EK . °hh >but< you know, patriarchs here are very much (.)  
 19 u:h uh like uh uh th- they are-

(15)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
 HB = IE, Harry Belafonte

- 1 MT and when did you have your first personal experience  
 2 with (.) racism.  
 → 3 HB when you live within (.) the segregated society (.)  
 4 or in a segregated community  
 5 experience with race within the black community  
 6 is quite minimum

(16)

MT = IR, Maarit Tastula  
 SK = IE, Stephen Kuusisto

- 4 MT [it was only] hundred and five po[unds]  
 → 5 SK [u:hm ] [u:h ] we- we know  
 6 SK from psychological studies that the <only way> (.)  
 7 you can (0.6) uh (.) avoid (.)self-destructive tendencies (.)  
 8 is to: have a belief that life is possible,  
 9 that it's worth living, that there's meaning ahead (.)  
 10 u:h (.) you know (.) anorexic teenagers  
 11 the ones who stop eating (.) in fact believe (.)  
 12 that (.) the future will be terrible.

By selecting the present tense in their answers the IEs manage to shift the focus of talk from lived personal experiences to things that are generalizable. The IEs can talk about generalizable things as matters of fact and as something they have "expert" knowledge of. A similar practice of claiming greater certainty of knowledge in a response to a question that solicits the IE's personal view has been identified in American news interviews (see Roth 2002: 372).<sup>3</sup>

Matoesian (1999: 491) has found that lay witnesses can testify only to facts that they have first-hand knowledge of, while expert witnesses can

<sup>3</sup> This shows how participants who are using English as an international language in television interviews employ similar practices to those used by native speakers in television interviews.

give opinions and explanations about facts on a more general level, based on their training, qualifications, skill, experience and knowledge. The link between first-hand knowledge and lay participants is also presented by Hutchby (2001a), who shows how 'lay' participants legitimate their opinions through claiming first-hand knowledge.

## 7. Conclusion

In the data I have analysed the interviewees can invoke first-hand knowledge through topic-selection or explicit voicing of the 'personal' viewpoint in the question. In their answers there are several resources the interviewees can use to resist the agenda in the IR's questions and to mobilize a more general body of knowledge.

The IEs can explicitly orient to the aspect of the questions that is in their eyes somehow inappropriate. To do this they use contrasts to mark the shift to a different type of knowledge. The contrastive devices used are the contrastive "but", and other lexical elements that contrast with the previous talk (e.g. the spatial adjunct "here"). After showing the problematic aspect of the question they then change the topical content of the talk to a more general level.

The IEs can also start answering the question from a more general framework of knowledge without producing contrasts or explicitly orienting to the previous question as problematic. When displaying general knowledge, the lexical choices that the IEs make in their answer are in line with the more general topic. The IEs can also use a shift to the present tense to mark the mobilization of general knowledge. In some cases the IR has used the past tense, which is the logical tense to use when asking somebody about things that they have experienced, but in his answer the interviewee uses the present tense, which is typically used when describing general facts/state of affairs.

What functions might mobilizing different types of knowledge serve in television interviews? The first of the functions here involves the management of the intimacy-level of the topics. In these types of television programs the invoking of first-hand knowledge might be an attempt by the interviewer to make the interaction seem more intimate and to reveal aspects of the interviewees' private personae to the television viewers. The IEs clearly recognize (and demonstrate their understanding of) the IR's attempt to invoke first-hand knowledge. The use of the contrasting devices is an indication of this. However, in answering the questions the IEs do

something different instead. The interviewees' resistance to take on the role of a teller of first-hand knowledge while mobilizing a different type of knowledge serves to avoid topics that are too intimate, or topics in which some presupposition needs to be dealt with before answering, and to shift the topic away from a personal to a more general level. The resistance is done very subtly. Many elements of the topical agenda set by the interviewer remain the same – only a different type of knowledge is mobilized. This enables the interviewees to manage a shift in the agenda in a way that is not made accountable (e.g. the IR does not repeat the question) and also the IEs manage to avoid seeming evasive to the television viewers.

The second function of this type of action is the construction of 'expert' knowledge. The IEs present themselves as experts of some field, as people who have a specified body of knowledge that is not based only on first-hand knowledge. Mobilizing a more general type of knowledge is a resource to display 'expert' knowledge of a specified field.

### Appendix: Transcription conventions

underlined talk	emphasis
CAPITALS	increased volume
°high circles°	decreased volume
ta::lk	prolongation of the preceding sound
tal-	cut-off word
°hhh	inbreath
hh	outbreath
(.)	a micropause of less than 0.4 seconds
(0.8)	a pause, timed in tenths of a second
ta[lk]	
[tal]king	overlapping utterances
talk=	
=talk	latching utterances
(talk)	uncertain transcription
(x)	unintelligible item, probably one word only
(xx)	unintelligible items, approximately of phrase length
(xxx)	unintelligible items, beyond phrase length
,	continuing intonation
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation

↑	high pitch
>fast<	fast speech
<slow>	slow speech
£	altered tone of voice, e.g. when quoting somebody
ta(h)lk	breathiness, e.g. in laughter

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## II

### ENGLANTI OSALLISTUJIEN YHTEISENÄ KIELENÄ SUOMALAISSA URHEILUHAASTATTELUISSA

by

Heidi Koskela 2008

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## **That was smooth and fast** Kannanotot englanninkielisissä urheiluhaastatteluissa.

**Heidi Koskela**

### **Johdanto**

Tarkastelen tässä artikkelissa kakkoskielistä institutionaalista vuorovaikutustilannetta – urheiluhaastattelua. Artikkelini perustuu osaan tekeillä olevasta väitöskirjatutkimuksestani, jossa tutkin tiedollisia asemia televisiohaastatteluissa, joissa käytetään englannin kieltä osallistujien yhteisenä kielenä. Tässä artikkelissa käyttämäni aineisto koostuu televisioituista YLE:n urheiluhaastatteluista, joissa haastattelija on suomalainen ja haastateltava urheilija on ulkomaalainen.

Aineistossani englannin kielen käyttö on välttämättömyys ymmärtämisen kannalta, koska haastattelijalla ja haastateltavalla ei ole yhteistä äidinkieltä. Englanti toimii itse haastattelutilanteessa ainoana käytettävänä kielenä. Televisiokatsojalle suomen kieli näyttyy näissä haastatteluissa lähinnä kontekstina, joka ympäröi haastattelua. Haastattelun jälkeen seuraa toimittajan käännös tai yhteenveto haastattelusta katselijoille suomeksi, jolloin katsojille lähetettävässä televisio-ohjelmassa englanti ja suomi vuorottelevat sen mukaan, onko haastattelija vuorovaikutuksessa haastateltavan vai televisioyleisön kanssa.

Englannin kieli on näkyvässä asemassa suomalaisissa urheilulähetyksissä. Ulkomaalaisia urheilijoita haastatellaan paljon, ja katsoja näkee ja kuulee haastattelut sellaisenaan, ilman tekstitystä. Haastateltavien urheilijoiden kielitaito vaihtelee paljon, ja joukossa on niin syntyperäisiä englannin kielen puhujia kuin urheilijoita, joiden englannin kielen käyttö voi sisältää paljonkin ei-idiomaattista kielenainesta. Sanoisinkin, että urheiluhaastattelu näyttyy tässä mielessä sallivana ympäristönä vieraan kielen käytön kannalta. Äänensä saavat

kuuluviin eritasoiset kielentaitajat, ja heidän selviytymisensä haastattelutilanteesta vaatii erityisesti tietoa haastattelun normeista eikä välttämättä niinkään tietoa juuri tietyn kielen normeista.

Muista Euroopan maista ainakin Ruotsissa SVT toteuttaa ulkomaa-laisten urheilijoiden haastattelut samaan tapaan kuin Suomessa tehdään; toimittajat haastattelevat suorissa lähetyksissä myös muulla kielellä kuin omalla äidinkielellään. Ruotsissakin selvästi eniten käytetty vieras kieli on englanti. Etelä-Euroopassa taas englannin kieli ei ole yhtä näkyvässä asemassa urheiluhaastatteluissa. Esimerkiksi Italiassa muita kuin italialaisia urheilijoita haastatellaan hyvin harvoin RAI:n urheilulähetyksissä. Silloin kun haastatteluja kuitenkin tehdään, ne äänitetään päälle italiaksi. Eri kulttuureissa on siis suuriakin eroja siinä, kuinka näkyvänä osana televisiolähetystä urheiluammattilaisten käyttämä englanti välittyy televisiokatsojille.

Urheiluhaastattelut ovat olennainen osa television urheilulähetyksiä. Ohjelmien kokonaisrakennetta ajatellen haastatteluilla on oma funktionsa. Whannelin (1992, 122) mukaan urheiluhaastattelut tuovat esiin urheilijan (tähdän), jolla on viihdearvoa. Haastattelut tuovat myös esiin urheilijan persoonana, ja tällä tavoin saavutetaan ja ylläpidetään yleisön mielenkiinto. Lisäksi haastatteluiden avulla saadaan lähetyksissä urheilijat toimimaan osaltaan myös urheilunarratiivin kertojina.

Urheiluhaastattelun tarkoituksena on välittää katsojalle urheilijan kokemus ja tuntemukset urheiluasuorituksesta. Näin ollen henkilökohtaisen kokemuksen esiin kutsuminen on keskeinen osa urheiluhaastattelua, ja tämä näkyy myös kysymysten muotoilussa. Urheilijan näkökulman kutsumiseen liittyen urheiluhaastatteluille ovat tyypillisiä toimittajan evaluoivat ja arvottavat vuorot. Tyypillinen keino houkutella esiin kuvausta omakohtaisesta kokemuksesta on esittää kannanottoja tai arvioita urheilijan edeltävästä suorituksesta. Yksi urheiluhaastattelun tärkeimmistä tehtävistä on saada urheilija kertomaan henkilökohtaisia kokemuksiaan urheiluasuorituksestaan.

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelen sitä, miten toimittaja pyrkii saamaan urheilijan kuvaamaan henkilökohtaisia kokemuksiaan kannanottojen avulla. Kannanotto on sellaista kielellistä toimintaa, jolla arvioidaan jotain henkilöä, asiaa tai tapahtumaa (Pomerantz 1984, 57; Goodwin ja Goodwin 1987, 6). Kannanotot ovat yksi keino, jolla

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rakennetaan urheiluhaastattelua. Kuinka kannanottoja käytetään kakkoskielisissä urheiluhaastatteluissa? Tähän kysymykseen pyrin vastaamaan tässä artikkelissa. Aloitan kuvaamalla aineistoani ja käyttämäni lähestymistapaa. Tämän jälkeen havainnollistan esimerkin avulla urheiluhaastattelun rakentumista. Seuraavaksi käsittelen kannanottojen institutionaalisia tehtäviä urheiluhaastatteluissa, minkä jälkeen siirryn analysoimaan sitä, kuinka kannanottoja esitetään kysymysvuoroissa. Lopuksi keskityn vastausvuoroissa esitettyihin toisiin kannanottoihin.

### Aineisto ja lähestymistapa

Aineistoni koostuu YLE:n urheilulähetyksissä esitetyistä urheiluhaastatteluista, jotka on poimittu kahden suuren urheilutapahtuman televisioinneista. Osa haastatteluista on tehty yleisurheilun maailmanmestaruuskisoissa Pariisissa vuonna 2003 ja osa jääkiekon maailmanmestaruuskisoissa Suomessa vuonna 2003.<sup>1</sup> Yhteensä aineistoni koostuu 54 haastattelusta. Lisäksi olen tähän artikkeliin ottanut mukaan kolme suomenkielistä urheiluhaastattelua vertailuaineistoksi.

Englanti on suomen jälkeen yleisin yhteiseksi kommunikoinnin välineeksi valittu kieli suomalaisessa televisiossa. Muitakin kieliä, kuten ruotsia ja jonkin verran myös saksaa, ranskaa ja viime vuosina myös venäjää, käytetään haastattelukielinä, mutta selvästi vähemmän kuin englantia. YLE pyrkii tekemään haastattelut mahdollisuuksien mukaan haastateltavan äidinkielellä, mutta haastattelukielen valinta määrittyy viime kädessä toimittajan kielitaidon perusteella. Pyrkimyksenä on käyttää sitä yhteistä kieltä, jolla sekä haastattelija että haastateltava pystyvät parhaiten kommunikoimaan. (Nordell 2007.)

Kaikki analysoimani haastattelut ovat suorina, ns. kentänlaitahaastatteluja, jotka on tehty välittömästi urheilusuorituksen jälkeen. Haastateltavien joukossa on sekä englantia että jotain muuta kieltä äidinkielenään puhuvia urheilijoita. En kuitenkaan luokittele haastateltavia heidän äidinkieltensä mukaan syntyperäisiin ja ei-syntyperäisiin englannin puhujiin, koska se ei nouse esiin aineistosta asiana, jota osallistajat itse käsittelisivät relevanttina haastattelutilanteessa.

Lähestyn aineistoani keskustelunalyysin menetelmin. Keskustelunalyysi on induktiivinen, aineistosta lähtevä tutkimustapa, joka näkee vuorovaikutuksen yksityiskohtiaan myöten jäsenyneenä toimintana. Keskustelun osapuolet orientoituvat vuorovaikutuksen säännönmukaisuuksiin, ja tutkijana pyrin löytämään aineistostani niitä jäsennyksiä ja toiminnan rakenteita, joiden avulla osapuolet tekevät ymmärrettäviksi sosiaalisia tilanteita. Keskustelunalyysin perusteita käsittelevät esimerkiksi ten Have (1999) ja Tainio (1997).

Toisella kielellä käytävää vuorovaikutusta ovat tutkineet keskustelunalyttisesti esimerkiksi Wagner (1996), Firth ja Wagner (1997) ja Kurhila (2001, 2003). Gardner ja Wagner (2004) nostavat kokoomateoksessaan esiin sen, kuinka kakkoskielisessä vuorovaikutuksessa ei ole perustavanlaatuisia eroja äidinkielellä käytävään vuorovaikutukseen. Silloin kun eroja on, osallistujat pyrkivät minimoimaan ne vuorovaikutuksessa niin, että kielellisiä ongelmia ei korosteta. Verrattuna toisen kielen omaksumisen tutkimusperinteeseen keskustelunalyttisellä lähestymistavalla on pyritty osoittamaan – ja pystytty havainnollistamaan – kuinka osallistujat pystyvät rajoittuneillakin kielellisillä resursseilla kompetentisti suoriutumaan moninaisista vuorovaikutuksellisista tehtävistä. Oma analyysini tukee tätä tulosta ja tuo uutta tietoa tilanteesta, jota ei ole aikaisemmin kakkoskielisessä vuorovaikutuksessa tutkittu. Erityisesti se, että televisiohaastattelu on julkinen tilanne, joka välittyy suurelle joukolle ihmisiä, on erilaista aikaisempiin kakkoskielisiin tutkimuksiin verrattuna. Julkisuus ja näkyvyys ovat myös tärkeä syy siihen, että kakkoskielistä televisiovuorovaikutusta on syytä tutkia, kun puhutaan kielitilanteesta ja kielen käytöstä Suomessa.

Keskustelunalyysissä merkitysten määrittely on aina tilannesidoksista. Jokainen vuoro on sekä edeltävän keskustelun muovaama että seuraavaa keskustelua rakentava. Sekä keskustelun osapuolten että analysoijan kannalta tämä kontekstin jatkuva läsnäolo on ensisijaisen tärkeää, kun tarkastellaan sitä, kuinka vuoroja keskustelussa ymmärretään ja tulkitaan. Tämä on yksi syy, minkä takia keskustelunalyysi sopii hyvin institutionaalisen aineiston tutkimiseen; keskustelunalyysin mukaan institutionaalisuus rakentuu puhujien toiminnassa ja institutionaalisuutta rakennetaan vuoro vuoroilta. Toisin sanoen institutionaalisuus nähdään keskustelussa tekijänä, joka on muuttuva

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ja muokattavissa oleva, eikä sitä tarkastella ennalta määrättyinä ja se-  
littävänä tekijänä (Raevaara, Ruusuvuori ja Haakana 2001, 24).

Keskusteluanalyysi on osoittautunut tehokkaaksi metodiksi haas-  
tattelua muokkaavien rakenteiden ja käytänteiden tutkimisessa. Tele-  
visiohaastatteluja onkin tutkittu keskusteluanalyysin piirissä laajalti.  
Clayman (1988, 1992) on tutkinut neutraaliuden rakentumisesta ja  
ylläpitämisestä uutishaastatteluisissa ja Heritage (1985) muun muas-  
sa sitä, kuinka televisioyleisön, ns. kolmannen osapuolen, läsnäolo  
vaikuttaa siihen, minkälaiseksi kysyjän ja vastaajan roolit muotou-  
tuvat haastattelussa. Uutishaastattelun vuorottelun periaatteita ovat  
tutkineet mm. Greatbatch (1988) sekä Heritage ja Greatbatch (1991).  
Kattava teos uutishaastatteluiden keskusteluanalyttisistä tutkimuk-  
sesta on Claymanin ja Heritagen vuonna 2002 ilmestynyt *The News  
Interview. Journalists and Public Figures on the AT*. Suomessa televi-  
siokeskustelua ja -haastattelua ovat tutkineet Nuolijärvi ja Tiittula  
(2000), Berg (2001, 2003) ja Kajanne (2001a, 2001b).

Keskusteluanalyttikoiden parissa erityyppisistä televisiohaas-  
teluista on tutkittu eniten uutishaastattelua, muita haastattelugenrejä  
vähemmän. Urheiluhaastatteluista ei ole juurikaan tehty tutkimusta  
(ks. kuitenkin Auvinen 2001). Televisiotutkimuksen piirissä televi-  
siourheilua ja eri aspekteja urheilulähetyksistä ovat tutkineet esim.  
Whannel (1992) ja Rowe (1999), mutta näissäkin tutkimuksissa haas-  
tattelu ovat jääneet sivuun. Kakkoskielisiä urheiluhaastattelua ei ole  
tutkittu aiemmin. Koska televisiohaastatteluilla on omat erityispiir-  
teensä ja vielä spesifimmin urheiluhaastatteluilla omansa, kakkoskie-  
lisiä urheiluhaastattelua tutkimalla voidaan saada tietoa, joka täyden-  
tää aikaisempaa tutkimusta sekä kakkoskielisestä vuorovaikutuksesta  
että televisiovuorovaikutuksesta.

### Urheiluhaastattelun genre

Urheiluhaastattelu televisiohaastattelun lajityyppinä noudattelee tie-  
tyiltä osin muiden televisiohaastattelujen muotoa. Sille on tyyppillistä  
kysymys–vastaus-rakenne, jossa haastattelutilanteen institutionaaliset  
vaatimukset asettavat rajoituksia osallistujien käytössä oleville vuo-  
rotyypeille. Yksinkertaistettuna: haastattelijan tehtävänä on esittää



kysymyksiä ja haastateltavan tehtävänä on vastata hänelle esitettyihin kysymyksiin. Käytännössä myös muuntyyppisiä vuoroja esiintyy haastatteluisissa, mutta osallistujat orientoituvat niihin huomionarvoisina tai ongelmallisina (ks. esim. Clayman ja Heritage 2002, 98).

Urheiluhaastattelussa, niin kuin muissakin televisiohaastatteluisissa, orientoidutaan tv-katsojaan kolmantena osapuolena. Kysymysten ensisijaisena tehtävänä ei ole tuottaa tietoa haastattelijalle vaan välittää se kolmannelle osapuolelle eli televisiokatsojille (Heritage 1985). Tämä kolmanteen osapuoleen orientoituminen on käytännössä nähtävissä muun muassa siinä, kuinka sekä haastattelija että haastateltava voivat tuottaa arkikeskusteluun verrattuna suhteellisen pitkiä vuoroja ilman toisen osapuolen minimipalautteita (Clayman ja Heritage 2002, 125).

Urheiluhaastattelulla on myös tiettyjä erityispiirteitä, jotka erottavat sen muista haastattelutyypeistä. Haastattelut ovat kokonaiskestoiltaan lyhyitä, ja ne esitetään yleensä suorana ”kentän laidalta”, ilman editointia. Urheilulähetysten ”tässä ja nyt” -luonnetta korostaa se, että haastattelut tehdään välittömästi suorituksen jälkeen, kun urheilijat ovat usein vielä hikisiä ja hengästyneitä. Tällä tavoin voidaan korostaa vaikutelmaa siitä, että katsojille välitetään toiminta sellaisenaan silloin, kun se tapahtuu (Whannel 1992, 113). Kysymykset ovat luonteeltaan sellaisia, että ne kutsuvat esiin urheilijan näkökulmaa ja subjektiivista kokemusta. Kysymysvuorojen arvioiva luonne erottaa urheiluhaastattelut selkeästi uutishaastatteluista, joissa haastattelijan rooliin kuuluu tietty ”neutraalius” (Heritage ja Greatbatch 1991; Heritage 1985; Clayman 1992).

Analysoimistani esimerkeistä näkyy, kuinka urheiluhaastattelu rakentuu tyypillisesti seuraavista elementeistä: edellisen suorituksen arviointi, yleisemmän tason kommentointi tai selitys ja tulevaan suoritukseen orientoituminen. Tällaiseksi urheiluhaastatteluksi tunnistettavaksi kokonaisuudeksi haastattelu rakentuu osallistujien yhteistoiminnassa.

Tyypillisesti haastattelun alkupuolella sekä haastattelija että haastateltava arvioivat ja kommentoivat edeltävää suoritusta. Tässä vaiheessa esiintyy kannanottoja edeltävästä urheilusuorituksesta. Toimittajan esittämää ensimmäistä kannanottoa ja urheilijan esittämää toista kannanottoa seuraa joko edeltävän suorituksen tarkempi kommentointi.

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tointi tai selonteko epäonnistumisen syistä. Haastattelun keskivaiheilla voi esiintyä myös toisen urheilijan tai joukkueen arviointia tai yleisemmän tason kommentteja urheilusta. Haastattelun loppupuolella osapuolet orientoituvat yleisellä tasolla tulevaan suoritukseen. Tämä voidaan tehdä esimerkiksi haastattelijan onnentoivotuksella, urheilijan lupauksella yrittää parhaansa tai kysymys–vastaus-parilla tulevan suorituksen taktiikasta.

Ensimmäinen esimerkki havainnollistaa edellä mainittuja urheiluhaastattelun erityispiirteitä. Esimerkissä toimittaja haastattelee miehen 200 metrin matkalla oman alkueränsä juuri voittanutta juoksijaa. Haastattelu koostuu edeltävän suorituksen arvioinnista (r. 2), yleisemmän tason kysymyksestä (r. 10–11) ja viittauksesta tulevaan suoritukseen (r. 15–16).

*1. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003*

*T Tapio Suominen (T = toimittaja)*

*JC John Caple*

```
1 T Jo::hn uh (0.6) >how would you< comment your racing today=
2 =it looked like you were (.) cry:ising.
3 JC oh >it was just< fun you know,
4 .hh (>try to get f-<) you gotta make it fun.
5 you ca:n't (0.5)
6 can't get too serious ( ) not this early,
7 (.) so we're just making it fun.
8 just do what we do.
9 (.)
10 T is it (.) hard to run fast at this (0.7)
11 early in the morning.
12 (.)
13 JC nope. h[h nu:h ] no:t at all,
14 T [hah hah (hah)]
15 T but I'm sure you can go a lot faster
16 when it [really counts.]
17 JC [o::h ] yeah.
18 oh yeah. .hh I will. I promise you that
19 T allright thanks.
20 JC no prob(lem)
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Haastattelijan lausuma rivillä 1 voisi toimia kysymyksenä sellaisenaankin, mutta haastattelijaa lisää vuoroonsa vielä arvioivan elemen-

tin (r. 2). Edeltävän suorituksen arviointia tapahtuu myös urheilijan vastausvuorossa (r. 3). Myöhemmin tässä artikkelissa käsittelemme tarkemmin ilmiötä, joka näkyy myös tässä esimerkissä: haastattelija muotoilee arvioivan vuoronsa tavalla, joka tuo esiin haastattelijan rajoittuneen tiedollisen aseman, tässä tapauksessa näköhavaintoon perustuvan tiedon, arvioitavaan asiaan. Haastateltava taas vuorostaan tuottaa oman arvioivan vuoronsa ensisijaisen tiedon haltijana. Hänen arvionsa perustuu omakohtaiseen kokemukseen (*oh it was just fun you know*) rivillä 3.

Tässä esimerkissä on mielenkiintoista myös pronominiin käyttö, joka liittyy näkökulman siirtämiseen edeltävän suorituksen arvioinnista yleisemmälle tasolle. Keneen viitataan pronomiinilla *we* (*we're just making it fun ja just do what we do* riveillä 7 ja 8)? *We* toimii tässä yhteydessä kategorisena pronomiinina, joka ei viittaa johonkin tiettyyn, lueteltavissa olevaan joukkoon ihmisiä, vaan se viittaa yleisempään kategoriaan, joka tässä tapauksessa on ”urheilijat” tai mahdollisesti täsmällisemmin ”juoksijat” tai ”pikajuoksijat” (ks. McHoul 1997; Sacks 1992). Kategorisen *we*-pronominin avulla urheilija siirtyy oman suorituksensa arvioinnista yleisemmän tason kommentointiin urheilusta.

Haastattelun loppuosassa (riviltä 15 eteenpäin) osapuolet orientoituvat tulevaan suoritukseen. Haastattelijan *I'm sure you can go a lot faster when it really counts* riveillä 15 ja 16 on arvio urheilijan kyvyistä liittyen siihen, minkälainen suoritus tarvitaan kilpailun eri vaiheissa (alkuerät, välierät, loppuerät). Urheilija vastaa esittämällä samanmiehisen arvion riveillä 17 ja 18. Tämän jälkeen hän esittää lupauksen juosta nopeammin ja tällä tavoin osoittaa tulkinneensa haastattelijan arvion nimenomaan tulevaan suoritukseen liittyväksi.

### Kannanotot ja urheiluhaastattelujen institutionaaliset tehtävät

Kannanotto, eli henkilöiden, asioiden tai tapahtumien arviointi, on hyvin yleinen ilmiö jokapäiväisessä vuorovaikutuksessa. Kannanotot ovat tutkineet mm. Pomerantz (1978, 1984), Heritage ja Raymond (2005) sekä Goodwin ja Goodwin (1992). Kannanotto voi

saada erilaisia kielellisiä ilmiä, ja erilaisten kielellisten resurssien lisäksi kannanotto voi rakentua myös ei-kielellisen toiminnan, kuten eleiden, ilmeiden ja äänensävyyn kautta (Tainio 1996, 82). Tyypillistä kannanottoille on, että niitä seuraa toinen kannanotto. Puhutaankin kiinteästä vierusparirakenteesta, jossa ensimmäinen kannanotto toimii etujäsenenä ja virittää odotuksen jälkijäsenestä eli toisesta kannanotosta, joka voi olla joko samanmielinen tai erimielinen ensimmäisen kannanoton kanssa (ks. esim. Pomerantz 1984; Tainio 1996).

Kannanottoja esiintyy runsaasti urheiluhaastatteluissa. Auvinen (2001) on tutkinut suomalaisia urheiluhaastatteluja, ja hänen aineistossaan 87 prosenttia toimittajan vuoroista, jotka tavalla tai toisella käsittelevät edeltävää urheilusuoritusta, ovat arvottavia. Erityisen usein kannanottoja esiintyy haastattelijan ensimmäisessä vuorossa. Omassa aineistossani 76 prosenttia haastattelijan ensimmäisistä vuoroista sisältää kannanoton. Urheiluhaastatteluissa kannanottoja käytetään institutionaalisten tehtävien hoitoon. Ensinnäkin niitä käytetään puheen suuntaamiseen relevantteihin aiheisiin. Haastattelijat esittävät kannanoton haastattelutilannetta edeltävästä urheilusuorituksesta (esim. *that looked good* tai *it looked like you had to fight*), jolloin puhe suunnataan edeltävään suoritukseen tai johonkin tiettyyn aspektiin edeltävästä suorituksesta.

Kannanotot ovat myös yksi resurssi, jolla vuoro voidaan rakentaa kysymykseksi. Tässä tehtävässä kannanotot toimivat niin vahvasti, että ne voivat esiintyä kysymyksenä sellaisenaan, ilman kysymysmuotoilua (ks. esimerkki 1). Keskustelunanalyttisesti tarkasteltuna kysymys nähdään osana vierusparia ja kysymistä tarkastellaan vuoron esittäjän ja vastaanottajan yhteisenä toimintana. Vuorosta ei siis tee kysymystä yksinään puhujan intentio tai vuoron muotoilu vaan osanottajien yhteinen merkitys. (Raevaara 1996, 24; Heritage 1984, 242, 259–260.) Haastatteluissa väitelauseiden toimiminen kysymyksenä on mahdollista silloin, kun kysymys koskettaa haastateltavan subjektiivista ja ensisijaista tietoa (Clayman ja Heritage 2002, 102).

Esimerkissä 2 haastatellaan Tšekin jääkiekkjoukkueen hyökkääjää alkulohkon ensimmäisen pelin jälkeen. Tšekki on voittanut pelin Sloveniaa vastaan lukemin 5–2.

2. Jääkiekon MM-kisat, Helsinki 2003

T Bror-Erik Wallenius

RR Robert Reichel

1 T → Robert (.) quite an easy game for you t- today.  
 2 (1.0)  
 3 RR >I'm sure< it wasn't easy you know  
 4 firs- 'first game ba:ck after after two years?  
 5 and uh (.) it's always tough  
 6 you know especially when you (.) when you play  
 7 on the big ice (surf) and (0.7)  
 8 but obviously our team was playing very well  
 9 and uh (.) make easy for me.

Esimerkissä 2 kysymysvuoro rakentuu pelkästä väitelauseesta esitetyistä kannanotoista (r. 1); kysymysvuorossa ei ole kysymyssanaa eikä muita kysymyslauseen syntaktisia elementtejä. Haastateltava kuitenkin ilman ongelmia tulkitsee vuoron kysymykseksi, mikä on nähtävissä siitä, että hän tuottaa vastauksen, jossa hän erimielisen kannanoton (*I'm sure it wasn't easy you know*, rivillä 3) jälkeen tekee selonteon edeltävään suoritukseen vaikuttaneista tekijöistä.

Kuten edeltävässä esimerkissä on nähtävissä, kysymyksen muotoilu vaikuttaa siihen, minkälaiseksi vastaus muotoutuu. Esimerkissä 2 haastateltavalle on selvää, että haastattelijan vuoro rivillä 1 on kysymys, koska urheiluhaastattelu tilanteena koostuu pääosin kysymys-vastaus-vieruspareista. Tieto niistä toimintatavoista, joita käytetään televisioinstituutiossa ja tarkemmin tässä haastattelutyypissä, auttaa osallistujia tulkitsemaan tilannetta ja toimimaan tarkoituksenmukaisella tavalla. Kysymysvuoron muotoilu kannanotoksi kutsuu vastausta, jossa tuotetaan toinen kannanotto.

Myös seuraavassa esimerkissä kysymysvuoron muotoilu vaikuttaa siihen, kuinka vastauksessa tuodaan esille henkilökohtainen kokemus selonteon muodossa. Esimerkissä 3 haastateltavana on Slovakian joukkueen hyökkääjä. Haastattelu tehdään Sveitsiä vastaan puolivälierissä pelatun pelin jälkeen. Slovakia on voittanut pelin lukemin 3–1. Esimerkkiin poimittu ote on haastattelun keskivaiheilta (haastattelun alku esimerkissä 5).

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3. Jääkiekon MM-kisat, Helsinki 2003

T Bror-Erik Wallenius

MS Miroslav Satan

1 MS we- we had to show uh lot of character,  
2 and uh(.) and a- lot of will to- to come back in the game  
3 T but correct me if I'm wrong (.)  
4 your team sidn't- uh didn't seem (.) as alert (.) as  
5 in the earlier games.(.) [in the-] in the first period.  
6 MS [ °uh-°]  
7 (.)  
8 MS I think uh I think we were alert I I think it was just  
9 uh everybody was nervous because uh (.)  
10 it was u:h (.) basically a new beginning  
11 in the tournament and uh every- everybody  
12 s-starting from zero,

Esimerkissä 3 haastattelija esittää kannanoton riveillä 4 ja 5. Sitä seuraava haastateltavan toinen kannanotto (r. 8). Tämä toinen kannanotto on erimielinen ensimmäisen kannanoton kanssa (*I think uh I think we were alert*, rivi 8). Toisen kannanoton jälkeen haastateltava jatkaa tuottamalla selityksen sille, miksi joukkueen peli saattoi vaikuttaa tarkkaamattomalta.

Kannanottoihin suhtaudutaan tyypillisesti seuraavassa vuorossa niin, että ensin tuotetaan toinen kannanotto ja sen jälkeen haastateltavat orientoituvat kannanottoon kysymysvuorona ja tuottavat joko 1) tarkemman kuvauksen edeltävästä suorituksesta tai 2) selonteon epäonnistumiseen johtaneista syistä. Tarkempi kuvaus tuotetaan yleensä silloin kun ensimmäinen kannanotto on ollut positiivinen, ja selonteko epäonnistumiseen johtaneista syistä tuotetaan yleensä silloin kun ensimmäinen kannanotto on ollut negatiivinen.

Seuraavaksi tarkastelen tarkemmin sitä, kuinka kuvausta henkilökohtaisesta kokemuksesta kutsutaan kannanottojen avulla. Aloitan kysymysvuoroihin sisältyvien kannanottojen tarkastelusta ja siirryn sitten analysoimaan sitä, kuinka urheilijat vastaavat sellaisiin kysymysvuoroihin, joihin sisältyy kannanotto.

## Kannanotot houkuttelemassa kuvauksia omakohtaisista kokemuksista

### Kannanoton esittäminen kysymysvuorossa

Kannanotot tekevät relevantiksi erilaisiin tiedollisiin asemiin asettumisen ja niistä neuvottelemisen. Yleensä ensimmäisen kannanoton esittäjälle rakentuu implisiittisesti ensisijaisen tietäjän rooli (Pomerantz 1984; Heritage ja Raymond 2005). Toisen kannanoton esittäjä puolestaan on asemassa, johon liittyy vähäisempi tietäminen. Näitä rooleja voi kuitenkin erilaisin kielellisin keinoin muuttaa ja niistä voi neuvotella (ks. Heritage ja Raymond 2005). Haastattelijan on kyettävä tasapainottelemaan erilaisten tiedollisten asemien välillä niin, että hän esittää jonkinasteista tietoa ja osoittaa tietyn tason asiantuntijuutta siitä asiasta, jota hän arvioi, mutta ei kuitenkaan implikoi suurempaa tiedollista asemaa kuin haastateltavalla. Tavoitteenahan haastattelutilanteessa on kuitenkin tarjota haastateltavalle paikka tuottaa kuvaus, joka perustuu hänen henkilökohtaiseen tietoonsa edeltävästä suorituksesta.

Esimerkissä 4 on nähtävissä urheiluhaastattelussa esiintyville kannanotoille hyvin tyypillinen haastattelijan tiedollisen aseman rakentuminen. Esimerkissä haastatellaan oman puolivälieränsä 200 metrin matkalla voittanutta juoksijaa. Haastattelijan kannanotto on muotoiltu niin, että siitä tulee ilmi se, kuinka hänen tietonsa arvioitavasta asiasta perustuu näköhavaintoon ja on näin ollen ulkopuolisen katselijan arvio.

#### 4. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003

*T Tapio Suominen*

*DP Darvis Patton*

```

1 T      Darvis what's going ton.
2          twenty thirty seven and with an ea::se
3      →  that looked (.) that looked pretty good
4          (.)
5 DP     i- it felt pretty good >I mean I didn't-< (.)
6          ( ) as fast as I probably would've (0.6)
7          try not to go so hard at the beginning but hh
8          >like I said< I'm gonna get through the rounds, (.)
```

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9 .hh one by one worry about the ra- next round  
10 (later on) tonight (eh) (.)  
11 hopefully keep doing that and hh (.)  
12 .hh come out victorious.

Rivillä 3 haastattelijan *that looked* (.) *that looked pretty good* tuo esiin ulkopuolisen katselijan näkökulman ja siihen liittyvän rajoittuneen tiedon muotoilemalla kannanoton niin, että se perustuu visuaaliseen havaintoon. Haastattelijan käyttämä ulkopuolisen näkökulma on toimiva, koska haastateltavalle tarjoutuu paikka tuottaa henkilökohtaiseen kokemukseen perustuva kuvaus edeltävästä suorituksesta.

Joissain tilanteissa on tarpeellista muuttaa voimakkaammin ensimmäisen kannanoton esittäjälle implikoituvaa ensisijaisen tietäjän roolia. Alla olevassa esimerkissä haastattelija korostaa sitä, kuinka hänellä ei ole ensisijaista pääsyä arvioitavaan asiaan. Esimerkissä haastatellaan Slovakian joukkueen hyökkääjää. Slovakia on juuri voittanut Sveitsin lukemin 3–1 puolivälierissä. Haastattelija aloittaa haastattelun onnittelemalla pelaajaa välieriin pääsystä ja esittää sitten kannanoton, jossa arvion kohteena on Slovakian joukkueen suoriutuminen pelistä.

#### 5. Jääkiekon MM-kisat, Helsinki 2003

T Bror-Erik Wallenius

MS Miroslav Satan

1 T first of a:ll (.) congratulations to you and your team  
2 → for the place in the semi-final, (.) but to me it  
3 → seemed that the game was not very easy for your team.  
4 (.)  
5 MS no your- you're right it was u::h (.) very- very  
6 tough game for us and uh (.) especially the beginning  
7 >you know< they- they:: score a goal five on three?  
8 on power play, and u::h (.)  
9 all of a sudden u:h we- we were behind one goal  
10 and u:h (.) it was very nervous beginning of the game  
11 for us and very nervous u:h (.) first period and u:h (.)  
12 >you know< we- we had to show uh lot of character,  
13 and uh (.) and a- lot of will to- to come back in the  
14 game



That was smooth and fast

Haastattelija tuo eksplisiittisesti ilmi, että hänellä on rajoittunut pääsy arvioitavaan asiaan (*to me it seemed that the game was not very easy for your team* riveillä 2 ja 3). Pelin helppous tai vaikeus on jotain, jota vain urheilijat itse voivat arvioida ensisijaisina tietäjinä, ja haastattelijan ulkopuolisen ja subjektiivisen arvion luonne rakentuu kannanotossa. Ensinnäkin haastattelija aloittaa kannanotonsa rajaamalla näköhavainnon itseään koskevaksi (*to me it seemed*). Vastauksessaan pelaaja vahvistaa haastattelijan näkemyksen (*you're right* rivillä 5) ja tuottaa sen jälkeen selityksen siitä, miksi peli ei ollut joukkueelle helppo.

Aineistossani se, kuinka tiedollisia asemia ilmaistaan, näyttää liittyvän esitettyjen kannanottojen luonteeseen: kun haastattelijat esittävät positiivisia kannanottoja eli kehuvat edellistä suoritusta, he eivät aina välttämättä laske kielellisin keinoin sitä tietämisen ensisijaisuutta, mikä ensimmäisiin kannanottoihin liittyy, vaan voivat myös esittää arvion suoraan, esimerkiksi *that was x* tai *your performance was x*. Tällainen suora arviointi, jossa ei heikennetä omaa tiedollista asemaa, on nähtävissä seuraavassa kahdessa esimerkissä. Esimerkki 6 on haastattelusta, jossa haastateltavana on miesten 110 metrin aitojen oman alkueränsä voittanut urheilija. Haastattelija arvioi urheilijan suoritusta (*that was smooth and fast*, rivi 1).

#### 6. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003

T Tapio Suominen

AJ Allen Johnson

1 T → th[at wa]s smooth, (.) and fast  
2 AJ [hey ]  
3 T are you happy yourself?  
4 (.)  
5 AJ yeah I'm happy, I'm u:h (.)  
6 I'm happy that I was able to run that comfortably  
7 and run that fast so-  
8 °hh so (hopefully) I can (.) feel just as good tomorrow  
9 and u:h (.) have a performance similar to that.

Esimerkissä 7 haastattelija ei myöskään kielellisin keinoin alenna tietämisen ensisijaisuutta. Myös tässä esimerkissä haastattelija arvioi positiivisesti edeltävää suoritusta. Arvio on muotoiltu niin, että siitä ei käy ilmi, arvioidaanko urheilijan yksilösuoritusta vai joukkueen

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suoritusta. Vastauksessaan urheilija käsittelee arvioita koko joukkueen suoritusta koskevana.

#### 7. Jääkiekon MM-kisat, Helsinki 2003

T Tapio Suominen

DH Dany Heatley

```
1 T → Dany:: congratulations >it was< a great game.
2      (.)
3 DH   yeah you know we played uh played pretty well
4      I think we: - you know couple of ( )
5      second period but-
6      .hh we fought back hard, u:h we've been fighting back
7      all tournament and uh .hh (.)
8      w-when they >tied it up< we grew very calm,
9      and just kept on going and uh
10     >eventually< won the game.
```

Edeltävissä esimerkeissä kannanotot olivat positiivisia, niissä keuhuttiin edeltävää suoritusta. Negatiiviset kannanotot puolestaan muotoillaan usein niin, että niissä tulee esille se, kuinka haastattelijalla ei ole ensisijaista, toimijan näkökulmasta peräisin olevaa tietoa käsiteltävästä aiheesta. Seuraavassa esimerkissä urheilija on juuri voittanut oman alkueränsä 200 metrin matkalla. Haastattelija esittää arvion, jossa näkyy negatiivisen kannanoton muotoilu riveillä 1 ja 2. (Katso myös esimerkkiä 3, jossa negatiivinen kannanotto on muotoiltu samalla tavoin.)

#### 8. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003

T Tapio Suominen

SV Sherwin Vries

```
1 T → Sherwin (.) correct me if I'm wrong
2     → but it looked like you had to fight a little bit there.
3     (.)
4 SV   .hh yeah I was a bit tired from ( )
5     hundred meters hh .hh (.)
6     ( ) (you know) hh .hh (.)
7     I've never run so hardhh .hh (.)
8     three- three days in a row so uh
9     .hh (.) I'm just trying to hh .hh (.) go out there
10    and just give it u- hh
```

That was smooth and fast

11 .hh my- my be:st shot shot each and every time an-  
12 .hh and run each and every race like a final.

Haastattelija aloittaa vuoronsa tuomalla esiin sen, että urheilija on asemassa, jossa voi päättää haastattelijan väitteen oikeellisuudesta (*correct me if I'm wrong*, rivi 1), toisin sanoen tiedollinen auktoriteetti annetaan urheilijalle. Tämänkaltainen vuoronaloitus antaa jo ennako-oletuksen tulossa olevasta kriittisestä arviosta ja myös pehmentää sitä. Myöhemmin samassa kysymysvuorossa haastattelija esittää kannanoton, joka perustuu näköhavaintoon (*it looked like...* rivillä 2) ja vuoron lopussa lisää negatiivista arviota pehmentävän *a little bit* -määritteen.

Suomenkielisissä urheiluhaastatteluissa käytetään kannanottoja pääpiirteittäin samalla tavoin kuin omassa aineistossanikin, toisin sanoen niillä suunnataan puhe edeltävään suoritukseen ja kutsutaan urheilijan henkilökohtaista kokemusta edeltävästä suorituksesta. Myös tiedollisia asemia ilmaistaan samaan tapaan kuin englanninkielisissä haastatteluissa. Esimerkeissä 9 ja 10 haastattelija esittää kannanoton tavalla, jossa hän alentaa omaa tiedollista asemaansa käyttämällä epävarmuutta ilmaisevaa modaaliverbiä *taistaa* (*taisi ottaa, taisi olla*). Lisäksi esimerkissä 9 haastattelija perustelee arvionsa näköhavainnolla (*sen verran irvistelit*).

#### 9. Yhdistetyn maailmancup, Lahti 2007

T Laura Raittila

HM Hannu Manninen

1 T Hannu: onnittelut (.) kolmannesta sijasta:  
2 taisi ottaa aika tiukille: (.)  
3 sen verran irvistelit t(h)uos(h)sa fmaalissaaf.  
4 HM no joo kyllä se (0.6) k<sub>o</sub>v<sub>i</sub>lle otti että (.)  
5 tosi rankka keli ja hh k<sub>o</sub>ko ajan piti tehdä töitä (0.6)  
6 y-yrityttiin saaha- k<sub>a</sub>rkee kiinni ja hh  
7 ja tota (0.5) siinä tota:: (1.2)  
8 mitäh<sub>a</sub> ois hiihetty joku: (1.0) reilu k<sub>u</sub>us kilometriä  
9 nii (.) sen jälkeen (0.5) uh viimeset yheksän kilometriä  
10 vedin sitte koko (0.5) koko: ajan  
11 periaatteessa tota letkaa että hh kyllä siinä (.) k-koville  
12 ja keli oli (.) t<sub>o</sub>della raskas tänään.

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10. Yhdistetyn maailmancup, Lahti 2007

T Jussi Eskola

VK Virpi Kuitunen

1 T voitto taisi (.) olla (.) tiukemman työn takana  
2 kun (.) m-muutaman kerran aikasemmin.  
3 (.)  
4 VK no oli joo aika: kova: (.) taistelu et  
5 ihan sai loppuun asti kyllä hiihtää että  
6 joka toinen metri, oli varma että Petra menee ohi  
7 ja joka toinen olin varma että ite voitan että  
8 .hh oli tosi tiukka kisa.

Kuten kahdesta edeltävästä esimerkistä voi nähdä, myös suomenkielisissä haastatteluissa käytetään usein kysymystyyppiä, jossa kysymyksen muodostaa urheilijan ensisijaiseen tietoon tai kokemukseen kohdistuva väitelause. Seuraava suomenkielinen esimerkki on otettu Auvisen (2001) tutkimuksesta. Esimerkissä 11 toimittaja esittää kannanoton, joka on väitelauseen muodossa. Toimittaja esittää positiivisen arvion urheilijan suorituksesta eikä heikennä omaa tiedollista asemaansa käyttämällä kielellisiä keinoja, joiden avulla olisi mahdollista osoittaa tiedon perustuminen näköhavaintoon.

11. [Auvinen 2001:44]

1 T: Tässä on päivän mestari, =Vesa Hietalahti,=  
2 <se oli>, =jos käyttää nyrkkeilykieltä, (.) se  
3 oli @tyr:mäys heti alusta alkaen. hh  
4 (1.0)  
5 U: .h no joo, =se lähti tieteenki tuo ammunta  
6 (0.5) puoli kul(u)kemaan hyvi ja hh eihä sitä  
7 siinä vaihees vielä h .hh +vielä tienny että  
8 mikä se tulee hh se loppu olemaa mut, =ammunta  
9 kul(u)ki tänää ja hh .h (.) se (ratkasi) ()  
10 () (eduksi). hhh

Suomenkielisissä urheiluhaastatteluissa voidaan myös siis havaita, kuinka haastattelija voi tilanteesta riippuen joko esittää kannanoton suorana arviona tai samantyyppisin kielellisin keinoin kuin englanninkielisissäkin haastatteluissa muuttaa ensimmäisen kannanoton

That was smooth and fast

esittäjälle implikoituvaa ensisijaisen tietäjän roolia. Myös vastausvuoroissa suomenkielisissä haastatteluissa haastateltavat tuottavat toisen kannanoton, jonka jälkeen seuraa tarkempaa kuvausta tai selontekoa suorituksesta. Seuraavaksi siirrynkään käsittelemään tarkemmin vastausvuoroja.

### Kannanottoihin vastaaminen

Haastattelija ja haastateltavat rakentavat haastattelua yhteistoiminnassa. Jokainen vuoro on tulkintaa edellisestä vuorosta ja muokkaa omalta osaltaan sitä, minkälaiseksi haastattelu muotoutuu. Kysymysvuorossa esitetyt kannanotot vaikuttavat vastauksen muotoutumiseen niin, että vastausvuorossa tuotetaan jälkijäsen, toinen kannanotto, ja tämän toisen kannanoton jälkeen haastateltavat tuottavat joko kuvauksen suorituksesta (yleensä positiivisen ensimmäisen arvion jälkeen) tai selonteon epäonnistumisen syistä (näin tapahtuu yleensä negatiivisen ensimmäisen kannanoton jälkeen). Toisen kannanoton jälkeinen toiminta voikin toimia vihjeenä sille, onko haastateltava tulkinut ensimmäisen kannanoton positiiviseksi vai negatiiviseksi. Seuraavassa esimerkissä urheilija vastaa haastattelijan positiiviseen kannanottoon tuottamalla toisen kannanoton, kuvauksen suorituksesta ja vielä samassa vuorossa lopuksi orientoituu tulevaan suoritukseen.

#### 12. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003

*T Tapio Suominen*

*DP Darvis Patton*

```
1 T      Darvis what's going on.
2      twenty thirty seven and with an ea:se
3      that looked (.) that looked pretty good
4      (.)
5 DP →  i- it felt pretty good >I mean I didn't-< (.)
6      ( ) as fast as I probably would've (0.6)
7      try not to go so hard at the beginning but hh
8      >like I said< I'm gonna get through the rounds, (.)
9      .hh one by one worry about the ra- next round
10     (later on) tonight (eh) (.)
11     hopefully keep doing that and hh (.)
12     .hh come out victorious.
```

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Esimerkissä 12 haastateltava tuottaa toisen kannanoton vastaukseen ja esittää ensisijaista tietoa (*it felt pretty good* rivillä 5). Haastateltava toistaa ensimmäisessä kannanotossa käytetyn syntaktisen rakenteen ja siinä käytettyjä leksikaalisia elementtejä ja muuttaa vain demonstratiivipronominin ja verbin, mikä kertoo siitä, minkätyyppiseen tietoon (näköhavainto vs. henkilökohtainen kokemus) arvio perustuu (ks. Schegloff, Jefferson ja Sacks 1977). Myös seuraavassa esimerkissä esiintyy kysymysvuoron elementtien toistoa, kun haastattelijan arviota seuraa urheilijan toinen, samanmielinen kannanotto riveillä 6 ja 7 (*I was able to run that comfortably and run that fast*).

### 13. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003

T Tapio Suominen

AJ Allen Johnson

```
1 T          th[at wa]s smooth, (.) and fast
2 AJ          [hey ]
3 T          are you happy yourself?
4            (.)
5 AJ → yeah I'm happy, I'm u:h (.)
6 → I'm happy that I was able to run that comfortably
7 → and run that fast so-
8           'hh so (hopefully) I can (.) feel just as good tomorrow
9           and u:h (.) have a performance similar to that.
```

Urheilija aloittaa vastausvuoronsa vastaamalla ensimmäiseksi suoraan kysymykseen (r. 5). Huomionarvoista tässä esimerkissä on se, että tuottamalla toisen kannanoton (rivit 6 ja 7) urheilija orientoituu kysymysvuoron alkuosassa olevaan kannanottoon jälkijäsentä tarvitsevaksi, vaikka sijaintinsa puolesta haastattelijan kannanotto voisi olla tulkittavissa myös pelkästään varsinaista kysymystä (r. 3) pohjustavaksi elementiksi. Myös tässä esimerkissä urheilija orientoituu vastausvuoron lopussa tulevaan suoritukseen.

Seuraavassa esimerkissä urheilija vastaa kysymykseen tuottamalla toisen kannanoton rivillä 4 *yeah I was a bit tired*, minkä jälkeen riveillä 7 ja 8 hän tuottaa selityksen siitä, miksi juoksu ei kulkenut.

That was smooth and fast

#### 14. Yleisurheilun MM-kisat, Pariisi 2003

T Tapio Suominen

SV Sherwin Vries

1 T Sherwin (.) correct me if I'm wro:ng  
2 but it looked like you had to f<sub>i</sub>ight a little bit there.  
3 (.)  
4 SV → .hh yeah I was a bit tired from ( )  
5 hundred meters hh .hh (.)  
6 ( ) (you know) hh .hh (.)  
7 I've never run so hardhh .hh (.)  
8 three- three days in a row so uh  
9 .hh (.) I'm just trying to hh .hh (.) go out there  
10 and just give it u- hh  
11 .hh my- my be:st shot shot each and every time an-  
12 .hh and run each and every race like a final.

Urheilijan vastausvuorossa tuottama selonteko vaikeuksiin johtaneista syistä kertoo siitä, kuinka hän on tulkinut kannanoton negatiiviseksi. Selonteon jälkeen (riviltä 9 alkaen) urheilija siirtää puheen edeltävästä suorituksesta yleisemmälle tasolle.

#### Lopuksi

Olen tässä artikkelissa kuvannut sitä, kuinka kannanotoilla voidaan houkutella kuvausta henkilökohtaisesta kokemuksesta urheiluhaastatteluissa. Haastattelijat pystyvät kannanotoilla suuntaamaan puheen edeltävään suoritukseen. Kannanotto jo toimintona kutsuu siihen kiinteästi liittyvää jälkijäsentä eli toista kannanottoa. Tämän lisäksi se, että haastattelijat esittää arvion suorituksesta, johon urheilijalla on ensisijainen pääsy, luo odotuksen vastaukselle, jossa urheilija tuo esiin oman näkökulmansa arvioitavaan asiaan. Vastausvuoroissaan urheilijat orientoituvat kysymysvuorossa esitettyyn kannanottoon, ja näin henkilökohtainen näkökulma tulee esiin.

Mitä analyysini kertoo kakkoskielisestä televisiovuorovaikutuksesta? Näyttää siltä, että kannanottoja käytetään pääpiirteittäin samaan tapaan sekä suomenkielisissä urheiluhaastatteluissa että omassa aineistossani. Tämä puolestaan kertoo siitä, kuinka osallistujat orientoituvat ensisijaisesti kielenkäyttötilanteeseen ja sen asettamiin resurssihin ja rajoituksiin vuorovaikutuksessa. Osallistujille on oleel-

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lista suorittaa ne toiminnot, jotka rakentavat urheiluhaastattelua, käytettävästä kielestä riippumatta. Mahdolliset kielelliset ongelmat sivuutetaan, eikä niihin orientoiduta haastattelutilanteessa. Kakkoskielistä vuorovaikutusta tutkittaessa kannattaakin muistaa, että osallistujien tieto siitä tilanteesta, missä vuorovaikutus tapahtuu – tässä tapauksessa siis heidän tietonsa institutionaalisesta tilanteesta ja sen toimintamalleista – on hyvin tärkeää.

Ei ole olemassa yhtä ainoaa tapaa käyttää englannin kieltä suomalaisessa televisiossa. Sen sijaan on tilanteen ja sen institutionaalisen tehtävän mukaan rakentuvaa kielen käyttöä. Esimerkiksi urheiluhaastatteluita tutkimalla saadaan tietoa haastattelijan evaluoivista ja arvotavista toiminnoista sekä haastateltavan toiminnasta suhteessa niihin. Jos tutkimusaineistona olisivat esimerkiksi uutishaastattelut, saisimme tietoa jostain muusta, mutta emme juuri näistä toiminnoista. Tämän takia on tärkeää tutkia vuorovaikutusta aineistolähtöisesti.

Englannin kielen käyttö haastattelukielenä ja se, kuinka kyky suoriutua haastattelutilanteesta englannin kielellä on kiinteä osa urheilijan työtä, kertoo television ja urheilun kansainvälistymisestä. Kilpaurheilun parissa liikutaan yhteisössä, jossa kaikilla jäsenillä ei välttämättä ole yhteistä kieltä. Oleellista on kuitenkin se, että yhteisön jäsenillä on jaettu tieto yhteisön sisäisistä toimintatavoista eli tässä tapauksessa jaettu tieto siitä, miten urheiluhaastattelu toimii ja miten urheiluhaastattelussa toimitaan.

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